

What's News

Business & Finance

New Covid-19 lockdowns in China helped drag oil prices back below \$100 a barrel, casting yet more uncertainty on a global economic expansion hamstrung by war in Ukraine, rising inflation and the end of stimulus. **A1**

◆ **U.S. stocks jumped** as the drop in oil prices eased investors' concerns about inflation ahead of the conclusion of the Fed's policy meeting on Wednesday. The S&P 500, Nasdaq and Dow rose 2.1%, 2.9% and 1.8%, respectively. **B1**

◆ **The SEC is conducting** a sweeping investigation into potential conflicts of interest at the nation's largest accounting firms. **A1**

◆ **Raskin withdrew** from consideration as the Fed's top banking regulator, the White House said, after Republicans and Democrat Manchin opposed her nomination. **A2**

◆ **The Senate confirmed** Shalanda Young as OMB director, the first Black woman to hold the position. **A2**

◆ **Intel said it would** invest \$36 billion in semiconductor production and research across Europe. **B1**

◆ **U.S.-listed companies** are unveiling plans to repurchase their own shares at a record pace. **B1**

◆ **Airlines said** travel demand is roaring back and believe fliers will pay up to cover carriers' rising fuel bills. **B1**

◆ **VW is close** to deciding whether to build an electric pickup truck in the U.S. **B3**

◆ **AMC is buying 22%** of mining company Hycroft, venturing away from its core movie-theater operations. **B3**

World-Wide

◆ **European leaders** arrived in Kyiv to meet with Ukrainian President Zelensky as Russia lobbed more missiles at the embattled capital and fighting escalated in the city's outskirts. **A1, A6-8, A10-11**

◆ **Biden is expected** to announce more than \$1 billion in new military assistance to Ukraine's government as early as Wednesday, according to U.S. officials. **A6**

◆ **Russia walked back** recently made demands on Washington related to the Iran nuclear deal, clearing the way for Tehran and Washington to revive the 2015 pact, senior Western diplomats said. **A12**

◆ **Military prosecutors** began plea negotiations at Guantanamo Bay with Khalid Sheikh Mohammed and four co-defendants accused of orchestrating the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. **A3**

◆ **Pfizer and partner** BioNTech have asked the FDA to authorize a second booster dose of their Covid-19 vaccine for people 65 years and older. **A3**

◆ **The Senate passed** legislation to allow states to make daylight-saving time permanent. **A4**

◆ **Russian prosecutors** asked a court to extend opposition leader Navalny's prison sentence, accusing him of fresh offenses. **A8**

◆ **A man with a history** of mental-health issues was arrested in connection with a string of shootings targeting homeless people in Washington, D.C., and New York City. **A3**

◆ **NYU Shakes It Off With Swift Class**

◆ **Two-month course let students study music star's career**

◆ **Big Four in Accounting Face SEC Investigation**

◆ **The Ukraine Crisis**

◆ **In Chernobyl, Trapped Staff Work at Russian Gunpoint**

◆ **The best way to defeat inflation is to outwork it.**

◆ **Software robots deliver productivity gains, fast.**

Russia Steps Up Assault on Kyiv



Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, center right, met in Kyiv on Tuesday with, from left, Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Janša, Czech Prime Minister Petr Fiala, Polish Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki (whose image is partially obstructed by Mr. Fiala) and Polish Deputy Prime Minister Jaroslaw Kaczyński.

European leaders travel to the capital to meet with Zelensky as missile attacks persist

By ALAN CULLISON AND ISABEL COLES

KYIV, Ukraine—European leaders traveled to Kyiv to meet with President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine as Russia lobbed more missiles at the embattled capital and fighting escalated in the city's outskirts. One missile destroyed a building associated with an arms maker in central Kyiv in a pre-dawn strike, blowing the windows out of buildings in a one-block radius. Separately, two apartment buildings were hit, setting fire to one of them.

At least two residents died and dozens were taken to a nearby hospital to be treated for smoke inhalation. There were no fatalities at the arms facility, officials said.

Near the outskirts of Kyiv, two journalists working for Fox News were killed and a third was injured when their vehicle came under fire near Russian positions.

Pierre Zakrzewski, a cameraman for Fox News, and Oleksandra "Sasha" Kuvshynova, a consultant, were reporting alongside foreign-affairs correspondent Benjamin Hall when their vehicle was struck on Monday, network chief Suzanne Scott told employees Tuesday. Mr. Hall was hospitalized in Ukraine.

With Russian forces pushing to the city's limits, Kyiv's mayor said he was imposing a 36-hour curfew from late Tuesday and that the capital faced a "difficult and dangerous moment."

The White House said Tuesday that President Biden would head to Brussels on March 24 for meetings with allied leaders as the West wrestles with

◆ **Oil's decline eases concerns** of stock-market investors... **B1**

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Oil Falls Below \$100, Stocks Soar

Crude has dropped 22% from last week, with new global uncertainty roiling market outlooks

By RYAN DEZEMBER AND JOSH MITCHELL

New Covid-19 lockdowns in China helped drag oil prices back below \$100 a barrel, casting yet more uncertainty on a global economic expansion hamstrung by war in Ukraine, rising inflation and the end of stimulus.

New York oil futures dropped 6.4% on Tuesday, extending their decline over the past week to more than 22%, though they were up about 1% early Wednesday in Asia. Last

week they exceeded \$130 a barrel for the first time since the financial crisis, reflecting expectations that a war-related supply shock could be lasting. The trade was unraveled by cease-fire talks, bargain-hunting buyers of Russian oil in Asia and a reminder from China that the pandemic isn't over yet.

Markets from stocks and bonds to lumber and wheat futures have been roiled by volatility this year, as central banks begin to wean economies from pandemic-era support and Russia's invasion of Ukraine threatens to upend the supply of critical raw materials. Expectations that the Federal Reserve will raise interest rates on Wednesday for the first time in more than

Front-month Brent crude-oil futures price this year



three years has reduced appetite for some of the riskier assets that took flight in the pandemic's easy-money envi-

ronment.

Though they gained on Tuesday, technology stocks have paused years of outperformance to lead a 17% decline in the Nasdaq Composite this year. Chinese stocks have lost 7.4% this week as concern mounts about the health of the global supply chains and questions about growth there. Even energy shares, in which investors have sought protection from the highest inflation in a generation, have lost some luster lately.

The S&P 500 added 2.1% on Tuesday, despite a 3.7% decline in energy shares. The Dow Jones Industrial Average rose

◆ **Oil's decline eases concerns** of stock-market investors... **B1**

Economy Exposes Cracks in Xi's Power

China struggles with sharply slowing growth and Western pressure over Russia entente

By LINGLING WEI

Last year, President Xi Jinping seemed all but invincible. Now, his push to steer China away from capitalism and the West has thrown the Chinese economy into uncertainty and exposed faint cracks in his hold on power.

Chinese policy makers became alarmed at the end of last year by how sharply growth had slowed after Mr. Xi tightened controls on private businesses, from tech giants to property developers. China's stringent Covid lockdowns, part of Mr. Xi's ap-

proach to handling the crisis, have ramped up again as Covid cases surge, hurting both consumer spending and factory output.

Add to that a pact with Russia in early February, just weeks ahead of its invasion of Ukraine, that has widened a gulf between China and the West and underlined how high the costs could be for China of implementing Mr. Xi's agenda at home and in foreign policy.

As Beijing works to manage

◆ **Pandemic, war threaten** China's economic targets... **A14**

In Chernobyl, Trapped Staff Work at Russian Gunpoint

By JOE PARKINSON AND DREW HINSHAW

It was 10 a.m., 16 days into Russia's war on Ukraine, and a land-line phone rang inside the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant. The site of the world's worst nuclear-power disaster had become an impromptu prison, and an increasingly dangerous one.

