

What's News

Business & Finance

Investors rushed for safety, pushing down stocks and lifting the prices of oil, gold and government bonds, after Russia's Putin launched a military operation in Ukraine. **B1**

◆ **U.S. life insurers**, as expected, made a large number of Covid-19 death-benefit payouts last year, with many seeing a jump in other death claims, too. **A1**

◆ **Barclays said** it has frozen former CEO Jes Staley's deferred pay while regulators complete a probe into how he characterized his relationship with Jeffrey Epstein. **B1**

◆ **A judge said** she would pause the trial of Roger Ng after prosecutors said they had failed to turn over a tranche of documents to the former Goldman banker's lawyers. **B1**

◆ **Ford's CEO said** the auto maker doesn't intend to spin off its electric-vehicle business, tamping down speculation that the company could break off its EV operations to boost market value. **B3**

◆ **The EU is proposing** legislation that would force more data sharing among companies in Europe, aiming to loosen the grip officials say a few big tech firms have on some commercial and industrial data. **B4**

◆ **Lowe's surprised** Wall Street with its management of costs and pricing in the latest quarter amid a slowing outlook for the home-improvement sector's sales. **B3**

◆ **Estée Lauder suspended** a top executive without pay following a backlash over a post on his personal Instagram account. **B3**

World-Wide

◆ **Russian missiles** and airstrikes hit Ukraine's capital Kyiv and more than a dozen other cities across the country Thursday, minutes after Putin announced a military operation that he said seeks to "demilitarize and denazify Ukraine" and bring its leaders to trial. **A1, A7-9**

◆ **The U.S. and its allies** are poised to unveil further sanctions, now that Russia has launched what Biden called "an unprovoked and unjustified attack" on Ukraine, hoping a fresh tranche of penalties will have a greater deterrent effect than the first set. **A1**

◆ **Two prosecutors** leading the Manhattan district attorney's investigation into Trump and his business resigned, casting doubt on the future of the yearslong criminal probe. **A3**

◆ **The Justice Department** is ending a Trump-era initiative to counter national-security threats from China after it led to a series of failed prosecutions of academics. **A4**

◆ **Canada's Trudeau**, in a surprise turnaround, said his government no longer required emergency powers to deal with protests against Covid-19 restrictions. **A10**

◆ **A more infectious type** of the Omicron variant has surged to account for more than a third of global Covid-19 cases sequenced recently, adding to the debate about whether countries are ready for full reopening. **A6**

◆ **The number of women** in the U.S. who died while pregnant or shortly after pregnancy continued to rise in 2020 as the pandemic spread, according to a federal report. **A6**

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'Any provocation, any spark could trigger a blaze that will destroy everything.'

Ukrainian President Zelensky

'We will strive to demilitarize and denazify Ukraine.'

Russian President Putin

'Putin has chosen a premeditated war that will bring a catastrophic loss of life.'

President Biden

RUSSIA STRIKES UKRAINE



Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, speaking in Russian in a video address, said his nation posed no threat to Russia and that a conflict could cause tens of thousands of victims.

Crisis Sets New Struggle For Global Supremacy

By MICHAEL R. GORDON

Russia's audacious military assault on Ukraine is the first major clash marking a new order in international politics, with three major powers jostling for position in ways that threaten America's primacy.

The challenges are different than those the U.S. and its network of alliances faced in the Cold War. Russia and China have built a thriving partnership based in part on a shared interest in diminishing U.S. power. Unlike the Sino-Soviet bloc of the 1950s, Russia

is a critical gas supplier to Europe, while China isn't an impoverished, war-ravaged partner but the world's manufacturing powerhouse with an expanding military.

In deploying a huge force and on Thursday ordering what he called a "special military operation," Russian President Vladimir Putin is demanding that the West rewrite the post-Cold War security arrangements for Europe and demonstrated that Russia has the military capability to impose its will despite Western objections and sanctions.

To do this, Mr. Putin shifted military units from Russia's border with China, showing confidence in his relations with Beijing. The two powers, in effect, are coordinating to reshape the global order to their advantage, though their ties stop short of a formal alliance.

This emerging order leaves the U.S. contending with two adversaries at once in geographically disparate parts of the world where America has

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◆ **Greg Ip: Ukraine clash puts dagger in globalization.....** A2

Big Companies Rush to Plan For Repercussions of Attack

By ALISTAIR MACDONALD AND NICK KOSTOV

Western companies with operations in Russia and Ukraine are preparing for the potential impact of sanctions on their businesses there and readying contingency plans in the event of further military action, after President Vladimir Putin of Russia sent troops into two breakaway regions of Ukraine.

The U.S. and its European allies this week rolled out a range of sanctions against Russia, which they have promised to ratchet up. Those measures might include sanctions against big Russian companies and the country's business elite.

Such moves, though, could also complicate operations for multinationals that have operations in Russia and that often

join with Russian companies and businessmen. Big oil companies, including BP PLC, Exxon Mobil Corp. and Shell PLC, have substantial investments in Russia, as do brewing giant Carlsberg A/S and auto maker Renault SA.

On Wednesday, the chief ex-

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◆ **Russia's move against Ukraine roils markets.....** B1

Non-Covid Deaths Hit Life Insurers' Earnings

By LESLIE SCISM

U.S. life insurers, as expected, made a large number of Covid-19 death-benefit payouts last year. More surprisingly, many saw a jump in other death claims, too.

Industry executives and actuaries believe many of these other fatalities are tied to delays in medical care as a result of lockdowns in 2020, and then, later, people's fears of seeking out treatment and trouble lining up appointments.

Some insurers see continued high levels of these deaths for some time, even if Covid-19 deaths decline this year.

In earnings calls for the past two quarters, Globe Life Inc., Hartford Financial Services Group Inc., Primerica Inc. and Reinsurance Group of America Inc. were among insurers noting higher non-Covid-19 deaths, compared with pre-pandemic baselines.

"The losses we are seeing continue to be elevated over 2019 levels due at least in part, we believe, to the pandemic and the existence of either delayed or unavailable healthcare," Globe Life finance chief Frank Svoboda told analysts and investors earlier this month.

Among the non-coronavirus-specific claims are deaths from heart and circulatory issues and neurological disorders, he said.

"We anticipate that they'll start to be less impactful over the course of 2022 but we do anticipate that we'll still at least see some elevated levels throughout the year," he said.

Primerica executives similarly cautioned in their fourth-quarter call about outside numbers of non-Covid-19

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◆ **Maternal deaths rose in pandemic's first year.....** A6

Air attacks, missiles hit Kyiv, other cities; Biden pledges further steps to punish Putin

Russian missiles and airstrikes hit Ukraine's capital Kyiv and more than a dozen other cities across the country Thursday, minutes after President Vladimir Putin announced a military operation that he said seeks to "demilitarize and denazify Ukraine" and bring its leaders to trial.

By Yaroslav Trofimov, Alan Cullison and Brett Forrest in Kyiv and Ann M. Simmons in Moscow

"From all of you, we need calm," Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky said in an early-morning television address. "We are working, our army is working. Don't panic, we are strong, we are ready for anything, we will overcome." He said he has ordered martial law and has spoken with President Biden about the attack.

Ukrainian officials said that the initial wave of strikes targeted military installations, airfields and government facilities across the country, as well as border force installations. In Kharkiv, eastern

Ukraine's largest city, residents said a large fire was visible in the morning darkness, after what appeared to be a hit at a weapons depot. Heavy shelling targeted the city of Mariupol on the Azov Sea. Air raid sirens sounded in Kyiv after 7 a.m.

While the Ukrainian military didn't release casualty figures, a senior Ukrainian official said he believed that hundreds of Ukrainian soldiers died in Russian airstrikes and missile attacks.

Russia denied conducting missile, air or artillery strikes on Ukrainian cities or threatening civilian populations, the country's Ministry of Defense told the Russian state news agency RIA Novosti.

President Biden called Mr. Putin's move an unprovoked, unjustified attack in Ukraine, pledging further action against Russia.

"President Putin has chosen a premeditated war that will bring a catastrophic loss of life and human suffering," he said in a statement.

Later Mr. Biden said he would be meeting Thursday with leaders of the Group of

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◆ **Biden faces a new foreign-policy test.....** A9

West Is Lining Up Further Sanctions

The U.S. and its allies are poised to unveil further sanctions now that Russia has launched what President Biden called "an unprovoked and unjustified attack" on Ukraine, hoping a fresh tranche of penalties will have a greater deterrent effect than the first set.

By Ian Talley in Washington and Laurence Norman in Berlin

On Tuesday, after Russian President Vladimir Putin sent troops into two breakaway regions of Ukraine, Western nations imposed sanctions on Russian sovereign debt, six Russian banks, several wealthy Russians linked to Mr. Putin's inner circle, Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu and other high officials, and halted the Nord Stream 2 natural-gas pipeline.

A senior U.S. administration official described the measures as "only the sharp edge

of the pain we can inflict."

U.S., European Union and British officials say they had other, more powerful financial weapons in their arsenal and were primed to use them as Mr. Putin escalated. Those include sanctions on much larger Russian banks, a ban on investment in Russian gas projects, and export controls designed to deprive Russian industry of technology needed for long-term economic growth.

Late Wednesday, Mr. Biden said he would in the morning announce "further consequences" on Russia.

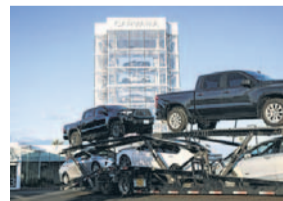
The previous day, a senior administration official said potential plans included hitting the country's most critical banks.

"No Russian financial institution is safe if this invasion proceeds," the official said.

U.S. officials say that taken as a whole, the sanctions are intended to shock Russia's finances as "only the sharp edge

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INSIDE



JANE HARRIS/WSJ

BUSINESS & FINANCE
Online used-car seller Carvana is tested as the tailwinds that boosted growth fade. **B1**



JODY HORTON/WSJ

PERSONAL JOURNAL
Craft beer's hot new thing is a cold, crisp lager that couldn't be further from long-popular IPAs. **A11**



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U.S. NEWS

CAPITAL ACCOUNT | By Greg Ip

Ukraine Clash Puts Dagger in Globalization



It began as a trade dispute over chocolates. In 2013, Ukrainian

President Viktor Yanukovich was on the verge of signing an association agreement with the European Union, a big step toward integrating with the global economy.

Russian President Vladimir Putin wanted Ukraine in his own competing bloc, the Eurasian Economic Union, and reacted by blocking Ukrainian imports, most notably chocolates, and threatening to charge more for natural gas.

Succumbing to the pressure, Mr. Yanukovich renounced the agreement with the EU, triggering massive street protests that forced his ouster and brought a pro-Western government to power. Russia responded in 2014 by annexing Crimea and fomenting an insurgency in Ukraine's eastern Donbas region. This week, Mr. Putin moved troops into that region, and the U.S. responded with a raft of sanctions.

The 2013 trade dispute illustrates that the growing schism between Russia and the West is as much a fight about the rules that govern the global economy as it is about military alliances and missile installations.

For a while after the Cold War, globalization was triumphant in Western capitals. Market forces would determine where goods, services, capital and knowledge would flow, not governments, ideol-

ogy or spheres of influence.

Mr. Putin rejects that vision. To him, economic integration ought to reflect geographic, cultural and strategic ties. "Ukraine and Russia have developed as a single economic system over decades and centuries," he wrote last year. "We are natural complementary economic partners." Ukraine and Russia are like Canada and the U.S. or Austria and Germany, "close in ethnic composition, culture...language," with "conditional, transparent borders," he wrote.

That geopolitics should determine economic relations is not a new idea. Throughout the Cold War, much of the world was divided into economic blocs: Western market democracies led by the U.S., and the centrally planned economies led by the Soviet Union. They barely traded with each other.

Geopolitical considerations drove U.S. trade policy. The U.S. backed creation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (forerunner of the World Trade Organization), lowered tariffs and pushed Western Europe to integrate all in the service of fortifying Western democracies against communism.

Those ideological dividing lines dissolved with the end of the Cold War. When the Soviet Union broke up in 1991, so did its military alliance with its Eastern European satellites, the Warsaw Pact, and its economic counterpart, Comecon. China accelerated its market overhauls and opening up to the world.

"Socialism was no longer an economic model for most



People carried signs and held Ukrainian and U.S. flags at the White House this past week.

developing countries, and many of them embarked on policy reforms that included opening up to international trade," economist Doug Irwin wrote in "Clashing Over Commerce: A History of U.S. Trade Policy."

In 1995, the WTO came into existence, accompanied by sweeping cuts to tariffs, subsidies and other trade impediments. China joined in 2001, Russia in 2012.

Many in the West saw the end of the Cold War as proof that free markets and the rule of law were universal values. When the EU began admitting Eastern European and Baltic states, a few of its officials thought this was not a geopolitical ploy aimed at Russia but the product of "inevitable globalization,"

said Adam Tooze, a historian at Columbia University.

Eastern Europeans didn't share that view. Mr. Tooze said accession to the EU, like NATO, was "a way of securing themselves against Russia, full stop," while Russia similarly "refused to see NATO and the EU as separate entities." He said the EU may be a bigger threat because while Russia can compete militarily with NATO, it can't compete with the social, cultural and economic appeal of Europe.

In the past decade, as Mr. Putin's unhappiness with the EU and NATO intensified, the West grew disillusioned with trade.

Instead of trade tamping down geopolitical rivalry, geopolitical rivalry has un-

dermined trade. Former U.S. President Donald Trump invoked national security to impose tariffs on aluminum and steel imports, and hit China with steep tariffs and a ban on access to key technologies. China blocked imports from Australia and trade with Lithuania over political disputes related to Covid-19 and Taiwan. President Biden this week barred trade with Ukraine's breakaway regions. China, Europe and the U.S. are lavishing subsidies on domestic semiconductor manufacturing in pursuit of self-sufficiency.

The WTO has been unable to stop this and in some ways enabled it. When Russia barred Ukrainian goods from transiting through its territory to other markets,

normally a violation of trade rules, the WTO ruled Russia was within its rights on national security grounds. "All the trading rules are just going to break down," said Jennifer Hillman, a former WTO official now at Georgetown University. "Everyone will say, 'I can do anything I want in the name of national security.'"

Mr. Putin may yet succeed in reconstituting the Cold War regime of Eastern and Western economic blocs. Even with Ukraine, though, his Eurasian Economic Union would be an economic flyweight.

And unlike during the Cold War, when China was poor and economically isolated, it is now huge and deeply integrated with the rest of the world. As geopolitical rivalry with the West intensifies, China isn't abandoning globalization but seeking to lead it. It has built infrastructure links to trading partners through its Belt and Road Initiative, joined the 15-member Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership and applied to join the 11-member Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership, a free-trade bloc the U.S. midwived, then abandoned.

Domestic political resistance rules out the pursuit of further U.S. economic integration with Asia, Mr. Tooze said. "America does not have what it takes domestically to articulate a grand strategy that combines military with economic deals."

Lumber Trading Is Reduced to Dust

By RYAN DEZEMBER

Lumber futures are on another wild ride, but trading them has gotten pretty boring.

In 26 of this year's 36 trading sessions, including on Wednesday, prices of the leading lumber futures contract have moved so sharply that they have ended the day stuck at limits designed to ensure an orderly market. Some mornings, trading has opened at the limit and remained there. On those days, trading in lumber futures basically ends before it begins.

The condition is called "lock limit." Traders compare it to squeezing through a keyhole. Trading doesn't officially halt, but once the price rises or falls to the maximum dollar amount allowed by exchange rules, there can be no more trades in the direction the market is moving. And so the action grinds to a standstill until the next day. Or until some big news reverses sentiment among the few dozen humans and algorithms that regularly trade lumber futures.

Unable to trade on many days, Stinson Dean, a Colorado lumber broker, whiled away time watching instructional YouTube videos on fly-fishing knot tying. Earlier this month, amid a stretch of runaway prices and limited trading, Mr. Dean set his email to out-of-office and typed "Gone fishing."

Mr. Dean usually bets the price of a futures contract will decline, so that if it does, the earnings will make up for the lost value of the wood he stockpiles to supply to lumber yards. The narrow trading windows have prevented him from moving out of such short positions. Unable to liquidate his hedges has forced him to hang on to the wood he has piled in



Wood prices have surged since the pandemic began due to high demand from builders.

warehouses around the country so that he isn't exposed to big losses if prices move against his futures wagers.

He likens his situation to not being able to sell a house because the homeowners insurance policy can't be canceled. "My prices to my customers are so tied to the futures market that if I can't execute, I tell them I'm off the market," said Mr. Dean, who went fly fishing in Patagonia. "I'm not trading anything until it calms down."

In the private waters of an Argentine lodge, Mr. Dean caught a bad sunburn on his wrists and 60 trout, both rain-bow and brown.

Brian Leonard, a lumber analyst at Chicago's RCM Alternatives, said he has never seen such an illiquid market in more than 30 years of trading commodities. That's given him more time for long walks with his dog Capone, a pit bull terrier-Labrador retriever mix. "He was a biscuit under 90 pounds when we started," Mr. Leonard said. "The dog lost like 8 pounds already."

One big problem is that

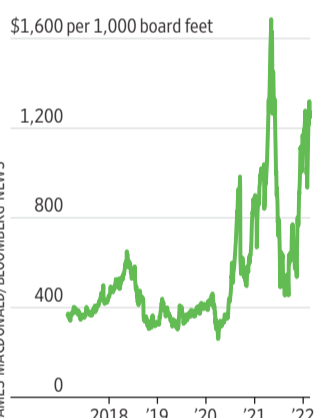
speculators have fled the lumber market as the stakes have risen. Before the pandemic, when the typical price per thousand board feet was around \$350, a futures contract for 110,000 board feet cost around \$38,500. Daily swings in price were smaller. Lately, because of higher prices, each contract's value can fluctuate by more than \$20,000 a week.

Greg Kuta, whose Westline Capital Strategies Inc. plots futures trading strategies for lumber producers and big wood users, said that those who remain in the market have become big fish in an uncomfortably small pool, where a few trades can have outsized influence on prices.

Mr. Kuta, a trader in Shaker Heights, Ohio, has lately fantasized about what life might be like if he traded full-time in more popular markets. He's hooked on wood though.

"You don't trade lumber because you like lumber, you trade lumber because you love lumber," he said. "Lumber is the love of my life."

Lumber futures price



Note: Front-month contracts. Source: FactSet

Lumber futures are a lightly traded contract used mostly to manage the financial risks involved in trading railcars' worth of two-by-fours. Nonetheless they are an important benchmark price for wood products, a barometer of building costs and a reliable gauge of the housing market.

Lumber prices took off in the summer of 2020, when Americans were stuck at home and started remodeling all at once. The housing boom added even more demand. By the spring of 2021, lumber prices were nearly triple the pre-pandemic high.

Exchange operator CME Group Inc. said last week that it is widening lumber's daily trading band by 90% to relieve the logjams. Effective March 7, the maximum daily move in either direction will be \$57 per thousand board feet. If prices close at the limit, the next day's maximum becomes \$86.

A CME spokeswoman said the exchange is consulting with traders to evaluate further changes aimed at boosting trading.

NEW YORK

Palin Wants New Trial in Defamation Case

Former Republican vice presidential nominee Sarah Palin plans to seek a new trial in her defamation lawsuit against the New York Times, as well as the disqualification of the judge, after she lost her case.

U.S. District Judge Jed Rakoff in Manhattan outlined the Palin team's plans in a brief telephone hearing Wednesday.

Ms. Palin's lawsuit alleged she was libeled by a 2017 Times editorial that incorrectly suggested that an ad circulated by Ms. Palin's political action committee inspired a 2011 shooting spree. The Times quickly corrected the piece and argued that its error was an honest mistake.

A trial took place earlier this month and during jury deliberations, Judge Rakoff announced that he planned to throw out the lawsuit on the grounds that Ms. Palin hadn't proven the Times acted maliciously, as required by law. The jury issued a verdict against Ms. Palin the next day.

The judge said he would issue a written opinion by March 1 that memorialized his oral ruling tossing out Ms. Palin's case. Ms. Palin's lawyers could formally file their requests after that, he said.

Attorneys for Ms. Palin didn't respond to requests for comment. "We are confident that the judge and jury decided the case fairly and correctly," a Times spokeswoman said.

—Brent Kendall

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Officials Prepare for Possible Truck Protest

Law-enforcement officials are preparing for potential disruptions as protest organizers call for truck

U.S. WATCH

convoys to head to the Washington area ahead of President Biden's State of the Union address to challenge issues including Covid-19 vaccine mandates.

Several groups have said they are planning trucker protests in the coming days, following demonstrations in Canada organized under the "Freedom Convoy 2022" banner. Any protests could also be timed around Mr. Biden's March 1 address at the Capitol.

In anticipation of potential protests, the Defense Department has approved the deployment of about 700 National Guard troops.

—Alexa Corse

TEXAS

Anti-Semitic Fliers Left in Several Cities

Authorities are investigating anti-Semitic and white supremacist material distributed in multiple cities across the U.S., including a Texas city where a gunman held hostages in a synagogue last month.

"The Colleyville Police Department is aware of anti-Semitic and white separatist materials distributed in clear sandwich bags to driveways around the city overnight," authorities said on Sunday. The department said it was investigating the incident as a hate crime and was in contact with the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The investigation comes a month after four hostages were held in a synagogue in Colleyville for hours before being freed by an elite FBI rescue team.

The city is one of several that have seen similar incidents in recent weeks, according to the Anti-Defamation League. Since Feb. 16, the group has documented anti-Semitic propaganda distributions in six Texas cities. Miami, Denver and several cities in California's Bay Area have reported similar incidents.

—Talat Ansari

CORRECTIONS & AMPLIFICATIONS

In some editions Wednesday, the middle name of Judge Julianna Michelle Childs, a potential nominee for the Supreme Court, was misspelled as Michele in a U.S. News article about Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell. The misspelling also appeared Tuesday in a U.S. News article about President Biden's interview process for his Supreme Court nomination.

Renewable energy generated from wind and solar farms, hydroelectric facilities and other technologies recently has emerged as the second-most prevalent source of power generation in the U.S. after natural gas. An Exchange article on Saturday about the American power grid said that wind and solar farms are the second-most prevalent sources of power generation.

In the listings that accompanied a Mansion article on Friday about Charleston, S.C., the photos of the \$2.65 million, seven-bedroom home and the \$2.95 million, four-bedroom home were incorrectly transposed.

King George VI is credited with requesting shoes to loaf around his country estate. An Off Duty article on Saturday

about menswear staples incorrectly said it was King George VII.

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U.S. NEWS

Two Prosecutors Resign From Trump Investigation

Unexplained exits cast doubt over future of long criminal probe of business operations

By CORINNE RAMEY AND DEANNA PAUL

Two prosecutors leading the Manhattan district attorney's investigation into former President Donald Trump and his business resigned Wednesday, according to people familiar with the matter, casting doubt on the future of the yearslong criminal probe that led to the indictment of the Trump Organization last year.

The resignation of the prosecutors, Carey Dunne and Mark Pomerantz, comes after recent weeks in which the grand jury hearing evidence appeared to pause its activity, according to other people familiar with the probe. The grand jury had previously heard testimony from witnesses including Mr. Trump's longtime accountant, those people said.

A spokeswoman for Manhattan District Attorney Alvin

Bragg said the office was grateful for the prosecutors' service. She said the investigation was ongoing and declined to comment further.

The resignations were reported earlier by the New York Times.

The Manhattan district attorney's office has been investigating whether Mr. Trump and his company, the Trump Organization, misled lenders, banks and tax authorities for financial benefit. Mr. Trump and the company have denied those allegations, which are also the subject of a separate civil-fraud probe led by New York Attorney General Letitia James. A spokeswoman for Ms. James on Wednesday said that the criminal investigation "is ongoing and there is a robust team working on it."

Mr. Trump has repeatedly alleged that the probes of both prosecutors are politically motivated.

The criminal probe also has examined whether the Trump Organization and its executives committed tax fraud by giving off-the-books payments and perks such as cars and apartments to employees at

the company. That line of inquiry led to last summer's indictments of the Trump Organization and Allen Weisselberg, the company's longtime finance chief. The defendants have pleaded not guilty and are seeking dismissal of the charges.

The investigation began when Mr. Bragg's predecessor, Cyrus Vance Jr., started to investigate a \$130,000 payment to former adult-film star Stormy Daniels in 2016—and how the payment was accounted for by the Trump Organization.

In 2019, Mr. Vance subpoenaed financial records. Mr. Trump attempted to block the subpoena in proceedings that went all the way to the Supreme Court.

The high court rejected Mr. Trump's claims of immunity from state-level grand jury investigations in July 2020, and last year denied another Trump attempt to prevent prosecutors from obtaining the financial documents.

Mr. Pomerantz didn't respond to a request to comment. Mr. Dunne couldn't be reached to comment.

U.S. Returns Looted Antiquities to Greece



DAVID R. MARTIN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dozens of looted antiquities seized from billionaire hedge-fund founder Michael Steinhardt after a yearslong investigation have been returned to the people of Greece, prosecutors in New York said on Wednesday.

The artifacts, some of which are seen above, included a sculpture of a young man from about 560 B.C., known as a kouros, that is valued at \$14 million, the Manhattan district attorney's office said.

The handover of the ancient objects to Greece occurred after the district attorney's office announced a deal in December under which Mr. Steinhardt was to surrender \$70 million of artifacts acquired illegally from Greece and other countries including Egypt, Israel, Syria and Turkey.

Under the agreement, Mr. Steinhardt won't face criminal charges but is subject to a lifetime ban on acquiring antiquities. A total of 55 artifacts valued

at a collective \$20 million are being repatriated to Greece, prosecutors said, 47 of them from Mr. Steinhardt's collection and eight from another investigation.

Greek Minister of Culture Lina Mendoni thanked the district attorney's office and added, "The illegal trafficking of our country's cultural treasures is a serious trauma that hurts all Greeks all over the world."

—Associated Press

Medicare Draws Pushback on Drug

By JOSEPH WALKER

Drugmakers and patient advocacy groups are pushing back against a federal proposal to cut off most Medicare payments for Biogen Inc.'s new Alzheimer's drug, contending the healthcare agency is overstepping the bounds of its expertise.

The Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services proposed last month to limit coverage of Biogen's drug Aduhelm to patients enrolled in clinical trials sanctioned by the agency. The proposal would also apply to similar drugs still in development and not yet approved, including those from Eisai Co., Eli Lilly & Co., and Roche Holding AG, that work by reducing amyloid protein, a hallmark of Alzheimer's, in the brain.

Medicare officials said the policy was justified because of uncertainty around whether Aduhelm is effective at slowing the course of Alzheimer's disease, and because of the risk of potentially serious side effects including brain swelling and bleeding.

"More trials are needed and the results of these trials will assist in providing answers to CMS, as well as to clinicians, patients, and caregivers, regarding the clinical benefits and harms of this treatment," the agency said in a memo.

A number of health insurers, neurologists and healthcare analysts support the CMS proposal, noting Aduhelm's effectiveness is hotly debated. The Food and Drug Administration's approval is based on the likelihood that an additional study by Biogen will prove that Aduhelm slows cognitive decline, which will take years to be completed.

Drugmakers, Alzheimer's patient groups, and some doctors and members of Congress have submitted nearly 10,000 public comments to the agency criticizing the proposal. A key complaint is that it amounts to CMS seizing the role typically played by the FDA in deciding if medicines are safe and effective.

"Look at the FDA process for scientific review. It may not be perfect, and people have criticized it, but the FDA has hundreds of career scientists and physicians, highly trained, who do nothing but review data," said Daniel Skovronsky, Eli Lilly's chief scientific and medical officer.

Companies developing anti-amyloid drugs have also criticized the proposal for prematurely grouping their drugs with Aduhelm. Some companies are pursuing accelerated approvals based on mid-stage studies but say they will complete large Phase 3 studies in the next year or two.

"We are concerned that CMS's reliance on its own risk/benefit evaluation to restrict coverage for this class of drugs disregards the role of the FDA, and threatens to undermine the FDA's credibility as the agency statutorily tasked with evaluating the benefits and risks of prescription drug products," Roche subsidiary Genentech said in a comment submitted to CMS.

Eisai said in its comment letter that CMS's "sweeping

The agency cited uncertainty over Aduhelm at slowing Alzheimer's disease.

determination that anti-amyloid plaque drugs categorically are not reasonable and necessary" was "both arbitrary and without precedent."

Lilly had planned to file for accelerated approval of its drug donanemab in the first quarter but this month said it would delay the filing because few patients were likely to get it under the CMS policy.

"CMS negated the power of the FDA to get patients access to drugs under accelerated approval," said Dr. Skovronsky.

The agency, which will

make a final decision in April, declined to respond to criticism and referred the question to the Department of Health and Human Services.

"Effective treatments are needed, and because of the immense burden of this devastating disease on the Medicare population, combined with the potential for some promise in this drug class' effectiveness," a CMS spokesman said.

An HHS spokeswoman said, "FDA and CMS are two different agencies with unique authorities."

Medicare pays only for treatments and services it deems reasonable and necessary. It's rare for Medicare to deny coverage or require additional trials for FDA-approved medicines, though it is more common for medical devices.

The difference in Aduhelm's case is that it was approved by the FDA despite strong disagreements within the agency and among outside experts about whether it really works, said Mark McClellan, director of the Duke-Margolis Center for Health Policy at Duke University. Dr. McClellan said it is a close call whether Medicare should cover Aduhelm, but that the agency should provide clearer guidance for how other drug developers can quickly gain coverage for their drugs if they are shown to be effective in studies.

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U.S. NEWS

DOJ Refocuses China Anti-Spying Bid

Department shifts a policy that led to string of failed prosecutions against academics

By ARUNA VISWANATHA

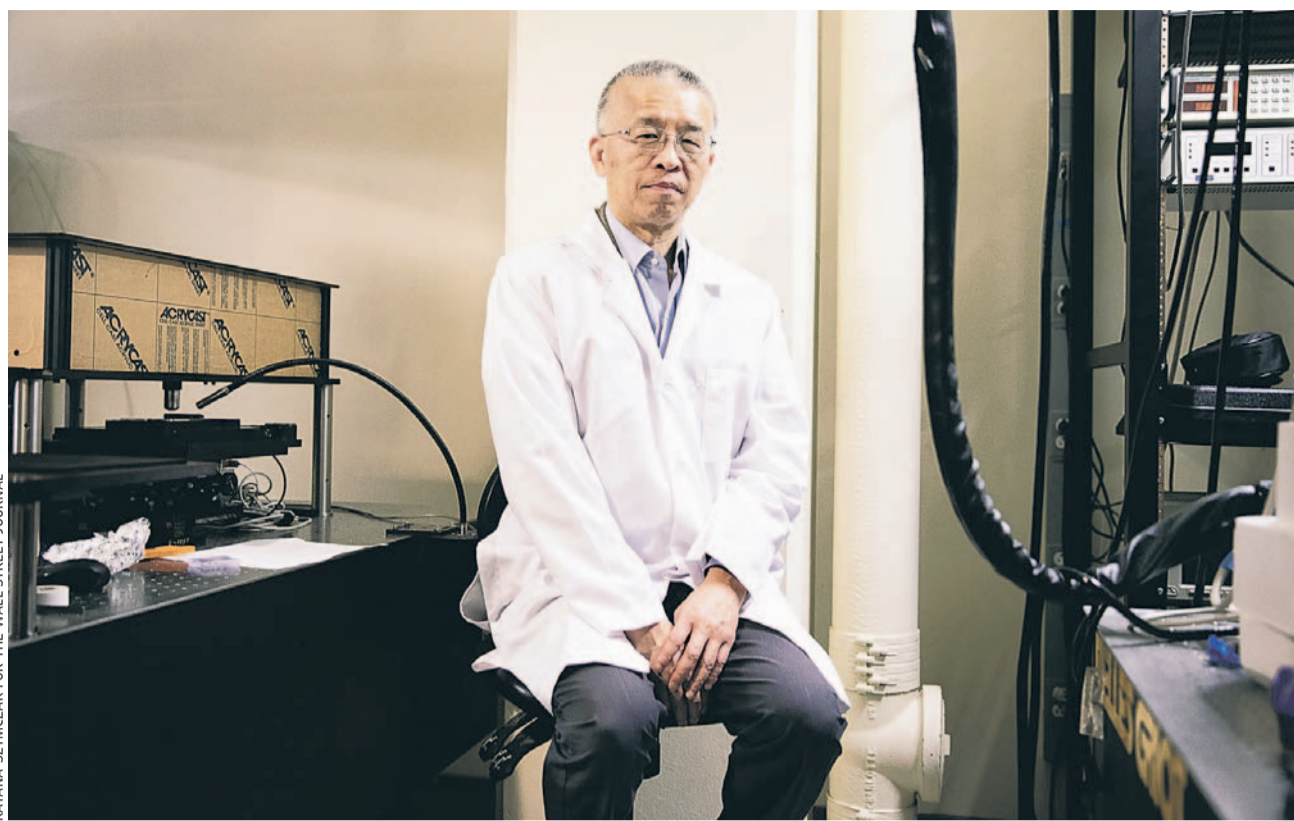
The Justice Department is ending a Trump-era initiative to counter national-security threats from China after it led to a series of failed prosecutions of academics that sowed broad distrust in the higher-education community.

The agency will set a high bar for cases alleging that U.S. scientists lied to the federal agencies that fund their research about their ties to China, Assistant Attorney General Matthew Olsen said Wednesday. He said the department would now pursue only instances where prosecutors perceive criminal misconduct with clear connections to U.S. national- or economic-security interests.

Mr. Olsen also said prosecutors would focus on cases in which the Justice Department saw reason to protect sensitive U.S. information; protect U.S. institutions that are “vital to economic security,” including research institutions and critical infrastructure; and defend “democratic values and institutions against authoritarian regimes,” which he said would go beyond China to include Russia, Iran and North Korea.

The previous cases brought under the 2018 program known as the “China Initiative” were based on real, serious concerns, Mr. Olsen said, adding that he didn’t find any evidence of prejudice influencing the agency’s decisions. However, he said that “fundamentally, I do not think that the initiative is the best approach in light of the threat landscape that we see.”

Some Asian-American advocacy groups applauded the change. “The China Initiative and the broader rhetoric around it has harmed our nation’s competitiveness, ruined the careers of innocent scholars, and severely damaged the government’s relationship with Asian American communities. While we are cautiously



Prosecutors dropped charges against MIT’s Gang Chen, who said authorities erred in part over unfamiliarity with his research methods.

optimistic about the Justice Department’s review of the program, it should not be a re-branding exercise,” said Linda Ng, the national president of OCA-Asian Pacific American Advocates, in a statement.

Some national security experts said they worried that the pullback could reduce the ability for the U.S. government to counter some of the Chinese government’s activities in the U.S. “There is a strategic value to bringing certain prosecutions, and there is value here in raising attention and awareness about this threat,” said Greg Gonzalez, a former career Justice Department national security official who worked on the China Initiative.

The initiative covered a range of national-security concerns related to the Chinese government, but part of it drew criticism from Asian Americans and civil-rights groups that said it potentially fueled racism and cast American scientists with ties to China as spies. Some high-profile prosecutions collapsed, and many academics criticized cases that they said treated paperwork violations as criminal acts.



Assistant Attorney General Matthew Olsen announced the end of the 2018 program known as the ‘China Initiative.’

In the first such case to go before a jury, a federal judge in September acquitted a University of Tennessee, Knoxville professor, Anming Hu. Mr. Hu had been accused of hiding his China ties when applying for research grants to work on a National Aeronautics and Space Administration project. The judge said that the rules governing the research awards were confusing and that prosecutors had provided no evidence that the professor intended to deceive NASA.

“By grouping cases under the China Initiative rubric, we helped give rise to a harmful perception that the department applies a lower standard to investigate and prosecute criminal conduct related to that country—or that we in some way view people with racial, ethnic or familiar ties to China differently,” Mr. Olsen said in a speech later Wednesday.

The changes are also part of a broader shift within the Justice Department to look beyond criminal prosecutions

and better address what U.S. officials describe as some of the nation’s most pressing national-security threats.