The signalman on duty lifted the receiver and passed the call to shift supervisor Valentin Heiko, a veteran of the defunct facility. Mr. Heiko told managers on the other end of the line that the 210 technicians and support staff were in a desperate situation, held hostage while keeping watch over thousands of spent fuel rods.

The Ukraine Crisis

- ◆ **Oligarch's investment vehicle shifts control.....** A6
- ◆ **Cultural icons at risk from conflict.....** A7
- ◆ **Prosecutors seek more jail time for Navalny.....** A8

The night before had brought another standoff between the exhausted technicians responsible for safeguarding the nuclear waste and the Russian soldiers who have been holding them on the job at gunpoint since the first hours of the war.

"The psychological situation is deteriorating," Mr. Heiko said, updating managers in an office 30 miles away, two people on that call recalled.

Some technicians, demanding to go home, were threatening to walk out, past the Russian tanks parked outside.

The supervisor said it was his duty to toil on as long as required. "Everyone wants to go home, but we know we need to stay."

Since Feb. 23, Chernobyl's technicians and support staff have been working nonstop. After arriving at 9 p.m. for a single night shift to monitor electrical transmission levels and the temperature inside the plant's gigantic sarcophagus housing radioactive waste, they're approaching 500 hours on the job—snatching sleep on chairs in front of beeping machinery and on piles of clothes next to workstations.

◆ **Oil's decline eases concerns** of stock-market investors... **B1**

NYU Shakes It Off With Swift Class

Two-month course let students study music star's career

By JOSEPH PISANI

Lydia Cohen was picking classes for her last semester at New York University when she saw it: an entire class about Taylor Swift.

"I was like, 'Oh, my God, I need to get into this class,'" said Ms. Cohen, a devoted fan of the musician who listens to her songs as soon as she wakes up. "How does this exist?"

For nearly two months, the 22-year-old media-culture-and-communication major joined 19 other NYU students for 2.5 hours every Wednesday night to study the superstar. They discussed her impact on the music industry, her song-

◆ **Oil's decline eases concerns** of stock-market investors... **B1**

Big Four in Accounting Face SEC Investigation

By DAVE MICHAELS

WASHINGTON—Regulators are carrying out a sweeping investigation of conflicts of interest at the nation's largest accounting firms, asking whether consulting and other nonaudit services they sell undermine their ability to conduct independent reviews of public companies' financials, according to people familiar with the matter.

The Securities and Exchange Commission probe highlights the agency's new focus on financial-market gatekeepers such as accountants, bankers and lawyers. These firms help companies raise capital and communicate with shareholders, but also have duties under federal investor-protection laws. Auditors are a shareholder's first line of defense against sloppy or dodgy accounting.

Speaking at a national conference of auditors in

December, SEC Enforcement Director Gurbir Grewal said: "You will see that we will have a firm commitment moving forward to continue to target deficient auditing by auditors, auditor independence cases, cases around earnings management."

The SEC's Miami office sent letters last year seeking information about client work that could cause auditors to violate rules requiring they be independent of clients whose finances they inspect, according to the people.

They said the letters were sent to some smaller accounting firms as well as the Big Four: Deloitte & Touche LLP, Ernst & Young LLP, KPMG LLP, and PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP.

Spokesmen for the SEC, KPMG and PwC declined to comment. A spokeswoman for Ernst & Young and a spokesman for Deloitte didn't re-

◆ **Oil's decline eases concerns** of stock-market investors... **B1**

The best way to defeat inflation is to outwork it.

Software robots deliver productivity gains, fast.



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U.S. NEWS

Raskin Withdraws Name for Fed Post

By Andrew Ackerman and Ken Thomas

WASHINGTON—Sarah Bloom Raskin, President Biden's nominee to become the government's most powerful banking regulator, withdrew from consideration on Tuesday, the White House said, amid opposition to her nomination from Republicans and a key Democrat.

The withdrawal is a major blow for the Biden administration, which has struggled to advance its financial nominees through the evenly divided Senate. It came a day after Sen. Joe Manchin of West Virginia, a key Democratic vote in the evenly divided chamber, said Monday that he couldn't support Ms. Raskin's nomination, citing her views on addressing climate change.

"Despite her readiness—and despite having been confirmed by the Senate with broad, bipartisan support twice in the past—Sarah was subject to baseless attacks from industry and conservative interest groups," Mr. Biden said in a

written statement.

Mr. Biden in January nominated Ms. Raskin to be the Federal Reserve's vice chairwoman of banking supervision, which plays a key role supervising the largest U.S. financial firms including JPMorgan Chase & Co., Bank of America Corp. and Citigroup Inc.

She previously served on the Fed and as a top Treasury Department official during the Obama administration. Before that, she was Maryland's state commissioner of financial regulation. She is a law professor at Duke University and is married to Rep. Jamie Raskin (D., Md.).

For weeks, Ms. Raskin's nomination has been stuck in the Senate Banking Committee after Republican lawmakers opposing her refused to attend a crucial committee vote. That deprived Democrats of a quorum needed to advance her to the full Senate along with Mr. Biden's four other Fed picks—including Chairman Jerome Powell, who has been nominated for a second term leading the central bank.

Her withdrawal could soon



Sarah Bloom Raskin was nominated by President Biden to be the Federal Reserve's vice chairwoman of banking supervision.

end that impasse, she wrote in a three-page letter to Mr. Biden dated Tuesday.

"If I step away from this confirmation process, there can be no excuse left for a continued boycott of the Constitution's 'advice and consent' process and the Senate's corresponding refusal to attend to our nation's real economic needs," Ms. Raskin wrote.

Senate Banking Committee Chairman Sherrod Brown (D., Ohio) said he would hold a

vote to advance the four other Fed nominees.

"Republicans engaged in a disingenuous smear campaign, distorting Ms. Raskin's views beyond recognition and made unsubstantiated attacks on her character," Mr. Brown wrote in a statement.

Republicans, especially from energy-producing states such as Pennsylvania and Wyoming, were opposed to Ms. Raskin in part because of her 2020 criticism of the Treasury Depart-

Young Is Confirmed As OMB Director

WASHINGTON—The Senate confirmed Shalanda Young on Tuesday to be the director of the Office of Management and Budget, the first Black woman to hold the position.

Ms. Young, who has served as the acting director of the agency, was confirmed in a 61-36 vote.

Before joining the adminis-

tration, Ms. Young was the staff director of the House Committee on Appropriations, where she built relationships with lawmakers from both parties. She had a significant role in helping lawmakers reach a compromise in January 2019 that ended the longest government shutdown in U.S. history.

President Biden's original nominee, Neera Tanden, was withdrawn last year amid criticism from senators over her past comments on social media.

—Eliza Collins

Bleaker Outlook Complicates Future Rate Decisions

By Nick Timiraos

Federal Reserve Chairman Jerome Powell took much of the suspense out of this week's policy meeting when he said recently he would propose raising interest rates by a quarter percentage point from near zero, which would be the first increase since 2018.

The harder part of Fed officials' deliberations might be agreeing on how to signal the likely path of rate increases in the months to follow. Worsening inflation, already at a 40-year high, could force them to accelerate the process, but

they have signaled they are trying to move carefully to avoid triggering a sharp correction in financial markets.

Mr. Powell earlier this month laid the groundwork for the possibility of raising rates by 0.50 percentage point, or 50 basis points, later this year. He also suggested the Fed might need to eventually raise rates to a level designed to deliberately slow economic growth.

Escalating sanctions against Moscow as a result of Russia's invasion of Ukraine are driving up energy and commodity prices while aggravating supply-chain bottlenecks. New

pandemic-driven lockdowns in Chinese manufacturing hubs are also set to exacerbate those supply imbalances.

"If not for the geopolitical events, 50 basis points would certainly be on the table at this meeting," said Nathan Sheets, chief global economist at Citi. "The one thing Powell can do is to hold out the prospect of 50 down the road."

The economic outlook has already forced a rapid shift among officials' expectations of how soon and fast they will need to raise interest rates. Even though the Fed hasn't actually raised rates, communi-

cations about its plans have sent up borrowing costs across the economy for everything from business loans to credit cards to mortgages.

"From a policy maker point of view, there is at this point no need to shock the economy or shock markets," said Greg Daco, chief economist at EY-Parthenon, a global consulting company.

Fed officials are set to release their quarterly economic projections on Wednesday, after the conclusion of their two-day meeting. Those will include the interest-rate path that officials individually say

would be appropriate under their most likely economic outlook.

Six months ago, half of those officials said the Fed might need to raise rates once or twice this year, while the other half didn't expect rate rises to begin until next year. In December, nearly all officials penciled in between two and four rate rises this year.

Now, officials are confronting a much bleaker outlook. The Fed's forecast of a big drop in inflation this year had banked on significant supply-chain relief that might not materialize soon. And there are signs that

demand has strengthened, with employers adding more than 1.1 million workers in January and February.

That could lead officials to again ratchet up the number of rate increases they expect this year, with many potentially projecting increases at most or all of their seven remaining meetings this year.

Watch a Video

Scan this code for a video on how the Federal Reserve raises interest rates.



Large Ship Stuck Near Baltimore

A year after a giant container ship got stuck in the Suez Canal and disrupted ocean trade, another Evergreen Marine Corp. boxship has run aground, this time off Baltimore.

The Ever Forward became grounded in the Chesapeake Bay after leaving the Port of Baltimore on Sunday, port officials said. The 1,096-foot vessel was scheduled to sail to Norfolk, Va. The ship isn't blocking any vessels from moving in and out of the Port of Baltimore. Taiwan-based Evergreen deployed divers to check the ship's hull for damage and is participating in efforts to refloat the ship.

—Costas Paris

CORRECTIONS & AMPLIFICATIONS

Artist Marilyn Minter will be showing her work this year at New York's LGDR gallery. The House Call column in Friday's Mansion section referred to the space as Salon 9, the new gallery's former name.

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SEC Probes Big Four in Accounting

Continued from Page One

spont to requests to comment. The Big Four audit 66% of all public companies with a market capitalization over \$75 million, according to Audit Analytics. All four have paid fines to the SEC since 2014 to settle prior regulatory investigations of audit independence violations.

SEC rules prohibit accounting firms from doing other work for an audit client that could impair their objectivity and impartiality as auditors. Companies pay audit firms to test their accounting and then issue an opinion stating whether shareholders can rely on the financial numbers and systems designed to reduce the risk of fraud or error.

Public companies disclose audit and nonaudit fees in their annual proxy statements. About 47 companies in the S&P 500 index paid significant nonaudit fees to firms hired to test their accounting practices, according to Audit Analytics.

The analysis defined significance as nonaudit fees that constituted more than 25% of total fees paid to the accounting firm.

Commissioner Won't Extend Term

WASHINGTON—One of the three Democrats on the Securities and Exchange Commission, Allison Lee, said Tuesday that she intends to depart the agency once a successor has been confirmed by the Senate.

Ms. Lee, a former SEC enforcement attorney who was sworn in as a commissioner in 2019, would be eligible to continue serving for about 18 months after her term ends in June. But she has privately signaled that she didn't intend to stretch her term or seek reappointment, people familiar with her plans say.

The five-seat SEC currently comprises three Democrats, including Chairman Gary Gensler, and one Republican, with a vacancy for a GOP nominee that has remained open since Elad Roisman stepped down as commissioner at the end of January.

But the agency has a quorum rule that requires at least



Allison Lee

three commissioners to agree to vote on regulatory or enforcement actions. That means that if the Democrats' majority were to shrink to 2-1, the lone Republican could effectively block rule proposals from coming to a vote.

Ms. Lee's plan to stick around until a replacement has been nominated and confirmed should allow Mr. Gensler's agenda to continue apace.

"Over the coming weeks and months, I will remain actively engaged in the Commission's critically important work, and I look forward to continued progress in

advancing the Commission's regulatory agenda," Ms. Lee said in a statement.

As a commissioner, Ms. Lee has pushed the SEC to expand its oversight of private markets and use its authority to heighten companies' responsibilities around environmental, social and governance issues.

During a three-month stint as acting SEC chair following President Biden's swearing-in, she issued a request for comment from market participants about increasing companies' disclosure requirements around climate change and related risks. The thousands of comment letters that have poured into the agency over the ensuing year and a half gave Mr. Gensler a head start in crafting a climate-disclosure rule that the SEC plans to propose next week.

In a speech last July, Mr. Gensler noted that three-fourths of the unique letters the agency received in response to Ms. Lee's request for comment supported mandatory disclosures around climate change and related risks.

—Paul Kiernan

In the current investigation, the SEC has asked audit firms to disclose instances to regulators in which the firms provided services such as consulting, tax advice, and lobbying to audit clients, according to the people familiar with the matter. The SEC also asked for information on any

cases in which audit firms obtained contracts that reimburse them for losses caused by lawsuits over their work, or made fees contingent on a particular result or outcome, they said.

PwC paid almost \$8 million in 2019 to settle SEC claims that it helped an audit

client design software that was part of its accounting-compliance systems. The arrangement violated audit-independence rules because it put PwC in the position of potentially auditing its own project-management functions, according to an SEC settlement order.

Regulators alleged that a PwC accountant handled the negotiations for the software work at the same time he worked on the client's annual audit. PwC settled the case without admitting or denying the SEC allegations, while the accountant paid a \$25,000 fine and agreed to be suspended from auditing public-company financial statements for four years.

Ernst & Young has twice in the past seven years settled SEC investigations alleging it violated independence rules. In 2014, regulators accused the firm of lobbying congressional staff on behalf of two audit clients. An Ernst & Young subsidiary sent letters signed by an executive of an audit client to lawmakers' staff and directly lobbied for a bill that would help the business of an audit client, the SEC alleged.

Ernst & Young paid \$4 million to settle the SEC claims without admitting or denying wrongdoing.

KPMG paid \$8.2 million in 2014 to settle an SEC investigation that alleged it provided prohibited nonaudit services such as bookkeeping to affiliates of companies whose books it audited.

Deloitte & Touche paid \$1.1 million in 2015 to settle an SEC enforcement action claiming audit independence violations. Both firms settled without admitting or denying misconduct.

U.S. NEWS

FDA Is Asked to Authorize Second Booster

By JARED S. HOPKINS

Pfizer Inc. and partner **BioNTech SE** have asked U.S. health regulators to authorize a second booster dose of their Covid-19 vaccine for people 65 years and older.

The companies said Tuesday that they had filed the application. The Food and Drug Administration is expected to make a decision in time for the Biden administration to begin a potential fall vaccine campaign.

The FDA has been reviewing data and looking at potentially authorizing a fourth dose of the shot for use in the fall, The Wall Street Journal reported last month.

Health authorities have cleared booster doses for children as young as 12 years of age, at least five months after they finished their first round of vaccination.

Health authorities have been urging people to get a booster dose, as studies have shown that Covid-19 vaccines' protection declines over time. Research has shown the booster can strengthen immune systems that have weakened months after initial vaccination.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention already recommends fourth doses for people whose immune systems are compromised.

Countries including Israel, Germany, Sweden and the U.K. have begun or announced plans for second booster doses.

Researchers are divided on whether additional booster shots are needed, when they should be given and which individuals should receive them.

There is limited data showing how well a fourth dose works, and it is somewhat mixed.

In January, Israel's health ministry published an initial study saying a fourth shot provided threefold protection against serious illness and twofold protection against infection compared with people who were four months after their third shot. Other Israeli

Pfizer and BioNTech say a fourth dose would better protect people 65 and older.

researchers who did a separate study cast doubt on whether a fourth shot added effective protection against the Omicron variant.