Last week, for example, Deputy Attorney General Lisa Monaco said in a speech that federal prosecutors and investigators would look for ways to disrupt cybercrimes before they happen, instead of waiting to charge perpetrators afterward. Those efforts, she said, would include seizing servers used to carry out attacks or providing a type of key to help victims whose data is encrypted during an attack.

In speaking to reporters, Mr. Olsen said he expected the department to continue bringing some of the types of cases that had been brought under the China Initiative. He pointed in particular to a 2020 case in which prosecutors had also charged a group of people who allegedly harassed and threatened a New Jersey couple to return to China.

The more controversial part of the effort involved cases against roughly two dozen academics charged since 2019 with allegedly lying to the U.S. government about their China affiliations.

Justices Critical of How Biden Canceled Trump Rule

By JESS BRAVIN

WASHINGTON—Several Supreme Court justices criticized a legal maneuver the Biden administration used to cancel Trump-era immigration rules that denied green cards to some lawful immigrants who obtained public assistance.

The criticism came Wednesday as justices considered whether to allow Republican-leaning states to defend in court the Trump administration’s green-card restrictions that the Biden administration has since dropped.

The case stems from an agreement the Biden administration reached last year with San Francisco and other Democratic-leaning state, county and city governments. Under the deal, the government agreed to drop its appeal of lower-court decisions against Trump administration rules issued in 2019 reducing the amount of welfare benefits immigrants can obtain without being disqualified from permanent residency.

The administration rebutted the idea that it circumvented a regulation.

That agreement allowed the Biden administration to cancel the tougher “public charge” rules without going through a formal process involving public notice and comment provided by the Administrative Procedure Act.

Arizona Attorney General Mark Brnovich, representing a group of Republican-leaning states, said the Biden administration had made an end-run around of its procedural obligations when it discarded the Trump policy without going through the formal APA process. The court should “fix this error not just for Arizona but also to ensure this case does not become a blueprint for evading the APA in the future,” Mr. Brnovich said.

While acknowledging that new administrations can change policies and make new rules, several justices shared Mr. Brnovich’s concerns about the way in which the Biden administration discarded the “public charge” rules.

Approving the administration’s maneuver would provide “quite a license for collusive action for any incoming administration to change rules enacted pursuant to the APA” by reaching agreements with litigants who share policy views, said Chief Justice John Roberts. “Circumventing the APA is a pretty big deal.”

The chief justice noted that the court had on several occasions voided Trump administration policies for flouting the Administrative Procedure Act, including its plan to cancel an Obama-era policy, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals. It provides work permits for immigrants present unlawfully who were brought to the U.S. as children.

Deputy Solicitor General Brian Fletcher, representing the Biden administration, pressed back. “This is not a circumvention of notice-and-comment regulation,” he said. The Department of Homeland Security “is engaged in notice-and-comment rule making that the states will be free to participate in to make a new public-charge rule,” he said.

Several justices drew a distinction between using that process to create a new rule and bypassing it to discard an old one. “We shouldn’t be greenlighting that behavior for your administration or any other administration,” Justice Elena Kagan told Mr. Fletcher.

But Justice Kagan said it was doubtful that Arizona’s approach was the best. Instead of attempting to revive a lawsuit since dismissed, she suggested that challengers could file a new claim alleging that the rule cancellation as part of the litigation settlement itself violated the Administrative Procedure Act.

Openness Urged on FOIA Document Requests

By TERESA METTELA

WASHINGTON—A bipartisan group of lawmakers is urging Attorney General Merrick Garland to press federal agencies to emphasize transparency and openness when responding to Freedom of Information Act requests, after government reports showed an increase in denials in recent years.

The House oversight and Senate judiciary committees sent a letter to Mr. Garland asking him to issue a memorandum encouraging agencies to implement FOIA in a manner that will increase access to government documents for the public and Congress.

“A clear message from you that transparency is a priority would encourage agencies to

fully comply with the law,” the lawmakers said.

The Justice Department declined to comment.

The letter also calls for a response from the Justice Department that recognizes and addresses the need for guidance, as the Biden administration has yet to publish guidance to agencies on federal public-record laws.

FOIA generally obligates government agencies to turn over records to people who request them, but there are exemptions that can block documents from being provided.

In a recent report, the Government Accountability Office found that agencies’ increased use of statutory exemptions outpaced the growth in FOIA

requests overall from 2012 to 2019. Full denials of FOIA requests increased by 10% in 2019 from 2012, and partial denials increased by 76% during the same period.

Another GAO report found that in the first year of the pandemic, agencies processed 12% fewer requests than in the previous year and the request backlog increased.

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Redistricting Rulings Issued in Pennsylvania, North Carolina

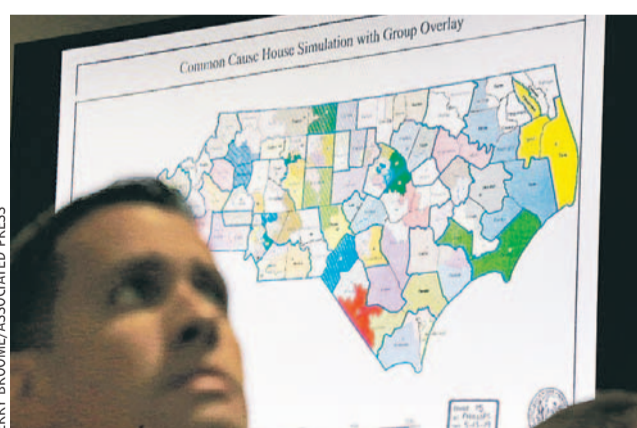
By ALEXA CORSE

Two court decisions Wednesday on the redrawing of congressional districts aren’t likely to give either party a major advantage in the coming midterm elections. They came in Pennsylvania and North Carolina, where partisans have been fighting for months over the once-a-decade redistricting process.

Of the North Carolina decision, Michael Li, senior counsel for the Brennan Center for Justice at the New York University School of Law, said: “Compared to the current map, it’s a little bit more Democratic” but North Carolina is a battleground state, and the new map reflects that competitiveness.

North Carolina has eight Republican and five Democratic members of Congress. The state is gaining one House seat because of population growth.

Lawsuits have been playing out nationwide in light of the redistricting process, which is driven by the 2020 census and which can result in lasting partisan benefits in Congress and state legislatures. Democrats and Republicans have long tried to gain an edge by drawing friendly districts with enough friendly voters to ease election victories—or by carving enough out of a district to put their opponents at a disadvantage.



A North Carolina legislative map in 2019. Court decisions there and in Pennsylvania don’t give either party a major advantage.

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court, which has a Democratic majority, on Wednesday selected a new U.S. congressional map, breaking a partisan deadlock between Democratic Gov. Tom Wolf and the Republican-controlled state legislature. The court picked a map proposed by a group of voters backed by Democrats.

Pennsylvania’s U.S. House delegation is evenly divided. The state is losing one House seat.

Under Pennsylvania’s new map, on average, about nine Democrats and eight Republicans likely would get elected, according to analysts at the Princeton Gerrymandering Project, but four of those

seats are competitive.

In North Carolina, a panel of three judges selected new voting maps after the state’s Supreme Court said those previously drawn by the Republican-controlled state legislature were unlawful partisan gerrymanders that violated the state’s constitution.

The panel on Wednesday approved the state legislature’s new state House and state Senate maps. But the panel rejected the U.S. congressional map, and instead selected a different map recommended by special masters. North Carolina House Speaker Tim Moore, a Republican, said he would appeal the ruling on the congressional map.

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U.S. NEWS

New Omicron Strain Presents A Speed Bump

By Peter Landers and Miho Inada

A more infectious type of the Omicron variant has surged to account for more than a third of global Covid-19 cases sequenced recently, adding to the debate about whether countries are ready for full reopening.

Health authorities are examining whether the subvariant of Omicron, known as BA.2, could extend the length of Covid-19 waves that have peaked recently in Europe, Japan and some other places.

"We're looking not only at how quickly those peaks go up, but how they come down," World Health Organization epidemiologist Maria Van Kerkhove said. "And as the decline in cases occurs...we also need to look at: Is there a slowing of that decline? Or will we start to see an increase again?"

BA.2 accounted for only 3.9% of Covid-19 infections in the U.S. in the week through Feb. 12, according to the most

recent estimate released by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. After an Omicron surge in December 2021, the U.S. has experienced an equally sharp and steady fall.

Other countries have had more trouble shrugging off Omicron. In Denmark, where an estimated 92% of cases were BA.2 as of mid-February, a peak at the end of January was followed by another two weeks later.

Evidence so far suggests BA.2 is some 30% more infectious than its cousin, the BA.1 subvariant that kicked off the Omicron wave in southern Africa in November 2021. In South Africa, BA.2 has accounted for 82% of cases so far in February.

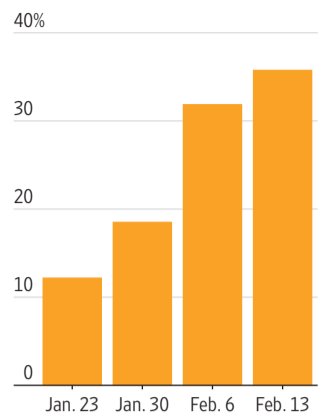
Overall, BA.2 accounted for 35% of Covid-19 virus samples whose genomes were recently submitted to the global Gisaid database, according to a Gisaid update released Tuesday.

Studies so far suggest that both types of Omicron pose about the same risk of severe



The BA.2 subvariant accounted for just 3.9% of U.S. cases recently. A Covid-19 test in Hamilton, Ala.

Omicron subvariant BA.2's share of Covid-19 virus genomes sequenced



Note: Data for week ending on day shown. Source: Gisaid via World Health Organization

disease in humans. That risk is lower than last year's Delta variant, but with so many people getting infected, the death toll from Omicron is still high.

A South African analysis comparing a group with likely BA.1 Omicron against another group with likely BA.2 found both groups had roughly equal odds of being hospitalized and developing severe disease.

Early studies suggest that vaccines and booster shots work equally well in both Omicron types in preventing serious illness. A study by the U.K. Health Security Agency found both types could easily get around the immunity of people who had received their full primary course of vaccination at least six months earlier. But a

booster shot restored protection against symptomatic disease from both variants, to 69% for BA.1 and 74% for BA.2.

Still, some initial research in test tubes and animals leaves room for concern that BA.2 might be more harmful. A team led by Kei Sato at the University of Tokyo found that BA.2 had an easier time invading the cells in the lungs of hamsters compared with BA.1.

Prof. Sato said BA.2 has as many differences from BA.1 as last year's Delta variant had from the original virus detected in Wuhan, China. He said BA.2 might merit its own Greek letter name rather than being classed as a type of Omicron.

New York University virologist Nathaniel Landau has led

research suggesting that Omicron BA.2 is even better than BA.1 at evading monoclonal antibody drugs developed to fight Covid-19. Nonetheless, he said a new Greek letter wouldn't be needed unless BA.2 turned out to be more harmful to humans.

"If it were to turn out that it has higher pathogenicity, that would then be a reason. But at this point, no," he said.

Prof. Sato said the current co-circulation of BA.1 and BA.2 could spawn a hybrid virus that would "more easily increase and be more harmful."

Scientists said the public-health measures to deal with Omicron were generally the same regardless of its type—vaccination, booster shots, so-

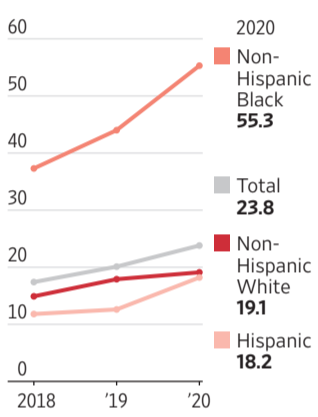
cial distancing, masks, good ventilation and so on.

The question is whether the spread of the even more infectious Omicron type should affect the loosening of restrictions. Denmark lifted all restrictions on Feb. 1, only to see a rise in deaths in people infected with Covid-19. Officials said the virus wasn't the cause of some of the deaths.

Some governments say that with the public weary after two years of Covid-19, it is time to open up. They observe that the population in many countries has built up considerable immunity to SARS-CoV-2 through multiple vaccination rounds, previous infection or both.

—Denise Roland contributed to this article.

U.S. maternal mortality rate*



*Death that occurs while pregnant or within 42 days of being pregnant. Note: Total includes women of all races, including those not in the groups; groups don't include women of more than one race. Source: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

Maternal Deaths Rose During Pandemic's First Year

By Sarah Toy

The number of women in the U.S. who died while pregnant or shortly after pregnancy continued to rise in 2020 as the Covid-19 pandemic spread across the country, according to a federal report.

The report published Wednesday by the National Center for Health Statistics found that the maternal death rate was highest among Black women in 2018, 2019 and 2020, exacerbating a longstanding trend. In 2020, the maternal death rate among Black women

was 2.9 times that of white women, compared with 2.5 times in 2018 and 2019.

"We were facing a maternal and infant health crisis even before the pandemic...That's especially true in communities of color, especially Black communities," said Stacey D. Stewart, president and chief executive of March of Dimes, a nonprofit organization focused on researching and promoting the health of mothers and babies.

She said the pandemic likely made things worse. Many factors are at play, she said, including a lack of access

to care and implicit bias in medical care.

The maternal mortality rate in 2020 rose 18% to 23.8 deaths per 100,000 live births from 20.1 in 2019, according to the report from the health-statistics center, part of the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Between 2019 and 2018, the death rate rose 16% from 17.4 per 100,000 live births. There were 861 such deaths in 2020, up from 754 in 2019. In 2018, there were 658.

The report didn't specify reasons behind the rise in mortality rates.

"It's hard for us to speculate, but we did suspect that the pandemic would have an unfortunate effect on maternal mortality," Ms. Stewart said. People who are pregnant or recently pregnant are at increased risk for severe illness from Covid-19 when compared with those who aren't pregnant, she said, and vaccines weren't available in 2020.

Pregnant women who get Covid-19 are also at increased risk for preterm delivery and pregnancy complications. Studies have shown that

Covid-19 vaccination during pregnancy protects both the mother and fetus.

But vaccination rates among pregnant people have significantly lagged behind the national average.

Maternal death rates increased with age, according to the report; the death rate for those who were 40 years and older was nearly eight times higher than for those under the age of 25. Older women are at higher risk for pregnancy complications, according to the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists.

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Insurers Feel Payout Pressure

Continued from Page One
deaths in 2022. "Some of these will be the result of delayed medical care or the increased incidence of societal-related issues, such as the increased prevalence of substance abuse," Chief Financial Officer Alison Rand said in an email interview.

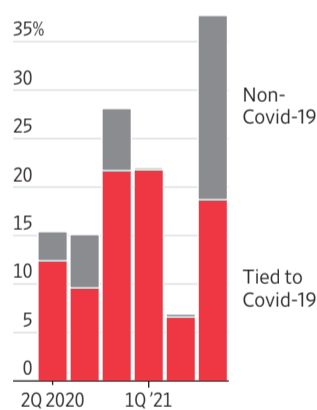
From early stages of the pandemic, many medical professionals have raised concerns about Americans' untreated health problems, as Covid-19 put stress on the nation's healthcare system.

Trade group American Council of Life Insurers said the pandemic in 2020 drove the biggest annual increase in death benefits paid by U.S. carriers since the 1918 influenza epidemic, totaling billions of dollars. The hit to the industry's bottom line has been less than initially feared, however, because many victims have been older people who typically have smaller policies, if any coverage.

Still, Covid-19 and other excess deaths have cut into many carriers' quarterly earnings, especially as deaths linked to the Delta variant increased for people in their working years with employer-sponsored death benefits. "Earnings impacts have been material and there still appears to be some Covid-19 discount, but investors are starting to look through mortality claims costs," said Andrew Kligerman, a stock analyst with Credit Suisse Securities.

Industrywide, death-benefit claims usually vary slightly year-to-year, so the recent increases are outside the norm. Non-Covid-19 excess deaths jumped in last year's third quarter, after negligible or modest counts in earlier quarters, some life insurers said. Those numbers line up with results from an ongoing Covid-19 survey of 20 of the nation's leading sellers of group-life insurance to employers by the Society of Actuaries Research Institute.

Percentage change from pre-pandemic level in number of death-benefit claims



Notes: Data are from 20 U.S. insurers' employer-sponsored group-life programs; Pre-pandemic base period is 2017-19. Source: Society of Actuaries Research Institute

In the third quarter, the survey shows, incurred claims counts were 37.7% higher than a pre-pandemic baseline, with a nearly 50-50 split between claims directly tied to Covid-19 and those that weren't, according to R. Dale Hall, managing director of research at the society, a professional organization. The group is still assessing fourth-quarter data.

The third-quarter non-Covid-19 excess claims were 19%, compared with 18.7% for Covid-19 claims, Mr. Hall said. Non-coronavirus-specific excess claims hadn't topped 6.4% in previous quarters.

In discussing third-quarter results with analysts, Hartford Financial Chief Executive Christopher Swift said the company had "experienced higher levels of non-Covid excess mortality during the

quarter," including heart, stroke and cancer causes of death.

He said the company's experience with such claims "has been very bouncy over the last six quarters so I don't see a trend per se," beyond those seeming "to indicate maybe a second-order effect with Covid and people not taking care of themselves." The insurer is one of the nation's biggest group-benefits providers.

At nonpublicly traded OneAmerica Financial Partners, another group-life-insurance seller, claims for working-age adults ran at about 140% of a pre-pandemic baseline during the third quarter, CEO J. Scott Davison said.

About two-thirds of these excess deaths are Covid-19-specific, he said. Of the remainder, in addition to deaths driven by deferred medical care, Mr. Davison's team believes that some may stem from earlier Covid-19 infections. He cited scientific research indicating that the virus might pave the way for future medical complications, so survivors might "later die from the toll Covid has taken on their bodies."

The impact on the cost of life insurance from Covid-19 both directly and indirectly is unclear. Some insurers said they are repricing group-life contracts modestly on the assumption that the virus will be around at least through 2022. Those contracts are typically repriced every couple of years. Meanwhile, insurers are still trying to determine what implications there may or may not be on long-term mortality.

Sanofi, Glaxo Seek Vaccine Clearance

Sanofi SA and GlaxoSmithKline PLC said they would seek authorization for their Covid-19 vaccine, a sign that pharmaceutical companies still see an opportunity for new shots despite ebbing demand in the West.

While vaccine uptake across the West has slowed significantly after a big push by governments to inoculate their populations, some companies say new vaccines could be used as boosters, or in low- and mid-

income countries. Novavax Inc., another latecomer, recently sought emergency approval from the U.S. Food and Drug Administration for its shot, which has already been authorized in the European Union.

Sanofi and Glaxo said Wednesday that their shot was 100% effective at preventing severe disease and 75% effective against moderate-to-severe illness. The shot was 57.9% effective at preventing any symptomatic disease, a result the companies said was in line with expected vaccine effectiveness in the current environment

—Denise Roland

THE UKRAINE CRISIS

West Lines
Up Further
Sanctions

Continued from Page One
nancial system, jolt the country's markets, hobble its critical industries and cripple economic growth. They are counting on the economic pain from the sanctions to create enough political pressure on the Kremlin to force it to curb or end the campaign in Ukraine.

Beyond the fact that the first tranche failed to halt the Russian incursion, the remaining sanctions' efficacy remains to be seen, and they could bring collateral pain to Western companies and economies.

In recent years, Mr. Putin has sought to buffer the Russian economy against potential Western sanctions. Moscow has increased its emergency money reserves that can be used to stabilize the currency. In addition, the Russian economy is stronger than it was during Moscow's 2014 annexation of Crimea and fomentation of conflict in Ukraine's Donbas region, which prompted the Obama administration to levy sanctions. Oil prices are on an upward trend, bolstering the country's most important revenue source.

Mr. Putin also holds some leverage of his own: Russian energy accounts for about 40% of the gas the EU imports, and European countries have said they wouldn't voluntarily stop buying it. EU officials have worked closely with the U.S. and other allies to increase their energy-supply options if the Kremlin responds to European sanctions by reducing its gas or oil sales to Europe.

Such broad sanctions risk raising energy prices and could hurt European economies that have deep trade and financial ties to Russia, officials and analysts say. EU nations have yet to agree on whether the bloc should establish a financial plan to compensate those that are hardest



The EU sanctioned Russian Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu, shown at left in a Russian handout image from Feb. 15.

hit, and protracted conflict could threaten unity within the EU and with the U.S. and U.K.

Another major challenge for the Western nations: enforcing the export controls, especially if China chooses to help Russia circumvent the restrictions by filling in the gaps in banned technology trade, analysts and industry executives have said. And measures against major Russian banks would make it hard for Western companies to conduct commerce that would otherwise be permitted under the sanctions regime, including imports of Russian gas and oil.

The sanctions are expected to ban any financial or business dealings with the targets, including provision of the dollars, euros and pounds that denominate most of the world's trade and that banks hold as a safe store of asset value and emergency reserves. Besides depriving the targets of financing and raising business costs, curbs on access to the world's largest reserve

currencies can be expected to drive down the value of the Russian ruble. Such depreciation squeezes government and business budgets and diminishes household spending power.

Among the Russian banks likely to be targeted under the next round of sanctions are Sberbank and VTB, a senior administration official said re-

Mr. Putin has
sought to buffer his
economy against
potential penalties.

cently. The two banks hold almost \$750 billion in assets, more than half the total in Russia as a whole, according to the administration.

Forbidding companies and people in the West from doing business with the banks would cut them and their customers off from access to U.S. dollars

and other currencies, and could trigger domestic deposit flights.

The move, however, would also hurt Western companies and governments doing business in Russia by preventing them from making payments through the country's largest banks. International companies would have to find alternative ways to pay affected suppliers or employees. Trade could be held up as letters of credit and other financing got rerouted.

Sanctioning those large banks would disrupt companies' import and export payments, hinder companies' ability to raise funding and pay debt abroad, and make it harder for them to buy and sell Russian rubles.

The export controls would ban the sale of technology reliant on U.S. software and equipment to Russian entities in certain critical sectors, hindering long-term economic growth.

"We're denying something to Russia that they need and

they can't replace from anywhere else or produce at home," a senior administration official said.

U.S. officials have said the export controls would be implemented through a powerful policy tool known as the Foreign Direct Product Rule, which the Trump administration used to hobble China's Huawei Technologies Co.

Using the rule to target several industrial sectors as opposed to a single company is a novel strategy that could potentially have wide-ranging effects, given the global dominance and ubiquity of U.S. chip-making tools and software. For example, the U.S. move could block a foreign company that makes a piece of technology in a different foreign country from selling that item to Russia, if the device uses any U.S. chips.

British officials say they have spent several weeks preparing sanctions packages. The country's role as a major global financial center and long-term repository for in-

vestment by wealthy Russians places it at the heart of the coordinated sanction policy aimed at squeezing the Kremlin.

British officials recently said that they were working on further sanctions including plans to ban the Russian government from issuing debt on the London markets, restrict exports of key technology components to Russia and freeze the U.K. assets of a wider caste of Russian oligarchs.

"We will hit them hard in the future," said U.K. Prime Minister Boris Johnson.

In Brussels, European officials have been working for weeks on a package of measures that is not only coordinated with Washington, London and other Western partners but can win approval from all 27 EU member states.

Diplomats said further actions from Brussels could include a block on high-tech exports for energy and other sectors, possibly including semiconductors; broad measures to lock additional Russian state and private banks out of European financial markets; a ban on new investment in Russian gas projects; and export controls for a swath of other Russian sectors.

On Wednesday, a group of EU countries pushed officials to swiftly expand the criteria under which Russians can be sanctioned to allow the bloc to go after more easily Russian oligarchs who have largely been untouched so far by the bloc's measures.

Brussels has had to ensure that the costs of the sanctions package and any likely Russian retaliation will be fairly shared across the EU. In discussions, EU member states such as Italy, Spain, Cyprus and Germany have favored a more gradual approach to scaling up sanctions, diplomats said. France, Poland and the Baltic states have argued for ensuring Russia's latest aggression is met with sweeping sanctions.

—Kate O'Keeffe in Washington, Max Colchester in London and Patricia Kowmann in Frankfurt contributed to this article.

Germany Takes a First Step
To End Russian Gas Reliance

By BOJAN PANCEVSKI
AND JOE WALLACE

Germany's decision to halt its Nord Stream 2 natural gas pipeline to Russia, prompted by Russian President Vladimir Putin's recognition of two breakaway regions in eastern Ukraine, marks a turning point for the country.

After three decades of successive governments tying their country's energy market to supplies from Russia, Berlin is urgently reconsidering in a shift that could inflict high costs on its economy.

"The situation has fundamentally changed," German Chancellor Olaf Scholz said Tuesday, as he announced that the pipeline valued at €10 billion—equivalent to roughly \$11 billion—would be put on hold.

Nord Stream 2 AG, the Swiss company that manages the project, didn't comment.

Well over half of Germany's natural-gas imports come from Russia. This partly reflects Germany's high dependence on gas in its energy mix, after the country phased out nuclear energy and is exiting coal-generated power under a plan to shift entirely to renewable sources by 2045.

During this transition, Germany plans to build several gas-power plants, which generate much less climate-warming carbon dioxide than the coal plants it has been relying on as a replacement for nuclear en-

ergy.

Germany has come under increased pressure to scrap Nord Stream 2. And while the decision is technically temporary, few politicians in Berlin expect the project to be revived soon.

One alternative is liquefied natural gas.

While three German coastal cities have had plans to build dedicated LNG sea terminals to handle deliveries of LNG, none of these has come to fruition. This month, however, Economics Minister Robert Habeck said the government would support at least two new terminals.

"We need a higher independence from a single supplier, so we will diversify gas purchases and we will have to create our own infrastructure for it," he told parliament.

EU officials have been trying to broker deals with gas producers world-wide, including the U.S., to loosen Russia's stranglehold on supplies, said Kadri Simson, the bloc's energy commissioner.

But weaning Germany and Europe off Russian gas will take time, and it won't be cheap.

"We are preparing for all scenarios, be it a partial or full disruption of gas flows from Russia," said Ms. Simson, who recently met LNG producers in the U.S., Qatar and Azerbaijan. LNG deliveries to Europe have hit record levels, she added.

The two planned LNG terminals Mr. Habeck mentioned as candidates for state support, in Brunsbüttel and Stade on the North Sea coast, would take about five years to build and face high regulatory hurdles.

The terminals could be required to be able to process hydrogen produced with renewable electricity, a green gas that is likely to be used widely in the future, which is certain to push construction costs up significantly, said Oliver Grundmann, a legislator representing the Stade region.

Another problem is that LNG historically has been more expensive than pipeline gas, which Germany traditionally has been getting cheaper than most.

Dmitry Medvedev, the former Russian president turned senior security official, warned in a tweet Tuesday that shelving Nord Stream 2 would mean much higher prices for Europeans.

Should Russian exports stop altogether as the conflict worsens, the EU might not secure enough alternatives even in the next couple of years, said James Huckstepp, a gas analyst with S&P Global Platts, an agency specializing in energy and commodities markets.

LNG-producing capacities are being expanded in countries such as the U.S. and Qatar, but it would take at least two years for greater volumes to come to market—and even then Europe would be in fierce competition with Asian nations such as China.

Without Russian gas, Germany and others might be forced to restart mothballed coal and oil power plants and ration gas for industrial use as they give priority to power generation and heating.

"It is the worst-case scenario for Europe...it will push up already-high energy prices and boost inflation," said Simone Tagliapietra, energy expert with the Bruegel think tank.

—Vivian Salama contributed to this article.

DOYLE

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The receiving station of the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline in Germany.

THE UKRAINE CRISIS

Businesses Draft Plans For Fallout

Continued from Page One
ective of Stellantis NV, the car maker behind the Jeep, Dodge and Peugeot brands, said it is prepared to move or limit production in Russia if sanctions disrupt those operations.

The relatively small size of the Russian and Ukrainian economies and the perceived difficulty of doing business there means the exposure of multinationals outside of the commodities industry is limited. But some large Western conglomerates have built up businesses in both.

Several major Western banks, including Citigroup Inc. and JPMorgan Chase & Co., do business in Russia. If local lenders or individuals are sanctioned, these banks would have to quickly cut ties with them. So far, sanctions by the U.S., the European Union and the U.K. have been more limited—targeting a handful of smaller Russian banks and people. Cross-border payments, including debt servicing, could be frozen. That could mean unwinding sometimes complex dealings and possibly losing money if, for instance, banks get stuck with unpaid debt. Spokesmen for Citigroup and JPMorgan declined to comment.

Large European banks such

as France's Société Générale SA and Italy's UniCredit SpA, which are local lenders in Russia, could also see default rates rise if the Russian currency devalues significantly and the economy weakens. A spokeswoman for Société Générale said the bank's Russian operations accounted for 2% of the group's total revenue and net profit last year. UniCredit didn't respond to a request to comment.

In Ukraine, ArcelorMittal SA runs one of the country's biggest steel plants and has some 29,000 local employees and contractors. The company is currently making a \$300 million investment to improve the plant. Earlier this month, ArcelorMittal said it had contingency plans in place should the situation in Ukraine escalate.

Danish brewer Carlsberg has three breweries in Ukraine and is the biggest seller of beer in the country, with a 32% share of the market, the company said. The third-largest global brewer recently said it has been working on contingency plans for several weeks, though declined to offer details given the uncertainty. Carlsberg also has a large business in Russia, where it has eight breweries. Sales in the country generate around 10% of the company's overall revenues, according to the company.

French food and drink giant Danone SA has two manufacturing plants in Ukraine, in the north and east. Pall Mall maker British American Tobacco PLC has a factory in Ukraine that employs around 1,000 people. Construction materials company CRH PLC, a blue-chip Irish



United Co. Rusal's plant in Bratsk, Russia. Rusal is one of the world's largest aluminum producers.

company, has five manufacturing plants in the country and has operated there since 1999. Those three companies declined to comment.

Meanwhile, a business owned by New York-based private-equity fund NCH Capital cultivates around 300,000 hectares of Ukrainian land and exports around 3 million tons of crops through a Ukrainian agribusiness company, according to its website, NCH, which also owns land in Russia, declined to comment.

Western companies remained relatively unscathed by Moscow's 2014 annexation of the Crimean Peninsula and a Russian-backed insurrection

that followed in eastern Ukraine. But U.S. and European officials have said sanctions this time would be more severe than those that followed those events.

Most exposed among oil-and-gas majors, analysts said, is BP. The company has a 19.75% stake in Rosneft Oil Co., and both its current and former chief executives sit on the Russian company's board of directors. JPMorgan estimates that around 9% of BP's net asset value is exposed to Russia, compared with an average among the sector in Europe of 5%.

Shell owns a 27.5% stake in a major offshore gas project in

Russia's far east that is 50%-owned by Russia's Gazprom PJSC and supplies around 4% of the world's liquefied-natural-gas market.

BP and Shell declined to comment. Executives in recent weeks have said they would comply with any new sanctions. Exxon and France's TotalEnergies SE also have sizable stakes in energy projects in Russia. TotalEnergies declined to comment and Exxon couldn't be reached to comment.

Commodities group Glencore PLC owns a 10.55% stake in EN+ Group PLC, the controlling shareholder of aluminum company United Co. Rusal PLC. Glencore also has a less than 1%

interest in Rosneft.

Last week, Glencore Chief Executive Gary Nagle said that the stakes were "very immaterial in the grand scheme of things" and that the company's trading division, which it calls marketing, could benefit from any Russian incursion. Such an event would "cause severe disruptions in some commodity markets, severe dislocations, and that is where our marketing really thrives," Mr. Nagle said.

Away from commodities, French car maker Renault is among the most exposed to the Russian market, with around 8% of the company's earnings before interest and taxes generated in the country, according to research by Citi.

Renault CEO Luca de Meo told analysts Friday that a worsening of the tensions between Russia and Ukraine could lead "to another supply-chain crisis linked to parts that would have to come from abroad."

Renault has two plants in Russia, one in the city of Togliatti and another in Izhevsk, 700 miles east of Moscow. Renault executives said that 90% of the vehicles it produces in Russia were for the local market, and that the company was largely financed locally.

Still, Russia is one of Renault's largest markets. Along with partner Nissan Motor Co., the French car maker placed a bet on Russia when they took a controlling stake in AvtoVAZ, the former state-owned Lada-manufacturer, in 2014.

—Patricia Kowsmann and Jenny Strasburg contributed to this article.

Crisis Sets New Stage Of Struggle

Continued from Page One
close partners and deep economic and political interests. The Biden administration now faces big decisions on whether to regear its priorities, step up military spending, demand allies contribute more, station additional forces abroad and develop more diverse energy sources to reduce Europe's dependence on Moscow.

"We all thought we were looking at a Europe whole, free and at peace indefinitely," said Michele Flournoy, who served as the Pentagon's top policy official during the Obama administration. "We knew that Russia would conduct gray zone operations and that Putin would use his KGB playbook to create instability on his periphery. But a wholesale invasion of a sovereign country to reorient its government is a different moment."

"And we're seeing that while Beijing doesn't really like Putin's tactics, they're willing to band together as authoritarian states against the Western democracies," Ms. Flournoy added. "We are going to see more and more of that in the future."

Zero-sum game

The U.S. predicament in part grew out of moves by Washington at the end of the Cold War. As the globe's sole superpower, the U.S. pushed to promote democracy around the world and expand the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the key Cold War military alliance in Europe, to include former members of the Kremlin-dominated Warsaw Pact and some former Soviet republics. That responded to the decades-old yearnings of East European nations to be free of Moscow's dominion.

Mr. Putin, however, saw his rivalry with the West as a zero-sum game and set about moving Russia toward its Soviet-era prominence, with greater say over the nations on its periphery.

China's Communist Party leadership also saw pro-democracy protest movements in former Soviet republics as U.S.-engineered plots. In response, China's leadership tightened controls at home while redoubling a military buildup—trends that accelerated when Xi Jinping took charge a decade ago. When pro-democracy protesters rose up in Hong Kong, Mr. Xi imposed harsh security laws, brushing off agreements his predecessors made giving autonomy to the former British colony and international financial center.

For much of the past de-



Russian armored vehicles are loaded at a railway station in a region not far from Russia's border with Ukraine.

cade, the U.S. security establishment began taking note of what the Pentagon in 2015 called the "re-emergence of great power competition" and shifted from its emphasis of counterterrorism operations in the Middle East and Southwest Asia.

In setting priorities as the Pentagon seeks to retool for future conflicts, Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin has repeatedly cast China as the "pacing challenge" while Russia was seen as the lesser longer-term danger.

The projection matched President Biden's priorities even as he pledged to buttress the world's democracies. He took office wanting to focus on the pandemic, the economy and other domestic issues, promising a "middle class" foreign policy that would deliver returns for Americans after costly wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Managing relations with Moscow would help the administration concentrate on the military, economic and technological competition with Beijing.

Summit meeting

Toward this end, Mr. Biden held a summit meeting in June with Mr. Putin to forge what the White House called a "stable, predictable" relationship. To put guardrails on relations with Moscow, Mr. Biden agreed to a five-year extension of the New START treaty limiting long-range U.S. and Russian nuclear arms. The White House also directed the Pentagon to explore using Russian bases in Central Asia to prevent the re-emergence of a terrorist threat in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of U.S. troops.

Mr. Putin, however, tried to take advantage of Washington's focus elsewhere to pursue his agenda of bringing Be-

larus and Ukraine into Moscow's sphere of influence, most notably with Russia's major military buildup on the doorstep of the U.S.'s European allies and its new assault on Ukraine.

Even with annual defense budgets that soared over \$700 billion, coping with an urgent Russian-generated crisis while preparing for a Chinese threat whose peak is still years away presents an enormous challenge for the Pentagon.

"The United States is particularly at risk of being overwhelmed should its military be forced to fight on two or more fronts simultaneously," said a congressionally mandated study of the Pentagon's strategy that was issued in 2018 by former military officers and defense officials. One of them, Kathleen Hicks, is now President Biden's deputy defense secretary directing the agency's programs and plans.

The crisis is already leading the U.S. to move more troops to Europe and will likely prompt it to rethink defense

spending levels and perhaps even the size of its armed forces. The era of nuclear reductions may come to an end as the U.S. military establishment argues for a large enough nuclear arsenal to deter both Russia's formidable nuclear weaponry and China's rapidly growing nuclear forces, which aren't limited by any arms-control agreement.

NATO leaders are grappling with a 'new normal in European security.'

Having to counter both Russia and China will also lead the Biden administration to lean more heavily on the alliances the U.S. has used to augment its global power. When Messrs. Putin and Xi held a summit in Beijing earlier this month, a 5,300-word statement they released afterward

took aim at NATO as well as U.S. alliances with Australia and others in Asia for seeking "unilateral military advantages to the detriment of the security of others."

China has reinforced military outposts in the South China Sea, a vital global sea lane. It is also constructing a nascent network of bases around the world that could be used by its rapidly expanding navy, piggybacking on port facilities being built as part of its Belt and Road infrastructure initiative. The U.S. is trying to prevent the Chinese navy from gaining its first foothold on the Atlantic, pressuring Equatorial Guinea to spurn Beijing's advances.

"The United States is going to have to get used again to operating in multiple theaters simultaneously—not just militarily, but in terms of psychology and foreign-policy making," said Eliot Cohen, a military historian at the Center for Strategic and International Studies think tank.

As the administration tries to sort through the new challenges, the Pentagon has delayed the release of its national defense strategy intended to spell out plans to deter the U.S.'s great power rivals and its new review of what nuclear weapons to develop and the range of threats they should deter. Debates are emerging among U.S. defense experts on whether the Pentagon should give equal weight to the twin challenges from Beijing and Moscow or focus more on the Pacific.

Beyond the military, the new confrontation with Moscow might also accelerate a further fracturing of economic globalization. China and the U.S. are trying to unravel supply chains for critical technologies. Should the West impose crippling sanctions on Russian banks and major companies,



U.S. Army soldiers from the 82nd Airborne Division were deployed to Poland to reassure NATO allies.

Moscow is likely to become more reliant on Beijing, which is building a payments system separate from the West's.

Energy is also likely to become an even greater focal point for national security, owing to Europe's dependence on supplies of natural gas from Russia, which accounted for 29% of Europe's natural-gas market last year.

"It is already ending the amnesia about the importance of energy security," said Daniel Yergin, vice chairman of research firm IHS Markit. "It means a new emphasis on diversification of energy sources for Europe and a new look at U.S. domestic and international energy policies."

Advocates of using energy as a geopolitical tool say Washington should promote investment in U.S. oil and natural gas and approve new LNG export terminals and pipelines in the U.S.

In Europe, the crisis has already rocked NATO, with its secretary-general, Jens Stoltenberg, saying the alliance needs to reconfigure itself to deal with a "new normal in European security."

New battle groups?

In the short run, NATO officials say, that may mean sending new battle groups to southeastern Europe and beefing up allied forces in Poland and the Baltic States on NATO's eastern flank. The 1997 NATO-Russia Founding Act precludes the alliance from permanently stationing additional substantial combat forces on the territory of its new Eastern and Central European members, but could now be repealed.

A recent poll by the European Council on Foreign Relations noted most Europeans see the Ukraine crisis as a broader threat to Europe. Some current and former officials, however, worry that the alliance's solidarity could fray in the years ahead as it debates the need for greater military spending and wrestles whether its military ties with Georgia might stir new confrontations with Moscow.

In June, NATO is planning to adopt its new "strategic concept" at a summit meeting in Madrid, which will outline the broad principles of how the alliance plans to deal with security challenges in the decade ahead. It will come as a report by the Alphen Group by former officials and other experts urges that European members and Canada provide for 50% of NATO's minimum military requirements by 2030 so the U.S. can focus more on deterring China.

"Everybody's unified right now," said Alexander Vershbow, a former U.S. ambassador to NATO. "But when we get down to making longer-term commitments to strengthen NATO's defense posture and potentially revisit nuclear issues, it could become very divisive."

THE UKRAINE CRISIS

Russia Attacks Ukraine

Continued from Page One
Seven nations, and that the U.S. and its allies would be “imposing severe sanctions on Russia. We will continue to provide support and assistance to Ukraine and the Ukrainian people.”

In a televised address just before the airstrikes began, Mr. Putin said he decided to launch a war on Ukraine following appeals for help from leaders of two Russian-controlled breakaway regions of Donetsk and Luhansk that he recognized as independent this week. While Mr. Putin said that his plans didn't include the occupation of Ukraine, military activity all along Ukraine's borders suggested otherwise. He called on Ukrainian soldiers to lay down their weapons and go home.

Just hours earlier, Mr. Zelensky made a Russian-language appeal to Russian citizens, saying that his nation posed no threat to Russia and that responsibility for unleashing a conflict that could cause tens of thousands of victims would lay squarely with Mr. Putin. “Any provocation, any spark could trigger a blaze that will destroy everything,” he warned.

Mr. Zelensky, who is of Jewish origin, also ridiculed Russian propaganda assertions that Ukraine was somehow beholden to neo-Nazis. “They say that we are Nazis. But how can a people who sacrificed more than eight million people for the victory over Nazism? How can I be a Nazi?” he said. “Tell that to my grandfather who spent the whole war in the Soviet army and died as a colonel in a free Ukraine.”

Ukraine's border service said Russian strikes and shelling hit the Donetsk, Zaporizhzhya, Luhansk, Odessa, Kherson, Mykolaiiv, Poltava, Chernihiv, Zhytomyr and Kyiv regions. It said Ukrainian aircraft were destroyed in the Melitopol and Ozerne air fields.

Ukraine's Interfax news agency reported the beginning of Russian amphibious landings on the Black and Azov sea coasts, as well as cross-border artillery and rocket fire. Residents reached in Ukraine's main port of Odessa said they heard explosions but couldn't confirm landings. A Wall Street Journal reporter heard low-flying aircraft and explosions in the central Cherkasy province.

Ukrainian airspace has been closed to all civilian aircraft, according to Eurocontrol, which manages European air traffic. A formal notice to pilots and operators has been



A Ukrainian serviceman kept watch Wednesday on the front line in eastern Ukraine.



Source: Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (Russia-controlled area in eastern Ukraine); Phillip Karber, Potomac Foundation (attacks) Emma Brown and Erik Brynildsen/THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

sent warning of the “potential hazard for civil aviation.”

Ukrainian lawmakers passed emergency legislation that allows Kyiv to prepare for a Russian attack, with Mr. Zelensky's political rivals putting their grievances aside and closing ranks in the name of defending independence.

Mr. Zelensky had held off on mobilizing troops and other overt preparations for weeks, fearing that a panic would torpedo Ukraine's already-battered economy. He changed his approach after Mr. Putin on Monday recognized the independence of two Russian-backed statelets in eastern Ukraine's Donbas region and made a speech that questioned Ukraine's right to exist as a sovereign nation. Some 190,000 Russian troops have gathered on Ukrainian borders.

Mr. Zelensky's national security adviser, Oleksiy Danilov, said the call-up of reservists initially would involve 36,000

service members with combat experience. Ukraine's National Guard and border-control service are activating an additional 10,000 reserve members. The country's standing military numbers some 200,000 uniformed troops.

The call-ups won't go to the front initially, but would participate in training exercises, including with weapons newly supplied by the U.S. and other allies, such as Javelin missiles.

Meanwhile, Ukraine's Foreign Ministry advised citizens to leave Russia, and told Ukrainians to avoid traveling to Russia. And Moscow closed its diplomatic missions in Ukraine, evacuating embassy staff from Kyiv.

For weeks, Ukraine had shown few outward signs of moving to a wartime footing.

Kostyantyn Batozsky, a political consultant in Kyiv, said that changed after Russia's recognition of the statelets. He said he noticed that half the

children in his daughter's kindergarten weren't in school Wednesday. He said he was planning to take his daughter Thursday to a relative near the Polish border. “Everyone understands now that war is inevitable as Russia has territorial claims for Ukraine,” Mr. Batozsky said.

The Polish and Lithuanian presidents came to Kyiv in a show of support on Wednesday, visiting Mr. Zelensky.

“Be strong,” Lithuanian President Gitanas Nausėda said as he shook hands with his Ukrainian counterpart.

“I am strong,” Mr. Zelensky replied.

—Thomas Grove, James Marson and Gordon Lubold contributed to this article.

Scan this code with your mobile device for video on Russia's border troops.

Biden Faces a New Foreign-Policy Test

By CATHERINE LUCEY

WASHINGTON—Since the chaotic withdrawal of American troops from Afghanistan last year, President Biden has sought to steer his presidency toward domestic priorities, chiefly the coronavirus pandemic and the roaring inflation that has come with a strong economic recovery.

But with Russia's movement of troops into the eastern Donbas region of Ukraine, Mr. Biden has a foreign-policy crisis back at the center of his agenda, testing his leadership on the world stage and among Americans divided over the conflict and its potential costs. While Republican and Democratic leaders have expressed support for standing with Ukraine against Russian aggression, he has been pushed from both sides to take tough stances at times, while some in each party have warned against the U.S. becoming too deeply involved in the crisis.

The Russian aggression comes at a politically difficult time for Mr. Biden, who is dealing with a partially stalled domestic agenda and sagging approval ratings. He has stressed that he is taking steps to limit the impact that sanctions would have on the U.S. economy, but he acknowledged Tuesday that some effects were likely as Americans face inflation at 40-year highs.

“You could have food inflation, energy prices, you could have cyberattacks, supply-chain” issues, said Ian Bremmer, of the Eurasia Group.

Mr. Biden has made clear that he has no plans to send U.S. troops to Ukraine. But he has played a front-and-center role in confronting Russia and bringing together allies for Ukraine's defense. The approach contrasts with his handling of the Afghanistan exit in August, when allies complained that they were caught off guard by the timing and abruptness of the withdrawal.

As a presidential candidate,

Mr. Biden campaigned in part on his decades of foreign-policy experience, and rallying democrats against the threat of autocratic regimes. In the midst of the tensions, Mr. Biden deployed U.S. troops to strengthen America's defense of North Atlantic Treaty Organization nations and stepped up intelligence-sharing about Russia's activities near Ukraine.

Just how Mr. Biden's stance against Russia will be received by the American public isn't clear. Ari Fleischer, who served as press secretary for President George W. Bush, said an invasion could lead to a “mild rally around the flag” by the American public because “the images on TV are going to be horrific and that's going to create a real anti-Russian sentiment.”

White House spokesman Andrew Bates said Mr. Biden has brought allies together to defend U.S. national security interests and democratic values. “The American people and the leadership of both parties back this approach,” he said.

Mr. Biden's efforts to support Ukraine have drawn support from both parties, though many Republicans called for pre-emptive sanctions on Russia ahead of military action.

There also are some figures on both sides of the aisle who have questioned the value of significant U.S. engagement.

Sen. Rand Paul (R., Ky.) pushed successfully last week for a bipartisan Senate resolution on Ukraine to include language making clear that it wasn't authorizing U.S. troops to be sent to Ukraine, and he has called for NATO countries to say “there is no imminent call to put Ukraine in NATO.”

On the left, Reps. Pramila Jayapal (D., Wash.) and Barbara Lee (D., Calif.) warned in late January “that new troop deployments, sweeping and indiscriminate sanctions, and a flood of hundreds of millions of dollars in lethal weapons will only raise tensions and increase the chance of miscalculation” with Russia.



U.S. soldiers are stationed at an operating base in Poland near the Ukrainian border to reassure NATO allies and deter Russia.

WORLD WATCH

UNITED NATIONS

Wildfire Frequency, Intensity Set to Rise

Wildfires are expected to become more frequent and intense over the coming decades, according to new research from the United Nations.

An increase of up to 57% in the number of wildfires is expected by the end of the century, according to the report released Wednesday by the U.N. Environment Program and GRID-Arendal, an environmental group based in Norway.

Fire seasons have become hotter, dryer and longer—fueled by a combination of increased drought, high-air temperatures, low-relative humidity, lightning and strong winds, according to the report, which had contributions from over 50 international researchers.

From Europe to the Amazon and across the U.S. and China, wildfires are disrupting the environment, wildlife and human health. More frequent wildfires could drive some animals and plant species closer to extinction, the report said. The Australian bushfires of 2019 and 2020 are estimated to have killed billions of wild and domesticated animals, the report said.

Clearing forests for agricultural purposes, and other man-made land use changes, can alter the fire dynamics of a region and could contribute to more wildfires, according to the report.

Climate change, meanwhile, has increased the frequency and magnitude of weather conditions that spread wildfires and has

caused vegetation that doesn't usually burn, like rainforests and peat swamps, to dry out and combust, the researchers found. The researchers cited a review of 116 scientific articles written since 2013 on climate change and fire that conclude that a warming climate is increasing the likelihood of wildfires in many regions.

A 2021 report by the U.N.'s advisory body on climate tied the type of extreme weather events seen in recent years—torrential floods in Europe and China, and forest fires in the U.S., Russia and elsewhere—directly to climate change. It said the effects of a warming climate are unequivocally driven by greenhouse-gas emissions from

human activity, and may be irreversible for centuries.

Douglas Kelley, one of the co-authors and lead data analyst for Wednesday's report, said researchers used a model that incorporates data on greenhouse-gas emissions from human activities to calculate estimates for how frequently major wildfires will burn in the coming decades. The model also uses data on vegetation and land-use patterns, he said.

Cutting back on emissions can reduce the risk of more frequent and intense wildfires, but only somewhat, Mr. Kelley said. Even with ambitious efforts to curb greenhouse-gas emissions, significant wildfire events are projected

to grow by at least 31% by 2100, according to the report.

The researchers called on governments to increase funding focused on preventing wildfires rather than reacting to them.

—Joseph De Avila

ROMANIA

Illegal Logging Said To Have Worsened

Environmental groups say Romania has failed to tackle illegal logging and nature destruction in areas protected by European Union law, two years after Brussels warned the country to put an end to illicit deforestation.

A report from nongovernmental groups Agent Green, EuroNatur, and ClientEarth, obtained by the Associated Press before its official release, alleges that destruction in Natura 2000 sites—areas of special value protected by EU law—has in some areas intensified since the EU Commission issued warnings in February 2020. Gabriel Paun, president of Agent Green, said that instead of curbing illegal logging, Brussels' infringement procedures triggered what he called “panic logging.”

Romania, an EU member since 2007, is home to vast areas of primary forests. They are mostly situated in the Carpathian Mountains and provide habitat for large mammals like

bears, wolves, and Eurasian lynx.

Romania's environment ministry said there was “no evidence that logging activities have increased since the start of the infringement procedure” and that measures the ministry implemented last year are effectively tackling illegal logging.

—Associated Press

HAITI

Striking Workers Clash With Police

Men wearing police uniforms fired into a group of people at a protest on Wednesday after thousands of Haitian factory workers launched a new strike to demand higher wages.

Associated Press journalists observed the men fire from a car with police license plates. At least three people were seen to be wounded, including two journalists covering the event. Earlier, police fired tear gas as protesters threw rocks at them.

A police spokesperson couldn't be reached to comment and the condition of the wounded people wasn't clear.

It was the first day of a three-day strike organized by factory workers who also shut down an industrial park earlier this month to protest pay, which then was about 500 gourdes (\$4.80) for nine hours of work a day. Prime Minister Ariel Henry announced minimum-wage increases late Sunday in an attempt to quell the protests. But the increase of 185 gourdes (\$1.80) a day for factory workers only served to enrage them.

—Associated Press



Factory workers marched in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, on Wednesday to demand a salary increase. Prime Minister Ariel Henry announced minimum-wage increases late Sunday, but the small raise of \$1.80 a day for factory workers spurred them to mobilize.

WORLD NEWS

Trudeau Revokes Use of Emergency Powers

Canadian leader says police shutdown of Ottawa protests shows order has been restored

BY PAUL VIEIRA
AND KIM MACKRAEL

OTTAWA—In a surprise turnaround, Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau said Wednesday his government no longer required emergency powers to deal with protests against Covid-19 restrictions, amid mounting criticism from civil-liberties groups and some Canadian politicians that the use of those measures was an abuse of state power.

Mr. Trudeau said police had been successful in shutting down a protracted protest in the capital and that law-enforcement officials had assured him that officers had the tools to maintain public safety without extraordinary measures.

“We are no longer in an emergency situation,” Mr. Trudeau said. “Order has been restored and the blockades and occupation are over.”

Mr. Trudeau invoked the rarely used extraordinary powers last week in order to give law enforcement in Ottawa more scope to dismantle a demonstration set up in the



Police officers faced off with protesters in Ottawa on Saturday, before blockades were lifted.

city’s downtown by people protesting Covid-19 mandates, one of the most aggressive moves so far by a Western leader to quell dissent related to pandemic mandates. The blockade had choked the city for more than three weeks before police, using the emergency powers, were able to tow away trucks, arrest nearly 200 protesters and clear the area.

After the Ottawa protest

had been dismantled, the Liberal government on Monday campaigned for—and succeeded in—getting approval from the legislature to extend emergency powers for a total of 30 days. The measures gave police the authority to declare some protests illegal, compel tow-truck drivers to remove rigs from the protest scene, and instruct financial-services providers to freeze accounts

and assets belonging to protest participants. A vote was pending in Canada’s upper chamber, or Senate. The Senate rarely overturns measures approved by the lower house.

Mr. Trudeau said on Monday that intelligence from law-enforcement officers indicated there remained a high risk that protesters, driving heavy-duty trucks, could return to Ottawa.

Behind the scenes, authorities were already easing off the use of some powers. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police advised financial institutions on Monday they were free to unlock the financial accounts of individuals who organized or participated in the 23-day Ottawa protest, also known as Freedom Convoy 2022. The Canadian Bankers Association, which represents the country’s chartered banks, said Wednesday that members “acted quickly to unfreeze accounts.”

The RCMP previously said financial institutions had frozen over 200 accounts belonging to individuals and one held by a payment processor with a value of 3.8 million Canadian dollars, equivalent to \$3 million. Police had also shut down transactions involving 253 cryptocurrency addresses.

On Wednesday, Mr. Trudeau said the decision to revoke the act came after consulting with police forces and security experts. Canadian officials said the conclusion was reached hours before the official announcement.

Mr. Trudeau had faced significant criticism from some opposition lawmakers who characterized his move as government overreach and an infringement on individuals’ rights. The Conservative Party

said Wednesday that Mr. Trudeau’s change of heart reflects “a flood of concerns from Canadian citizens, bad press and international ridicule.”

At least two civil-liberties groups said last week they would take the government to court over the matter, and the western province of Alberta this past weekend said it planned to launch its own legal challenge.

The Canadian Civil Liberties Association said Wednesday that it still believes the courts should weigh in on the government’s use of the extraordinary powers in this instance.

Christine Duhaime, a lawyer and financial-crime expert at Fusion Intelligence, said there were a number of flaws with the powers targeting protesters’ bank assets. Chief among them, she said, was that it could restrict an accused person’s ability to hire a lawyer—a constitutional right in Canada.

“The harm to the individual far outweighs the benefit. It’s a complete drastic removal of a person from financial society,” Ms. Duhaime said.

A spokesman for Canadian Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland said the measures were in compliance with the country’s constitution.

—Vipal Monga
contributed to this article.



Muslim students arrive at their school in Udupi, Karnataka state. The Karnataka government says wearing the hijab isn’t an essential religious practice of Islam.

Indian School’s Hijab Ban Ignites Battle

BY PHILIP WEN
AND KRISHNA POKHAREL

UDUPI, India—At 17 years old, Aliya Assadi has a cabinet full of karate trophies. She has dreams of becoming a wildlife photographer. She should be focused on preparing for her final high-school exams.

Instead, she has found herself at the center of a fight about whether she and her classmates should be allowed to wear hijabs—Islamic headscarves—after the government-run girls school they attended banned wearing them in class. A small group of students has challenged the school ban in the city of Udupi, inflaming a national debate over religion and minority rights in India, and sparking confrontations across the southern Indian state of Karnataka.

The debate echoes similar ones that have played out in other countries, and reflects deepening tensions between Muslims and Hindus in India under the government led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party.

In one high-profile clash this month, hijab-wearing students arriving at a school were met by dozens of boys wearing saffron shawls—often worn by supporters of Hindu nationalism—shouting “Jai Shri Ram,” or “Hail Lord Ram,” referring to one of Hinduism’s most-revered deities. The escalating conflict prompted authorities to close schools statewide, and

ban gatherings and protests near educational institutions.

“I respect all religions but all this hijab, it’s like a stigma,” said Girish Karmballi, an 18-year-old student member of the youth wing of Hindu Jagarana Vedike, an activist group affiliated with the Hindu nationalist organization Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, or RSS.

“One thing is we have to change their minds, like without wearing hijab they too can get education.”

In January, Ms. Assadi and four other students filed a petition in Karnataka’s high court to overturn the classroom hijab ban, arguing it violated their right to practice their religion freely, as guaranteed by India’s constitution.

A ruling from the court could come soon.

Supporters of the ban say it is intended to enforce a uniform dress code. The students who filed the petition and their supporters say they shouldn’t be made to choose between education and wearing hijabs.

“As parents, we want our children to get the best education,” said Ipthisam, the mother of Aliya Assadi who goes by one name. Still, she said, “We will never send her to college without a hijab.”

Tensions between Hindus and Muslims have long been a part of life in India. The country’s independence from British rule in 1947 was accompanied by the bloody partition with majority-Muslim Pakistan. Those tensions have escalated



Student Aliya Assadi says she feels confident when wearing a hijab.

since Mr. Modi’s BJP rose to power in 2014, targeting the opposition Congress party for indulging in “appeasement” of Muslims, to the detriment of the country’s Hindu majority. Opposition politicians have accused the BJP of eroding civil liberties and undermining the country’s secular foundations.

The BJP has close ties with RSS, which has enjoyed a resurgence in the religiously conservative coastal belt of Karnataka, the only southern state controlled by the BJP.

Karnataka’s population of more than 61 million is 84% Hindu and 13% Muslim, which is broadly in line with India’s demographics, according to

the most recent census.

Yashpal Suvarna, a national-level BJP politician who is also vice president of the college-development committee at Ms. Assadi’s school, said the controversy has been orchestrated and politicized by pro-Muslim student groups like the Campus Front of India that want to detract from the BJP’s achievements in the state. He said such organizations don’t want Muslims girls to get educated. “If they get educated, they’ll come to know what is what, they’ll know what is India, this economy, everything,” he said.

The Campus Front of India is supporting the students who filed the petition but denies

that it orchestrated the challenge to the ban. The group’s Udupi district president, Aseel Akram, said young Muslims like him are worried about their future and safety in India. “There is fear in every Muslim,” the 21-year-old management student said, adding that Muslims, however, have pinned their hope on India’s constitution for its protection of rights of minority religions.

In previous years, the school at the center of the hijab fight, the Government Pre-University College for Girls, had allowed Muslims to wear hijabs in class, the court petition said.

When students returned to classrooms in September, the school made those wearing hijabs leave and marked them absent, the petition said. The parents met with the school principal to negotiate, but decided to take their case to court when the school didn’t budge.

The school says students were never allowed to wear hijabs in class under its uniform dress code.

In court last week, the Karnataka government argued that wearing the hijab isn’t an essential religious practice of Islam, and preventing its use didn’t violate India’s constitution.

Rudre Gowda, the principal of Ms. Assadi’s school, declined to comment.

Ms. Assadi says she feels secure and confident when wearing the hijab. “Hijab is my identity,” she said. “I have my own personality. I have my own dreams.”

Nicaragua Convicts Seven Ortega Opponents

BY JOSÉ DE CÓRDOBA

MEXICO CITY—A Sandinista judge on Wednesday convicted seven Nicaraguan political and business leaders, including three would-be presidential candidates, of conspiring to damage the country’s sovereignty, a charge akin to treason.

The verdicts in the first mass trial of President Daniel Ortega’s opponents came days after 27 members of the Organization of American States, the Western Hemisphere’s most important regional group, denounced the deteriorating human rights conditions in Nicaragua and are a sign that Mr. Ortega is tightening his grip on power despite growing international isolation.

Last week, those same countries demanded the release of all Nicaraguan political prisoners.

Prosecutors requested sentences from eight to 13 years in prison, friends of the defendants said. Relatives and defense lawyers described the trial as a farce.

“It’s a summary process that goes from charges to conviction to sentencing,” said Jared Genser, an international human rights lawyer who represents Félix Maradiaga and Juan Sebastián Chamorro, two of the presidential hopefuls found guilty Wednesday. “It’s Kafkaesque.”

Rosario Murillo, Mr. Ortega’s wife, Nicaragua’s vice president and government spokeswoman, didn’t respond to a request for comment.

The defendants are among a group of almost 50 political, student, peasant and business leaders, journalists and human rights activists who were detained by Mr. Ortega’s security forces last summer as he quashed potential opposition in preparation for November’s presidential election.

Mr. Ortega won the election after detaining seven would-be rival candidates on a range of charges. His victory, never in doubt after he jailed his opponents, was the fourth consecutive election win for Mr. Ortega, who has ruled Nicaragua for the past 15 years. But the victory was declared illegitimate by the European Union, some Latin American countries, Canada and the U.S., where President Biden said the poll was “neither free nor fair and certainly not democratic.”

Since then, the U.S. has sanctioned regime officials including Ms. Murillo, and some of Mr. Ortega’s children who hold government positions.



Bosses Dangle Perks to Return, But Employees Still Stay Away

ON THE CLOCK
CALLUM BÖRCHERS

John Rowady has done everything he can think of to make his company's Chicago office a place where workers want to be.

As president of rEvolution, a sports-marketing firm, he's installed a scoreboard, bleachers and a tunnel between the elevator and lobby to make his 100 employees feel like athletes emerging from a locker room into an arena. To further entice his staff to come back, after many got comfortable doing their jobs from home during the pandemic, Mr. Rowady stocked an office bar with free beer and bourbon for on-site happy hours. Then there's the full-size race car in the lobby.

Nevertheless, much of the team prefers to work remotely most days, Mr. Rowady says, even if it means gazing at the family minivan in the driveway instead of a Formula One speed machine.

"It can be frustrating to really do everything that you could possibly do, try not to be overbearing, engage with your employees—and then have to deal with situations where people still aren't comfortable coming back," he says.

The thing holding up the return to the office right now? Plenty of workers simply don't feel like it.



Emerson Fittipaldi's race car graces rEvolution's Chicago lobby, but that hasn't been enough to drive many employees back to the office.

They're dining at restaurants, going to movies and taking trips, but offices aren't on their itinerary. That is delivering a reality check for bosses, who've been hoping the plunge in Covid-19 cases meant workers would finally—finally!—come back.

Big banks like Goldman Sachs Group Inc. and Jefferies Group LLC recently recalled much of their staffs, and tech giants like Microsoft Corp. and Meta Platforms Inc., the parent company of Facebook, are planning March returns for some employees. There are people eager to resurrect their office lives, just as many business leaders have let go of the notion that face-time five days a week is the optimal way to work. Nationwide, however, office occupancy rates

are hovering around one-third, according to an estimate by Kastle Systems, which tracks building-access-card swipes.

Sure, employees like catered lunches, lounges filled with bean bag chairs and the masseuse who sets up in the conference room every other Friday. But they aren't ready to recommit to a five-days-a-week relationship—or even a three-day one.

"You're not going to get me on the train for two hours for free bagels," says Jason Alvarez Schorr, a 36-year-old software engineer who quit his job in New York in January, when his former employer signaled an office return was imminent.

It isn't that Mr. Schorr disliked his old boss or workplace. The father of two young children says he

simply found something better—a remote job that allowed him to move his family to Puerto Rico, where they plan to live for at least two years.

Call it the professional version of "It's not you; it's me."

That can be a tough message to accept. Aaron Johnson, president of Automatic Payroll Systems in Shreveport, La., maintains people work best together, and for the past six months he's expected most of his 165 employees to report to the office at least a few days a week. Last year 30% of his staff turned over—twice the typical rate. Many job-hopped to firms based in California, Texas and New York, collecting hefty raises while staying and working from home in lower-cost Louisiana.

What stings, Mr. Johnson says, is that his company trained a lot of those workers and retained them when the economy was at its worst, in 2020. Yet the investment in his people didn't seem to matter when it was time to reopen the office.

"The amount of effort and energy that was put into ensuring nobody lost their job—that we made the proper adjustments to weather the storm—people just don't remember those things," he says. "You have that lack of loyalty."

Bosses are surveying seas of empty seats and quietly noting employees who are going to packed sporting events, posting sun-drenched photos on Instagram and helping the latest Spider-Man

movie set box-office records—basically, going about every facet of their daily lives from the Before Times, except coming in to work.

Not all workers are back to their old routines. The U.S. is still in a pandemic, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and many working adults care for small children who can't be vaccinated or elderly or immunocompromised parents.

Yet new research shows the office reluctance is less about Covid-19 and more about convenience. As of this month, 61% of U.S. workers who telecommute most of the time are doing so by choice, according to a recent Pew Research Center poll. Among this group, more than three-quarters simply said they prefer working from home.

Pat Donaldson, a 63-year-old biophysicist, retired early last year rather than heed a call back to her office in Rochester, N.Y. While working from home during the pandemic, she'd gotten a puppy and thrown herself into gardening, cross-country skiing and English folk dancing with her husband.

"Once you go remote full time, you fill up all the hours," she says.

Though Ms. Donaldson enjoyed the office, she wasn't willing to compromise her new lifestyle—especially since she felt she'd proven her productivity.

"I phoned up my manager and said, 'This is stupid,'" Ms. Donaldson recalls.

She says she's now considering part-time, remote gigs but won't go back to bricks and mortar.

Managers are doing their best to remain Zen. Months before the pandemic, Kyle Porter bought a sprawling home—complete with an outdoor, wood-fired pizza oven—a mile from the Atlanta headquarters of Salesloft, the software company he leads.

"The No. 1 objective of the house was enough space to host Salesloft events," he says.

Mr. Porter's mansion hasn't gone unused, but his company gatherings have been smaller than he envisioned—only a dozen colleagues or so—in part because the office head count remains low. Mr. Porter instituted quarterly "sync" weeks to convene roughly 400 workers for face-to-face meetings, but most other days the office is optional.

On those occasions, maybe 15% of the staff shows up.

"You kind of have to keep feelings out of it when the world is rocked by external circumstances," he says.

ON THE CLOCK, my new, weekly column on working life, will examine the quirky, funny and maddening things that characterize our jobs today. I'll take on Zoom power plays and turf battles on Slack. I'll dissect the latest management fads and company policies that induce eye rolls from the rank-and-file, as well as the problems young professionals encounter (and create) at work.

Humble Lager Crafts A Heady New Future

By Mike Jordan

Among discerning drinkers, craft beer's hot new thing is a cold, crisp lager that couldn't be further from long-popular IPAs. The beer that Budweiser and Miller made famous in the U.S. has gone artisanal.

The bestselling beers tend to be mass-produced lagers, the kinds long associated with ballgames and barbecues. They're also the brews that picky drinkers often regard as watery and low on flavor, beer experts say. But lagers are now important for more brewers and for a wider range of customers, said Bart Watson, chief economist at the Brewers Association, which counts more than 5,300 craft breweries as members.

"Smaller local breweries are more likely to see lagers become a bigger percentage of sales, offsetting losses in other places," said Will Golden, co-founder of Austin Beerworks in Austin, Texas. He said craft microbreweries weren't very interested in lagers during the past decade because they needed to turn out beers faster than a good lager takes to brew.

But with craft beer becoming normal, beer connoisseurs now view lagers as a measure of quality, he said. Making one that is clean and refreshing is considered a mark of craftsmanship. "If a brewery has a great la-

ger or pilsner, it's almost certain that every other beer will be good," he said.

Lagers are produced at low temperatures. The slow fermentation and refrigeration process reduces the speed of yeast activity during conditioning, creating a crisp flavor and brilliant color. But keeping the beer in tanks for the weeks it takes to make a lager costs more time and money. Add rising costs of labor, packaging and raw ingredients like malt—for which mega-breweries negotiate lower prices—and more lager means more risk and cost for microbreweries.

Dennis Byron, a beer influencer who goes by the nickname Ale Sharpton and tours large and small breweries around the U.S., said he has seen a resurgence of breweries specializing in crisp lagers.

"India Pale Ales, imperial stouts, sours and wheat beers have won the popularity contest on a lot of taps or coolers over the years at beer retailers, bars and breweries," Mr. Byron said. "Craft lagers are [gaining] a larger presence due to their light-bodied texture, mouthfeel, crushability and overall refreshing qualities."

Lagers are the most popular style of beer on the U.S. market, according to an analysis by Allied Market Research. This is an area dominated by brewing giants like Anheuser-Busch InBev, Constellation Brands



Lager drinkers toast at Austin Beerworks, a brewery in the Texas capital.

and Molson Coors.

Sales of craft lager rose 9.4%, to \$501 million in the year leading up to November 2020, beer-industry reports from Nielsen showed. Some 93 new brands of lager entered the beer market in 2021, a surge that made that style second only to new IPAs, according to data from market-research firm IRI.

Craft lagers making such inroads would have been unthinkable a couple of years ago, said Paul Verdu, head of Tenth and Blake, the craft-beer division of Molson Coors. Craft breweries, which the Brewers Association defines as producing six million barrels or less each year, account for 3% of U.S. annual sales.

This isn't lost on beer's biggest players. In 2020, Molson Coors formed a joint venture with D.G. Yuengling & Son, helping the lager-forward Pennsylvania brewery—America's oldest—launch in Texas. Tenth and Blake's portfolio includes Leinenkugel's, whose original pilsner-style lager was first poured more than 155 years ago.

"People have always liked easy-drinking beers, but it's accelerated as craft breweries try to find that next avenue of growth," Mr. Verdu said.

Craft lagers even have their own hashtag: #crispyboi. Instagram users have flashed it in more than 15,000 posts.

Notch Brewing in Salem, Mass.,

focuses on lower-alcohol beers like its Session Pils Czech pale lager. Chris Lohring, founder and head brewer, said he is happy about lager's rising demand among craft beer enthusiasts, but is not a fan of its social-media nickname. He doesn't find most lagers to be crisp, even if brewers aim to make them that way.

Mr. Lohring said the hashtag likely came about because craft beer has become synonymous with stouts and pale ales, which have high sugar content and make lagers seem crisp in comparison.

Craft lager's popularity has accompanied higher demand for lower-ABV (alcohol-by-volume) drinks, brewers say.

Tenth and Blake oversees several craft breweries acquired by Molson Coors in recent years. That includes Terrapin Beer Co. in Athens, Ga., whose Los Bravos Mexican-style lager launched in 2020 for Atlanta Braves fans at its microbrewery inside the MLB team's home stadium.

Terrapin co-founder Spike Buckowski came up with the new brew after he realized the company's most-popular beer, the 7.3% ABV Hopsecutioner IPA, wasn't a ballpark beer. "Watching a Braves game in 90-degree heat, in 90% humidity, a couple of Hopsecutioners will take you down," Mr. Buckowski said. "So we started brewing Los Bravos at the stadium and noticed people were really into lagers. They wanted a nice beer-flavored beer to quench their thirst."

Mr. Verdu said Los Bravos is now Terrapin's second-highest-selling draft beer in the Greater Atlanta area.

PERSONAL JOURNAL.



PERSONAL TECHNOLOGY
JOANNA STERN

Every time I put on the Meta Quest 2 virtual-reality headset, I have two thoughts:
#1: I love you, you magical device that transports me from my dirty basement to a floating pedestal on Machu Picchu.
#2: I hate you, you uncomfortable, finicky, battery-sucking face computer!

Ah yes, face computers—aka VR headsets.

If the crystal-ball predictions pan out, we'll soon all be wearing them to transform into digital avatars and work, play, shop and more in the so-called metaverse.

But right now? An hour or so in the headset and you're feeling meta-worse.

I'm specifically talking about the \$299 Meta Quest 2—formerly known as the Oculus Quest 2—because it's the most popular headset on the market.