Pfizer said its submission is based on a pair of real-world studies from Israel that showed an additional dose of vaccine increased immunogenicity and lowered the rates of infections and severe disease.

Pfizer is still studying how much protection a fourth dose of the current vaccine may provide, part of a broader clinical trial started in January looking at a vaccine tailored to target the Omicron variant.

Pfizer CEO Albert Bourla told The Wall Street Journal last month that the goal shouldn't be to simply give everyone another dose every few months, although some high-risk people like the immunocompromised or the elderly may need shots every six months.

Plea Deals Weighed for 9/11 Defendants

By JESS BRAVIN

WASHINGTON—Military prosecutors have begun plea negotiations at Guantanamo Bay with Khalid Sheikh Mohammed and four co-defendants accused of orchestrating the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, deals under which the defendants would admit guilt and prosecutors forgo pursuit of a death sentence, defense attorneys said.

If successful, the negotiations could end a legal saga that has lasted nearly two decades, beginning with the capture in Pakistan of Mr. Mohammed, the alleged mastermind of the attacks. Mr. Mohammed and other detainees were allegedly tortured in overseas "black site" interrogation centers and were finally interned in the high-security prison at Guantanamo Bay, where a seemingly irreconcilable conflict between fairness to the accused and deference to the Central Intelligence Agency's secrets has stymied trials for years.

"Negotiated agreements represent one path to ending military commissions, stopping indefinite detention at Guantanamo Bay, and provid-

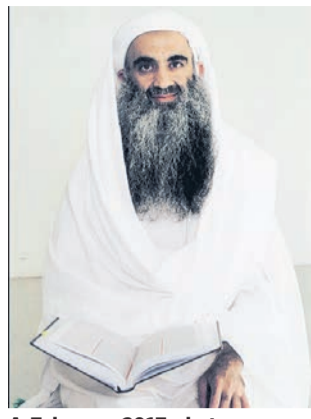
ing justice," said attorney Alka Pradhan, who represents one of the defendants, Ali Abdul Aziz Ali, also known as Ammar al-Baluchi.

A Pentagon spokesman declined to comment. Representatives for the Justice Department didn't respond to requests to comment.

The discussions, reported earlier by the New York Times, may be different for each of the five detainees, according to a person familiar with the matter. The others are Walid bin Attash, Ramzi Binalshibh and Mustafa al Hawsawi.

Figures considered more peripheral to the plot, such as Mr. Hawsawi and Mr. al-Baluchi, may seek more lenient terms, including the possibility of eventual release or the chance to serve their sentences in other countries, the person said. In the past, plans to try the Sept. 11 defendants in federal court or negotiate plea deals were scuttled after political blowback or opposition from senior officials.

The military commissions now operating at Guantanamo descend from former President George W. Bush's November 2001 order authorizing tri-



A February 2017 photo provided by his lawyers shows Khalid Sheikh Mohammed in Guantanamo Bay prison.

bunals to try noncitizens accused of war crimes without regard to constitutional protections or appeals to the federal courts. The Supreme Court voided that plan in 2006 and since then successive acts of Congress retooled military commissions to more closely resemble courts-martial, where U.S. service members are tried.

But many legal questions remain unresolved, including which constitutional rights apply in military commissions.

The prosecutions remain mired in pretrial hearings that have focused on the degree to which evidence of the defendants' treatment in CIA custody can be weighed in evaluation of the government's case and in mitigation of potential punishment.

There has been little debate regarding the defendants' guilt. In 2008, saying they sought martyrdom, the five men attempted to plead guilty in an earlier iteration of the commission system. A military judge, unsure of whether capital defendants were permitted to plead guilty, declined to accept the pleas, and the proceedings later were restarted under a modified framework.

Because the defendants' treatment stands beyond the bounds of any legal system—a Senate Intelligence Committee report said Mr. Mohammed was waterboarded at least 183 times—defense lawyers have suggested they would argue the government should be sanctioned by removing the death penalty from consideration.

Aware that a military jury or appellate court could make such findings, in 2017 the then-head of the military commissions apparatus, Harvey Ri-

shikof, began exploring a potential plea deal. After word spread, then-Defense Secretary Jim Mattis dismissed Mr. Rishikof for what Mr. Mattis said were unrelated reasons.

The circumstances now, however, are different. While the legal obstacles to a capital trial remain, several longtime commissions prosecutors, including Brig. Gen. Mark Martins and Robert Swann, have since retired. President Biden opposes both the death penalty and the continued operation of Guantanamo Bay.

This month, the U.S. repatriated to Saudi Arabia detainee Mohammed al-Qahtani, the alleged 20th hijacker authorities believed would have joined the terrorists on United 93 had an immigration officer not refused him entry at Orlando International Airport in August 2001.

Mr. al-Qahtani initially had been slated to be charged along with the current Sept. 11 defendants; a row for him was built in the Guantanamo courtroom. In 2009, the military commissions head dismissed charges against Mr. Qahtani after finding he had been tortured while in military custody.



More School-Bus Cameras Spur Hefty Driver Fines

By SCOTT CALVERT

School-bus cameras are increasingly being used as a traffic-surveillance tool, generating millions of dollars from tickets as high as \$500 for drivers who illegally pass by.

Local officials say the purpose of bus-mounted cameras is to change the behavior of drivers who fail to stop when buses load or unload students—violations that occur thousands of times a day nationwide and can imperil children.

Bus driver Earl Haines, who ferries public-school students in Carroll County, Md., on a bus outfitted with a camera, said the surveillance is a welcome tool for combating an old problem that he says is getting worse because of driver distraction from cellphones.

"It's very dangerous, and it's surprising more kids aren't

injured or killed," he said.

Two dozen states have laws authorizing school-bus-mounted cameras, 12 of which have been enacted since 2017, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures. Lawmakers in several states have introduced bills this year, often with bipartisan support.

School districts from Seattle to Atlanta have exterior cameras on buses. Minnesota officials said they plan to equip close to 6,000 buses with cameras using about \$15 million in state funds. Motorist fines are typically between \$250 and \$350, but can reach \$500. Camera vendors send video footage of apparent violations to police, who have the final say on issuing tickets.

School bus-mounted cameras haven't met the same resistance as other types of automated enforcement, like speed or red-light cameras,



Bus driver Earl Haines, above left, said bus-mounted cameras help combat driver distraction from cellphones. Above, a student crossed a street with stopped traffic near Westminster, Md.

said NCSL transportation analyst Douglas Shinkle.

"Who's going to be anti-schoolchildren safety?" he said.

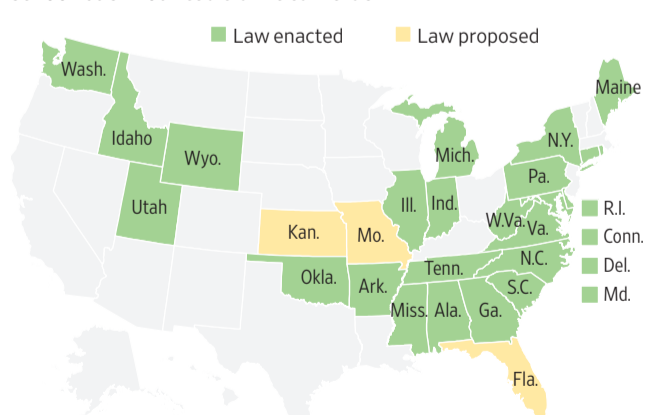
The nonprofit National Motorists Association, which says it works to protect drivers' rights, opposes the bus cameras. Students are rarely killed in bus-stop crashes, and the cameras ensnare responsible drivers who are confused about when cars must legally stop, the group's spokeswoman said.