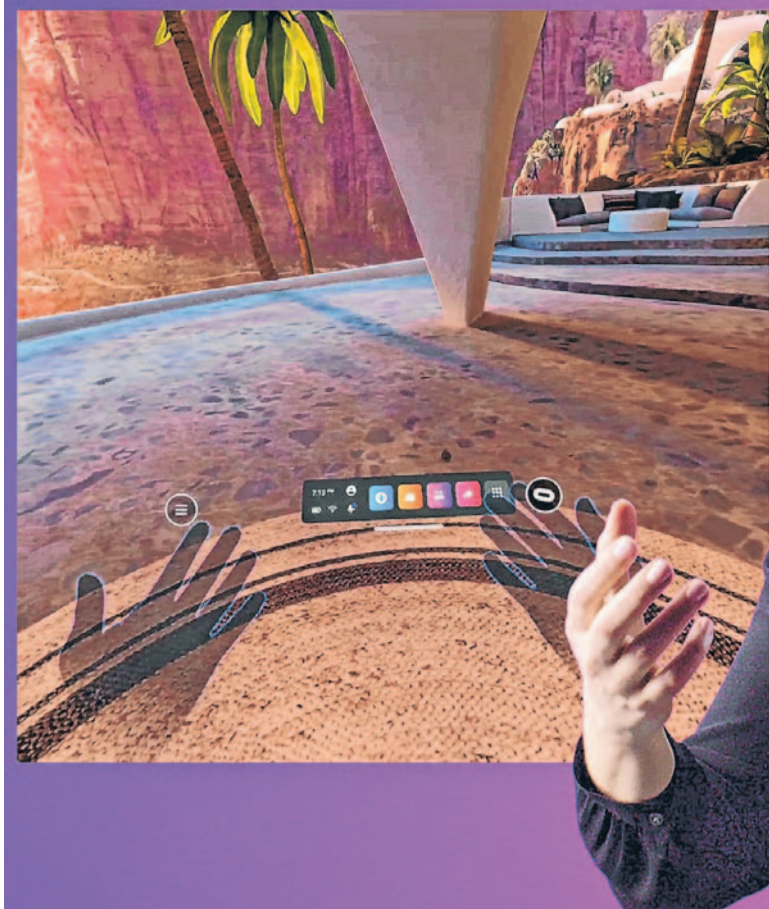
Meta hasn't announced sales figures but did report \$1 billion in spending in the Quest content store.

The NPD Group, a research firm, said sales of VR and augmented-reality hardware more than doubled during the 2021 holiday season, compared with the year-earlier period.

"My expectation is that Meta is probably 85% or more of the market," NPD analyst Ben Arnold said.

HTC, Sony and others sell more expensive headsets that require additional equipment and appeal to more hard-core gamers.

Despite more people buying Quests, Facebook parent Meta reported its VR unit took a \$3.3 billion in the fourth quarter of 2021. Oof. Yet not a shocker for those of us who have been using the Quest 2 regularly and know how far it is from the sleek eye-wear of our mixed-reality future.



◀ Enabling hand tracking can streamline navigating menus, but can also be quite janky.

pinch, then drag. It's cool but can also be quite janky.

Long-term solution: Meta's next headset will come with redesigned controllers. It will also have more sensors for improved hand tracking. Further out, Meta is exploring a wrist wearable to detect precise finger and hand movements.

Walled Off From the World

When you're in the virtual world, you really feel like you're in the virtual world. The Quest 2's immersion is so full, you don't realize when you're about to jump into a TV or couch.

Short-term solution: Meta makes you set up a boundary (aka Guardian) when you first use the headset, and requires you to reconfirm it every time you put on the headset. The headset then warns you, with a virtual fence, when you're about to cross the border.

A more helpful feature is a more hidden one: Passthrough gives you a grainy black-and-white camera view of your real surroundings, without you taking off your headset. Go to Settings > Guardian. Toggle on Double Tap for Passthrough. Now, before you jump, double-tap the side of the headset to confirm you're not about to collide with the coffee table or the dog.

Improving VR Headset Puts A Better Metaverse Into View

Here is how to fix some of Quest 2's flaws, and what they tell us about its future

The Quest 2 is hampered by various issues, including subpar battery, finicky navigation and not-so-obvious safety features.

Fortunately, there are things we can do to address them. Plus, each issue tells us something about future products—not only from Meta but also Apple and Microsoft, which have both acknowledged interest in this area.

Uncomfortable on the Face

Sure, when you first put on the Quest 2 all seems fine,

but fast forward and it's like you've been wearing a beer helmet loaded with bricks instead of beer. If you're using the included elastic strap, that is.

Short-term solution: Upgrade to Meta's \$49 Elite Strap, which balances the headset's weight better and is easier to adjust.

You can also buy a more comfy "face interface"—the horrible name for the insert that surrounds your eyes and nose.

I like the soft \$36 option from Kiwi Design. Meta also

sells these leather-like replacements.

Long-term solution: Meta's high-end headset, dubbed Project Cambria, is due this year, and will have more sensors and something called "pancake optics." Nope, no virtual trip to IHOP but yes, the device will likely have a thinner profile.

Sony just announced its PlayStation VR2 headset, which will also be slightly slimmer than its predecessor, with improved comfort. But you'll still look like a marionette, wired to the PlayStation 5.

Short Battery Life

With the Quest 2, you form an always-be-charging habit. I find I need to recharge every two hours or so.

Short-term solution: There's a \$109 version of the Elite Strap with a built-in battery. It's surprisingly comfortable, and provides two extra hours of use. If you don't want to spend that much, you could BYOB (bring your own battery pack) and use Kiwi Design's \$35 Power Bank Fixing Strap.

The AA-battery-powered controllers last much longer but those batteries are a pain. A good solution? The \$99 Anker Charging Dock, which powers the headset and includes rechargeable batteries and special battery covers so you can just drop the controllers in the dock to charge.

Long-term solution: This is a tough one. "The better the graphics, the more processing power you're going to need and the more that's going to drain the battery," said Cathy Hackl, the chief metaverse officer at Futures Intelligence Group, who has worked on hardware at HTC, Magic Leap and others. Perhaps Meta's next headset will also have more batteries.

Clunky Controllers

Those controllers are fine for gaming, but I find myself

fumbling around when I want to do simple tasks.

Short-term solution: Enable voice control. While in your headset, go to Settings > System > Voice Commands. Enable In-App Voice Commands and then the Controller Shortcut. Now you can double-press on the right controller's Oculus button and shout your command. You can do everything from launch apps to ask the time.

\$3.3B

Meta's reported loss for its VR unit in fourth quarter of 2021

You can also get the headset to listen for your wake word. Go to Settings > Experimental Features and enable "Hey Facebook." (Odd since, you know, the company isn't called Facebook anymore.) Like Alexa-powered speakers, the device only captures audio once it hears the wake word, Meta said. You can delete or turn off storage of audio transcripts in settings.

A cooler trick? Turning your hands into controllers. Go to Settings > Device > Hands and Controllers. Toggle on Hand Tracking. Point and move your hands to what you want to select, then pinch. To scroll, you



Passthrough, above, gives you a grainy black-and-white camera view of your real surroundings. The \$99 Anker Charging Dock comes with rechargeable batteries.





ROLEX



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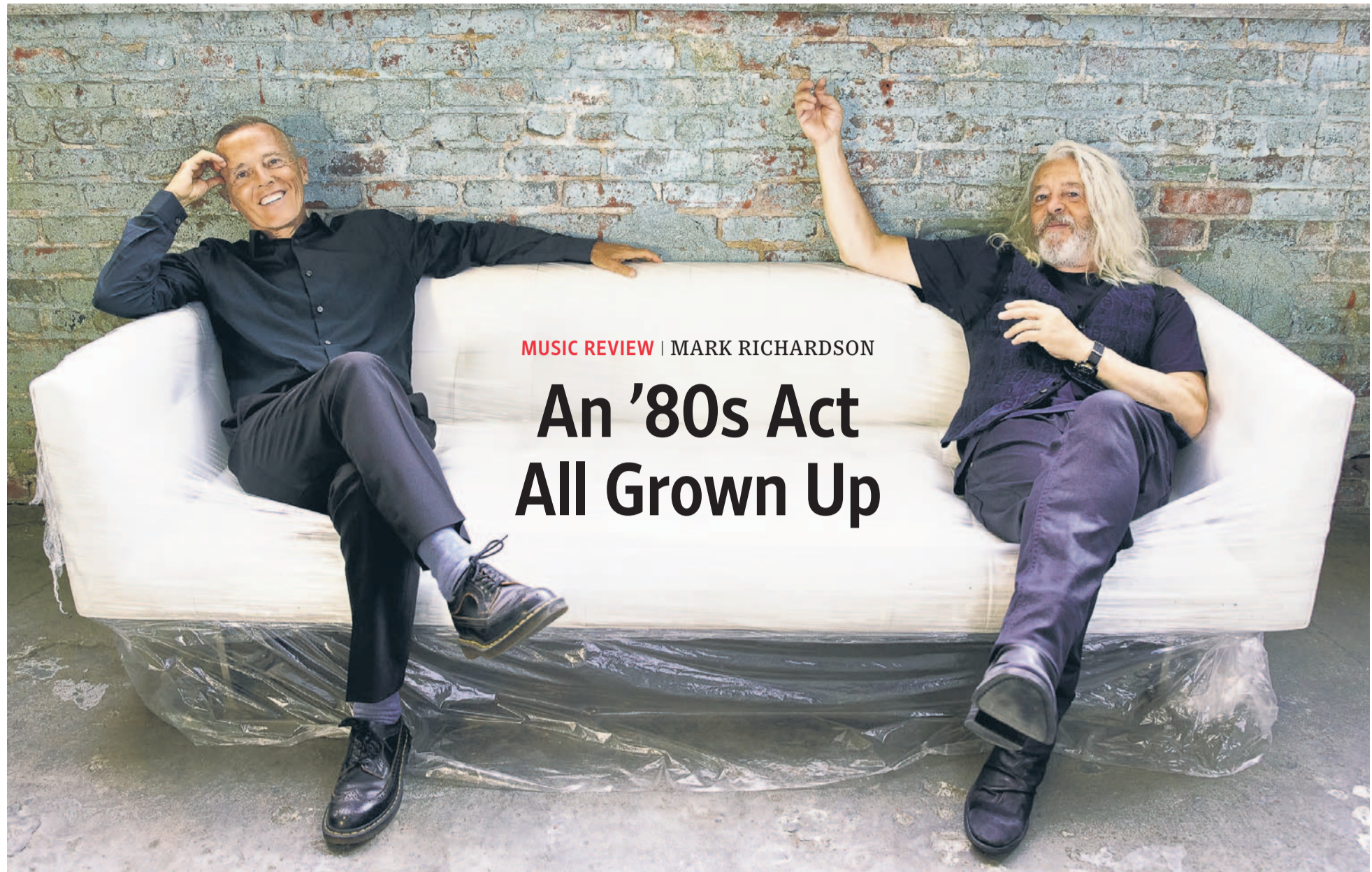
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TOP AND BOTTOM: KENNY WASSUS / THE WALL STREET JOURNAL (2)

ARTS IN REVIEW



MUSIC REVIEW | MARK RICHARDSON

An '80s Act All Grown Up

FRANK OCKENFELS

IN THE 1980S, Roland Orzabal and Curt Smith of Tears for Fears achieved success most artists only dream about. The English pop duo's albums were commercial triumphs—its 1983 debut, “The Hurting,” reached gold and hit No. 1 in the U.K., 1985's “Songs From the Big Chair” sold over five million copies in the U.S., and 1989's “The Seeds of Love” went multi-platinum—and singles like “Everybody Wants to Rule the World” and “Shout” were omnipresent both on MTV and on the airwaves. While Tears for Fears was sonically and lyrically innovative—the group's name and many early songs were inspired by the theories of psychologist Arthur Janov—its keen interest in cutting-edge recording technology of the day meant its work came with a timestamp. When styles changed, Tears for Fears was left behind. Mr. Smith moved on from the group in the early '90s and Mr. Orzabal continued the project on his own, releasing two LPs that made scant impact during the alternative-rock decade.

But musical trends are cyclical and Tears for Fears re-entered the conversation in the 2000s. A moody cover of “Mad World,” a hit from its debut record, played during a crucial sequence in the 2001 cult film “Donnie Darko” and a new generation found meaning in

Tears for Fears, which achieved stardom decades ago, returns with a mature album.

the pair's solemn and romantic art-pop. Before long, Tears for Fears was cool again, though it was older music people wanted to hear—Mr. Smith rejoined for the 2004 record “Everybody Loves a Happy Ending,” which came and went with little notice. The group was later sampled in tracks by Kanye West and Drake and covered by artists including Lorde, and it's been hailed as a major influence on the band the 1975. Now the duo's seventh studio LP, “The Tipping Point” (Concord), out Friday, is its most consequential release in decades.

“The Tipping Point” isn't a stripped-down collection by any stretch—there's plenty of dense vocal layering, and many arrangements feature characteristically bright choruses launched from swells of synth—but these songs are compact and forceful, making their point while avoiding excess embellishment. The first track, “No Small Thing,” sets the tone lyrically and musically. It's in part

about paying attention to what is necessary, and it's built around a basic descending chord progression played on acoustic guitar. Sung by Mr. Smith, the verses have the elemental clarity of an old folk number, and when Mr. Orzabal joins on the chorus, you remember just how skilled they are at writing tunes that stick in your mind. It's earthy and elevated, mixing dejection with hope, and both members sound comfortable with their audibly older and more weary voices.

The best work here combines that simplicity and directness with the swooning melodicism at which Tears for Fears has consistently excelled. Take “Long, Long, Long Time,” which is about the hopelessness that comes from being stuck inside a disintegrating relationship. It's based around a spare piano line and has a beautiful chorus on which the duo is joined by singer Carina Round, and it also folds in bits of

sequelchy computer processing that brings to mind work by singer-songwriter James Blake. The sixth track, “Rivers of Mercy,” opens with sirens and seems to touch on the loneliness and isolation of the past couple of years (“I too often see the world through a veil of tears / Well to hell with my immunity / Gonna hold you close / Till the shadows disappear”) and then shifts into a poignant sing-along refrain that's steeped in vulnerability.

With Tears for Fears, there's always the risk that a given song will go too far into adult contemporary territory and come across as treacherous rather than

heartfelt. One such number is “Please Be Happy,” this despite featuring some of the most personal lyrics on the set—it alludes to the illness of Mr. Orzabal's wife, who died in 2017. “Please” is heavily sweetened by strings, and ultimately comes over as saccha-

Curt Smith and Roland Orzabal are Tears for Fears; the duo's new album is ‘The Tipping Point.’

rine. Unconvincing in a different way is “My Demons,” a forced attempt at robotic new wave that feels out of place amid these songs of maturity.

But these are the only stumbles. When “The Tipping Point” is at its strongest, you understand why Messrs. Orzabal and Smith need each other. Though they both sang lead, the former wrote most of the songs during the group's star-making era. Here, their contributions are essentially equal.

The album's final cut, “Stay,” is an ethereal ballad co-written by Mr. Smith and Tears for Fears' longtime guitarist Charlton Pettus. It closes the record on a hopeful and uplifting note, and forms a perfect bookend with the grounded opener. This is the group's finest work since “The Seeds of Love” and it also feels present-tense, dislodging Tears for Fears, at least temporarily, from the glimmering era it helped define.

Mr. Richardson is the Journal's rock and pop music critic. Follow him on Twitter @MarkRichardson.



MUSIC REVIEW

Music For Moody Mysteries

BY WILL FRIEDWALD

When most of us think of film noir, the soundtrack we hear in our heads is sultry torch singers and forlorn saxophones. Yet noir rarely sounded like that. Most of these classic crime stories of the late 1940s have much more European, symphonically driven scores, composed by émigré masters such as Max Steiner and Miklós Rózsa.

Melissa Errico's new album, “Out of the Dark—The Film Noir Project” (Warner Music/Ghostlight Records), instead gives us noir music the way we imagine it. And on the dedicated website she put together for the album, she says that the noir concept—melancholy, bittersweet tales of isolation and loneliness, beauty and betrayal—seemed especially relevant at the height of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Produced by David Finck and with musical direction by Tedd Firth, the album is subtitled “A singing cinematic event in two acts.” The 17 songs are divided between an A and a B side (clearly marked on the CD as well as, obviously, the LP). While the recording includes four songs from actual noir films, the rest are, as Ms. Errico says, inspired by noir themes. Each side opens with a well-known standard: “Angel Eyes” (from “Jennifer,” 1953), on A, and the title song from “Laura” (1944), on B.



Melissa Errico's new record is ‘Out of the Dark—The Film Noir Project.’

ANDREW WERNER

But she begins them with their very rarely sung verses, and the effect is an arresting combination of the familiar and the unknown.

Those first words from “Angel Eyes”—“Ever had the feeling that the world's gone and left you behind? / Ever had the feeling that you're that close to losing your mind?”—set the mood of A (the first act). The verse could be the plotline of a noir thriller in which an amnesia victim is trying to figure out who he is and what is going on, and many of the songs extend that theme of disorientation and confusion. Ms. Errico sings throughout with a tone at once wistful and probing, suggesting that romance and mystery are but different sides of the same coin. When you first feel attracted to someone, you're continually looking for clues. How does the other person feel? Can I trust this person?

“Haunted Heart” has Ms. Errico slowly delineating the words, as if examining her own feelings and sifting through the evidence in a murder trial. She's particularly moving when singing part of the ballad I had never really noticed before, which follows an especially eloquent piano solo by Mr. Firth and begins with “Time rolls on / Trying in vain to cure me.” She's addressing both this departed lover and herself, in an act of communication and inward contemplation.

That section of the song ends with “You're there in the dark and I call, / You're there but you're not there at all.” Throughout Side A, Ms. Errico is repeatedly reaching out to absent paramours—as she does in “With Every Breath I Take” (from “City of Angels,” Broadway's 1989 musical homage to the noir genre). Accompanied by a haunting saxophone solo from

David Mann and evocative keyboard underscore, she takes us inside and then out of her romantic hallucination; we are breathing along with her, seeing what she sees, feeling what she feels.

On the B side's “Laura,” which Ms. Errico presents slowly and sensually over an understated samba beat, the mystery deepens: Not only is the lover not present, but he may have never existed at all. “Silent Partner” pushes the narrative even further, with the singer questioning whether she herself actually exists.

Act 2 largely concentrates on romantic disappointment and disillusionment. “Blame It on My Youth” is an archetypal ode to lost innocence, but then Ms. Errico revs up the tempo on “Checkin' My Heart,” giving us the set's jazziest and funniest number. The plotline of both is the same: A naive young woman, whose heart has been broken by a callous older man, vows that she is never going to trust anyone with said heart again. Yet one song is mournful, the other joyous, at least in a self-deceptive kind of way.

Noir films may purport to be about murder and double-crosses, but they are really about love, inevitably of the dark and doomed variety—the kind that, as “Angel Eyes” tells us, is always “uncomfortably near.” She makes it “uncommonly clear” that we are all silent partners in our own destruction, and that the most we can hope for is a few brief moments of tenderness before, soon enough, we too are sleeping the big sleep.

Mr. Friedwald writes about music and popular culture for the Journal and is the author of the newly published “Straighten Up and Fly Right: The Life and Music of Nat King Cole.”

SPORTS

Alex Ovechkin Is Still Racking Up Points

The 36-year-old Capitals' star remains a scoring machine but he's also tallying more assists this season

By LAINE HIGGINS

Alex Ovechkin won't tell you which, if any, of the 761 goals he's scored in his career are his favorite. It's not his first, a slapshot from between the circles more than 16 years ago. Nor is it the power play goal he scored halfway through Game Five of the 2018 Stanley Cup Finals to help the Washington Capitals clinch their first championship. And it won't be goal number 895 he likely scores some time in 2023 to surpass Wayne Gretzky's career record, a mark once thought to be unbreakable.

Ovechkin, it turns out, loves all of his goals equally. "Every point, every goal is my favorite," Ovechkin said in an interview with The Wall Street Journal. "Every goal is hard to score, so I'll take every goal."

Such is the ethos of the 36-year-old scoring machine and 12-time All-Star now in his 17th season with the Capitals. The only thing that's been capable of interrupting his prolific season is Covid-19. First, a league-wide outbreak pushed the NHL to bar players from the Olympics, where Ovechkin would have competed for the Russian Olympic Committee. Then, an untimely case knocked him out of the NHL All-Star Game in Las Vegas and one regular-season game.

There are more gray hairs in his stubble to go with his increasingly silvery mane, but that's just about the only sign that the bruising forward is slowing down.

At the halfway mark of the season in January, Ovechkin led the league in points scored with 56, ahead of dozens of players who were still in elementary school when Washington's captain was



'Every goal is hard to score, so I'll take every goal,' says Alex Ovechkin, in his 17th season with the Capitals.

The Capitals still have 30 regular season games to play, yet it has already moved Ovechkin to the cusp of another achievement. After scoring twice against Nashville last week, he extended his streak of seasons with at least 30 goals to 16, just one campaign shy of the nearly three-decade old NHL record held by Mike Gartner.

Ovechkin's offensive output has lifted the Capitals to a 28-15-9 record despite many of the team's stars being hobbled by injuries this season.

"It's a team game and we needed everybody to get through what we were dealing with, but 'Ovi' had a heavy hand in our team's success," said Washington coach Peter Laviolette.

Ovechkin's shift toward favoring assists is a reflection of how he has adapted to a fast game that's getting faster and catching up with him.

"I'm not 19 anymore," he said wryly. It's also a function of having different personnel on his line, as injuries early in the season forced Laviolette to look beyond Ovechkin's trusty sidekick Niklas Backstrom.

When Ovechkin came to the NHL in 2005, the league was a slower place with more fights and bigger bodies, generally.

Flying by defenders was a distinct advantage, one Ovechkin exploited immediately. He scored at an unbelievable pace in his first five seasons, netting an average of 106 regular season points and add-



ing another 40 on three playoff runs during that span.

"Ovi plays the game at 100 miles an hour," said Martin Brodeur, a 22-year NHL goalie veteran who now works for the New Jersey Devils.

This is not to say that Ovechkin shies away from contact—his 3,218 hits are fourth-most among active skaters. But as NHL defenses realized that it was no longer sufficient to park giant men on skates on the blue line and hope for the best against speedsters like Ovechkin, more nimble players came to the fore.

In more recent years, the young skaters who grew up idolizing Ovechkin in the aughts grew up and got drafted by NHL teams. They emulated his speed and

score-at-all-costs mentality on the ice. Everything just got a little faster.

"Obviously the game is changing. The league is changing, lots of young guys come into the league so they are fast," Ovechkin said. So much so that the left wing has spent time in recent off-seasons honing his speed.

"I'm not going to give away my secrets," he said when asked about his conditioning regimen, but conceded that a big part involves chasing around his 3.5-year-old and almost 21-month-old sons.

As opponents improved at defending against the Capitals' Russian wunderkind, Ovechkin had to find new ways to scratch his insatiable scoring itch. From 2011-16, about 64% of the 352 points

Ovechkin scored came from goals rather than assists. Over the next five seasons, the distribution of his 354 points was more even: Assists accounted for 43% of his output compared to 36% previously.

He accomplished this by channeling his knack for accurate and forceful shooting into lethal passes. Brodeur, who played against Ovechkin for 10 seasons, remembers him as one of the most underrated passers in the NHL.

"The double threat of being able to pass the puck and shoot the puck is the hardest thing for a goalie," Brodeur said. Take your eyes off Ovechkin and risk him lining up for a wrist; stare him down and risk losing track of his seam pass to a teammate that invariably ends in the net.

It has not hurt that the skaters to whom Ovechkin is passing are some of the best playmaking centers in the NHL—Backstrom and Evgeny Kuznetsov—or that he has played alongside them for 24 seasons combined.

That's also why Ovechkin's assist-heavy stat line during the 2021-22 campaign is so remarkable: most of his assists have happened without Backstrom on the

ice. The star center spent the first 28 games of the season on injured reserve dealing with lingering hip pain and did not rejoin the locker room until mid-December.

With Backstrom out and several more Capitals players sidelined with injuries, Laviolette slid Kuznetsov over to center on Ovechkin's line and dropped right winger Tom Wilson on the other side. It's been a clear boon for Wilson, who is on pace to score 52 points this season, 15% up from his best season in 2019-20.

Laviolette says this is not a function of him telling Ovechkin to spread the puck around—he hasn't—but more a sign

of the team clicking with the system he had precious little time to implement before the truncated 2020-21 season, the coach's first in Washington, D.C.

Amid changes to his lines and his opponents, the one constant throughout Ovechkin's 17 years in the league, according to the men who have coached him and the goalies who've played against him, is his passion. Laviolette says it was evident from afar during the 13 seasons he coached against Ovechkin, but impossible to miss now that they share a bench.

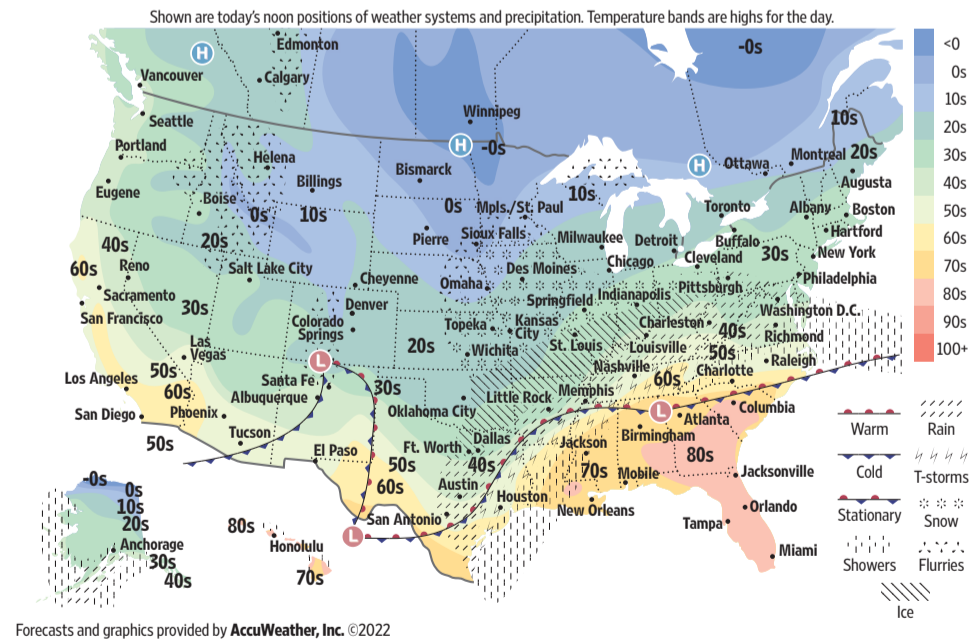
"There's hardly ever a time during a game when the game is close or we're down where he's not looking at you to go out on the ice and make a difference," Laviolette said.

Ovechkin's shift toward favoring assists is a reflection of how he has adapted his game.

drafted out of Moscow in 2004. His scoring clip fell off slightly heading into the All-Star break and continued to ebb as he recovered from the virus, but he is still tied for sixth in the league with 62 points heading into Wednesday's play.

Ovechkin scoring is nothing new—he's been the NHL's most prolific goal scorer in nine seasons. It's the way that he's racking up points this season that is: Entering Wednesday's play, exactly half of his points have come from assists, something that has only happened twice before in seasons where he averaged more than one point per game.

Weather



U.S. Forecasts

s...sunny; pc...partly cloudy; c...cloudy; sh...showers; T...tstorms; r...rain; sf...snow flurries; sn...snow; l...ice

City	Today			Tomorrow		
	Hi	Lo	W	Hi	Lo	W
Anchorage	38	34	c	40	32	r
Atlanta	77	61	c	65	43	r
Austin	40	32	i	43	36	r
Baltimore	39	33	i	53	26	r
Boise	32	14	c	36	13	s
Boston	35	26	pc	33	18	s
Burlington	21	10	pc	21	5	sn
Charlotte	61	51	c	77	43	c
Chicago	28	22	sn	29	16	c
Cleveland	30	27	sn	30	20	sn
Dallas	37	26	i	42	33	sh
Denver	20	6	sn	27	10	pc
Detroit	29	21	pc	30	16	sn
Honolulu	83	70	r	82	69	pc
Houston	52	37	r	49	47	c
Indianapolis	36	25	sn	32	19	c
Kansas City	22	9	sn	29	15	s
Las Vegas	52	35	s	55	36	s
Little Rock	38	29	i	45	31	c
Los Angeles	61	40	s	66	43	s
Miami	81	70	pc	82	70	s
Milwaukee	27	22	sn	29	16	pc
Minneapolis	13	0	sf	17	8	s
Nashville	55	39	t	48	29	c
New Orleans	79	60	pc	63	53	sh
New York City	37	32	c	38	22	r
Oklahoma City	29	12	i	36	21	pc

International

City	Today			Tomorrow		
	Hi	Lo	W	Hi	Lo	W
Amsterdam	47	39	r	46	33	t
Athens	55	44	sh	59	45	pc
Baghdad	83	63	pc	77	51	pc
Bangkok	86	69	s	89	72	c
Beijing	48	18	s	51	30	s
Berlin	51	34	c	42	32	t
Brussels	49	36	r	45	32	t
Buenos Aires	75	66	t	80	71	s
Dubai	78	63	pc	80	65	s
Dublin	42	36	sh	48	42	pc
Edinburgh	41	34	c	46	40	s

City

City	Today			Tomorrow		
	Hi	Lo	W	Hi	Lo	W
Frankfurt	52	34	c	45	30	t
Geneva	53	36	c	48	32	sh
Havana	86	63	pc	86	64	pc
Hong Kong	61	54	s	64	59	s
Istanbul	46	41	r	47	39	c
Jakarta	88	75	t	88	76	t
Jerusalem	54	41	pc	44	43	r
Johannesburg	82	60	s	82	61	c
London	45	38	pc	50	32	s
Madrid	66	45	pc	55	39	sh
Manila	92	78	s	92	77	s
Melbourne	74	63	sh	73	62	pc
Mexico City	78	52	s	77	51	s
Milan	56	34	pc	58	35	sh
Moscow	34	26	pc	37	27	pc
Mumbai	90	73	pc	90	73	pc
Paris	54	36	r	51	31	sh
Rio de Janeiro	84	75	s	85	74	pc
Riyadh	85	63	s	90	63	s
Rome	61	41	pc	60	46	pc
San Juan	81	71	s	83	72	s
Seoul	40	24	s	49	32	s
Shanghai	48	33	s	53	40	s
Singapore	83	75	t	86	76	t
Sydney	75	71	sh	75	71	sh
Taipei City	59	56	c	64	58	c
Tokyo	47	36	pc	51	39	s
Toronto	24	17	pc	22	12	sn
Vancouver	40	27	s	42	30	c
Warsaw	49	39	c	43	31	sh
Zurich	55	35	c	45	30	c

The WSJ Daily Crossword | Edited by Mike Shenk

- 61 "Buckle up" spot, e.g.: Abbr.
- 62 Beginners' spots when visiting 16-Across, and an apt name for this puzzle
- 65 Hairy cousin
- 66 Change lines, say
- 67 Discussion group
- 68 Official ending?
- 69 Trade show presentation
- 70 Honey bunch
- 17 Call for
- 22 Soda can feature
- 24 Bruiser
- 25 Muffler spot
- 28 Like early deliveries
- 32 ___ Fridays
- 34 Useful connections
- 36 Bingeworthy listening
- 37 Govern
- 38 Like molasses
- 40 Ready for customers
- 41 Mrs. Lovett's offering, in "Sweeney Todd"
- 43 X-ray, say
- 46 Painted crudely
- 48 ___ a soul
- 50 Strength-training exercise
- 51 "The Communist Manifesto" co-author
- 52 Some singing groups
- 55 Grate
- 58 "Brah!"
- 60 First-rate
- 63 Matchsticks game
- 64 Test setting

LET YOUR HARE DOWN | By Dave Taber & Laura Moll

- Across
- 1 It's not right
- 5 Crunch title
- 9 "Today" rival, familiarly
- 12 They make the grade
- 14 Fancy molding
- 15 "Everybody Hurts" band
- 16 Wyoming resort
- 18 Mama bear, in Mexico
- 19 Stop after Buffalo on Amtrak's Lake Shore Limited
- 20 Ball-bearing item
- 21 It earns six pts., with a catch
- 23 Compound originally used as a yellow dye
- 24 Front-wheel adjustment
- 26 Blockheads
- 27 Curry on the court
- 29 Bow's husband on "Black-ish"
- 30 Milk mascot
- 31 Humdrum habit
- 33 Biol. or bot.
- 35 T-bar rows work them
- 36 Ready for a shower, informally
- 39 Fife player on TV
- 41 Bubbly brand
- 42 Siri platform
- 44 Hydrotherapy haven
- 45 Moved externally
- 47 Extremely chill
- 49 Receded
- 53 "Precision Crafted Performance" brand
- 54 Long
- 56 Burma's first prime minister
- 57 Guide to Jewish life
- 59 Sunset savings, for short
- 60 It topped Roger Ebert's list of best films of 2012

Previous Puzzle's Solution

OPINION

Democrats Deserve to Lose



WONDERLAND
By Daniel Henninger

No one has more reason to be shocked by the results of last week's San Francisco recall election than the three school-board members whom voters threw over the side. The vote totals to kick them off the progressive island were 72%, 75% and 79%.

Commentaries by Democrats are now emerging to argue the party will be wiped out in November's midterm elections unless its candidates distance themselves from the progressives. As a long-ago boss of mine might have said as he prowled the loading dock: These Democrats are a day late and a dollar short.

A midterm political fix won't repair the damage progressives have done to the U.S.

With readers' indulgence, I'd like to play the devil's advocate for the three card-carrying San Francisco progressives. Across the whole landscape of American politics the past five years and more, what evidence has there been that influential Democrats were willing to break with the party's left? Nearly none.

Take cancel culture. The destruction of careers, businesses and reputations for giving offense to the new woke orthodoxies has been running for at least eight years. It is one of the worst phenomena the American left has ever produced, not least in San Francisco.

Two years ago, a respected senior curator of American art

at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art was forced out for saying something vaguely favorable about "white artists." An internal museum-staff petition said his removal "is nonnegotiable." His colleagues around the art world pulled the curtains and said nothing.

Recall last year's firing of the docents at the Chicago Art Institute for racial reasons. As the late Bob Dole once asked, where was the liberal outrage? How did the default become that only conservatives called out this stuff? Why shouldn't the three San Francisco school-board members have thought that erasing the names of Abraham Lincoln or George Washington would be no problem when simultaneously monuments to "racist" presidents and other Americans were torn down all over the country with little liberal resistance, or even with assent?

Presumably the San Francisco school-board members watched or attended the Democratic National Convention in August 2020, where no speaker—not any of the presumed "moderates"—tried to separate the urban protests in May over George Floyd from the store looting and pitched battles with police.

Defund the police and progressive prosecutors aren't Republican-concocted "messaging" issues. Where were the liberal critiques arguing for a more common-sense balance between decriminalization and the police function? By the way, those 70%-plus vote totals happened inside the context of San Franciscans living in a city occupied by shoplifters and street people.

Why shouldn't the San Francisco school-board members have thought they could



Nancy Pelosi in Washington this week.

ignore objecting parents? President Biden himself had their backs. When parents in Loudoun County, Va., noisily objected to their school board imposing progressive racial theories on curriculums, Attorney General Merrick Garland's Department of Justice sicced the FBI on them.

But here's the fun part: No Democrat, including the party's new critics, dissents from the notion that their common cause is protecting "our democracy." Nancy Pelosi on ABC: "Nothing less is at stake than our democracy." Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez to the New Yorker magazine: "What we risk is having a government that perhaps postures as a democracy, and may try to pretend that it is, but isn't."

This is almost wholly about Donald Trump's clinical obsession that the 2020 election was "rigged." If that's the Democratic Party's unifier, then by all means they should ride the Trump voting-fraud horse until it drops.

History may thank former Twitter CEO Jack Dorsey for pulling the plug on the Trump Twitter account. With Mr. Trump's post-midnight tweets no longer blotting out the U.S. political sun, Democrats have to stand before voters with their

own policies and behavior. The recall vote in San Francisco was a portent, summed up in this remark to the Washington Post by a recall organizer:

"I've always thought of myself as a progressive—until now, recently, when I'm looking at this situation," said Siva Raj. "I'm shocked—like, how can progressives be for something like this? This is not me. These are not the values that I buy anymore."

Democratic self-reflection after the startling schools defeat in San Francisco and Glenn Youngkin's gubernatorial win in Virginia may reflect the natural ebb and flow of American politics. But it isn't enough.

The progressive problem is deeper than the Democratic Party's loss of independents. The left achieved a fundamental ideological transformation that has gone unanswered by liberals for years, starting in the universities. Liberal academics who spoke out were censured by administrators and shunned by colleagues.

Then when novel ideas about identity, race and gender—now being criticized as a liability because they alienate non-base voters—marched toward the country's cultural and corporate institutions, liberals held the doors open. Coercion had become king.

A midcourse November correction won't change that. Only a resounding midterm defeat will force a necessary revision of these destructive ideas. The Democrats deserve to lose. They've earned it.

Write henninger@wsj.com.



Scan this code to listen to Gerard Baker's "Free Expression" podcast

Biden's Fleeting Chance to Help Ukraine

By Karl Rove

Credit Madeleine Albright with good manners. After Mitt Romney labeled Russia America's "No. 1 geopolitical foe" during a 2012 presidential debate, the former secretary of state said his views were "out of date" and "just wrong." But on Tuesday Ms. Albright admitted "I personally owe an apology" for having "underestimated" the Russian threat. It was a classy acknowledgment.

It would also be appropriate for former President Obama to apologize for mocking Mr. Romney's views. "The 1980s are now calling to ask for their foreign policy back, because the Cold War's been over for 20 years," Mr. Obama retorted in 2012. Don't hold your breath waiting for his contrition.

What Mr. Romney understood, and what Vladimir Putin's invasion of Ukraine underscores, is that the Kremlin's leader is a killer, a KGB thug, a brutal dictator trying to rebuild the old Soviet empire.

He may succeed. But his actions may also leave him and his country as global pariahs, damage Russia's already banged-up economy, and tank his domestic popularity.

Mr. Putin has managed to bring together a diverse array of opponents. Despite initial squabbling among European nations, the Russian leader's efforts to trample over an internationally recognized border and neighboring country

have united Europe and much of the rest of the world in opposition. Even China—citing concerns over questions of territorial integrity—has shied away from endorsing Mr. Putin's invasion.

This reaction has been particularly intense in what former Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld called "New Europe"—Central and Eastern European nations like Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and the Baltics. Once part of the Soviet orbit, these countries now fear that Mr. Putin may force them back under Moscow's grim domination.

He has the domestic and international support to act, but it may fade if he falters.

Even formerly hyperneutral Finland, which isn't a North Atlantic Treaty Organization member, is arming up. Helsinki bought 64 U.S. F-35 jet fighters in December, a move that ties Finland more closely to NATO. And while Prime Minister Sanna Marin says Finland is unlikely to join NATO in the short term, she reserves the right to do so.

But can President Biden keep America's European allies united against Russia? The faster and harder Mr. Biden hits Moscow, the better. Right now he has international support for

tough sanctions on Russia and more-generous and more-lethal aid to Ukraine, but that could fade over time—along with opportunities to stop Mr. Putin. The more slowly Mr. Biden acts and the smaller the punishment he applies, the more timid leaders in Paris, Berlin and Rome are likely to become.

Mr. Biden may be surprised by how broad the support is in Congress for tough action. Take the amendment Rep. Mike McCaul (R., Texas) proposed last September to the National Defense Authorization Act. It provided new sanctions on the Nord Stream 2 pipeline and made them mandatory, removing the president's authority to waive them. It passed on a voice vote, essentially unanimously.

Maybe opponents of the amendment figured they didn't have the votes to stop it or believed Team Biden would strip the provision out in the Senate (which they did). Still, bipartisan sentiment for penalizing Russia was so strong that Speaker Nancy Pelosi didn't try to block that provision.

Even as the crisis in Ukraine has earned widespread American anger, it has also revealed apologists for Mr. Putin in both U.S. political parties—people Lenin might have called "useful idiots," quick to make excuses for Moscow's behavior rather than condemn its invasion of a neighbor.

Voices on both the far right and far left draw on our coun-

try's war-weariness by raising the specter of U.S. troops fighting in Ukraine, though it's impossible to find mainstream Republicans or Democrats advocating that.

Lefties like Sen. Bernie Sanders (I., Vt.) suggest America recognize Russian concerns about Ukraine joining NATO and blaming the West for rising tensions. What this recognition looks like often goes unsaid, but the logical conclusion of this sort of thinking is to give Russia power over whether Ukraine joins NATO—an unacceptable violation of Ukraine's sovereignty.

Some on the more isolationist right parrot Mr. Putin's line that Ukraine is historically Russian and Kyiv and Moscow are sister cities of the same country, 42 million Ukrainians be damned. Donald Trump, in a particularly outrageous statement, praised Mr. Putin's "genius" in invading Ukraine.

We may be about to witness the largest land war in Europe since 1945. The question is, can America still lead with the strength and determination the world needs? Or will weakness and indecision lead to the humiliation of the West and grave consequences for America's interests?

Mr. Rove helped organize the political-action committee *American Crossroads* and is author of *"The Triumph of William McKinley"* (Simon & Schuster, 2015).

BOOKSHELF | By Tom Nolan

Murder On the Prairie

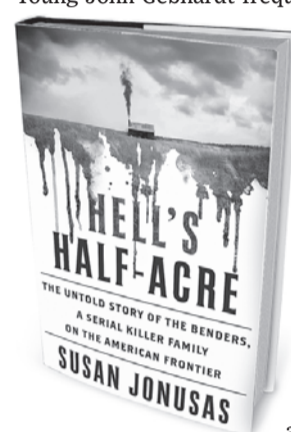
Hell's Half-Acre

By Susan Jonusas
(Viking, 345 pages, \$28)

In the history of the American West," writes Susan Jonusas, "few historical figures have captured the public imagination like the outlaw. . . . The word itself evokes nonconformity, the promise of freedom, the choice to carve out your own path against the status quo." Even such homicidal renegades as Jesse James and Billy the Kid are covered in a flattering haze. But the family of four known as the "Bloody Benders," the subjects of Ms. Jonusas's "Hell's Half-Acre," committed crimes so vile that they resist glamorization.

This strange foursome had settled in Labette County, in southeast Kansas, by 1871. The area, Ms. Jonusas writes, was "a haven for those on the run from the law or seeking to make a living outside it." Taking advantage of the Homestead Act, the Bender ensemble staked a land claim and built a cabin offering "GROCRY" and a night's rest to travelers on the plain.

Gruff, 60-something "Pa" Bender spoke little and wore "a perpetual look of contempt." Scowling "Ma" Bender sputtered in a German dialect that few could comprehend. Young John Gebhardt frequently quoted Scripture and had



an odd, persistent laugh that many found disconcerting. Kate Bender claimed to be John's younger sister, but the two acted more like husband and wife. (Were they perhaps incestuous half-siblings?) Kate, flirtatious with men and sympathetic to women, advocated "free love," advertised as a spiritualist and held séances to help bereaved neighbors contact deceased loved ones.

Some intuitive visitors fled the squalid Bender place in terror. Others were never seen again alive. The first victim

officially attributed to the Bender family was James Feerick, an Irish immigrant and railroad man who left his wife and son in Baxter Springs, Kan., to buy land for a family home. "Somewhere along the Osage Mission Trail," Ms. Jonusas writes, "he had stopped for shelter and the prairie had swallowed him up." It would be a year and a half before his body was discovered at the Bender place, another year before it was identified.

Another Bender victim was William Jones, traveling with \$250 to pay off his homestead debt. Head smashed, throat cut, he was thrown in a creek, where two boys found him. Then there was Henry McKenzie, a Civil War hero from Indiana who wore an expensive chinchilla coat as he set forth to visit his sister in Independence, Kan. He also vanished on the trail.

Ms. Jonusas, a first-time author, traveled "all over America" to research these events: visiting historical-society archives, combing through boxes of government records, scrolling through century-and-a-half-old newspapers, examining the testimony of long-dead lawmen and outlaws. Her efforts bring the frontier setting into sharp focus. Southeast Kansas was suffering an epidemic of fatal violence against travelers. Most citizens thought roaming gangs of horse thieves were to blame. When Benjamin Brown left his family to purchase a land claim and failed to return, his wife took the stagecoach in an unsuccessful search for him. "On her way home she stopped at the Bender cabin for supper [and] stayed the night, unaware that her hosts were the last people to see Brown alive."

Even jaded Kansans were shocked by the disappearance and presumed murders of widower George Longcor and his 18-month-old daughter Mary Ann, last seen en route by horse-drawn wagon to Iowa. Longcor's mutilated corpse—"his throat slit so deeply that the head fell at an unusual angle"—was later found in a grave in the Bender orchard. At its feet was the body of Mary Ann, "still wearing her dress and mittens," indicating that the child was perhaps buried alive.

The grisly saga of the 'Bloody Benders,' a family of serial killers operating in southeast Kansas in the early 1870s.

The official death toll of "the Bloody Benders" would be 11, but it's plausible to think that they killed a good many more. At last, the family murdered someone of such territorial prominence—a "beloved" local doctor named William York—that a vigorous investigation was launched. An 1873 raid on the Bender property led to the discovery of numerous bodies, though the Benders themselves had fled when they sensed the authorities were closing in. Thus ends the book's first act, the family gone without a trace. But the diligent Ms. Jonusas discovered several further leads in official archives and correspondence, enough to transform "Hell's Half-Acre," at this halfway point, from a gothic popular history into a Wild West chase full of extraordinary developments.

Disguised, the author concludes, the Benders made their way into Texas, where fellow outlaws gave them shelter and new criminal opportunities. Various parties in Kansas—victims' relatives, self-interested locals, professional sleuths—launched their own searches, and the state's governor offered a \$2,000 reward for the family's capture. But the fugitives would remain elusive. Nearly two decades after the family absconded, a self-styled psychic healer in Niles, Mich., said that she had found Kate and Ma Bender in the persons of a woman named Sarah Davis and her mother, Almira.

The women were arrested and brought for trial to Kansas, where a number of locals who had known the Bender women claimed to recognize them. Yet the case fell apart in court, and the charges were dismissed. Ms. Jonusas's research leads her to posit "the very real possibility" that the Bender foursome eventually moved into New Mexico Territory and Colorado. "Whether the Benders perished at the hands of the Texas Rangers, tried their hand at prospecting in Arizona, or moved between settlements in Colorado," their ultimate fate remains unknown.

Susan Jonusas's debut, rich in historical perspective and graced by novelistic touches, grips the reader from first to last. "The Benders live on because the story of their crimes does not have an ending, and unsolved mysteries have the greatest afterlife," she writes. "The family themselves are ghosts in their own narrative, patched together through the voices of those who knew them, those who lost loved ones to their crimes, and those who continue to tell stories passed down through generations." With the appearance of "Hell's Half-Acre," we probably know as much about this murderous clan as we ever will.

Mr. Nolan reviews crime fiction for the Journal.

Marcus Aurelius in the Middle Seat

By Mike Kerrigan

Jean-Paul Sartre said hell is other people. For me, it is being on a long flight without something good to read. Some years back, I realized my predicament moments before boarding a plane in London. This gave me just enough time to make an emergency purchase at an airport bookstore.

For me, ebooks don't count. Reading is intimate, both in the feeling of crisp pages between my fingers and in forsaking all others for the text chosen. On a plane, books are also social; they inspire good conversation.

Once while reading George MacDonald Fraser's "Flashman," I heard "Aren't you a lit-

tle old for that?" from a seatmate. My choice of "Life Is Worth Living" by Archbishop Fulton J. Sheen prompted a concerned "Everything OK, buddy?" from the gent to my right.

On a long flight and a delayed layover, I tried to be a Stoic.

Fortune smiled on me in that Heathrow bookstore. Prominently displayed was a translation of Marcus Aurelius' "Meditations" by Gregory Hays. It seemed apt to reread because Mr. Hays taught at the University of Virginia, where I studied classics.

I boarded the plane, a scholarly spring in my step. Somewhere over the North Atlantic I became a practicing Stoic. Not replacing my Catholic faith, but fortifying reason's soaring arch that buttressed it.

I dove into the wonderful translation with a convert's zeal, eventually drifting off to sleep. Soon a rough patch of air roused me from slumber. I reasoned that the pilot was in control, not I, and one mustn't worry over what one can't control. I went back to sleep.

In the Dulles International Airport terminal, things fell apart. Customs took much longer than expected. Then my connecting flight to Charlotte, N.C., the last of the day, was canceled. Still on London time, I was tired, cranky and

decidedly un-Stoic.

I wasn't coming home from a long military deployment. I'd never even had to put my back into what I do for a living. It was simply business travel and the inconvenience of an overnight delay. As tests for practicing Stoics go, this wasn't a hard one.

Prussian Field Marshal Helmuth von Moltke observed in 1871 that no plan survives contact with the enemy. Mike Tyson put it this way: "Everyone has a plan until they get punched in the mouth." Both men were correct. Enduring a little turbulence on a flight made me an amiable traveling companion, but not much of a Stoic.

Mr. Kerrigan is an attorney.

OPINION

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

‘Reimagining Capitalism’

The 20th-century economist Joseph Schumpeter famously wrote that capitalism sows its own destruction by creating a knowledge class who despise its success. Behold the Hewlett Foundation and Omidyar Network’s \$40 million gift to the paupers at Harvard and MIT to “reimagine capitalism.”

Bill Hewlett and David Packard founded Hewlett-Packard in a one-car garage in Palo Alto and made it one of the world’s storied companies. Its capitalist success created wealth for shareholders and stakeholders alike, and Hewlett established his foundation to share even more of it. But his philanthropic legacy has become one more sad example of how the wealth of capitalist donors is hijacked by future generations of knowledge-class progressives.

“For more than 40 years, neoliberalism has dominated economic and political debates, both in the U.S. and globally, with its free-market fundamentalism and growth-at-all-costs approach to economic and social policy,” the press release says. It “offers no solutions for the biggest challenges of our time, such as the climate crisis, systemic racism, and rampant wealth inequality—and in many ways, it has made those problems even worse.”

Actually, capitalism offers solutions to all of those challenges. The largest reductions in carbon emissions have come from natural gas, thanks to the market innovation of shale fracking. Competitive labor markets have helped minorities rise despite residual racism because bigotry is too expensive. The wealth created by free markets and innovation, along with global trade, has lifted billions out of poverty. Extreme global poverty has plunged to less than 10% from 45% in 1980 while world GDP has more than tripled.

We now have fast broadband and smartphones that connect with others anywhere, anytime; 24-hour home delivery of almost anything we want; breakthrough medical treatments and vaccines; genetically engineered

crops that have increased farm yields and global nutrition; cheap energy thanks to an oil and gas shale boom; and a rising standard of living for most of the world. Socialism didn’t build that.

Yet as Schumpeter predicted, people in the comfortable West, including many tech entrepreneurs, now take this prosperity for granted.

“Neoliberalism’s anti-government, free-market fundamentalism is simply not suited for today’s economy and society,” says Larry Kramer, president of the Hewlett Foundation.

By “reimagining capitalism,” as the press release advertises, what these foundations really mean is putting politicians and the administrative state in charge of redistributing more of its proceeds. Yet if they had been paying attention in recent years, they might have noticed that “free-market fundamentalism” could have spared the U.S. from some terrible mistakes.

For example, when government pays people not to work, many don’t work. When government increases taxes and regulation, output declines. And when government floods the economy with money, inflation breaks out. Is 7.5% inflation helping “wealth inequality”?

The Hewlett and Omidyar grants will fund left-wing academics at the Harvard Kennedy School, Howard University, Johns Hopkins, MIT and the Santa Fe Institute to “rethink and replace neoliberalism.” As if these institutions need more money to indoctrinate young people in socialism. Endowments at Harvard (\$53.2 billion), MIT (\$27.4 billion) and Johns Hopkins (\$9.3 million), by the way, are swelling—thanks to investment in capitalist markets.

The Hewlett Foundation’s hard left turn is a warning to today’s successful capitalists to be wary of creating foundations or other vehicles that outlive them. Sooner or later, most of them are taken over by people who steer them for their own political purposes no matter the founder’s intent. Be careful not to finance the destruction of the system that made business success and wealth creation possible.

The Hewlett Foundation proves again that Schumpeter was right.

How Ukraine Was Betrayed in Budapest

As the people of Ukraine steel themselves for a Russian attack, it’s worth recalling how the U.S. persuaded the country to give up its nuclear weapons. The event was the Budapest Memorandum of 1994, in which the U.S., Great Britain and Russia offered security assurances to the nation that had won independence when the Soviet Union dissolved.

That was the halcyon post-Cold War era when history had supposedly ended. Some 1,800 nuclear weapons were on Ukrainian territory, including short-range tactical weapons and air-launched cruise missiles. The U.S. wanted fewer countries to have fewer nukes, and U.S. credibility was at its peak.

The memo begins with the U.S., U.K. and Russia noting that Ukraine had committed “to eliminate all nuclear weapons from its territory within a specified period of time.” Then the three countries “confirm” a half-dozen commitments to Ukraine.

The most important was to “reaffirm their obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of Ukraine.” They also pledged to “refrain from economic coercion” against Ukraine and to “seek immediate United Nations

Security Council action to provide assistance to Ukraine” in the event of an “act of aggression” against the country. Ukraine had returned all of the nuclear weapons to Russia by 1996.

Vladimir Putin made the Budapest Memorandum a dead letter with his first invasion of Ukraine in 2014. But the betrayal of Budapest isn’t forgotten in Kyiv, as President Volodymyr Zelenskyy noted bitterly in weekend remarks in Munich.

Budapest shows again the folly of trusting parchment promises in a world where autocrats think might makes right. More damaging is the message that nations give up their nuclear arsenals at their peril. That’s the lesson North Korea has learned, and Iran is following the same playbook as it connives to build the bomb even as it promises not to do so.

The inability of the U.S. to enforce its Budapest commitments will also echo in allied capitals that rely on America’s military assurances. Don’t be surprised if Japan or South Korea seek their own nuclear deterrent. If Americans want to know why they should care about Ukraine, nuclear proliferation is one reason. Betrayal has consequences, as the world seems destined to learn again the hard way.

Kyiv gave up its nuclear weapons in return for security assurances.

America Needs a Bigger Navy

Storm clouds are gathering as authoritarians reach for global power, and the U.S. is going to have to decide if it wants to spend what it takes to defend itself. On that score it is good to see fresh focus on the need for a larger, more lethal Navy—which is more urgent and will be more costly than the public understands.

At a conference last week the Navy’s top officer, Admiral Mike Gilday, said the country needs “a naval force of over 500 ships,” a figure informed by exercises and Pentagon analysis. The Navy, Adm. Gilday said, is “thinking about how would we fight differently” across “a wide vast ocean like the Pacific?”

The ship count includes a more diversified mix of expensive and cheaper stuff: 70 attack submarines that can operate undetected and take out targets; 150 unmanned or lightly manned vessels; 12 aircraft carriers; 60 work-horse destroyers; 50 frigates, and so on.

One certainty is that today’s 296-ship Navy is listing even under peacetime demands. Last summer the Navy had to divert its only Pacific aircraft carrier to deal with the withdrawal from Afghanistan. Congress made the goal of a 355-ship Navy—in the rough ballpark of Adm. Gilday’s sketch when excluding unmanned vessels—official policy in the 2018 defense authorization, but the Navy hasn’t grown.

Force plans are no more real than a Battleship board game without money. The Biden Administration has been leaking that its 2023 budget request will focus on shipbuilding, but last year’s pathetic budget proposal trimmed the account and would have put the fleet on track to shrink had Congress not intervened.

The truth is the Navy will need tens of billions of dollars a year to expand and maintain

the force. Only roughly 30% of a ship’s lifetime cost is acquisition; the rest is operations and sustainment. More pricey than ships are proficient sailors, and the Navy is short more than 5,000 for crucial billets at sea. The possible return of land wars in Europe should disabuse policy makers of the fiction that this money can be sucked out

of the U.S. Army.

The Navy deals in shipbuilding plans over 30-year time horizons, and Adm. Gilday is describing a force for the 2040s. But China may strike Taiwan in the near term, before Beijing must cope with demographic problems in the mid-2030s.

This combustible decade arrives as many Navy assets are reaching their expiration date without replacements. Congress has forced the Navy to keep two of seven Ticonderoga-class cruisers it asked to retire—a compromise to retain some of the fleet’s missile power while conceding that some of these antiques struggle to get off the pier.

Adm. Gilday nonetheless deserves some credit for pressing the issue, and too few flag officers are educating Americans on the threat of Russia and China. Tedious argot like “distributed maritime operations” has been a substitute for clear articulation of a strategy.

It’s up to the Biden Administration to devote the money and political capital to protect the country, and so far it has been willing to spend on every priority except defense. Americans born since World War II have no frame of reference for the magnitude of casualties and damage that would accompany a Pacific conflict with a peer military like China. The way to avoid this is to prepare for it without delay.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

BlackRock Defends Its Proxy-Voting Strategy

I lead BlackRock’s proxy-voting team. We cast votes based on one principle: enhancing shareholder value for our clients (“Calling out ‘Emperor’ Larry Fink,” Review & Outlook, Feb. 18).

Our clients save for long-term goals, so we take a long-term perspective. How companies engage with employees and adapt to the energy and technology transitions will affect our clients’ long-term returns, so they factor into our voting decisions.

Most clients don’t simply want to rely on proxy advisers such as ISS and Glass Lewis. They want BlackRock to be voting and engaging with companies on their behalf throughout the year. We know the money we manage is not our own. It belongs to our clients, and for clients who want more direct involvement in proxy voting, BlackRock is using technology and innovation to provide new options.

Today, we offer voting choice to institutional clients, including pension funds that support 60 million people. This option allows clients to decide for themselves proxy questions like ESG disclosure or executive compensation. We’re committed to a future in which every investor has that same option.

While there are regulatory and logistical hurdles to overcome, voting choice can be a powerful tool to enhance shareholder democracy and bring more voices to capitalism.

SANDRA BOSS
BlackRock
New York

I have never squared why Mr. Fink gets to vote my shares. Granted, practicality makes it impossible to solicit my opinion for each share I own of the innumerable companies I buy via a mutual fund. But I would prefer that my opinion not be expropriated by Mr. Fink. Nonvoting shares could

be created when owned by a fund. Don’t send the proxy to BlackRock. Better no vote than one contrary to my values. Charles Schwab doesn’t vote the equities he bought and holds for me. My money, my opinion. Mr. Fink’s opinion is of no interest.

WILLIAM HOEKSTRA
Orland Park, Ill.

Charlie Munger makes eminent sense in calling out the “emperor,” Mr. Fink. There is an obvious solution. In voting their shares, custodians of index funds should be required either to solicit the instructions of beneficial owners on how to vote their proportionate numbers of shares, or to vote their shares in the same proportion as all other shares in the issuer are voted. That would be in keeping with the very limited authority investors in index funds believe they are giving to their sponsors.

JOSHUA BERMAN
Chateau-d’Oex, Switzerland

Mr. Munger raises an important policy question. Index funds are rewarded for closely tracking an index at low cost. The performance of the index or its constituents doesn’t matter. So the index emperors pay no price for using proxies to indulge their political agendas at Exxon, even if Exxon underperforms as a result. That cost is paid by Exxon’s stockholders, including those in index funds that hold Exxon. But as long as the index emperor keeps tracking that index at low cost, his management fees will be undiminished.

Do the stockholders really want an emperor with such incentives to continue to represent them at stockholder meetings?

EM. PROF. SAM PELTZMAN
University of Chicago Booth School
Chicago

Vladimir Putin Takes Advantage of Weakness

Walter Russell Mead’s reading of Vladimir Putin’s risk-taking is correct (“Why Putin is Outfoxing the West,” Global View, Feb. 22), but his risks in invading Ukraine are lower now than at any time since the breakup of the Soviet Union. The stars have all aligned for the Russian president.

We have a weak and risk-averse president in the U.S. (remember his opposition to taking down Osama bin Laden); Germany, Italy and most of Europe are dependent on Russian gas, so sanctions can go only so far; the U.S. has been curtailing fossil-fuel production in favor of renewable energy, making its reliability as an exporter of natural gas suspect; and China is cheering Russia on—not a bad fan base. The fox is in the henhouse, ready for a sumptuous meal.

FRED EHRLMAN
New York

Give the devil his due. It would not be entirely unreasonable for Mr. Putin to conclude that “the end of history” prophesied by so many has led to the creation of soft, self-obsessed

consumer societies whose stated concerns are the weather a few hundred years hence, transgender bathrooms and systemic racism—in part so they don’t have to think too deeply about what confronting somebody like him truly means. What concerns should they have “because of a quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing.” The more historically minded among us should perhaps prepare for a tumultuous round of the coming world disorder.

TOM PARONIS
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Gerard Baker is morosely fixated on a “cycle of failure” in “How the U.S. and Europe Lost the Post-Cold War” (Free Expression, Feb. 22). How about, instead, that popular demand has expanded Europe and NATO practically into Russia; that declining demographics is pushing China’s economy toward a Japan-style funk or worse, that it’s only downhill for them from here, and it’s now or never to make their move? Look at it as a desperate gasp rather than a harbinger of the future. We’ve managed OK and haven’t been facing anything so dire as their regimes are. But when pushed, maybe we shove.

ROBERT BLOHM
Fort Erie, Ontario

Off the Roof and on the Farm

Berkeley’s Energy Institute at Haas says rooftop solar in California is the most costly way to increase solar power (Letters, Feb. 18). Why invest \$45,000 in a rooftop solar system when PG&E offers users 100% solar for almost the same price as nonsolar power? There is no market for excess rooftop solar power, since California already gives away enough excess solar power every summer to run 250,000 homes.

The economies of scale of a solar farm enables it to produce and store hydrogen to generate electricity for when the sun doesn’t shine. No technological breakthrough is needed and it’s far less expensive than any other green energy. All that’s needed is a political breakthrough.

ED KAHL
Woodside, Calif.

Memories of Shrinkflation

As I read “Inflation by Another Name” (Exchange, Feb. 12), I recalled how my dad, the owner/operator of a neighborhood tavern in the 1950s and ’60s, responded to increases in beer prices. He purchased new glasses with a thicker base and an ounce or two less capacity. The old glasses were brought home to serve milk or orange juice to his large and growing family (10 kids). These replaced larger glasses brought home a few years earlier after a previous price increase. He was able to serve slightly less beer, and Mom was able to serve a little less milk or juice.

WILLIAM BAILEY
Tacoma, Wash.

Letters intended for publication should be emailed to wsj.letters@wsj.com. Please include your city, state and telephone number. All letters are subject to editing, and unpublished letters cannot be acknowledged.

Allegory Can Be a Crucial Defense in Our Woke World

In Joe Morgenstern’s review of “Ted K” (Film Review, Feb. 18), we read that the star, Sharlot Copley, played a South African white supremacist in the movie “District 9.”

While conventional wisdom holds that “District 9” was an allegory for South Africa’s racial strife, it was not a movie about racism. In a woke world, one would hate for Mr. Copley to have to explain himself for portraying a white supremacist when in fact he did not. He portrayed a bureaucrat persecuting aliens. Literal aliens, not the undocumented kind. Again, one must tread lightly in our enlightened times.

THOMAS L. BONNETT
Mendota Heights, Minn.

Pepper ... And Salt

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL



“Great speech! Full of vitriol, but gleeful vitriol.”

OPINION

How to Beat Putin With Energy

By Kenneth C. Griffin
And Niall Ferguson

On June 24, 1948, Soviet forces blockaded the Allied-controlled areas of Berlin. The U.S. and U.K. responded by airlifting food and fuel from Allied airbases in western Germany. At the height of Operation Plainfare, one plane landed every 45 seconds at Tempelhof Airport. It worked. On May 11, 1949, Moscow lifted the blockade of West Berlin. Stalin blinked.

No such airlift can relieve the pressure being exerted on Ukraine by the huge military force Russia has assembled, with Russian troops entering Donetsk and Luhansk. But the principle can be applied to the broader problem raised by the Ukrainian crisis.

The foundation of Russian power today is the energy industry, which funds Russia's foreign policy, including its formidable armed forces. Russia is an energy superpower in no small part because European consumers buy Russian gas. Europeans wagered that energy interdependence would temper Russian militarism, but instead Europe has funded the Kremlin's rearmament. Europe would be safer if it had relied on allies for its gas.

The problem isn't simply Europe's energy dependence, but Russia's use of energy to co-opt European politicians. In early February, former German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder was nominated to join the board of Gazprom, Russia's state-owned gas monopoly. He already sits on the board of Rosneft, Russia's state-owned oil giant. These appointments highlight Germany's

dependence on Russian gas. Is it any surprise that Chancellor Olaf Scholz initially sought to exclude energy explicitly from any sanctions on Russia if it invaded Ukraine? He halted Nord Stream 2, the natural-gas pipeline between Russia and Germany, only after Vladimir Putin asserted the "independence" of Donetsk and Luhansk.

Since West Germany launched its Ostpolitik policy in the late 1960s, the bet that energy interdependence would produce peace involved building a network of gas pipelines.

America and its allies can wean Europe off its dependence on natural gas imported from Russia.

Rather than pacifying Europe, however, these pipelines empowered Russia. Without Russian energy, European citizens would struggle to get through winter. Mr. Putin has long understood the leverage this gives him.

The U.S. should encourage its European allies to reduce their reliance on Russian gas exports. The additional sanctions against Russia envisaged by the Biden administration would come at a tremendous cost to Americans without addressing the long-term source of Mr. Putin's power. Tougher U.S. financial sanctions would only further reduce the attractiveness of the dollar as a reserve currency. Withholding U.S. technology from Russia would inflict both direct and indirect damage on American companies, which have

many international competitors, not least in China.

Reducing reliance on Russian gas will require substantial investment and political will. Europe needs to replace as much Russian gas as possible with liquefied natural gas, ideally with long-term contracts to buy gas from allied countries such as the U.S. The American capacity to export liquefied natural gas is growing every year. Some European countries have already begun building substantial infrastructure to take advantage of this growth. Poland and Lithuania now no longer rely on Russian gas because they can import supplies from as far away as Australia.

The biggest laggard is, predictably, Germany. One reason is that the upfront costs of building liquefied natural gas infrastructure can be steep. Yet Russia's supposed price advantage no longer looks so compelling. European gas currently trades at around \$26 per metric million British thermal units. The price of American gas is a little over \$4.

Europe could also move itself toward energy independence by adopting a more realistic approach to climate change. Germany's decision to phase out nuclear power looks increasingly like a historic error. The European Commission's soon-to-be-announced plan to reduce its reliance on Russian gas is past due, but "doubling down on renewables" for short-term effect is delusional.

The U.S. has a role to play, too. It needs to produce more gas, not less. Washington should recognize that the American gas industry produces a relatively clean-burning fuel that the world will need for decades. Bans on fracking are misguided and

neutralize a critical economic and geopolitical advantage. The U.S. should frack more, so it has the gas needed to wean Europe off Russian pipelines.

Green-minded Europeans should also note that buying American gas would be better for the environment. In the U.S., gas companies face stricter regulations for methane capture and other environmental priorities. The Russian energy industry pays little heed to such concerns.

In addition, the U.S. should push its friends and allies to sign long-term supply agreements with Europe. Australia is a major gas producer, as is Qatar. The more sources of natural gas Europe has, the safer its energy supply will be.

Germany's bet that importing Russian energy would promote peace in Europe has been a losing one. It is time for a new strategy. The U.S. should not have to absorb the cost of sanctions on behalf of Germany if Berlin is not willing to change its policy. Regardless of whether it comes to all-out war in Ukraine, the Russian government has shown itself to be an incorrigibly aggressive autocracy with no compunction about coercing its neighbors.

In 1948 American supplies broke the Russian stranglehold on Berlin. Today American energy can end Berlin's dependence on Russia. If plane-loads of food can get the better of Stalin, boatloads of gas can get the better of Mr. Putin.

Mr. Griffin is the founder and CEO of Citadel. Mr. Ferguson is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, and founder of Greenmantle.

Zelensky Challenges The West

By Joe Lieberman

Munich

When I first attended the annual Munich Security Conference three decades ago, the thrill of victory in the Cold War was receding and had been replaced by concern about whether the North Atlantic Treaty Organization could survive without its common enemy—Soviet communism.

At this year's Munich meeting, which took place last weekend, it was sadly clear that NATO's common enemy has re-emerged with Vladimir Putin's attempt to reconstitute the Russian empire by baselessly claiming sovereignty over Ukraine. But

'Has our world completely forgotten the mistakes of the 20th century?' the Ukrainian president asks.

two big questions remained: Would diplomacy and the threat of economic sanctions be enough to stop Mr. Putin from invading? And should NATO be expanded and reformed to meet this new challenge?

Mr. Putin has begun to answer the first question by ordering troops into eastern Ukraine. The threat of sanctions isn't enough to stop him.

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky raised both questions in Munich in a disruptive, defiant and memorable speech. "Has our world completely forgotten the mistakes of the 20th century?" he asked. "Where does appeasement policy usually lead to?"

Regarding the threatened economic sanctions against Russia by Europe and the U.S., Mr. Zelensky shouted, "What are you waiting for? We don't need sanctions after the bombardment begins."

Now that Mr. Putin's troops have invaded eastern Ukraine, the U.S. and Europe should respond to Mr. Zelensky's plea and immediately impose the strongest possible sanctions with the hope that such a body blow to Russia's economy will stop Mr. Putin from expanding his invasion to the rest of Ukraine. The sanctions President Biden announced Tuesday are a strong start, but everything Mr. Putin has said and done this week tells us we must hit Russia's economy with everything we have now, not after he invades more or all of Ukraine. To paraphrase Mr. Zelensky, what are we waiting for?

The Ukraine president also said: "Whether they give us hundreds of modern weapons or 5,000 helmets, these are not noble gestures for which Ukraine should bow low. This is your contribution to the security of Europe and the world."

Then Mr. Zelensky gave the leaders in Munich a longer-range mission that they should urgently undertake: "The architecture of world security is fragile and needs to be updated. The rules that the world agreed on decades ago no longer work. They do not keep up with new threats."

A good place to begin would be for Europe to accelerate Ukraine's application for membership in the European Union and for the U.S. and Europe to expedite Ukraine's joining NATO. Ukraine was promised eventual membership in NATO 14 years ago, but its application has never really been considered, mostly for fear of agitating Mr. Putin. But this "appeasement," to use Mr. Zelensky's word, only encouraged Mr. Putin to believe he could seize Crimea in 2014, mass more than 150,000 Russian troops on Ukraine's border and invade without a response from NATO. That painful lesson should move NATO members to grant membership to Ukraine as soon as possible and with it the promise in Article 5 of NATO's charter that an attack against one member is an attack against all. That would leave Mr. Putin and his successors with no doubt about the enormous risks Russia would take if it threatens Ukraine again.

For now, we must pray that diplomacy and increasing pressure on Mr. Putin will end his personal delusions of empire. If not, the Ukrainian people will defend themselves, as Mr. Zelensky said in Munich: "We are going to protect our country with or without the support of our partners."

The hard truth is Ukraine cannot succeed alone against Russia. The U.S. and Europe must find ways to come to Ukraine's defense. As Mr. Zelensky said, it would be our "contribution to the security of Europe and the world."

Mr. Lieberman was the Democratic vice-presidential nominee in 2000 and a U.S. senator from Connecticut, 1989-2013. He is chairman of United Against Nuclear Iran and of No Labels.