The cameras' long-term safety impact isn't clear as a result of limited data, according to a 2021 report for the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration. Nationwide from 2010 to 2019, 92 school-age pedestrians were killed in crashes that involved school-transportation vehicles, and half of those were struck by a nonbus vehicle, NHTSA figures show.

Camera backers say close calls between vehicles and schoolchildren are common, and most aren't witnessed by a police officer. In Florida, a one-day survey in 2019 found 12,749 illegal passes based on observations from about 10,000 school-bus drivers. Florida state Sen. Danny Burgess cited that figure while promoting his bill to permit school districts to implement bus-mounted camera programs.

"Darn it, people need to stop when the bus stops," Mr. Burgess, a Republican, said during a January hearing on the bill.

States that have enacted or proposed laws authorizing school-bus-mounted traffic cameras



Source: National Conference of State Legislatures

Suspect Arrested in Shootings of Homeless

By OMAR ABDEL-BAQUI AND SADIE GURMAN

A man with a history of mental-health issues was arrested Tuesday in connection with a string of shootings targeting homeless people in Washington, D.C., and New York City, law-enforcement officials said, as they continued to investigate what motivated the violence.

Federal agents, acting on tips from the public and ballistics evidence, arrested Gerald Brevard III, 30 years old, of Washington, in the early

morning Tuesday in the southeast part of the district.

Police said they believe he is responsible for at least five unprovoked attacks against homeless people, resulting in one death in Washington and one death in New York this month. He was charged Tuesday with three shootings in the district, including with first-degree murder in the death of one of the men, 54-year-old Morgan Holmes, Metropolitan Police Chief Robert Contee said.

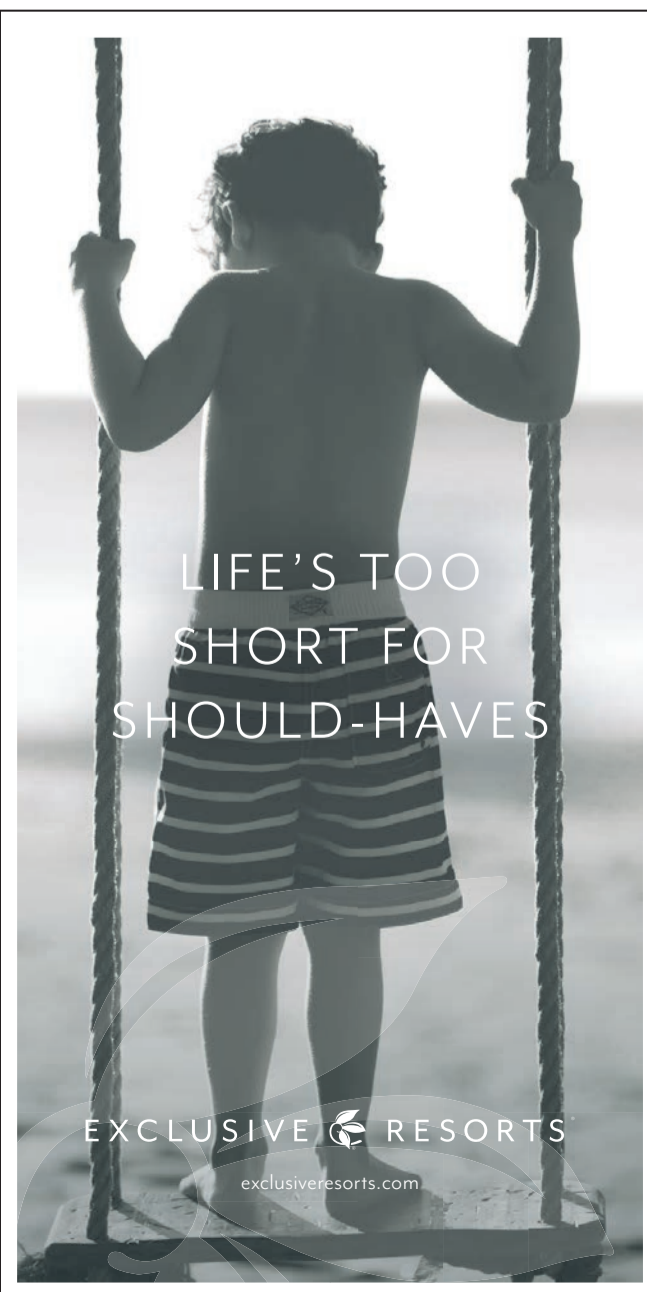
"He has not offered a motive," Chief Contee said.

The suspect shot two men sleeping on the street in Manhattan Saturday morning, killing one man, who had gunshot wounds in his head and neck, police said. In Washington, he shot three homeless men between March 3 and March 9, according to police. One of the men, Mr. Holmes, died.

New York Police Chief of Detectives James Essig said the suspect, whom he didn't name, has no criminal history in New York or known connections to the city. In the Washington region, court records show Mr.

Brevard has a long history that includes misdemeanors and at least one felony.

In one case in 2019, a judge found Mr. Brevard mentally incompetent, and ordered him temporarily committed to a psychiatric hospital run by the District of Columbia's Department of Behavioral Health, court records show. He was later found competent and pleaded guilty to attempted assault with a dangerous weapon, according to the records, which noted subsequent probation violations.



LIFE'S TOO SHORT FOR SHOULD-HAVES

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U.S. NEWS

Federal Judges' Disclosures Eased

Lawmakers say move to automate release of financial forms falls short of ethics bill

WASHINGTON—The federal judiciary's policy-making body said it would automate the release of financial-disclosure forms of federal judges to im-

prove transparency, but lawmakers said the move falls short of ethics legislation on the verge of final passage.

The move by the Judicial Conference of the U.S., during its biannual meeting, follows a Wall Street Journal investigation that found more than 1,000 examples of courts hearing cases involving plaintiffs or defendants in which the judges or their families owned stock. Federal law bars judges from presiding in cases involving parties in which they, their spouses or minor children have a financial interest, "however small."

The Judiciary has taken no position on the legislation.

Judges now detail their financial transactions in annual reports that don't become available for at least a year and often longer.

The judiciary requires people to make written requests for judges' disclosure forms. Requesters have to attest that

they are seeking the forms for themselves, and judges receive a notice when their forms are requested so they can request redactions for security reasons.

Those requirements will remain in place. But under the new system, members of the public will be able to request the disclosures with an online form and be given access to the requested forms online, said a judiciary spokesman.

Judges will be required to make their redactions when they first submit the reports, said U.S. District Judge Claire Eagan, who chairs the executive committee of the Judicial Conference.

Legislation sponsored by Sens. John Cornyn (R., Texas) and Chris Coons (D., Del.) envisions broader disclosure, requiring judges' reports to be released in a database posted online in "a full-text searchable, sortable, and downloadable for-

mat for access by the public." The Cornyn-Coons bill passed the Senate unanimously in February and the House, which had overwhelmingly passed a similar bill last year, is expected to take up the Senate bill as soon as this month.

Such access would allow anyone to download forms without making a formal request.

Attorneys have said they are often loath to make requests for disclosure forms for fear of annoying judges.

Rep. Deborah Ross (D., N.C.), sponsor of the House bill, said the judiciary's proposal "is a welcome step in our mission to take judges' financial conflicts of interest seriously, but it doesn't go far enough."

Timing of the upgrades, which were first initiated in 2017, has not yet been determined. The Judicial Conference asked one of its committees to establish rules for the

system and develop a timeline for its implementation, the federal judiciary said.

The Judicial Conference also announced changes to its conflict-screening policy and a new requirement that judges certify twice a year that they have reviewed their financial holdings and have updated their recusal lists with all conflicts known to them.

The Judicial Conference met on Tuesday at the Supreme Court with Chief Justice John Roberts, who heads the conference.

The chief justice, citing the Journal's investigation in his year-end report in December, had pledged to improve ethics training and compliance.