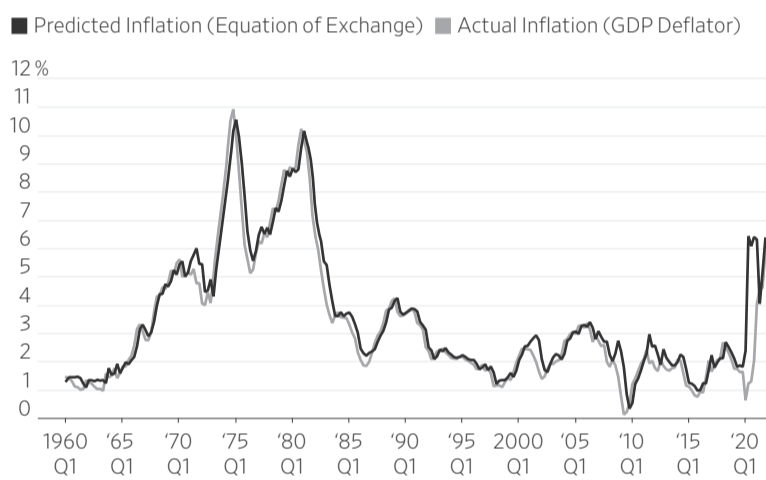
Powell Is Wrong. Printing Money Causes Inflation

By Steve H. Hanke
And Nicholas Hanlon

Federal Reserve Chairman Jerome Powell still believes that inflation and the money supply are unconnected. He first made this remarkable assertion in his Semiannual Monetary Policy Report to Congress last February, saying that "the growth of M2 . . . doesn't really have important implications for the economic outlook." Since then, the U.S. annual inflation rate has climbed to 7.5% from 1.7%, but Mr. Powell hasn't changed his mind. He doubled down during congressional testimony in December, arguing that the connection between money and inflation ended about 40 years ago. The nearby chart shows otherwise.

By turning a blind eye to money, the Fed has allowed the printing presses to run in overdrive. The money supply as measured by M2, which is the Fed's broadest measure of money in the economy, has been growing at record rates—with 39.9% cumulative growth since February 2020. M2 is still growing at an elevated, inflationary rate of 12.6% a year. Before the pandemic,

Realized Inflation vs. Predicted Inflation (Equation of Exchange), Jan. 1960-Dec. 2021



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve

you'd have to go back to the early 1980s to find a monetary growth rate this high.

One of us, Mr. Hanke, predicted in these pages last July that year-end inflation for 2021 would "be at least 6% and possibly as high as 9%." That was based on the quantity theory of money, which economic thinkers have used since the

Renaissance. The theory rests on a simple identity, the equation of exchange, which demonstrates the link between the money supply and inflation: $MV=Py$, where M is the money supply, V is the velocity of money (the speed at which it circulates relative to the money supply), P is the price level, and y is real gross domestic product. So, the

quantity theory of money provides the link between money and inflation.

If Mr. Powell is right and all that is outdated thinking, then when looking back through economic data, the equation of exchange shouldn't be able to predict prices. But look at the chart. When we took the past 60 years of economic data and the rate-of-change form of the identity we explained above, it predicted price changes almost perfectly. Our estimate deviated from actual inflation only during 2020, as the money supply grew at unprecedented rates and lockdowns stanching real growth. By June 2021, our estimate for inflation based on the quantity theory of money had reverted back to its conjunction with actual inflation.

It's time for Mr. Powell and his colleagues at the Fed to realize that money matters.

Mr. Hanke is a professor of applied economics at Johns Hopkins University. Mr. Hanlon is chief of staff at the Johns Hopkins Institute for Applied Economics, Global Health and the Study of Business Enterprise.

American Military Diffidence Handed Iran the Bomb

By Alan J. Kuperman

American presidents have insisted for two decades that they would never permit Iran to acquire nuclear weapons, but they let Iran make so much progress that its bomb program is now effectively unstoppable. The mistake of U.S. leaders was to forswear military action except as a last resort, which gave Iran a green light for gradual yet irreversible nuclear advances. Acknowledging this error won't stop Iran but might block future proliferators.

Atomic bombs require plutonium or highly enriched uranium. Countries seeking such weapons need the ability to enrich uranium or a nuclear reactor and reprocessing plant to obtain plutonium. That's why U.S. nonproliferation policy has focused on preventing the spread of enrichment and reprocessing. Weaponization also requires additional technology—a metallic core, an implosion package,

and a delivery system—but these can't be easily controlled because the research is small-scale or can be spun off from legitimate civilian technologies.

Iran chose the uranium path, and it needed about 25 years to master rudimentary centrifuges that enrich slowly. But a decade ago, Iran began pursuing more-efficient centrifuges, which can produce enough weapons-grade uranium for a nuclear arsenal quickly or clandestinely before anyone can react.

The only way the U.S. could have derailed Iran's bomb program was to block its mastery of efficient centrifuges. Presidents Obama and Trump both failed to do so. Mr. Obama embraced the 2015 Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, which explicitly allowed Iran to develop and test advanced "IR-4, IR-5, IR-6 and IR-8 centrifuges" and then to deploy 30 IR-8 centrifuges, the most sophisticated model, in 2024. After 2030, the deal had no limits on centrifuges.

Mr. Trump withdrew from the deal in 2018 and reimposed sanctions, after which Iran violated the deal's enrichment restrictions and gained substantial experience with centrifuges up through the IR-6, stockpiling weapons-grade uranium in 2021 for the first time. Both presidents acquiesced to Iran's mastery of advanced centrifuges, but Mr. Trump shortened the timeline.

Force should be used not as a 'last resort,' but when it's the best option to serve national security.

Surgical military strikes no longer can block Iran's path to the bomb. A large, declared facility equipped with advanced centrifuges could enrich uranium for many bombs in weeks, before the international community could determine what was happening inside, let alone respond. Smaller, undetected enrichment facilities could secretly produce the same amount in a few months. Iran already has conducted research on the metallic uranium core, implosion package and delivery system for a nuclear weapon.

Several years ago, military force could have blocked Iran's nuclear program through bombing or raiding enrichment facilities to hinder experience with advanced centrifuges. Even a credible U.S. threat might have compelled a better deal to prohibit Iran from deploying these technologies.

But the Obama and Trump administrations refused to consider decisive military action, leaving Israel's much smaller military and intelligence services to resort to pinprick

cyber and bomb attacks, which delayed Iran only months.

The fundamental flaw of U.S. policy was the shibboleth that military action was a last resort. This doctrine arose from military fiascoes in Vietnam and Lebanon, and was enunciated famously in 1984 by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, and in 1992 by Joint Chiefs Chairman Colin Powell. Subsequent U.S. casualties in Somalia and Iraq reinforced the doctrine.

The last-resort policy is fatally flawed. Military theorist Carl von Clausewitz argued that force should be employed when it is the best option to maximize national security, not the last option. By delaying the threat or use of force, Messrs. Obama and Trump acquiesced to Iranian nuclear progress and left the U.S. with no good option today.

Even if negotiations reinstate the 2015 deal in some form, Iran's centrifuge expertise cannot be unlearned. A military solution now would require a full invasion, which would be unwise and politically untenable. The last remaining hope, a long shot, is to pursue regime change by other means.

The U.S. always should consider every option, including military action, to achieve its security goals. Armed force won't always be the best choice, and I publicly opposed going to war against Iraq in 2003. But the next time a president insists that force is only a last resort, Americans should ask why and never forget how that misguided policy gave Iran a clear path to the bomb.

Mr. Kuperman is an associate professor at the University of Texas at Austin's LBJ School of Public Affairs and coordinator of its Nuclear Proliferation Prevention Project.

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Carvana Pressed as Covid Gains Ebb

Online used-car seller Carvana Co. was a pandemic winner, wowing Wall Street with relentless sales growth. Following the path of tech disrupters like Netflix Inc. and Uber Technologies Inc., it borrowed billions from investors willing to prize growth over profitability.

By Margot Patrick, Kristin Broughton and Ben Foldy

Now Carvana is facing tests. The tailwinds that boosted growth—rising used-car prices, low interest rates and an early-mover advantage in online car sales—are ebbing. And the cash-burning company is years away from profitability.

Carvana shares are down by two-thirds from their peak last year and are close to losing all of their pandemic gains. The company's bonds have fallen in price, mirroring declines in other speculative investments. Lower share prices and higher yields on its bonds would make it more expensive for Carvana to raise the cash it needs to fund its growth.

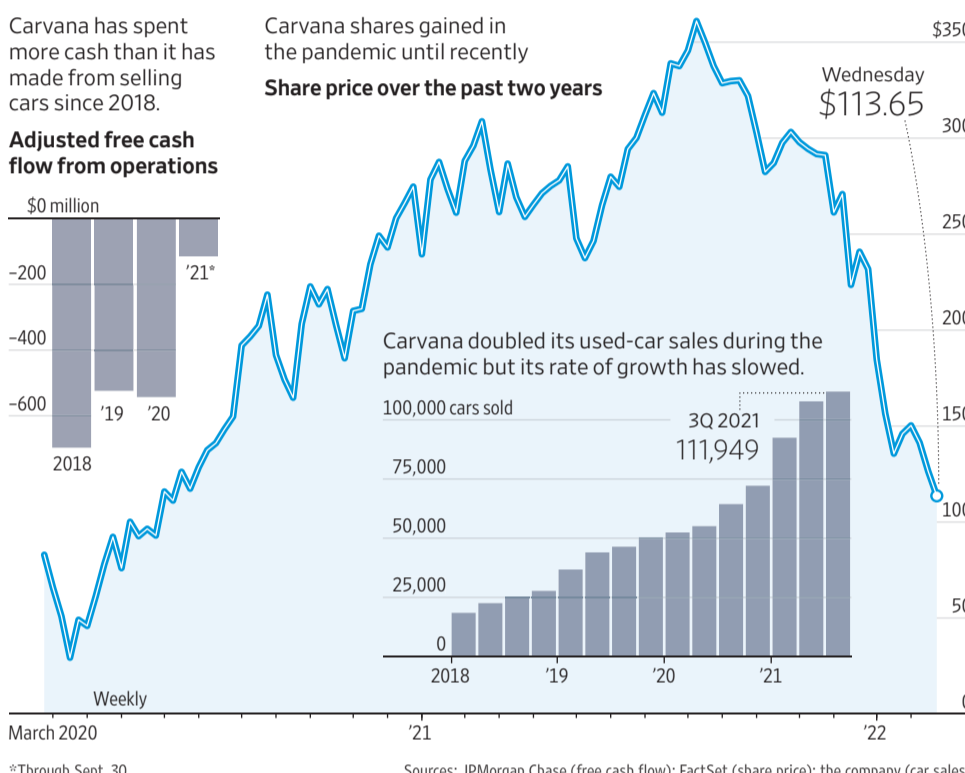
"The long-term sustainability of the business is still a question mark," said David Binns, an analyst at S&P Global Ratings. The firm rates Carvana's bonds as triple-C plus, meaning it needs favorable business conditions to repay its debt.

Investors expect company Chief Executive Ernie Garcia III to address these questions when Carvana reports its full-year 2021 earnings on Thursday. Most urgent will be information on Carvana's slowdown in growth.

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Slowing growth has investors concerned about the used-car seller, which was a pandemic winner.



U.S. Stocks Extend Slide Over Ukraine

Major indexes decline; futures then plunge, oil jumps after Russia launches operation

By Joe Wallace and Karen Langley

Investors rushed for safety, pushing down stocks and lifting the prices of oil, gold and government bonds, after Russian President Vladimir Putin launched a military operation in Ukraine.

By late morning Thursday in Hong Kong, futures tied to the S&P 500, Nasdaq 100 and Dow Jones Industrial Average all stood more than 2% lower. Regional stock indexes also fell sharply, with Hong Kong's Hang Seng Index dropping 2.9%.

Brent crude oil, the global benchmark, topped \$100 a barrel for the first time since 2014, with the front-month contract rising as much as 3.3% to \$100.07. Prices for its U.S. equivalent, West Texas Intermediate, also gained. Gold and U.S. Treasury bonds, which both typically rally in times of stress, rose in price, and the dollar strengthened.

On Wednesday, U.S. stocks fell, deepening their losses after concerns over the crisis in Ukraine helped push the S&P 500 into correction territory.

The threat of war in Ukraine has added to uncer-



tainty in global markets. The U.S. stock benchmark dropped 79.26 points, or 1.8%, to 4225.50, a day after closing down more than 10% from its Jan. 3 record. The S&P 500 is now down 12% from its record.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average fell 464.85 points, or 1.4%, to 33131.76, while the technology-heavy Nasdaq Composite retreated 344.03 points, or 2.6%, to 13037.49, its lowest closing level since May.

The losses were broad-based, with 10 of the S&P 500's

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IMDB Trial Paused Over Prosecution Misstep

By Dylan Tokar

A federal judge said she would pause the trial of former Goldman Sachs Group Inc. banker Roger Ng after prosecutors Wednesday said they had failed to turn over a tranche of documents to the defendant's lawyers.

The unexpected admission by the U.S. Justice Department came on the fifth day of the Brooklyn, N.Y., trial of Mr. Ng, a former Goldman managing

director who was charged in 2018 for taking part in a conspiracy to loot billions of dollars from the Malaysian government fund 1Malaysia Development Bhd, known as 1MDB. Mr. Ng has pleaded not guilty to the government's charges and blamed others for the scheme.

Prosecutors in a letter filed to the court Wednesday morning said they had been notified the night before of a collection of 15,500 documents that

hadn't been turned over to Mr. Ng's lawyers for review in preparation for his trial. Prosecutors called the misstep an "inexcusable error" and said they supported adjourning the trial while the defense team reviewed the information.

The documents stem from search warrants executed on the emails of Goldman partner Timothy Leissner, the government's star witness in the case, prosecutors said. Mr. Leissner took the stand last week to

testify against his former colleague and close associate.

During a break in Mr. Leissner's testimony on Wednesday morning, a lawyer for Mr. Ng condemned the government for its failure to turn over the documents, arguing that it was part of a pattern of withholding evidence over the many months that both sides had prepared for the trial.

Judge Margo Brodie admonished the Justice Department for its error and said she

would adjourn the trial after prosecutors finish questioning Mr. Leissner to give Mr. Ng's defense team time to review the new material. She warned that she couldn't delay the trial indefinitely.

"What's particularly troubling to the court is that I sat here and asked the government if you did a thorough review and [if] all the relevant disclosures were made," the judge said. "I don't know what

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Barclays Freezes Pay for Ex-CEO

By Anna Hirtenstein

LONDON—Barclays PLC said it has frozen former chief executive Jes Staley's deferred pay while regulators complete a probe into how he characterized his relationship with convicted sex offender Jeffrey Epstein.

The bank made the announcement Wednesday alongside its latest financial results, which showed net profit rose in the fourth quarter as it released funds set aside to cover for Covid-19 damages, even as trading moderated following a furious period of activity.

Mr. Staley stepped down in November. He was under pressure from U.K. regulators who concluded the executive had provided an incomplete picture of his relationship with Epstein, The Wall Street Journal previously reported, citing people familiar with the investigation.

Mr. Staley has around 11.2 million unvested shares with a value of £24.3 million, or around \$32 million, based on Wednesday's share price. The shares comprise almost 70% of deferred bonus and long-term incentive awards he earned since he took the job in 2015.

Mr. Staley said at the time of his resignation that he would contest the conclusions made by the U.K.'s Financial Conduct Authority and Prudential Regulatory Authority.

A spokesman for Mr. Staley declined to comment. Reforms put in place after the 2008 financial crisis made it easier for banks to freeze or claw back compensation promised to executives in case bad behavior later came to light.

The London-based bank has been looking to move past the distraction created by Mr. Staley's past dealings with Epstein, who was a client of Mr.

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Frequent Salary Reviews Spread in Labor Competition

By Lauren Weber and Chip Cutter

The demand for U.S. workers has led some manufacturers, technology firms and other employers to ditch the annual raise and switch to more frequent pay reviews as they compete for talent and keep pace with rising wages.

CoorsTek Inc., a maker of industrial ceramics, last year started doing quarterly pay reviews, primarily to ensure it could hire and retain workers

for critical and hard-to-fill manufacturing roles such as production operators and maintenance mechanics. The Golden, Colo.-based company hired around 1,300 people in the U.S. last year, and bringing on new people often meant paying above its usual ranges.

"When the market is evolving in real-time and there really isn't a leading indicator other than what you're seeing to compete and hire, you quickly have to adjust," said Irma Lockridge, the chief peo-

ple officer at the 6,000-person company.

As the economy bounces back from the shocks of the Covid-19 pandemic, U.S. companies and small businesses have been competing for employees in a historically tight labor market. Employers added 6.7 million jobs last year, yet U.S. job openings and worker turnover are hovering near their highest levels on record. Those trends are spurring wage growth. Wages climbed 5.7% in

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Irma Lockridge, the chief people officer at CoorsTek, a maker of industrial ceramics, says the new cadence adds work for her team.

Microsoft Security Chief Says It Is Time to Take Shelter in the Cloud

By Aaron Tilley and Robert McMillan

Microsoft Corp.'s new security chief, Charlie Bell, has a message for companies and institutions buffeted by cyberattacks: Take shelter in the cloud.

Microsoft built a \$15 billion business—and one of the world's biggest private cyber armies—to counter cyberattacks, but the storm of threats is expanding. U.S. banks flagged nearly \$600 million in ransomware payments during the first six months of 2021,

and cybersecurity experts put the cost of that much higher.

"It's sort of like the mother of all problems," said Mr. Bell in his first interview since joining Microsoft from Amazon.com Inc. last year. "If you don't solve it, all the other technology stuff just doesn't happen."

Microsoft finds itself uniquely positioned in the center of all of this activity, Mr. Bell said. Its email and office-productivity products are dominant on corporate and government networks, and it is the country's No. 2 provider of

cloud-computing services.

Mr. Bell, who at Amazon helped build the world's largest cloud business, said Microsoft is taking center stage in combating cybercrime. Some customers have said it has more to do.

Microsoft has been hit by a series of high-profile cyber intrusions in recent years. In December 2020, the company said it was compromised by the hackers behind the cyber-attack on SolarWinds Corp.—a group that U.S. officials have

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IMDB Trial Put On Hold

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the solution is going to be eventually but we're going to take it one step at a time."
Mr. Leissner, who is cooperating with the government,

previously pleaded guilty to U.S. charges of conspiracy to launder money and violate anti-bribery laws for his role in the IMDB scandal.
During his testimony, the former Goldman partner has said that he and his family received between \$50 million and \$60 million in kickbacks as part of the scheme. Federal prosecutors have accused Mr. Ng of receiving \$35 million in kickbacks.
A Goldman representative declined to comment.

Bath & Body Works CEO Plans to Step Down in May

By Kimberly Chin
Bath & Body Works Inc. said Andrew Meslow would step down from his posts as chief executive and board member in May, citing health reasons.
Sarah Nash, the company's board chairwoman, will serve as interim CEO when Mr. Meslow departs, which is scheduled for May 12, the company said. The retailer, formerly known as L Brands

Inc., plans to begin a search for a permanent replacement.
"After much consideration and many discussions with my family, I have decided to step down as CEO so that I can focus on my health," Mr. Meslow said.
One of the company's long-time executives, Mr. Meslow was promoted to L Brands CEO in February 2020, succeeding Les Wexner, then the longest-tenured CEO of an S&P 500 company, who built up the Victoria's Secret brand.

Carvana's Pandemic Gains Fade

Continued from page B1
Carvana said it would be inappropriate to comment ahead of its earnings announcement.
Struggling with bottlenecks caused by its fast growth last year, Carvana cut its purchases of vehicles from individuals and limited the number of cars that consumers could view on the site. "There's definitely some slowing," said Michael Baker, a managing director with D.A. Davidson & Co. Some of that is due to Carvana's decision to limit sales, while some is due to broader market trends, he said.
Analysts expect Carvana's decision to limit its available cars to weigh on fourth-quarter sales, adding to a slowdown across the industry. Retail sales for the full year are seen at around 430,000.
It could also push buyers, some of whom have complained about paperwork issues with their purchases amid Carvana's rapid growth, to other sellers.
"A customer that shows up at the website is less likely to find the car that they want, which isn't a perfect customer experience in any way, shape, or form and isn't

what we're aiming for," Mr. Garcia said at a Wells Fargo investment conference on Dec. 1.
Falling behind surging demand could be a temporary blip for a fast-growing company. Mr. Garcia said at the conference that he still views the auto retail industry as ripe for disruption that will allow Carvana to create industry-leading profitability if it can sell enough cars. Mr. Garcia said he preferred to emphasize growth over profitability as the business's economics will be more favorable at scale.
Carvana has cumulatively lost more than \$1.2 billion since the start of 2018. It has spent around \$1.9 billion more cash than it made from selling cars since 2018, excluding inventory and consumer lending operations, and sold stock and bonds to fund the difference, according to JPMorgan Chase & Co. Net revenue in the period from the beginning of 2018 to Sept. 30, 2021, was \$20.5 billion.
Weaker growth expectations put more pressure on the company to generate profits, since investors are less likely to pour cash into a humdrum business than one with a glowing future. Netflix and Uber used borrowed money to remake their industries. Investors may decide that Carvana is more like WeWork, the short-term office-rental company that turned out to be a real-estate company, not a tech disrupter.
JPMorgan analyst Rajat

Companies Step Up the Pay Review

Continued from page B1
January from a year earlier, government data show, nearly double the average gain before the pandemic hit.
Full off-cycle salary reviews remain relatively rare, surveys show, and executives say companies can turn to other options, such as using one-time bonuses, expanding benefits or adding vacation days, to help retain workers without boosting wages.
In a January survey by the consulting firm Mercer, roughly half of respondents said they didn't plan additional reviews or salary increases to address inflation this year, though nearly a quarter said they were considering it. Around 20% of respondents said they plan to review off-cycle salary increases as needed in 2022. Only around 6% of the 2,565 human-resources managers who responded said they had decided to review compensation two or more times this year in response to rising prices.
"These tend to be persistent decisions" as employees get used to a new cadence of salary reviews and expect them to continue, said Tauseef Rahman, a partner in Mercer's career business. Once companies put in place a new process, "it's difficult to scale it back, so I suspect organizations are cautious."
At CoorsTek, higher pay for new employees shrank the difference between pay for tenured workers and their newer counterparts, so the company now does a quarterly "compensation" review. It wants to ensure that the experience of existing employees, who may have been hired in a less-competitive job market, is rewarded appropriately.
As a result, compensation expenses for the company's critical roles rose about 10% last year, and CoorsTek expects a similar increase this year. It is budgeting several extra million dollars for pay increases on top of its usual 3% salary budget increase.
Production manager Austin Smith has seen more than 60% of the employees in his department receive pay increases thanks to CoorsTek's new pay practices. He believes he too benefited last fall when he was promoted from department manager, and his pay went up at least 20%. "It was more than I anticipated, to be honest," said Mr. Smith, age 28.
The quarterly cadence adds work for Ms. Lockridge's team, and she has hired an additional compensation analyst and two specialists in workforce analytics. But the schedule also means CoorsTek can adjust quickly if the market softens.

aimed at keeping Deloitte's pay competitive in a labor market where wages were rising quickly, said Joe Uczozglu, chief executive of Deloitte U.S. "Clearly, there's upward pressure," Mr. Uczozglu said, noting the firm made "adjustments where the market had moved."
The increases coincided with efforts to bolster employee benefits, part of what Deloitte described as a \$1 billion investment in its workforce. It is an open question whether the firm will consider off-cycle pay increases again, Mr. Uczozglu said. Much will depend on the strength of the labor market, he said, and the trajectory of wages.
A challenge in setting wages in the pandemic, human-resources executives say, is how quickly pay is changing, and for such a range of roles. Not only are companies eager to hire technical talent, but they also need more marketers, recruiters and professionals skilled at hiring.
At **General Motors Co.**, Kyle Lagunas, the company's head of talent attraction, sourcing and insight, said he knows that many of the auto maker's recruiters could increase their salaries by 20% to 30% by taking an offer with a rival. "We're really looking at how we ensure that we can compete with what's out there," he said. "It's just so crazy hot right now."
Some executives have announced across-the-board pay

increases during routine all-hands sessions, surprising workers. In October, Brian de Haaff, chief executive and co-founder of software maker **Aha! Labs Inc.**, appeared on the company's weekly Friday video call to tell its more than 100 employees that they would all be receiving a 10% raise, regardless of their tenure at the company.
"There was this level of surprise you could see in people's faces," Mr. de Haaff said.
The nine-year-old company based in Menlo Park, Calif., had never issued such an increase, and typically conducts annual reviews and pay changes on an employee's hire-date anniversary. The timing of the October pay increase reflected strong operating results inside the company and, in part, a tight market for technology employees, Mr. de Haaff said.
Aha! made other changes to compensation, too, to more quickly reward employees. Instead of issuing one profit-sharing check to employees annually, the company last year split the payments into two, so employees can see the results of their work sooner. "Waiting for an entire year is a long time," Mr. de Haaff said. "So we've shifted it."

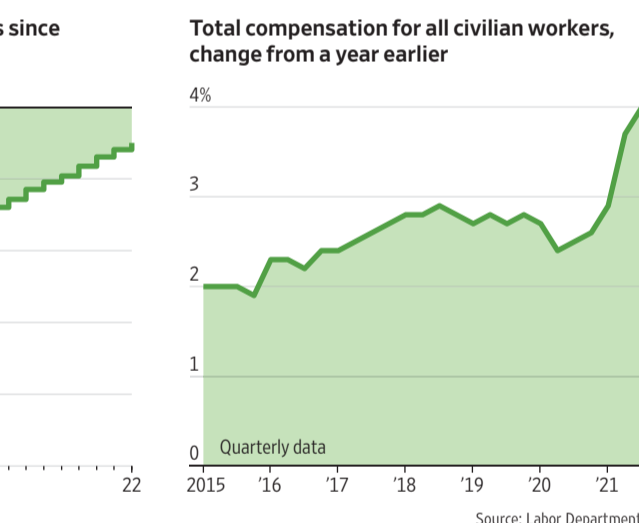
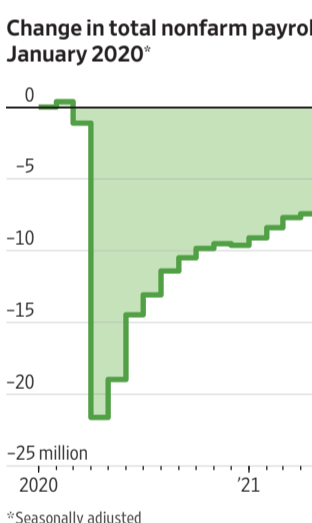
BUSINESS & FINANCE



An employee at CoorsTek. The Golden, Colo.-based company wants to ensure that the experience of existing employees, who may have been hired in a less-competitive market, is rewarded appropriately.

"If it slows down, the last thing you want to do is overspend at the beginning of the year," Ms. Lockridge said.
TigerGraph Inc., an artificial intelligence startup with about 350 employees, moved to biannual pay reviews last year. "It wasn't a decision we took lightly," said Todd Blaschka, chief operating officer. "Just because there's a review doesn't mean there's a guaranteed change in your compensation. So we have to manage expectations" for employees.
Salaries at the Silicon Valley firm, which nearly tripled its head count in 2021, have risen around 12% overall in the past 12 months, Mr. Blaschka said. The additional market data the company collects during its hiring helps set baselines for the biannual reviews. "We now learn where the market is going much more quickly," he said, "and we can start predicting where things are going based on the data we're gathering."
The consulting and accounting giant **Deloitte LLP** typically raises employee salaries once a year, over the summer. Executives at the firm realized last fall they couldn't wait that long to adjust compensation again. Deloitte U.S. conducted an additional pay analysis to study wages for its 120,000 employees, ultimately raising salaries for thousands of its employees at the end of 2021.
The surprise increases were

aimed at keeping Deloitte's pay competitive in a labor market where wages were rising quickly, said Joe Uczozglu, chief executive of Deloitte U.S. "Clearly, there's upward pressure," Mr. Uczozglu said, noting the firm made "adjustments where the market had moved."
The increases coincided with efforts to bolster employee benefits, part of what Deloitte described as a \$1 billion investment in its workforce. It is an open question whether the firm will consider off-cycle pay increases again, Mr. Uczozglu said. Much will depend on the strength of the labor market, he said, and the trajectory of wages.
A challenge in setting wages in the pandemic, human-resources executives say, is how quickly pay is changing, and for such a range of roles. Not only are companies eager to hire technical talent, but they also need more marketers, recruiters and professionals skilled at hiring.
At **General Motors Co.**, Kyle Lagunas, the company's head of talent attraction, sourcing and insight, said he knows that many of the auto maker's recruiters could increase their salaries by 20% to 30% by taking an offer with a rival. "We're really looking at how we ensure that we can compete with what's out there," he said. "It's just so crazy hot right now."
Some executives have announced across-the-board pay



Gupta said in a January note that Carvana is still burning cash after 10 years in business. He said bricks-and-mortar dealers are moving into the online car-sales market, finding new ways to grow. "We do not necessarily see the company's business model as highly superior or disruptive to the market," he said.
CarMax, the nation's biggest used-car seller by volume, sells twice as many cars as Carvana, mainly from 226 stores. Its online sales doubled in recent quarters to 9% of cars sold.
Analysts and investors

\$1.2B

The company's cumulative losses since 2018

project Carvana will need to raise capital again, and won't break even for a full year, until at least 2024.
To help boost growth, Carvana is building additional facilities to buy and prepare cars for sale, easing its bottlenecks. It has 14 of these facilities now, with capacity to handle around 817,000 vehicles a year, and has said it plans to have 21 in all by the end of 2022.
Equity analysts expect Carvana to invest between \$400 million and \$500 million in property and new facilities in

2022, roughly on par with their estimates of what the company spent in 2021.
Mr. Gupta said Carvana's infrastructure investments could bring a competitive advantage. He expects the company to generate a full-year profit before interest, taxes, depreciation and amortization by 2023 and have positive adjusted free cash flow by 2024.
Carvana has been funding some of its facilities by selling them and leasing them back. That helps preserve cash but adds to liabilities. As of Sept. 30, the company owed \$420 million under sale and lease-back arrangements, which added to its more than \$3 billion in total long-term debt.
Among the largest draws on Carvana's cash flow is its inventory of used cars, which it purchases from wholesale auctions, other retailers and directly from customers. The company had \$2.3 billion in vehicle inventory on its balance sheet as of Sept. 30, more than double what it had at the end of 2020.
Carvana, like other auto dealers, funds its vehicle purchases with a floor plan financing agreement. The company increased its credit line under that agreement twice in the past three months, boosting it in December to \$2.25 billion from its previous cap of \$1.75 billion, and again in February to \$3 billion, though the line will drop down to \$2 billion come September.

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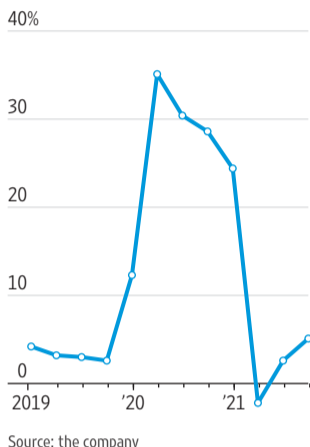
Lowe's Sees Its Margins Holding Up

BY MATT GROSSMAN

Lowe's Cos. surprised Wall Street with its management of costs and pricing in the latest quarter amid a slowing outlook for the home-improvement sector's sales.

Lowe's shares finished 0.2% higher on Wednesday at \$215.09 after the company said sales growth will ease this year but projected that its profitability will improve, compared with a 1.8% loss for the S&P 500 index. That came a day after its larger competitor, Home Depot Inc., gave a similar sales outlook for 2022

Lowe's U.S. comparable-store sales, change from a year earlier



and saw its shares drop about 9%, the biggest one-day loss for the stock in nearly two years. Home Depot shares closed down another 2.4% Wednesday.

Rising wages and supply-chain challenges have made it difficult for businesses in many parts of the economy to increase their margins in recent months. However, Lowe's said its gross margin improved by more than a percentage point in the latest quarter compared with last year. Analysts had been expecting the metric to rise by just a fraction of that amount.

That performance drew a

contrast with that of Home Depot, whose gross margins have been shrinking, in part because of costs from extensive investments it has been making in its supply chain.

Lowe's said that better product pricing relative to costs and better shrink results both contributed to its higher margins. Shrink refers to merchandise that is lost to theft or damage.

"We're just extremely pleased with the performance from a shrink perspective," Lowe's finance chief David Denton said. "I think the store teams and the loss-prevention teams have just done an excellent job of managing that."

Management of costs and pricing is likely to help gross margin improve again this year, he said.

During the pandemic, demand for home-improvement projects fueled outside gains for the sector's stocks. Since early March 2020, Lowe's shares have almost doubled, while Home Depot's are up by about 34%.

Now, the companies are projecting that sales in 2022 won't likely match the double-digit growth achieved in recent years.

Lowe's quarterly sales rose to \$21.34 billion, up from a year-earlier \$20.31 billion. Comparable sales, a metric that strips out the effects of store openings and closings, increased 5% year over year.

The company's profit totaled \$1.21 billion, or \$1.78 a share, up from \$1.32 a share a year earlier. Analysts surveyed by FactSet had been expecting sales of \$20.92 billion and earnings of \$1.71 a share.

Looking ahead, Lowe's said it expects that on a comparable basis, sales in 2022 will register between a 1% decline and a 1% improvement from 2021's levels. The company forecast that profit will grow by approximately 8% to 13%.

◆ **Heard on the Street:** Retailers have room to grow..... B10



Stellantis said profit margins have been boosted by surging new-vehicle prices and thin selection. A Stellantis plant in Detroit.

Jeep Maker Braces for Sanctions Hit

BY NICK KOSTOV AND STACY MEICHTRY

Stellantis NV is prepared to shift or limit production in Russia if Western sanctions disrupt those operations, the auto maker's CEO said Wednesday, a sign of how the car industry is navigating the fallout of Russian President Vladimir Putin's decision to recognize two breakaway regions in eastern Ukraine.

Chief Executive Carlos Tavares of Stellantis, which makes the Jeep, Dodge and Peugeot brands, said he was unsure how sanctions would affect the car maker's plant in Kaluga, which is 115 miles southeast of Moscow. The facility has increased production for exports to Western Europe since December. "If we cannot supply the plant," Mr. Tavares said, "we have either to transfer that production to other plants, or just limit ourselves." He added that the company produced the same vehicles at plants in the U.K. and France.

Production at the Kaluga factory doubled in 2021 as Stellantis made around 11,000 light commercial vehicles in Russia. The plant, which has the capacity to produce 125,000 vehicles a year, started

assembling the Peugeot Expert, Opel Vivaro and Citroën Jumpy for export in December. Stellantis also said it planned to assemble manual transmissions at the plant by the end of the year, as well as a Fiat model intended for export.

Mr. Tavares, who is slated next week to unveil the company's strategic plan until 2030, said geopolitical concerns would have an impact on how the company made its decisions for the future. "The automotive industry has been impacted over the last decades many times by the geopolitics," he said.

The comments came as Stellantis reported a surge in annual profit and issued an upbeat forecast, sending its shares up more than 4% and providing another sign that the global auto industry has returned to strength after nearly two years of disruptions linked to the pandemic.

The car maker said profit margins have been boosted by surging new-vehicle prices and thin selection on dealership lots, in part due to a semiconductor crunch that caused it to curtail production. Car companies have sharply cut discounts and other financial incentives that they normally offer to

compete for buyers' attention.

Stellantis's average transaction prices rose to \$47,000 in the U.S., a 20% increase on the previous year and higher than rivals General Motors Co. and Ford Motor Co., Mr. Tavares said. Its adjusted operating margin in North America—a key measure of its profitability—was a record 16.3%, the company said.

The auto maker, formed by the combination of Fiat Chrys-

◆ **Heard on the Street:** Stellantis's CEO is slated next week to unveil a strategic plan going to 2030.

ler and Peugeot maker PSA Group, reported 2021 net income of €13.22 billion, equivalent to about \$15 billion, a threefold increase driven by North America. Overall revenue rose 14% last year to €152.12 billion, despite deep production cuts from the continuing computer-chip shortage.

The semiconductor shortage resulted in a cut to the company's planned 2021 produc-

tion of about 1.7 million vehicles, or 20% of total planned production, the company said. Finance chief Richard Palmer said the shortage had eased in the fourth quarter and he expected things to continue improving this year, but it was difficult to make precise predictions. Mr. Palmer also said the company was dealing with inflation on raw materials. He said it would continue to offset those rising prices with cost-cutting efforts and price increases.