One lawmaker who spoke to the conference raised concerns that the judiciary had attempted to minimize the seriousness of the Journal's findings, a person briefed on the statements said.

Permanent Daylight-Saving Bill Is Passed By Senate

By NATALIE ANDREWS

WASHINGTON—The Senate on Tuesday passed a bill to allow states to make daylight saving time permanent, under a proposal that would end the twice-yearly tradition of springing the clocks an hour forward and then winding them back an hour in the fall.

Sen. Marco Rubio (R., Fla.) led the effort to bring more light to the evening hours in the winter, arguing there was little point to the practice that first started in World War I. This year's daylight-saving time started on Sunday, meaning later sunrises and later sunsets.

"We went through the biannual ritual of changing the clock, and one has to ask themselves, why are we doing this," Mr. Rubio said on the Senate floor, arguing that ending the clock change could send more children outside to play instead of forcing them indoors to play videogames.

The bill, called the Sunshine Protection Act, passed by unanimous consent, after no senator rose to object.

"Boom, it's a miracle!" said Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse (D., R.I.), a bill co-sponsor. "Nobody, I guess, wanted to be the Grinch who blocked us."

Critics of year-round daylight-saving time note it would also lead to darker mornings. Congress voted in December 1973 to put the U.S. on daylight-saving time for two years, but scrapped the idea by the next October because parents disliked sending their children to school in the dark. The experiment also yielded no definitive fuel savings, which had been one of the initial selling points during the OPEC oil embargo.

Under the Senate proposal, states would have to choose between sticking to standard time or daylight-saving time all year round, and couldn't switch between them. The measure would take effect in fall of 2023.

The bill now heads to the House, where Democratic leaders will determine whether the proposal sees the light of day. Carlos Paz, a senior aide to House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D., Calif.), said: "The bill just passed this afternoon and we are reviewing it closely."

If the House takes up the bill and passes the legislation, it would go to President Biden's desk for his signature. A White House official didn't respond to a request for comment. As a senator, Mr. Biden voted in 1973 to move to permanent daylight-saving time.

U.S. WATCH

ECONOMY

Producer-Price Gains Slowed in February

U.S. suppliers' price increases moderated in the first two months of the year ahead of the Ukraine crisis and new Covid-19 related lockdowns in China that threaten to add to inflationary pressures.

The Labor Department on Tuesday said the producer-price index, which generally reflects supply conditions in the economy, rose a seasonally adjusted 0.8% in February from the prior month, slowing from January's upwardly revised 1.2% increase.

On a 12-month basis, the producer-price index was up 10% in February, similar to levels since November and the highest since records began in 2010.

The overall trend in producer prices signals that supply-chain problems continued to push up prices, even before gyrating energy and commodities prices caused by Russia's invasion of Ukraine had time to flow through to suppliers. The Ukraine and China developments threaten to exacerbate supply-chain woes, complicating the challenge faced by the Federal Reserve as it strives to cool inflation without triggering a recession.

—Gwynn Guilford

NEW YORK CITY

Suspect in Museum Stabbing Detained

A man sought in the stabbing of two employees at New York City's Museum of Modern Art was apprehended early Tuesday morning in Philadelphia, the New York Police Department said.

The man, identified by police as 60-year-old Gary Cabana, al-



RUFF RIDE: Musher Brent Sass crossed the finish line with his dogs to win the 50th running of the Iditarod on Tuesday in Nome, Alaska.

legedly attacked the employees on Saturday afternoon after he was denied entry to the museum in Midtown Manhattan because of a revoked membership.

A 24-year-old man was stabbed once on the left collarbone, and a 24-year-old woman was stabbed once in the back of the neck and twice in the lower back. The wounds weren't life-threatening.

Mr. Cabana will be charged with second-degree assault for the stabbings, as well as third-degree assault for a previous incident in which he punched an employee, NYPD Chief of Detectives James Essig said Tuesday. He will also be charged with aggravated harassment for allegedly sending threats via email.

—Allison Prang

CALIFORNIA

New Bill Targets Online Addiction

A pair of California lawmakers introduced a bill that aims to hold technology companies liable for social-media addictions that may affect children.

The bill would let parents and guardians sue platforms that they believe addicted children in their care through advertising, push notifications, advertising and design features that promote compulsive use, particularly the continual consumption of harmful content on issues such as eating disorders and suicide.

The bill, called the Social Media Platform Duty to Children Act, was introduced Tuesday by

State Assembly members Jordan Cunningham, a Republican, and Buffy Wicks, a Democrat. It arrives less than a month after Mr. Cunningham and Ms. Wicks put forward another bill, the California Age-Appropriate Design Code Act, which would force owners of web products to limit the collection of California children's data, better protect them from other users, simplify convoluted privacy settings and agreements, and curtail addictive interfaces.

The California lawmakers aren't alone in their efforts. U.S. Sen. Amy Klobuchar (D., Minn.) and Cynthia Lummis (R., Wyo.) last month proposed federal legislation that they said would counter addiction to social media.

—Katie Deighton

WASHINGTON

Second Gentleman Tests Positive

Second gentleman Doug Emhoff, the husband of Vice President Kamala Harris, has tested positive for Covid-19, Ms. Harris's spokeswoman Sabrina Singh said.

Ms. Harris tested negative for Covid-19 on Tuesday and will continue to test, Ms. Singh said. The vice president was scheduled to attend an event with President Biden on Tuesday evening, but decided not to participate out of an abundance of caution.

"He's feeling very well, I'm told," Mr. Biden said of Mr. Emhoff at an event to celebrate Women's History Month.

—Tarini Parti

Half of Americans Doubt Biden Runs Again

President Biden enters this year's midterm elections with roughly half of Americans doubting he will seek re-election in 2024, with some citing

By Ken Thomas in Atlanta and Catherine Lucey in Erie, Pa.

the toll of the office on the country's oldest president as the nation is facing a pandemic, high inflation and Russia's war with Ukraine.

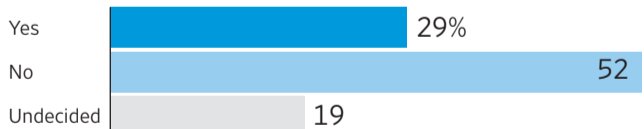
A new Wall Street Journal poll found that 52% of Americans don't think Mr. Biden will run for re-election in two years, while 29% expect him to pursue a second term. Nineteen percent are undecided about his future. Among Democrats, 41% said they think Mr. Biden will run again, while 32% said they didn't think he would. The poll found 26% of those Democrats unsure.

Mr. Biden and the White House have said he intends to run again. People close to the president have suggested he will make a final decision after November's midterm elections.

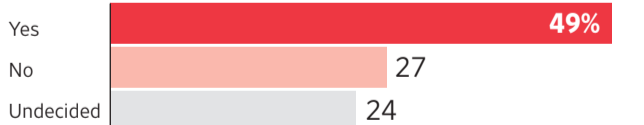
But interviews conducted in recent weeks with dozens of voters, activists and local officials in the nation's top battleground states, along with poll respondents, found a degree of ambivalence and uncertainty over whether Mr. Biden, who is 79 years old, should seek another term. The interviews also showed a lack of consen-

in the latest WSJ poll, about half of Americans surveyed don't believe President Biden will run in 2024.

Do you think Joe Biden will run again for President?



Do you think Donald Trump will run again for President?



Note: Each surveyed respondent received only one of the two questions. Source: WSJ poll of 1,500 registered voters conducted March 2-7; margin of error +/- 3.6 pct. pts.

sus on who should succeed him as the party's standard-bearer should he retire from politics.

"You can run for president at 35. I don't know why we would need the president to be over 75," said Katie Smith, a 20-year-old junior at the University of Wisconsin-Superior who attended Mr. Biden's event on the campus earlier this month and is unsure whether Mr. Biden should seek a second term.