Stellantis said it expects industry sales to rise by 3% this year in both North America and Europe. Additionally, the car maker said it was aiming for an adjusted operating income margin in the double digits in 2022, as well as positive free cash flow. It said its forecast assumes economic and Covid-19 conditions will remain substantially unchanged.

The car maker said Wednesday that it had achieved €3.2 billion in net cash benefits from the merger that created Stellantis, putting it ahead of schedule. It also announced a dividend of €3.3 billion for its first full year of operations.

◆ **Heard on the Street:** Jeep maker is no Tesla..... B10

Ford CEO Says It Has No Plans to Spin Off EV Unit

BY MIKE COLIAS

Ford Motor Co. Chief Executive Jim Farley said the auto maker doesn't intend to spin off its electric-vehicle business, tamping down speculation that the company could break off its EV operations to boost market value.

"We have no plans to spin off our electric or [internal-combustion-engine] business," Mr. Farley said on Wednesday during a virtual Wolfe Research investor conference.

Ford shares rose last week following media reports and speculation among Wall Street analysts about the possibility of an EV spinoff.

Mr. Farley said much of Ford's broader operations will be critical to building out its electric-car business, including its engineering and manufacturing expertise. Ford shares sold off Wednesday following Mr. Farley's remarks. They closed down about 2%.

Wall Street analysts in recent years have speculated whether traditional auto makers might separate their electric-car businesses to give in-



After Jim Farley's remarks, the car maker's stock closed down 2%.

vestors a more targeted bet on the industry's pivot to EVs. Executives generally have said that they are willing to explore their options, but that

are stronger and we can go faster because they're together," General Motors Co. CEO Mary Barra said during an appearance in December.

The EV-spinoff speculation grew louder last year as EV leader Tesla Inc.'s value soared past \$1 trillion, more than the valuation of the five largest global car companies by sales combined. Tesla shares have fallen by more than a quarter this year amid a broader selloff in EV stocks, leaving its market value at around \$800 billion.

A Ford electric-vehicle spinoff "could give the new EV division easier access to capital and generate multiples more in-line with pure EV players including Rivian and Tesla," Deutsche Bank analyst Emmanuel Rosner wrote in a report Tuesday, noting that a complete separation would be difficult to execute.

Like many global auto makers, Ford's focus and investment have shifted to electric vehicles and digital services, which executives say can generate additional revenue, even though those are small parts of the business today. Ford has

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Like many global auto makers, Ford's focus and investment have shifted to electric vehicles and digital services, which executives say can generate additional revenue, even though those are small parts of the business today. Ford has

said it expects 40% of its global sales to be electric by 2030.

Mr. Farley said Wednesday that Ford will take a different approach to develop, build and sell electric vehicles than it does the gas- and diesel-powered cars that fuel its bottom line today. He said Ford doesn't need to spin off the EV operations to have success.

"It's really more around focus, capability, expertise and talent," he said.

The CEO added that he believes Ford's internal-combustion-engine business, bolstered by its top-selling F Series pickup trucks, can grow and be more profitable even as the company adds more electric vehicles to its lineup.

Estée Lauder Suspends Executive Over Post

BY SHARON TERLEP

Estée Lauder Cos. has suspended a top executive without pay following backlash over a post on his personal Instagram account that contained a racial slur and jokes about Covid-19.

The New York-based cosmetics company suspended John Demsey, who serves as executive group president and oversees a portfolio of brands including MAC and Clinique.

A meme posted Monday to Mr. Demsey's Instagram account pictured a spoof book cover of the children's TV show "Sesame Street." The post, which contained the N-

word with some letters replaced with asterisks, no longer appears on Mr. Demsey's account.

"Effective immediately, John Demsey is being placed on unpaid leave due to content posted on his Instagram handle," Chief Executive Fabrizio Freda and Chairman William Lauder said in an internal memo to company leaders Tuesday. An excerpt of the memo was viewed by The Wall Street Journal.

"The content posted does not represent the values of The Estée Lauder Companies," the memo said. "As a company deeply committed to inclusive actions and behavior, and in

line with our company policies, our employees and our leadership are accountable for upholding these values."

Mr. Demsey couldn't be reached for comment.

Mr. Demsey, a 30-year veteran of Estée Lauder, has overseen MAC for decades as the brand grew from edgy upstart to one of the biggest names in beauty. Estée Lauder reported his total compensation as more than \$9.6 million in the year ended June 30.

He was instrumental in tapping a diverse range of women as MAC ambassadors or collaborators, especially Black music stars, including Rihanna, Mary J. Blige and re-

cently Saweetie. Over his tenure, Mr. Demsey, 65 years old, has coordinated numerous marketing campaigns and built relationships with fashion entrepreneurs and celebrities in New York and beyond.

As one of the industry's highest-profile executives, Mr. Demsey has more than 73,000 followers on Instagram and nearly 51,000 posts that include fashion images and numerous memes poking fun at heiresses, celebrity women who date younger men and poorly applied eyeliner, to jokes about being unmotivated and depressed.

—Ray A. Smith contributed to this article.

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EU Bill Seeks to Get More Data Sharing

Proposal aims to loosen grip of big tech companies on connected products

By SAM SCHECHNER
AND KIM MACKRAEL

The European Union is proposing legislation that would force more data sharing among companies in Europe—aiming to loosen the grip officials say a few big tech companies have on some commercial and industrial data.

The new rules, proposed Wednesday in a bill called the Data Act, aim to help smaller companies keep up with big ones in the race to profit from

troves of non-personal data generated by connected products. The issue is increasingly relevant as more devices generate data used for control and monitoring, such as in smart homes and factories. The volume of such data will balloon with the rollout of 5G technologies.

But big tech companies complain the bill would effectively push many companies operating in Europe to store more of their data in Europe, with European providers, rather than sending it overseas or using American companies.

“The Data Act will ensure that industrial data is shared, stored and processed in full respect of European rules,” said Thierry Breton, European

commissioner for the internal market.

The European Commission said it anticipates the legislation could add €270 billion, equivalent to \$305.76 billion, to the European economy by 2028.

Wednesday’s proposal is part of the biggest proposed expansion of global tech regulation in decades. The EU is in the final stages of settling on the texts of two new laws aimed at large tech companies, one that seeks to limit potential abuses of dominance and the other that aims to force them to take more responsibility for policing online content, both backed by significant fines.

Other laws aimed at big tech companies are being con-



Thierry Breton

sidered or implemented from South Korea to the U.K. to Canada. Congress is debating proposals that include some similar provisions to those being completed in the EU.

The new data proposal by Brussels expands on a domain tackled by one of the EU’s big-

gest pieces of tech regulation to date: the bloc’s privacy law, known as the General Data Protection Regulation, which became effective in 2018. While that law focused on how companies could—and couldn’t—collect personal information about EU residents, the Data Act is focused on non-personal data.

EU officials say their goal with the new law is to help open up more of a marketplace for data by forcing companies to strike data-sharing deals that would allow consumers to choose between competing service providers when using connected devices. Many of the provisions would apply broadly beyond just big tech companies.

One example that officials

cited was a consumer who wants to send data from a smart dishwasher to a third-party repair service, rather than to the maker. The bill would also impose a requirement to make it easy for companies to switch between different cloud-services providers.

Lobbyists and industry lawyers said the legislation will impose a significant burden on companies, which will have to determine how to deal with data requests and what data they are obligated to share.

“The economics of data have so far not been regulated,” said Christoph Werkmeister, a partner with Freshfields Bruckhaus Deringer. “It is certainly going to be a very major compliance burden.”

Finding Shelter in The Cloud

Continued from page B1

linked to the Russian government. Months later, Microsoft’s email product, Exchange, was targeted by a cyberattack that was linked to the Chinese government.

Mr. Bell’s success or failure at securing Microsoft’s customers from a growing array of bad actors is likely to determine the growth of the company’s cyber business, analysts said, and help set the terms for how the tech industry can protect itself.

Since Mr. Bell took over, he has tried to centralize all of Microsoft’s security efforts, previously siloed, under one organization. Now 10,000 people report to him, and he has a budget to spend billions of dollars to build security products.

On Wednesday, Microsoft said it would be offering a simpler way to use its security products on Google’s cloud, a major competitor to its Azure cloud. Microsoft had previ-



Microsoft says its software will be available at the largest providers of cloud infrastructure services.

ously created a version of its security product compatible with Amazon’s cloud, so now its popular security software will be available at the three companies that account for more than 65% of all cloud infrastructure services.

Bringing Microsoft’s security solutions to the clouds of differ-

ent companies is crucial to solving cybersecurity issues, Mr. Bell said, because companies today are often dependent on too many small security products that defend parts of their data.

Customers “get kind of a Frankenstein solution,” Mr. Bell said. “The problem is everywhere you glue things to-

gether, there are seams and those seams become places that people attack.”

Microsoft’s cybersecurity business has been consolidating its lead in the highly fragmented industry. Last month, the company said its cybersecurity business surpassed \$15 billion in sales for the previ-

ous year, up 45% from a year earlier.

“Their security surface is massive,” said Corey Quinn, chief cloud economist at the Duckbill Group LLC, a cloud computing consulting service. “This stuff is hard. You only have to be wrong once, and everyone thinks you’re a fool.”

In addition to the SolarWinds and Exchange cyberattacks, the company in August had to repair a flaw in the Azure cloud after a cybersecurity company found a bug that left customer data exposed. The bug, which was discovered by the cybersecurity company Wiz Inc., rattled some Microsoft customers because it showed how hackers could steal data from thousands of customers by targeting one part of Microsoft’s cloud.

The company finds itself in the awkward position of being the major target of cyberattacks while profiting from the tools it sells customers to deal with these problems, said analysts.

“The old joke is, why pay for a filter from someone selling dirty water?” said Jefferies analyst Brent Thill.

Mr. Bell came to Microsoft after 23 years at Amazon, where he helped to build Amazon’s cloud as it basically in-

vented the cloud-services business starting in 2006. Mr. Bell was at one time considered a contender to succeed Amazon Web Services chief Andy Jassy, who took over as chief executive from Jeff Bezos. Mr. Bell departed a few months after former AWS executive Adam Selipsky returned to the company from Salesforce.com Inc. to take the job. After weeks of negotiations between Microsoft and Amazon, Mr. Bell was able to start his new role in October.

Mr. Bell said he began talking to Microsoft because he had been thinking about the next big engineering challenge to tackle, and security became something he couldn’t get out of his head.

Microsoft is the best place to build better walls to block cybercriminals, Mr. Bell said, as no other company has the capital, vision or talent pool to face down the threat. He calls how companies defend themselves today “digital medievalism,” where each can only rely on the strength of their own castles and bad actors can disappear to their own citadels after attacks.

“We all want digital civilization,” where companies help defend each other, he said in a LinkedIn post after accepting the job.

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	Open	Contract High	Low	Settle	Chg	Open interest
Copper-High (CMX) -25,000 lbs.; \$ per lb.						
Feb	4.5060	4.5205	4.5000	4.4815	-0.0285	595
May	4.5175	4.5535	4.4645	4.4885	-0.0290	106,044
Gold (CMX) -100 troy oz.; \$ per troy oz.						
Feb	1896.60	1910.60	1895.70	1909.20	3.10	1,000
March	1900.30	1911.50	1890.40	1909.40	3.00	4,633
April	1901.20	1912.90	1891.10	1910.40	3.00	470,996
June	1904.10	1916.00	1894.50	1913.70	3.00	80,556
Aug	1908.80	1920.00	1898.60	1917.70	3.00	25,396
Oct	1909.00	1922.40	1904.40	1921.80	2.90	7,175
Palladium (NYM) -50 troy oz.; \$ per troy oz.						
Feb	2438.10	2453.00	2438.10	2438.10	68.80	1
June	2347.50	2483.50	2343.00	2442.40	68.70	5,956
Platinum (NYM) -50 troy oz.; \$ per troy oz.						
Feb	1090.10	1096.00	1090.10	1090.10	5.60	1
April	1078.80	1096.90	1078.50	1091.70	5.70	51,243
Silver (CMX) -5,000 troy oz.; \$ per troy oz.						
Feb	24.555	24.635	24.095	24.555	0.244	169
May	24.200	24.635	24.095	24.598	0.242	101,892
Crude Oil, Light Sweet (NYM) -1,000 bbls.; \$ per bbl.						
April	91.74	93.90	90.64	92.10	0.19	351,300
May	90.31	92.36	89.34	90.69	0.30	232,353
June	88.55	90.63	87.77	89.08	0.41	203,594
Dec	81.97	83.94	81.62	82.83	0.72	254,769
June'23	78.24	80.12	78.11	79.18	0.76	103,270
Dec	75.65	77.49	75.65	76.67	0.79	121,817
NY Harbor ULSD (NYM) -42,000 gal.; \$ per gal.						
March	2.8069	2.8532	2.7741	2.8292	0.104	33,827
April	2.7779	2.8288	2.7521	2.7934	0.029	89,318
Gasoline-NY RBOB (NYM) -42,000 gal.; \$ per gal.						
March	2.7143	2.7751	2.6942	2.7253	0.145	36,113
April	2.8580	2.9208	2.8374	2.8760	0.217	122,377
Natural Gas (NYM) -10,000 MMBtu.; \$ per MMBtu.						
April	4.504	4.704	4.452	4.623	1.25	15,231
April	4.466	4.685	4.437	4.593	1.32	144,035
May	4.495	4.704	4.458	4.605	1.22	179,869
June	4.532	4.745	4.506	4.647	1.20	71,177
July	4.584	4.797	4.559	4.697	1.18	84,500
Oct	4.600	4.803	4.572	4.709	1.20	80,927

	Open	High	Low	Settle	Chg	Open interest
May	247.15	251.95	245.85	247.55	.30	129,238
Sugar-World (ICE-US) -112,000 lbs.; cents per lb.						
March	18.48	18.60	18.45	18.53	.05	66,435
May	17.90	17.97	17.82	17.88	-.01	331,233
Sugar-Domestic (ICE-US) -112,000 lbs.; cents per lb.						
May				35.38		2,766
Cotton (ICE-US) -50,000 lbs.; cents per lb.						
March	121.85	122.50	120.58	122.40	1.29	199
May	120.43	121.43	120.12	121.30	1.01	110,910
Orange Juice (ICE-US) -15,000 lbs.; cents per lb.						
March	136.95	136.95	134.75	136.45	.55	1,862
May	138.60	138.60	135.15	136.95	-6.0	9,146

Interest Rate Futures						
	Open	High	Low	Settle	Chg	Open interest
Ultra Treasury Bonds (CBT) -\$100,000; pts 32nds of 100%						
March	183-030	183-190	180-310	181-250	-30.0	927,282
June	184-140	184-280	182-090	183-030	-29.0	418,627
Treasury Bonds (CBT) -\$100,000; pts 32nds of 100%						
March	153-030	153-120	152-020	152-180	-13.0	887,252
June	154-250	155-010	153-220	154-070	-14.0	336,262
Treasury Notes (CBT) -\$100,000; pts 32nds of 100%						
March	126-165	126-195	126-030	126-090	-6.0	2,508,826
June	126-150	126-175	126-005	126-070	-6.5	1,574,627
5 Yr. Treasury Notes (CBT) -\$100,000; pts 32nds of 100%						
March	117-280	117-295	117-200	117-245	-3.2	2,741,035
June	117-175	117-190	117-092	117-137	-3.2	1,554,754
2 Yr. Treasury Notes (CBT) -\$200,000; pts 32nds of 100%						
March	107-200	107-211	107-170	107-190	-9	1,469,575
June	107-090	107-100	107-056	107-080	-9	694,406
30 Day Federal Funds (CBT) -\$55,000,000; 100 - daily avg.						
Feb	99.9175	99.9200	99.9175	99.9175		318,428
April	99.5750	99.5950	99.5600	99.5750	0.100	419,990
10 Yr. Del. Int. Rate Swaps (CBT) -\$100,000; pts 32nds of 100%						
March				96-260	-8.5	75,443
Eurodollar (CME) -\$1,000,000; pts of 100%						
March	99.3200	99.3475	99.3025	99.3250	0.100	1,022,752
June	98.7850	98.8100	98.7550	98.7650	0.050	1,014,997
Dec	98.0750	98.0950	98.0150	98.0450	-0.200	1,301,428
Dec'23	97.7000	97.7100	97.6500	97.6750	-0.350	1,231,607

Currency Futures						
	Open	High	Low	Settle	Chg	Open interest
Japanese Yen (CME) -¥12,500,000; \$ per 100¥						
March	.8694	.8703	.8682	.8700	.0009	190,729
June	.8711	.8723	.8702	.8719	.0008	2,828
Canadian Dollar (CME) -CAD 100,000; \$ per CAD						
March	.7830	.7885	.7830	.7851	.0011	128,056
June	.7832	.7884	.7830	.7850	.0011	8,735
British Pound (CME) -£62,500; \$ per £						
March	1.3582	1.3620	1.3534	1.3537	-0.0053	179,555
June	1.3582	1.3611	1.3527	1.3532	-0.0051	5,107
Swiss Franc (CME) -CHF 125,000; \$ per CHF						
March	1.0855	1.0912	1.0853	1.0897	.0037	46,745
June	1.0909	1.0952	1.0894	1.0937	.0036	469
Australian Dollar (CME) -AUD 100,000; \$ per AUD						
March	.7220	.7285	.7219	.7236	.0015	190,724
June	.7236	.7295	.7230	.7246	.0016	1,465
Mexican Peso (CME) -MXN 500,000; \$ per MXN						
March	.04912	.04946	.04908	.04921	.00009	170,894
June	.04843	.04861	.04829	.04839	.00009	401
Euro (CME) -€125,000; \$ per €						
March	1.1332	1.1364	1.1306	1.1313	-0.0027	678,267
June	1.1370	1.1400	1.1343	1.1349	-0.0028	10,179

Index Futures						
	Open	High	Low	Settle	Chg	Open interest
Mini DJ Industrial Average (CBT) -\$5 x index						
March	33585	33824	33015	33066	-459	78,599
June	33542	33723	32932	32974	-461	988
Mini S&P 500 (CME) -\$50 x index						
March	4310.75	4345.50	4212.50	4222.00	-78.00	2,286,983
June	4293.75	4338.25	4205.75	4215.00	-78.00	78,069
Mini S&P Midcap 400 (CME) -\$100 x index						
March	2607.00	2624.10	2545.30	2548.90	-43.90	47,870
June				2558.90	-43.80	1
Mini Nasdaq 100 (CME) -\$20 x index						
March	13928.25	14068.75	13471.25	13507.50	-355.25	254,617
June	13935.00	14071.25	13478.75	13511.25	-355.50	2,890
Mini Russell 2000 (CME) -\$50 x index						
March	1987.10	2008.40	1937.20	1941.10	-38.10	507,040
Mini Russell 1000 (CME) -\$50 x index						
March	2387.40	2395.30	2329.10	2331.20	-44.30	16,081
U.S. Dollar Index (ICE-US) -\$1,000 x index						
March	96.01	96.24	95.84	96.19	.18	52,620
June	95.93	96.15	95.78	96.10	.16	2,123

Agriculture Futures						
	Open	High	Low	Settle	Chg	Open interest
Corn (CBT) -5,000 bu.; cents per bu.						
March	674.00	685.00	669.25	683.75	9.00	163,890
May	672.00	682.25	667.50	681.25	8.75	649,962
Oats (CBT) -5,000 bu.; cents per bu.						
March	695.00	702.75	665.00	678.75	-1.50	460
May	678.00	693.75	662.25	676.00	-5.00	2,144
Soybeans (CBT) -5,000 bu.; cents per bu.						
March	1637.50	1679.50	1636.50	1675.00	40.00	74,561
May	1636.25	1675.00	1636.00	1671.00	36.00	291,404
Soybean Meal (CBT) -100 tons; \$ per ton						
March	454.70	474.30	453.80	471.10	17.40	46,691
May	451.60	469.40	450.50	466.00	15.20	207,065
Soybean Oil (CBT) -60,000 lbs.; cents per lb.						
March	70.12	71.37	69.99	70.72	.57	30,420
May	70.00	71.24	69.97	70.58	.52	163,036
Rough Rice (CBT) -2,000 cwt.; \$ per cwt.						
March	15.12	15.30	15.01	15.06	-0.6	1,378
May	15.41	15.58	15.29	15.35	-0.6	6,766
Wheat (CBT) -5,000 bu.; cents per bu.						
March	841.00	880.00	834.00	876.00	31.75	24,989
May	849.00	888.75	842.75	884.75	32.25	166,124
Wheat (KC) -5,000 bu.; cents per bu.						
March	881.00	917.50	871.25	913.50	31.75	14,005
May	887.00	921.50	876.75	918.00	31.00	96,584
Cattle-Feeder (CME) -50,000 lbs.; cents per lb.						
March	164.225	164.325	162.625	162.775	-1.450	9,546
April	169.475	169.850	167.725	168.275	-85.00	13,692
Cattle-Live (CME) -40,000 lbs.; cents per lb.						
Feb	143.750	144.050	143.025	143.050	-7.00	2,817
April	146.175	146.300	144.550	144.750	-1.275	144,752
Hogs-Lean (CME) -40,000 lbs.; cents per lb.						
April	112.200	112.850	107.775	108.025	-4.050	112,531
June	121.225	121.550	118.575	118.775	-2.450	58,548
Lumber (CME) -110,000 bdf. ft. \$ per 1,000 bdf. ft.						
March	1252.10	1277.00	1242.70	1277.00	30.00	908
May	1123.30	1173.80	1123.30	1173.80	30.00	1,270
Milk (CME) -200,000 lbs.; cents per lb.						
Feb	20.88	20.92	20.87	20.89	...	4,223
March	22.46	22.59	21.94	22.02	-4.4	5,240
Cocoa (ICE-US) -10 metric tons; \$ per ton.						
March	2,622	2,628	2,622	2,626	15	723
May	2,660	2,698	2,647	2,664	8	96,425
Coffee (ICE-US) -37,500 lbs.; cents per lb.						
March	249.50	252.75	248.40	248.60	1.1	1,352

Source: FactSet

Cash Prices

wsj.com/market-data/commodities

Wednesday, February 23, 2022

These prices reflect buying and selling of a variety of actual or "physical" commodities in the marketplace—separate from the futures price on an exchange, which reflects what the commodity might be worth in future months.

BIGGEST 1,000 STOCKS

How to Read the Stock Tables
The following explanations apply to NYSE, NYSE Arca, NYSE American and Nasdaq Stock Market listed securities. Prices are composite quotations that include primary market trades as well as trades reported by Nasdaq BX (formerly Boston), Chicago Stock Exchange, Cboe, NYSE National and Nasdaq ISE.

Footnotes:
N-New 52-week high.
H-New 52-week low.
dd-Indicates loss in the most recent four quarters.

Wall Street Journal stock tables reflect composite regular trading as of 4 p.m. and changes in the closing prices from 2 p.m. the previous day.

Table with columns: Stock, Sym, Close, Chg, Net Chg. Includes sub-tables for Wednesday, February 23, 2022 and sub-sections A, B, C.

Table with columns: Stock, Sym, Close, Chg, Net Chg. Lists various stocks including Airtel, Amazon, Apple, Microsoft, etc.

Table with columns: Stock, Sym, Close, Chg, Net Chg. Lists various stocks including Alphabet, Facebook, Google, etc.

IPO Scorecard
Performance of IPOs, most-recent listed first
Company SYMBOL IPO date/offer price Wed's close (\$)

New Highs and Lows

Table with columns: Stock, Sym, 52-Wk % High/Low, Chg. Lists various stocks and their performance metrics.

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Dividend Changes

Table with columns: Company, Symbol, Amount, Payable/Record, Frq. Lists dividend changes for various companies.

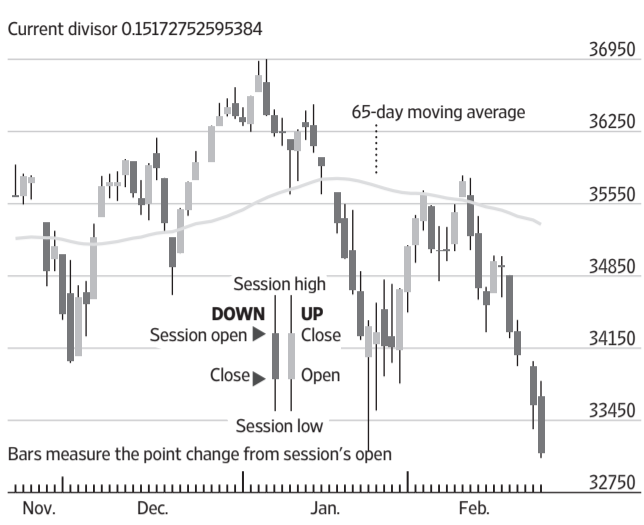
Table with columns: Category, Value, High/Low. Includes Inflation, U.S. consumer price index, International rates, Prime rates, Policy Rates, Overnight repurchase, U.S. government rates, Discount, Federal funds, Treasury bill auction, Fannie Mae, Secondary market, Other short-term rates, Libor, Secured Overnight Financing Rate, DTCC GCF Repo Index, Call money, Commercial paper (AA financial).

MARKETS DIGEST

EQUITIES

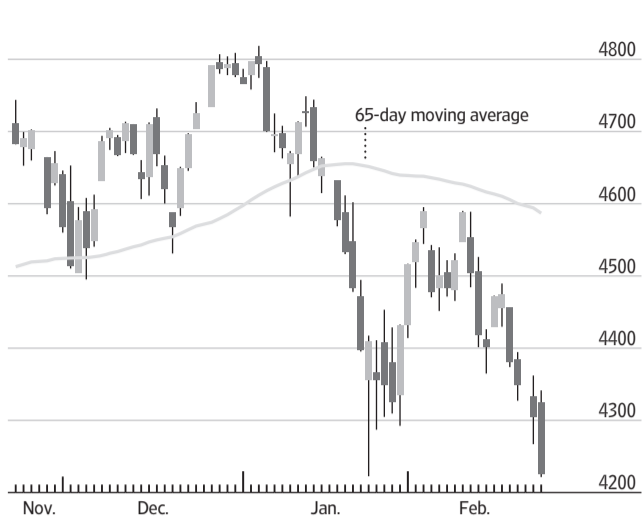
Dow Jones Industrial Average

33131.76 ▼464.85, or 1.38%
 High, low, open and close for each trading day of the past three months.
 Last: 18.37, Year ago: 32.64
 Trailing P/E ratio: 18.13, P/E estimate*: 18.13, Dividend yield: 2.10, All-time high: 36799.65, 01/04/22



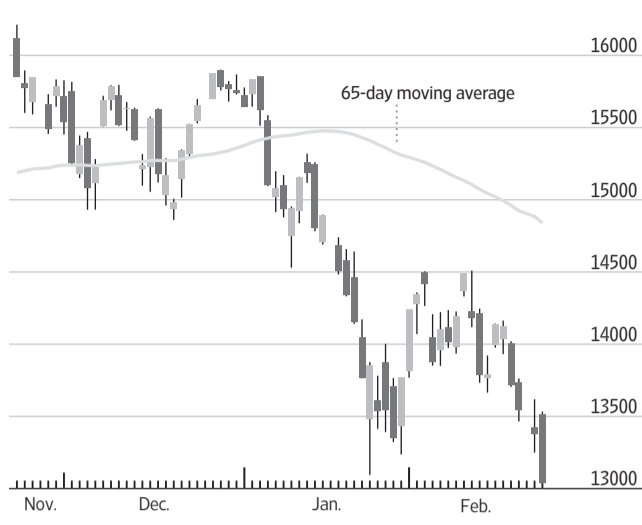
S&P 500 Index

4225.50 ▼79.26, or 1.84%
 High, low, open and close for each trading day of the past three months.
 Last: 24.46, Year ago: 45.01
 Trailing P/E ratio*: 19.69, P/E estimate*: 19.69, Dividend yield*: 1.39, All-time high: 4796.56, 01/03/22



Nasdaq Composite Index

13037.49 ▼344.03, or 2.57%
 High, low, open and close for each trading day of the past three months.
 Last: 31.96, Year ago: 40.12
 Trailing P/E ratio*: 24.81, P/E estimate*: 24.81, Dividend yield*: 0.74, All-time high: 16057.44, 11/19/21



Major U.S. Stock-Market Indexes

Index	High	Low	Latest Close	Net chg	% chg	52-Week High	52-Week Low	% chg YTD	% chg 3-yr. ann.
Dow Jones									
Industrial Average	33832.59	33084.90	33131.76	-464.85	-1.38	36799.65	30924.14	3.7	-8.8
Transportation Avg	14860.17	14504.56	14523.47	-211.51	-1.44	17039.38	13219.66	6.6	-11.9
Utility Average	919.98	901.29	902.04	-13.76	-1.50	980.78	795.61	9.3	-8.0
Total Stock Market	43999.27	42751.19	42787.29	-830.02	-1.90	48929.18	39614.97	3.1	-12.0
Barron's 400	999.31	970.49	971.60	-17.81	-1.80	1127.20	904.45	3.0	-12.2
Nasdaq Stock Market									
Nasdaq Composite	13533.78	13032.17	13037.49	-344.03	-2.57	16057.44	12609.16	-4.1	-16.7
Nasdaq-100	14035.93	13502.58	13509.43	-361.10	-2.60	16573.34	12299.08	1.6	-17.2
S&P									
500 Index	4341.51	4221.51	4225.50	-79.26	-1.84	4796.56	3768.47	7.6	-11.3
MidCap 400	2620.60	2550.23	2553.31	-42.94	-1.65	2910.70	2453.30	-0.9	-10.2
SmallCap 600	1293.33	1258.58	1260.43	-18.72	-1.46	1466.02	1252.49	-4.8	-10.1
Other Indexes									
Russell 2000	2001.55	1942.27	1944.09	-36.08	-1.82	2442.74	1931.29	-14.9	-13.4
NYSE Composite	16358.85	15998.33	16019.58	-196.03	-1.21	17353.76	14959.41	3.1	-6.7
Value Line	622.79	606.38	606.81	-9.96	-1.61	696.40	606.81	-5.0	-9.7
NYSE Arca Biotech	4962.48	4813.89	4816.59	-108.24	-2.20	6022.37	4790.85	-18.7	-12.7
NYSE Arca Pharma	781.76	772.69	773.34	-1.37	-0.18	828.58	667.24	11.4	-6.5
KBW Bank	138.42	133.05	133.55	-3.45	-2.52	147.56	113.40	11.5	1.0
PHLX [§] Gold/Silver	144.56	139.63	143.26	3.25		166.01	117.06	-0.1	8.2
PHLX [§] Oil Service	67.58	66.03	66.52	0.27		69.77	48.31	16.5	26.2
PHLX [§] Semiconductor	3430.09	3273.06	3277.80	-78.27	-2.33	4039.51	2762.75	3.0	-16.9
Cboe Volatility	31.07	27.20	31.02	2.21		31.96	15.01	45.4	80.1

*Weekly P/E data based on as-reported earnings from Birmyni Associates Inc.; †Based on Nasdaq-100 Index

Late Trading

Most-active and biggest movers among NYSE, NYSE Arca, NYSE Amer. and Nasdaq issues from 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. ET as reported by electronic trading services, securities dealers and regional exchanges. Minimum share price of \$2 and minimum after-hours volume of 50,000 shares.

Most-active issues in late trading

Company	Symbol	Volume (000)	Last	Net chg	After Hours % chg	High	Low
SPDR S&P 500	SPY	13,840.3	420.91	-1.04	-0.25	422.43	420.79
Clover Health Investments	CLOV	11,842.5	2.37	0.36	17.91	2.67	1.94
Apple	AAPL	6,264.2	159.97	-0.10	-0.06	160.83	159.56
Wipro ADR	WIT	6,013.8	7.37	...	unch.	7.37	7.37
ExxonMobil	XOM	4,298.5	76.65	-0.12	-0.16	77.06	76.46
Skillz	SKLZ	4,049.9	2.59	-1.02	-28.25	3.72	2.52
eBay	EBAY	3,941.3	50.55	-4.04	-7.40	54.93	47.72
fuboTV	FUBO	3,681.5	7.31	-0.31	-4.07	8.69	7.00

Percentage gainers...

Company	Symbol	Last	Net chg	% chg	High	Low
Clover Health Investments	CLOV	11,842.5	2.37	0.36	17.91	2.67
Offerpad Solutions	OPAD	233.6	4.26	0.40	10.36	4.80
Live Nation Ent	LYV	282.6	121.00	7.60	6.70	121.60
Adaptive Biotechnologies	ADPT	115.7	13.57	0.69	5.36	13.57
Stoke Therapeutics	STOK	189.0	19.84	0.94	4.97	19.84

...And losers

Company	Symbol	Last	Net chg	% chg	High	Low
Rent-A-Center	RCII	198.4	24.00	-10.76	-30.96	34.76
Skillz	SKLZ	4,049.9	2.59	-1.02	-28.25	3.72
Pulmonx	LUNG	163.7	21.00	-5.25	-20.00	26.25
Lemonade	LMND	449.1	18.94	-4.01	-17.47	24.19
Five9	FIVN	700.8	87.95	-16.19	-15.55	104.14

Trading Diary

Volume, Advancers, Decliners

	NYSE	NYSE Amer.
Total volume*	1,011,739,954	19,868,047
Adv. volume*	249,503,557	12,564,143
Decl. volume*	750,127,114	7,206,418
Issues traded	3,509	282
Advances	878	122
Declines	2,479	150
Unchanged	152	10
New highs	23	...
New lows	394	33
Closing Arms*	0.95	0.32
Block trades*	4,369	187

	Nasdaq	NYSE Arca
Total volume*	4,614,435,365	334,966,698
Adv. volume*	1,003,704,588	90,586,458
Decl. volume*	3,562,557,174	242,826,102
Issues traded	4,962	1,704
Advances	1,135	301
Declines	3,554	1,390
Unchanged	273	13
New highs	28	30
New lows	723	279
Closing Arms*	1.13	0.48
Block trades*	22,421	1,331

*Primary market NYSE, NYSE American, NYSE Arca only. †(TRN) A comparison of the number of advancing and declining issues with the volume of shares rising and falling. An Arms of less than 1 indicates buying demand; above 1 indicates selling pressure.

International Stock Indexes

Region/Country	Index	Close	Net chg	Latest % chg	YTD % chg
World	MSCI ACWI	686.23	-8.34	-1.20	-9.1
	MSCI ACWI ex-USA	328.79	-0.55	-0.17	-4.5
	MSCI World	2909.33	-40.31	-1.37	-10.0
	MSCI Emerging Markets	1206.86	0.23	0.02	-2.0
Americas	MSCI AC Americas	1620.86	-30.18	-1.83	-11.3
Canada	S&P/TSX Comp	20744.17	-163.65	-0.78	-2.3
Latin Amer.	MSCI EM Latin America	2380.93	-21.02	-0.88	11.8
Brazil	BOVESPA	112007.61	-884.19	-0.78	6.9
Chile	S&P IPSA	2847.36	-63.23	-2.17	1.5
Mexico	S&P/BMV IPC	51362.95	-1237.50	-2.35	-3.6
EMEA	STOXX Europe 600	453.86	-1.26	-0.28	-7.0
Eurozone	Euro STOXX	440.74	-1.68	-0.38	-8.0
Belgium	Bel-20	3973.23	14.08	0.36	-7.8
Denmark	OMX Copenhagen 20	1585.30	-11.62	-0.73	-15.0
France	CAC 40	6780.67	-6.93	-0.10	-5.2
Germany	DAX	14631.36	-61.64	-0.42	-7.9
Israel	Tel Aviv	1985.17	6.46	0.33	0.4
Italy	FTSE MIB	25955.08	-88.88	-0.34	-5.1
Netherlands	AEX	727.91	-4.05	-0.55	-8.8
Russia	RTS Index	1204.11	-22.58	-1.84	-24.5
South Africa	FTSE/JSE All-Share	74987.05	-666.79	-0.88	1.7
Spain	IBEX 35	8440.10	-53.10	-0.63	-3.1
Sweden	OMX Stockholm	863.21	-9.52	-1.09	-16.8
Switzerland	Swiss Market	11941.89	-17.50	-0.15	-7.3
Turkey	BIST 100	2016.03	-1.43	-0.07	8.5
U.K.	FTSE 100	7498.18	3.97	0.05	1.5
U.K.	FTSE 250	20841.52	-151.81	-0.72	-11.2
Asia-Pacific	MSCI AC Asia Pacific	185.43	0.34	0.18	-4.0
Australia	S&P/ASX 200	7205.70	44.42	0.62	-3.2
China	Shanghai Composite	3489.15	32.00	0.93	-4.1
Hong Kong	Hang Seng	23660.28	140.28	0.60	1.1
India	S&P BSE Sensex	57232.06	-68.62	-0.12	-1.8
Japan	NIKKEI 225	26449.61	...	Closed	-8.1
Singapore	Straits Times	3393.00	-7.59	-0.22	8.6
South Korea	KOSPI	2719.53	12.74	0.47	-8.7
Taiwan	TAIEX	18055.73	86.44	0.48	-0.9
Thailand	SET	1696.45	5.33	0.32	2.3

Sources: FactSet; Dow Jones Market Data

Percentage Gainers...