Those who thought Mr. Biden should seek another term said he had capably handled myriad challenges, including recovering from the steep economic declines of the coronavirus pandemic with a record level of job creation during his first year and working to debilitate Russia's economy after

an issue, portraying him at times as confused in public. Ex-Rep. Greg Ganske (R., Iowa) wrote last year that he believed Mr. Biden had declined since they served in Congress together and that there was "enough evidence to legitimately require an inquiry into his mental acuity."

Longtime Biden associates acknowledged that the president is tired at times, given his advanced age, the demands of the job and more than two years of coping with the Covid-19 pandemic. They said he remains a forceful personality behind closed doors, demanding information from his staff and professing belief in his political strategies and ability to persuade Congress using the experience of his 36 years in the Senate.

"I do think he's the same Joe Biden I've known for decades," said Rep. Debbie Dingell (D., Mich.).

—Natalie Andrews in Washington contributed to this article.

President Vladimir Putin oversaw an invasion of Ukraine. "We're not electing a marathon runner," said Al Williams, a Democratic Georgia state legislator who would like Mr. Biden to run for another term. "He's still Joe Biden whose heart is in the right place."

If re-elected, Mr. Biden would be 82 when he is sworn in to a second term, nearly a decade older than former President Ronald Reagan when he started his second term in 1985 at the age of 73. Mr. Reagan, at age 69, was the oldest president to take office until 2017, when Donald Trump was sworn in as president at the age of 70, a record later eclipsed by Mr. Biden.

Some Republicans have sought to make Mr. Biden's age

The Wall Street Journal poll was conducted by the firms Impact Research and Fabrizio, Lee & Associates, who surveyed 1,500 respondents, drawn from a list of known, registered voters, from March 2-7. Half the respondents were interviewed on their cellphones. One-quarter were reached by text on their cellphones and completed an internet survey. One-quarter of respondents were interviewed by landline phone. The margin of error for the full sample was plus or minus 2.5 percentage points.

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THE UKRAINE CRISIS

U.K., EU Follow U.S., Impose New Curbs

New measures include ban on energy-sector investment, targeted sanctions on individuals

By LAURENCE NORMAN

The European Union and the U.K. agreed on separate sets of fresh sanctions and restrictions targeting Russia, a day after the U.S. added a roster of Russian Defense Ministry officials to its own target list—as all three seek to ratchet up pressure on Russian President Vladimir Putin.

The EU sanctions went furthest among the new round of international measures. They include a broad ban on energy-sector investment, a moratorium on luxury exports into Russia and new targeted sanctions against Russian business executives and oligarchs, including Roman Abramovich, the billionaire owner of Britain's Chelsea FC soccer team, diplomats said.

Tuesday's measures—in response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine—are the latest salvo in

what has become the largest, coordinated package of restrictions rolled out against a single country in such a short time.

They have locked many Russian banks out of international markets and slashed the ability of Russia's central bank, which holds more than \$600 billion in reserves, to intervene to support the currency and bail out Russian lenders and businesses. Export bans, including on cutting-edge technology, aim to inflict long-term harm on Russia's economy unless the Kremlin ends its aggression against Ukraine.

As Tuesday's packages demonstrate, however, pressing deeper sanctions can become more difficult during each new round. Having surprised the world with the speed and unity of an early burst of sanctions, Washington, Brussels and London have more recently gone at different speeds rolling out potentially more controversial rounds. The U.S., for instance, said it would stop buying Russian oil. The U.S. uses much less Rus-

sian energy than Europe.

Germany, Italy and others have worked to make sure the EU can continue to import Russian oil and natural gas and have created carve-outs in energy and banking sanctions to enable that. During discussions on Tuesday, German officials, with the backing of Hungary, Italy and others urged the implementation of already agreed-upon sanctions, diplomats said.

The U.K., meanwhile, has banned Russian ships from its waters, a measure the EU has been discussing but hasn't been able to agree on. Within the bloc, Poland has pushed for more-complete sanctions against Russian banks, but such measures haven't been agreed upon, diplomats said.

With its new package on Tuesday, the EU plans to ban the import of finished steel from Russia, which the bloc says is worth around €3.3 billion, equivalent to \$3.6 billion, in lost export revenue for Russia. The EU also intends to ban the rating of Russia and Russian companies by EU credit-

rating firms and the provision of rating services to Russian clients, the bloc said. That measure will need support from the U.S. if it is to be effective, officials said. Discussions between Brussels and Washington on it are under way.

The list of luxury goods whose export to Russia was banned ranged from expensive

'Gaps could emerge, but I'm not worried about the sanctions coalition falling apart.'

cars to musical instruments, clocks and pearls. Most Western luxury companies moved out of Russia in advance of the ban so the biggest impact may be that companies won't be able to reopen until sanctions are lifted, which could be years away.

Still, the EU measures don't go quite as far as initially proposed by European Commis-

sion President Ursula von der Leyen last week. After some tense discussions over the past few days, a number of exemptions were made to the measures, including permitting the continued import of a number of materials from Russia, such as aluminum and palladium. EU member states will also have longer to wind down contracts with Russian counterparts.

EU diplomats said some of the tensions resulted from the re-emergence of divisions about how fast to push ahead with Russia sanctions. A group of countries led by Poland wants more far-reaching measures, including a block on energy imports, something that has little prospect of garnering EU-wide support in the near-term.

Others, including Germany, want to consolidate the measures already taken, ensure they are properly implemented and be careful about rushing into new sanctions.

Nonetheless, EU diplomats and officials said the latest sanctions rounds, which include an export ban on luxury

goods into Russia that is financially costly for France and Italy, came together in just four days and that differences among member states aren't blocking important decisions.

For now, European and U.S. unity on the need to keep pressure on Russia is holding. The White House said Tuesday that President Biden will join EU leaders in Brussels for their summit next week to discuss Ukraine. He also will attend a meeting of NATO leaders.

"I do suspect that over time, gaps could emerge but I'm not worried about the sanctions coalition falling apart," said Eddie Fishman, adjunct professor at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs and a former State Department sanctions official.

He said Washington would be wise to let the EU decide what to do about gas imports, but said the biggest sanctions prize remaining is a global embargo on Russian oil and an effort to trap Russian oil revenue abroad, as was done with Iranian oil sales.

Oligarch's Investment Vehicle Shifts Control

By MAX COLCHESTER AND MARGOT PATRICK

LONDON—Hours after Russia invaded Ukraine, control of an investment vehicle long linked in public filings to oligarch Roman Abramovich and used to hold stakes in renewable energy and tech startups in the U.S., U.K. and Israel was moved to one of his business associates, according to securities filings.

Corporate disclosures over years identify British Virgin Islands-listed **Norma Investments Ltd.** as being controlled by Mr. Abramovich. On Feb. 24, the day Russian troops attacked Ukraine, David Davidovich, a close business associate of Mr. Abramovich, took full ownership of the entity, show securities filings in the U.K.

Since that move, the U.K. has sanctioned Mr. Abramovich, accusing him of benefiting from the regime of Russian President Vladimir Putin. On Tuesday, the European Union followed suit. The sanctions subject Mr. Abramovich to asset freezes and travel bans in the U.K. and EU.

A person close to Mr. Davidovich confirmed he took control of the entity. Mr. Davidovich's investment in Norma "is part of his overall investments and interest in the startup sector," this person said. This person said Mr. Abramovich wasn't Norma's previous owner but didn't identify who that was.

Norma is linked to Mr. Abramovich in several public filings. For instance, in 2021, a U.S. bio-



The EU imposed new sanctions on Russian oligarch Roman Abramovich, seen in Israel on Monday.

tech company backed by Norma said in its annual report filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission that Norma was controlled by Mr. Abramovich.

A company filing in 2020 to the London Stock Exchange from AFC Energy PLC, a British fuel-cell company, also listed Mr. Abramovich as an indirect investor in the business "through Norma Investments Limited."