Company	Symbol	Close	Net chg	% chg	52-Week High	52-Week Low
Tenneco	TEN	19.35	9.37	93.89	22.75	9.51
AMTD International ADR	AMTD	6.87	3.02	78.44	9.75	2.71
Beauty Health	SKIN	16.54	3.70	28.82	30.17	9.71
Renewable Energy Group	REGI	41.11	8.49	26.03	98.39	32.54
Quanergy Systems	QNGY	3.92	0.77	24.44	11.11	2.68
Overstock.com	OSTK	44.77	8.32	22.83	111.28	35.67
Audacy	AUD	2.49	0.46	22.66	6.31	2.01
Cepton	CPTN	17.00	2.60	18.06	80.16	6.85
Tactile Systems Tech	TCMD	15.97	2.29	16.74	61.13	13.37
Indonesia Energy	INDO	7.53	1.06	16.38	9.25	2.61
Sierra Wireless	SWIR	16.85	2.30	15.81	20.94	13.10
LMP Automotive Holdings	LMPX	5.08	0.68	15.45	21.44	3.35
Select Energy Svcs Cl A	WTRR	8.53	1.04	13.89	8.79	4.37
Vista Oil Gas ADR	VIST	7.90	0.96	13.83	8.11	2.51
Range Resources	RRC	22.65	2.67	13.36	26.48	8.47

Most Active Stocks

Company	Symbol	Volume (000)	% chg from 65-day avg	Latest Session Close	% chg	52-Week High	52-Week Low
Imperial Petroleum	IMPP	161,697	2906.3	1.13	41.25	8.30	0.40
SPDR S&P 500	SPY	129,430	24.4	421.95	-1.77	479.98	371.88
ProShares UltraPro QQQ	TQQQ	128,796	10.8	45.14	-7.65	91.68	37.52
Advanced Micro Devices	AMD	119,649	54.1	109.76			

BIGGEST 1,000 STOCKS

Table of 1,000 largest stocks by market cap, organized in columns. Includes columns for Stock, Sym, Close, Net Chg, and various company names like Apple, Microsoft, Amazon, etc.

Bonds | wsj.com/market-data/bonds/benchmarks

Tracking Bond Benchmarks

Return on investment and spreads over Treasuries and/or yields paid to investors compared with 52-week highs and lows for different types of bonds

Table showing bond benchmarks with columns for Total return, YTD total, Index, and Yield (Lowest-High). Includes sections for Broad Market, U.S. Corporate Indexes, High Yield Bonds, U.S. Agency, and Global Government.

Corporate Debt

Prices of firms' bonds reflect factors including investors' economic, sectoral and company-specific expectations

Investment-grade spreads that tightened the most...

Table of investment-grade bond spreads with columns for Issuer, Symbol, Coupon, Yield, Maturity, and Spread. Includes issuers like Morgan Stanley, ConocoPhillips, etc.

High-yield issues with the biggest price increases...

Table of high-yield bond price increases with columns for Issuer, Symbol, Coupon, Yield, Maturity, and Bond Price. Includes issuers like United States Steel, BrightSphere Investment, etc.

...And with the biggest price decreases

Table of high-yield bond price decreases with columns for Issuer, Symbol, Coupon, Yield, Maturity, and Bond Price. Includes issuers like Telecom Italia Capital, Bath & Body Works, etc.

Global Government Bonds: Mapping Yields

Yields and spreads over or under U.S. Treasuries on benchmark two-year and 10-year government bonds in selected other countries; arrows indicate whether the yield rose (▲) or fell (▼) in the latest session

Table of global government bond yields with columns for Country, Maturity, Latest yield, and Yield change. Includes countries like U.S., Australia, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain, U.K., etc.

Mutual Funds

Table of mutual fund performance with columns for Fund, NAV, YTD %Chg, and Net YTD %Ret. Includes various fund categories like Artisan Funds, Fidelity, etc.

Table of mutual fund performance with columns for Fund, NAV, YTD %Chg, and Net YTD %Ret. Includes various fund categories like Harbor Funds, PGMIM Funds, etc.

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MARKETS

Inflation Concerns Hit European Bonds

Most visible effect is the gain in yields on 10-year German bund over the past week

By ANNA HIRTENSTEIN

Investors are growing concerned that a Russia-Ukraine conflict could send inflation to new heights as oil trades close to \$100 a barrel.

The most visible effect is in Europe, where 10-year German bund yields rose as high as 0.27% this week from negative territory earlier in the year.

Europe is in a tricky spot given its reliance on Russian energy supplies and a central bank that has been less aggressive than the Federal Reserve about tightening policy.

The equivalent Treasury bond yield edged up to 1.98% on Wednesday from 1.95% at the previous day's close.

Government debt typically rallies in times of turmoil, with yields falling and bond prices rising, as it is seen as a safe investment. But bonds often have fixed cash flows, which lose purchasing power in times of rapid price increases.



Europe relies on Russian energy supplies. The Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline in Lubmin, Germany last week.

inflation-protected bonds.

"This is clearly coming from the push in energy and the Ukraine-Russia story," said Jorge Garayo, a rates and inflation strategist at Société Générale. "It's a shock effect. It looks like the market is really expecting higher inflation this year."

Russian President Vladimir Putin ordered troops into two areas of Ukraine that he recognized as independent after a speech on Monday evening. The U.S., the European Union and other Western nations rolled out a fresh slate of sanc-

tions and promised more in the event of a full-scale invasion.

Oil prices tempered on Wednesday, but a day earlier, Brent crude traded close to \$100 a barrel for the first time since 2014. Europe is heavily reliant on Russian natural gas to heat homes and generate electricity. Prices have soared over the past year after Russia supplied the bare minimum amount of gas to meet long-term contractual obligations. European natural-gas prices are up 27% from last year.

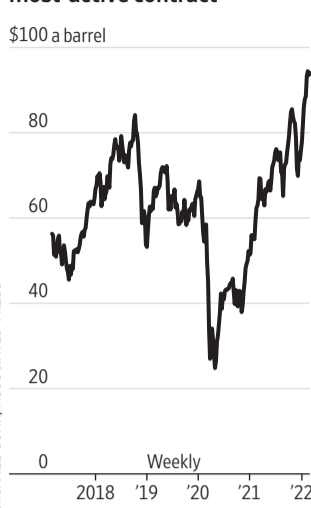
"This should pressure central banks to be more hawkish.

We're now likely to see even more headline inflation," said James Athey, an investment manager at Abrdn.

In the eurozone, inflation hit a record in January. Energy prices accounted for over half of this, according to the European Central Bank.

Worries over Ukraine's effect on oil have given fresh energy to expectations in the U.S. that the U.S. Federal Reserve will have to act more forcefully to temper inflation. As tensions between Russia and Ukraine escalated in recent days, the chances of a

Brent crude-oil futures price, most-active contract



Source: FactSet

the currency bloc's growth, which may be seen as a reason by the ECB to keep stimulus in place for longer, analysts said.

France's representative on the ECB board said Wednesday that the central bank is monitoring developments in Ukraine closely and that its monetary policy remains flexible.

The combination could lead to slower growth but more-persistent inflation. Market pricing of inflation expectations in Germany next year rose above 3% on Wednesday, a multiyear high, as seen in the break-even or spread between inflation-linked and conventional bond yields. It also advanced for 2026, signaling that some investors believe higher inflation could be a longer-term issue.

If the recent bout of rapid price increases becomes more sustained, it would mark a turnaround for the eurozone, which has a long history of sluggish growth and low inflation. This contrasts with the U.S., where inflation has historically been stronger but where the coming rate increases are expected to temper consumer prices.

"When you have a conflict specifically in an oil-producing region when we are already in an environment of elevated inflation, it really complicates the picture," Mr. Athey said. He sold some U.S. and Italian government bonds.

Digital Banks Shake Up Hong Kong

By YI WEI WONG

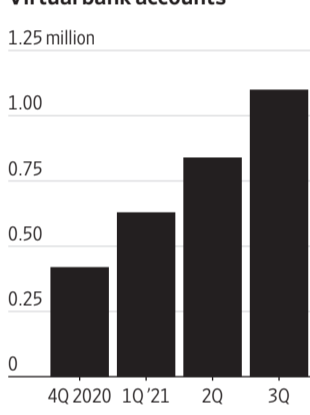
Upstart virtual banks have gained a toehold in Hong Kong, luring consumers from bricks-and-mortar lenders in the Asian financial hub with offerings such as numberless credit cards that promise more security and mobile games with cash prizes.

The eight digital lenders, mostly backed by large banks and other corporations, operate online or via mobile phones and have no physical branches. They have been expanding aggressively in one of Asia's most banked cities since starting operations in 2020, leading other traditional banks to follow suit with digital offerings.

Kate Leung, a 39-year-old in Hong Kong who does legal translation and mediation work with a law firm, opened an account last year at ZA Bank, the city's largest digital lender by total accounts, to take advantage of higher interest rates and real-time postings of her financial transactions. Ms. Leung says she is a fan of gamelike features of the bank's app, including "PowerDraw," which gives users a chance to win up to 200% cash back on spending transactions. The game, modeled after arcade claw machines, involves using a digital claw to

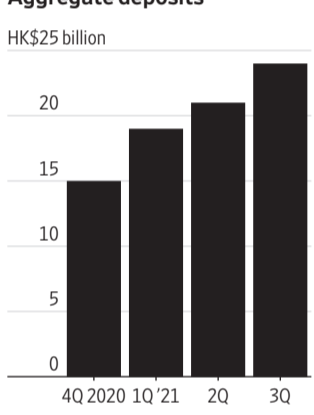
Since opening for business in 2020, the eight digital-only banks in Hong Kong have been adding customers and deposits.

Virtual bank accounts



Note: HK\$10 billion = \$1.28 billion

Aggregate deposits



Source: Hong Kong Monetary Authority

grab at a pool of balls containing rebates. She received 50 Hong Kong dollars, the equivalent of US\$6.41, back after spending more than HK\$4,000 at a restaurant.

As of Sept. 30, the eight digital banks collectively had 1.1 million accounts in a city of 7.4 million people, according to the Hong Kong Monetary Authority. Total deposits at the banks add up to around HK\$24 billion, accounting for 0.2% of the city's total. That reflects how the average account balance at a digital bank

tends to be smaller than the average account balance at a traditional consumer bank. None of the banks are yet profitable. ZA Bank and Mox Bank, which together account for more than two-thirds of the group's total deposits, target breaking even in 2024 at the earliest.

Hong Kong was late to the digital-banking game, green-lighting virtual lenders to start operating more than a decade after they gained favor in the U.S. and other markets. The slower adoption was

partly because of banking norms in the city, which has strict regulatory requirements.

The digital banks have ties to large multinational firms. Mox is backed by Standard Chartered in partnership with online travel agency Trip.com and information-and-communications technology firm PCCW Ltd. WeLab Bank is a unit of homegrown fintech company WeLab, and Ant Bank is affiliated with Jack Ma's Chinese fintech giant, Ant Group Co. ZA Bank, which says it has more than 500,000 users, is run by Chinese insurer ZhongAn Online P&C Insurance Co.

Some of the virtual lenders, like WeLab, offer flexible loans and group saving plans that allow users to earn higher interest rates as more users place deposits. Airstar Bank—whose main backer is Chinese smartphone maker Xiaomi Corp.—was recently offering 3.6% annualized interest on an individual's first HK\$20,000 in deposits. That is higher than the 0.001% rate that some traditional banks in the city are offering on current accounts.

For more on innovations in Finance please go to: wsj.com/innovationsfinancereport

Barclays Freezes Pay To Ex-CEO

Continued from page B1

Staley's when he worked for JPMorgan Chase & Co. Barclays on Wednesday said it earned £1.12 billion, equivalent to \$1.52 billion, in the three months to the end of December. This was higher than the same period last year when the bank earned £220 million. Analysts expected the lender to report a £1.02 billion profit for the quarter.

It was the first earnings report for new CEO C.S. Venkatkrishnan since he took over the top job.

Mr. Venkatkrishnan has said he would continue Mr. Staley's strategy of maintaining a sizable trans-Atlantic investment bank alongside one of the U.K.'s leading retail and commercial banks. That combination proved resilient through much of the pandemic, as the investment bank boomed on a flurry of deal making and trading.

"The broad strategy of the bank is not changing. You should expect some amount of continuity," said Mr. Venkat-

krishnan on a conference call.

There was one change in the executive ranks, with Anna Cross appointed as group finance director, succeeding Tushar Morzaria, who will be leaving the job on April 22. She was previously his deputy.

For all of 2021, Barclays earned £6.38 billion, up from £5.13 billion the previous year. A key driver for the rise was the release of £653 million of credit impairments due to an improving economic outlook.

The bank paid a total dividend of 6 pence per share in 2021 and said it plans to buy back up to £1 billion of shares. It also said inflationary pressures are likely to result in modestly higher costs in 2022.

Shares climbed 2.6% in London trading after the results.

Profit at Barclays's corporate and investment bank was £733 million during the fourth quarter, higher than the same period last year. Trading income saw a sharp decline. Profit at the bank's U.K. unit rose, reaching £420 million. Funds for bankers' bonuses increased by nearly a quarter in 2021, rising to £1.9 billion.

The decline more recently in investment banking activity mirrors the results of Wall Street's biggest banks, which saw their pandemic-era profits come back down to earth in the last quarter of 2021.

U.S. Stocks Extend Their Slide

Continued from page B1

11 sectors declining for the day. The consumer discretionary segment fell 3.4%, while the tech segment dropped 2.6%.

Only the energy group defied the trend, rising 1%.

Investors say the effects of the tensions on Eastern Europe on stocks and bonds are hard to predict. The implications depend on rapidly moving diplomatic and military developments as well as the possible spillover of higher energy prices into inflation in Western economies.

Money managers already were grappling with looming interest-rate increases by the Federal Reserve. Investors are

closely watching for signs of how quickly the central bank will raise interest rates as it seeks to counter inflation. It is expected to begin raising rates in March.

"Geopolitical events tend to spike volatility," said Michael Antonelli, market strategist at Baird. "They tend to be noisy. Those aren't real signal. The real signal in the stock market is what the Fed is doing and what interest rates are doing."

Traders have been reassessing how much stocks are valued given expectations that interest rates will rise. Higher rates tend to weigh on stock valuations because they lower the value investors place on companies' future cash flows.

Traders have been especially hard on technology and other so-called growth stocks, which often trade at pricey valuations based on expectations of growth far into the future.

The tech selloff has helped pull down the price tag of the U.S. stock market as a whole. The S&P 500 traded this week at 19 times its projected earn-



TJX shares fell 4.2% after the retailer's results missed expectations.

ings over the next 12 months, down from the 21.5 multiple at which it ended last year.

"Stocks, especially growth stocks, are priced for a lower interest rate environment than we're likely to have over the next few years," said Stephen Auth, chief investment officer

of equities at Federated Hermes. "There's a kind of reset going on in stock market valuations."

On Tuesday, the U.S. laid out an initial round of sanctions against Moscow for what President Biden called the start of an invasion of Ukraine.

The European Union, the U.K. Canada, Australia and Japan also imposed or proposed restrictions on Russian companies, individuals and financial markets.

"Until the market sees boots on the ground we may not see the reaction that maybe we would have expected," said Brian O'Reilly, head of market strategy at Mediolanum Asset Management. "We're probably now in a wait-and-see mode to see how this develops."

Mr. O'Reilly added that data pointing to strong economic growth was helping the stock market largely take the crisis in stride. Private data firm IHS Markit said Tuesday its composite Purchasing Managers Index for the U.S. rose to a two-month high in February, suggesting the economy gained momentum.

Among individual stocks, shares of **Overstock.com** jumped \$8.32, or 23%, to \$44.77 after the company beat earnings expectations. **TJX** shares fell \$2.75, or 4.2%, to

\$62.50 after the retailer missed expectations for sales and earnings.

In the bond market, the yield on the benchmark 10-year U.S. Treasury note rose to 1.976% from 1.947% Tuesday. Yields rise as bond prices fall.

Overseas, the pan-continental Stoxx Europe 600 slipped 0.3%. At midday Thursday, Japan's Nikkei had retreated 1%.

AUCTION RESULTS
Here are the results of Wednesday's Treasury auctions. All bids are awarded at a single price at the market-clearing yield. Rates are determined by the difference between that price and the face value.

FIVE-YEAR NOTES

Applications	\$141,117,408,200
Accepted bids	\$62,079,759,100
* noncompetitively	\$68,669,600
* foreign noncompetitively	\$5,000,000
Auction price (rate)	99.976245 (1.880%)
Interest rate	1.875%
Bids at clearing yield accepted	50.51%
Cusip number	91282CEC1

The notes, dated Feb. 28, 2022, mature on Feb. 28, 2027.

ONE-YEAR, 11-MONTH FRNS

Applications	\$70,768,148,000
Accepted bids	\$22,000,223,000
* noncompetitively	\$29,148,000
Spread	-0.015%
Bids at clearing yield accepted	21.14%
Cusip number	91282CDU2

The floating-rate notes, dated Feb. 25, 2022, mature on Jan. 31, 2024.

Exchange-Traded Portfolios | WSJ.com/ETFResearch

Largest 100 exchange-traded funds, latest session

ETF	Symbol	Closing Price	Chg (%)	YTD (%)
Wednesday, February 23, 2022				
CnsmrDiscSelSector	XLY	168.91	-3.34	-17.4
CnsStapleSelSector	XLP	74.83	-0.81	-3.0
DimenUSCoreEq2	DFAC	26.10	-1.73	-9.9
FinSelSectorSPDR	XLF	67.64	1.03	21.9
HealthCareSelSPDR	XLE	38.34	-1.74	-1.8
IndSelSectorSPDR	XLI	126.55	-0.50	-10.2
IndSecSelSector	XLV	95.60	-1.84	-9.6
InvsC&P500EW	RSP	329.42	-2.56	-17.2
InvsC&P500EWF	QQQ	149.67	-1.55	-8.0
ISHCOREDIVGROWTH	DGRW	51.29	-1.38	-7.7
ISHCOREMSCIEAFE	IEFA	69.72	-0.78	-6.6
ISHCOREMSCIEM	IEMG	98.05	-1.01	-3.0
ISHCOREMSCITOTNT	IXUS	67.08	-0.96	-5.4
ISHCORESP500	IVV	423.48	-1.82	-11.2

ETF	Symbol	Closing Price	Chg (%)	YTD (%)
ISHMSCIACWI	ACWI	96.03	-1.42	-9.2
ISHMSCIEAFE	EFA	73.81	-0.82	-6.2
ISHMSCIEAFE SC	SCZ	66.23	-1.02	-9.4
ISHMSCIEAFEValue	EEM	47.47	-1.17	-2.8
ISHMSCIEMG	EMV	51.18	-0.47	1.6
ISHMSCIEMGValue	MUB	112.67	-0.04	-3.1
ISH-5YIGCorpBd	IGSB	52.53	-0.19	-2.5
ISHPfdInclcm	PFF	35.65	-0.53	-9.6
ISHRussell1000Gwth	IWF	254.17	-2.44	-16.8
ISHRussell1000Val	IWD	158.16	-1.24	-5.8
ISHRussell2000	IWM	192.98	-1.87	-13.2
ISHRussell2000Val	IWN	152.31	-1.42	-8.3
ISHRussellMidCap	IWR	73.13	-1.92	-11.9
ISHRussellMidCapVal	IWS	112.89	-1.58	-7.8
ISHRussell1000	IWS	233.82	-1.87	-11.6
ISHS&P500Growth	IWW	69.81	-2.34	-16.6
ISHS&P500Value	IWE	148.65	-1.24	-5.1
ISHTIPSbondETF	TIP	124.61	0.07	-3.6

ETF	Symbol	Closing Price	Chg (%)	YTD (%)
ISH1-3YTreasuryBd	SHY	84.34	-0.06	-1.4
ISH7-10YTreasuryBd	IEF	110.63	-0.52	-3.8
ISH20+YTreasuryBd	TLT	136.68	-1.38	-7.8
ISHRussellMCGrowth	IWP	92.87	-2.60	-19.4
ISHUSTreasuryBdETF	GOVT	25.51	-0.47	-4.4
JPM UITShtIncm	JPST	50.38	—	-0.2
SPDRBlm1-3MTB	BIIL	91.41	-0.01	-0.0
SPDR Gold	GLD	178.29	0.45	4.3
SPDRS&P500Growth	SPYG	60.48	-2.33	-16.5
SchwabIntEquity	SCHP	36.64	-0.84	-5.7
SchwabUS BrdMkt	SCHB	99.70	-1.86	-11.8
SchwabUS Div	SCHD	75.67	-1.27	-6.4
SchwabUSLC	SCHX	100.53	-1.85	-11.7
SchwabUSLC Grw	SCHG	135.41	-2.51	-17.3
SchwabUS SC	SCHA	89.45	-2.04	-12.6
Schwab US TIPS	SCHP	60.79	0.10	-3.3
SPDR DJIA Tr	DIA	331.52	-1.34	-8.8

ETF	Symbol	Closing Price	Chg (%)	YTD (%)
SPDR S&PMidCapTr	MDY	465.43	-1.68	-10.1
SPDR S&P500	SPY	421.95	-1.77	-11.2
SPDR S&P Div	SDY	121.65	-1.11	-5.8
TechSelectSector	XLK	147.25	-2.50	-15.3
VangdInfoTech	VGIT	384.21	-2.53	-16.1
VangdExtMkt	VBR	167.31	-1.47	-6.5
VangdVal	VXF	155.01	-2.16	-15.2
VangdSC Grwth	VBK	229.69	-2.27	-18.5
VangdDivApp	VIG	154.36	-1.47	-10.1
VangdShTmflInft	VEA	47.40	-0.93	-6.2
VangdFTSEEM	VWO	48.97	-0.92	-2.0
VangdFTSE Europe	VGE	63.21	-0.77	-7.4
VangdFTSEAWJUS	VEU	58.36	-0.87	-4.8
VangdGrwth	VUG	263.65	-2.51	-17.8
VangdHlthCr	VHT	235.27	-0.78	-11.7
VangdHIDV	VYM	107.97	-1.12	-3.7
VangdIntermBd	BIV	83.99	-0.43	-4.1

ETF	Symbol	Closing Price	Chg (%)	YTD (%)
VangdIntrCorpBd	VCIT	87.95	-0.52	-5.2
VangdLC	VV	194.30	-1.86	-12.1
VangdMC	VO	222.59	-2.05	-12.6
VangdMBS	VOE	51.03	-1.69	-5.8
VangdRealES	VREX	141.61	-1.61	-3.4
VangdRealEst	VNO	99.96	-1.60	-13.8
VangdS&P500ETF	VOO	387.81	-1.85	-11.2
VangdSTC Bond	BVSH	79.16	-0.16	-2.1
VangdSTCpb	VCSH	79.27	-0.14	-2.4
VangdShTmflInft	VPI	51.20	0.23	-0.4
VangdSC	VTB	199.99	-1.87	-11.5
VangdTaxExemptBd	VTEB	53.09	-0.09	-3.3
VangdTotlBd	BND	81.07	-0.50	-4.3
VangdTotlHlth	BNKH	53.34	-0.04	-3.3
VangdTotlIntStk	VYUS	60.21	-0.99	-5.3
VangdTotlStk	VTI	212.86	-1.84	-11.8

HEARD ON THE STREET

FINANCIAL ANALYSIS & COMMENTARY

Jeep Maker Isn't Tesla, but That's OK

Stellantis is a follower in electric and autonomous vehicles, but it stands out in terms of profitability

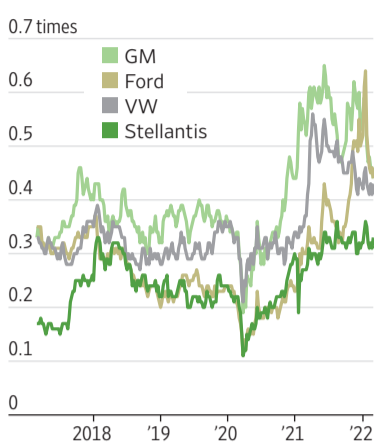
If car makers that generate cash rather than comparisons with Tesla are coming back into fashion, investors might want to pay more attention to Stellantis.

The company formed early last year through the merger of Fiat Chrysler and Peugeot is making better progress with cost savings than expected. Alongside its release of expectation-beating annual results Wednesday it said that it had already hit about 3.2 billion euros, equivalent to \$3.6 billion, of a €5 billion target for deal synergies, putting it well ahead of schedule.

Last year Stellantis shares underperformed those of Ford Motor and General Motors as investors focused more on technology announcements than the old-fashioned fundamentals of cash flow and valuation. The prospect of rising interest rates is setting this year up to be different. Stellantis stock rose 4.4% on Wednesday in European trading.

Apart from the update on synergies, the other standout number

Price/sales multiples for selected car stocks



in Stellantis's results was the 16% adjusted operating margin it made in North America last year. This has nothing to do with the merger as Peugeot didn't have a U.S. business to combine with the old Chrysler operation. Instead, it shows that the company's key

brands, RAM and Jeep, made the most of wild inflation in vehicle prices. On average the company got €38,316 in revenue for every vehicle shipped in the region last year, up from €32,739 in 2020.

By comparison, GM's North American margin last year was 10% and Ford's was 8.4%. Stellantis said it lost about a fifth of its planned production globally due to the chip shortage, but in the U.S. it seems to have been less affected than its domestic rivals. For example, during a year in which sales depended above all on product availability, the RAM pickup brand shipped more vehicles even as Ford's F-series and GM's Chevrolet Silverado gave ground.

Stellantis's operating margin was lower in Europe than in the U.S., at 9.1% last year, but that is better than its closest local peer Volkswagen achieves globally (that company doesn't split out its regional performance). The number should get better, too, as cash synergies achieved in capital and product-development spending

feed through to the income statement. One substantial source of savings for Stellantis is using existing assets from the former Peugeot business to refresh Fiat's lineup, says Chief Financial Officer Richard Palmer.

If Stellantis now leads its U.S. and European peers on financial performance, it is still more of a follower in technology. The EV and software strategy days it held last year came after a string of comparable events from other car makers. And, unlike GM, Ford and Volkswagen, it doesn't have an ownership stake in a prominent autonomous-vehicle project.

When the tech trade is on, Stellantis struggles to generate the same level of interest as its closest peers. Even now its stock trades at a discount. Yet its focus on making its existing business as efficient as possible may be just as effective a preparation for the automotive industry's transition to digital technology as gunning for growth. It is certainly easier to measure now.

—Stephen Wilmot

Robust Home Improvement Giants Can Still Grow

Home improvement retailers aren't quite done improving.

Lowe's Cos. on Wednesday said comparable sales grew 5% in the quarter ended Jan. 28 versus a year earlier, above Wall Street expectations of 3%. Its earnings per share of \$1.78 also exceeded estimates. That follows strong results at its larger peer, Home Depot, which saw comparable sales grow 8.1% in its past quarter. So far there is no sign of a slowdown in demand for their wares, with Lowe's seeing stronger year-over-year sales growth in February compared with January.

Both companies said sales to professional customers such as general contractors and plumbers were growing at a faster pace than those to do-it-yourself customers. Lowe's said sales to professionals increased 23% last quarter compared with a year earlier. In the earlier stages of the pandemic more people engaged in DIY projects and were skittish about having contractors over; that trend is reversing now as more homeowners invite professionals to complete renovations and repairs.

Helping to fuel the shift, customers who started projects on their own might be turning to professionals to finish them. In a survey released last month by Lowe's, many homeowners said they regretted tackling complicated DIY projects.

Lowe's upgraded its guidance for 2022; it now expects comparable sales to be in a range of down 1% to up 1% compared with the prior year. Home Depot said Tuesday it expects comparable sales growth to be slightly positive. While those numbers look underwhelming on their own, they are impressive considering that Lowe's has grown its net sales by a third since 2019 and Home Depot by 37%. Pre-pandemic, Lowe's five-year compound annual growth rate for sales was a more moderate 5.1%, while for Home Depot it was 5.8%.

Absent large disruptions in the economy, conditions remain supportive for home improvement with more workplaces adopting perma-

5%

Lowe's sales increase in the quarter ended Jan. 28, above expectations

nent hybrid or work-from-home arrangements. The S&P CoreLogic Case-Shiller National Home Price Index, which measures average home prices in major metropolitan areas across the U.S., rose 18.8% in the 12 months through December. Though higher interest rates might temper demand for homes, Lowe's said it doesn't expect that to damp home improvement. David Denton, chief financial officer at Lowe's, said the sector historically saw solid growth when interest rates rose against a strong economic backdrop. In any case, roughly two-thirds of Lowe's business comes from repair and maintenance—necessity-driven categories that should bring business under all economic circumstances.

With slowing growth, it's worth monitoring whether the home improvement giants can continue taking market share from small players. Supply-chain disruptions and costs have meant companies with scale were able to nab customers based on product availability. Even among the two giants, the benefits of scale are clear: Home Depot's inventory rose by almost a third in its quarter ended Jan. 30 compared with a year earlier. Lowe's grew by a more moderate 8.7% even after it expanded warehouses on the coasts.

With the market largely baking in a slowdown for 2022, both companies' share prices have come down from their respective peaks reached in late 2021. Yet both companies are arguably much more efficient, profitable companies than they were pre-pandemic with higher margins.

Investors looking for fixer-uppers with potential for crazy appreciation will no longer find it in home improvement retailers. But those seeking a foundation with little risk of wear and tear can still find it at a reasonable price.

—Jinjo Lee

Rio Tinto Needs to Spend to Make Money

A world-wide shortage of many major commodities is a headache for most companies these days. But for Australian metals heavy-weight Rio Tinto, one of the world's largest mining companies, it adds up to a bonanza. The main question, as always, is what to do with that bounty.

For now, Rio's answer is quite clear: give boatloads of cash to shareholders. The company said Wednesday that it will pay out record total dividends of more than \$10 a share for 2021, or 79% of its underlying earnings. For long-term investors who witnessed the investment splurge of the go-go early 2010s and then the iron-ore price crash a few years later, that represents a welcome tack toward capital discipline. But with signs that China's long housing boom is winding down and a battery-powered energy transition is gaining steam, Rio needs to show it is investing for the future too. Yet in contrast to the big investor payout, the company's exploration and evaluation spend last year rose only 16%.

For now, the company's fortunes remain bound up with its main cash cow, iron ore. Prices skyrocketed in the first half of 2021 to more than \$200 a metric ton thanks to lingering supply bottlenecks, the tail end of China's stimulus and a rush to produce steel in anticipation of environmental curbs on output by Beijing in late 2021. Prices have come off



Imported iron ore at a wharf in China's Jiangsu province.

following the Chinese property downturn but still remain about 50% higher than they were in late 2019. Meanwhile, a quick look at Rio's 2021 performance shows just how dependent the company is on iron-ore mining: Overall underlying earnings rose by close to \$9 billion, but over 65% of that rise was due to the iron-ore segment.

To be sure, the world will continue to need lots of iron—but the best days for the single largest source of demand growth, Chinese housing construction, are clearly past. For both political and demographic reasons, the boom of the

past two decades now appears to be on the ebb.

That means that investing in new sources of growth is all the more important for Rio. And regarding the most obvious one—lithium, needed to fuel the battery-powered vehicles of the future—the company is encountering some headwinds. A potent mix of nationalism and environmental skepticism has pushed the Serbian government to revoke its permission for Rio's planned \$2.4 billion Jadar lithium project there. A smaller lithium deal in Argentina may help make up the shortfall, but the

Iron-ore price



Source: CEIC

troubles surrounding what would have been Europe's largest lithium mine are still a blow for Rio, especially since lithium carbonate prices have soared over the past year and so finding new assets may be costlier. Rio says it is still exploring its options on Jadar.

Rio Tinto is raking in the money now, and investors should celebrate the good times while they last. To make sure the company benefits from the next mining boom, Rio probably needs to make some more smart investment decisions soon.

—Nathaniel Taplin

Activision Gives Microsoft Costly New Ammunition

Activision Blizzard had really better hope the Microsoft deal pulls through.

In the month since the two companies announced their agreement to merge, Activision's situation has deteriorated further. Federal and state regulators are widening their probes into the company's problems with workplace misconduct. The Wall Street Journal reported last week that the latest efforts include subpoenas to police departments in the Los Angeles area for any records on several current and former employees, including current Chief Executive Bobby Kotick.

And late on Tuesday Bloomberg News reported the company is planning to skip its "Call of Duty" installment planned for next year. That would be the first time the blockbuster game has gone without an annual release since 2005. Activision hasn't yet confirmed that decision, though it did say it still planned "an exciting slate of premium and free-to-play Call of Duty experiences" this year and next. Even so, a decision to skip a full sequel would come in the wake of a misfire with the late 2021 release of "Call of Duty: Vanguard." But such a move would be in keeping with an industrywide shift to games that operate as always-on services. The Bloomberg article noted that Treyarch—the Activision studio originally tasked with developing next year's "Call of Duty" title—will instead work on a free-to-play on-



'Call of Duty: Vanguard' seems to have set off franchise fatigue.

line game from the franchise.

Still, in the short-run it would be a painful move financially. "Call of Duty" is Activision's largest property by far, accounting for more than a third of the company's total annual revenue, according to consensus estimates from Visible Alpha. But the stock ticked down only a fraction on Wednesday, remaining buoyed in the low \$80 range by Microsoft's buyout offer. Doug Creutz of Cowen wrote Wednesday that the prospect of a missed "Call of Duty" installment next year would likely send the stock into the \$50s com-

pared with the \$65 price the shares were fetching before the Microsoft deal was unveiled on Jan. 18.

But making a painful decision now could end up helping Microsoft in the longer term. As the 18th sequel in as many years, "Call of Duty: Vanguard" seems to have pushed the series into franchise fatigue. Critic scores averaged by Metacritic have been slipping steadily over the past four installments, and those for "Vanguard" were the lowest in franchise history following the game's Nov. 5 release. Activision admitted in its fourth-quarter report

on Feb. 3 that the title fell short of expectations; analysts estimate that total "Call of Duty" revenue in the fourth quarter slid 27% from the same period the previous year, according to Visible Alpha.

None of this would have been news to Microsoft. According to Activision's regulatory filing last week detailing the background of the deal, the company's long-term financial plans were "downwardly adjusted" on Dec. 14 due to the game's underperformance. Those plans were shared with Microsoft as part of negotiations between the two companies. Microsoft operates a major game distribution platform with the Xbox Live store, which would have given the company an even earlier sense of the poor performance of "Vanguard." Activision's filing notes that Microsoft first reached out to the company on Nov. 19—two weeks after "Vanguard" went on sale.

Moving "Call of Duty" off an annual cycle could help extend the life of the franchise. Andrew Uerkwitz of Jefferies noted Wednesday that "Call of Duty" was "suffocating under its own weight and schedule," and added that Microsoft has other major shooter franchises like "Halo" and "Gears of War" that are successful without annual releases. A weaker Activision could help Microsoft defend itself against antitrust scrutiny. Even the industry's biggest franchise is showing that it is hardly bulletproof.

—Dan Gallagher