Filings show the two men

frequently invest in companies together. Mr. Davidovich is listed in some filings as the chief executive officer of **Millhouse LLC**, a Moscow-based investment firm Mr. Abramovich started two decades ago.

The shift in control of Norma comes amid a wider effort by the Russian billionaire to shed or move assets in recent weeks, after Western governments threatened to dismantle an empire Mr.

Abramovich built up since the 1990s because of what they say are ties to Mr. Putin and the war in Ukraine. London, Brussels and Washington have all threatened to clamp down on a group of wealthy Russian billionaires in the hopes of applying pressure on the Kremlin.

Sanctions lawyers say selling assets to associates or transferring ownership to family members can be a way to at least temporarily avert asset

freezes, and retain indirect control of assets without technically falling afoul of sanctions. The British Virgin Islands, a British overseas territory where many of Mr. Abramovich's companies are registered, must implement U.K. sanctions orders. Mr. Davidovich isn't sanctioned. U.K. filings say he resides primarily in Israel.

Before being sanctioned in the U.K., Mr. Abramovich sought to sell his 15-bedroom mansion in London and his soccer club Chelsea FC. He has also tried to sell out of U.S.-based funds, The Wall Street Journal previously reported.

The complex ownership structure of Norma Investments points to the challenge that U.K., U.S. and European officials face as they try to work out what assets sanctioned oligarchs control. U.K. officials say that once sanctions are in place assets that are controlled by the sanctioned individuals are frozen.

The EU, U.S. and U.K. have begun sanctioning family members of oligarchs in part to capture transfers that may previously have taken place.

In recent days Mr. Abramovich's private jet has zigzagged between Israel, where he also has citizenship, Turkey and Russia, according to flight records. On Monday a masked Mr. Abramovich was photographed waiting in a VIP lounge in an Israeli airport.

Representatives for Mr. Abramovich haven't commented about the sanctions.

Russian Government Bonds Forecast a Bleak Several Years

By MATT WIRZ AND ALEXANDER SAEEDY

Judging by the bond market, it will take years for Russia to re-enter the global financial system.

Russian government bonds fell below 10 cents on the dollar last week, putting the country's debt on par with Venezuela, which collapsed into famine

five years ago. The valuation is near the low-water mark on bonds set by serial defaulter Argentina, which took 15 years to repay creditors after a bitter legal battle with hedge funds.

The country faces a key interest payment on dollar-denominated bonds Wednesday, and Russia's Finance Ministry has sent investors conflicting messages about whether it in-

tends to give them dollars or rubles. The uncertainty sparked concerns that a payment in rubles could result in a default and speculation about what legal remedies creditors might pursue.

Fund managers are also debating how long it would take creditors to recover their money and are concerned about the reputational taint that hangs over all

Russian assets, from stocks and bonds to oil and beer.

Russian bonds had investment-grade ratings and traded around 100 cents on the dollar until the country invaded Ukraine, triggering unprecedented financial sanctions by the U.S. and European countries. The Kremlin responded with measures including a block on bond payments in for-

eign currencies.

Bringing Russia to the bargaining table might be equally challenging because the country could survive for years without borrowing internationally, analysts said. About 80% of its debt was held by domestic investors last year, according to S&P Global Ratings, and its oil exports bolster government cash reserves.

More Than Three Million People Have Fled the War in Ukraine

More than three million people have fled Ukraine since the Russian invasion began on Feb. 24, the U.N.'s International Organization for Migration said Tuesday.

And more than two million people have been displaced within Ukraine, according to UNHCR, the United Nations refugee agency.

More than half of the refugees—over 1.8 million as of Tuesday—have entered Poland. Romania, Moldova, Hungary and Slovakia have each accepted hundreds of thousands of refugees since Russian President Vladimir Putin started the war, according to UNHCR. Some 143,000 people have fled into Russia.

The numbers are fluid and fast moving, said Christine Pirovolakis, spokeswoman for the UNHCR in London. She said initial estimates that the war could create four million refugees could be exceeded.

It took one week for the refugee numbers to hit one million, the agency said. In just five days, that figure doubled.

—Joanna Sugden



Refugees packed into a train from Poland to Berlin on Tuesday after escaping the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

Biden to Announce \$1 Billion In New Aid

WASHINGTON—President Biden is expected to announce more than \$1 billion in new military assistance to the Ukraine government as early as Wednesday, according to U.S. officials, as Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky is expected to make a plea to Congress for more aid to defend his country against Russia's invasion.

By Gordon Lubold, Vivian Salama and Nancy A. Youssef

The \$1.01 billion is expected to include more of the same kinds of military equipment the U.S. says the Ukrainians need the most: antiarmor and anti-air systems, including portable air defenses such as Javelins and Stingers. The money would come from the roughly \$13.6 billion allotted for Ukraine in the omnibus budget bill Mr. Biden signed Tuesday.

The package Mr. Biden plans to announce includes the more than \$200 million in support sent over the weekend and about another \$800 million in new funding.

While the White House is considering sending more troops to Europe to add to the roughly 15,000 deployed there since the Russia-Ukraine crisis began, Mr. Biden isn't expected to deploy more troops now, U.S. officials said.

"We're moving urgently to further augment the support to the brave people of Ukraine as they defend their country," President Biden said Tuesday, without providing additional details. "And I'll have much more to say about this tomorrow about exactly what we're doing in Ukraine."

Senators and members of the House of Representatives of both parties have called for the administration to send as much military support to Ukraine as possible, and in his virtual address to Congress on Wednesday, Mr. Zelensky is expected to appeal for that support.

On Tuesday, Mr. Zelensky made a plea before Canada's parliament for a no-fly zone, asking legislators to stop Russia in its bid to "annihilate" Ukraine. "It's dire straits but it also allowed us to see who our real friends are over the last 20 days," Mr. Zelensky said.

But Pentagon officials and others say some forms of support wouldn't be helpful to the Ukrainians and would risk the U.S. slipping into direct conflict with Russia inside Ukraine. Those officials oppose establishing a no-fly zone, determining it wouldn't stop the Russian cruise missiles being lobbed from inside Russia and could require U.S. and North Atlantic Treaty Organization jets to shoot down Russian planes.

The Pentagon has also declined to support a separate proposal to provide Polish jet fighters to Ukraine via the U.S., arguing that the Ukrainians aren't using the jet fighters they already have.

THE UKRAINE CRISIS

Producer In On-Air Protest Is Fined

BY EVAN GERSHKOVICH

A producer for Russian state television's flagship Channel One was fined for violating Russia's protest laws, her defense team said, a day after running onto the set of the channel's evening news program with an antiwar poster and releasing a video denouncing the war.

The woman, Marina Ovsyannikova, burst onto the set of Russia's most-watched news program Monday evening, holding a poster reading: "No war. Stop the war. Don't believe propaganda. They lie to you here. Russians against war." She yelled: "Stop the war, no to war" before the camera cut away.

In a video released by the OVD-Info human-rights group published after the studio outburst, Ms. Ovsyannikova, 44 years old, said she is ashamed of working for "Kremlin propaganda" and for staying silent over the years.

"It's only in our power to stop this. Go to protests; don't be scared. They can't arrest us all," she said, adding that her father is Ukrainian and her mother Russian.

She was ordered to pay 30,000 rubles, or approximately \$280, according to her attorneys. One of them, Anton Gashinsky, said she was fined for the video, not the studio protest.

"These were very hard days in my life because I spent almost two days without sleep," Ms. Ovsyannikova told reporters outside the courthouse, according to a video shared by Russian media. "The interrogation lasted for more than 14 hours, and I wasn't allowed to get in touch with my family and loved ones or get access to legal help."

Ms. Ovsyannikova said she wanted to get some rest and would say more Wednesday.

Shortly after her outburst on Monday night, state-run news agencies and an independent rights group, OVD-Info, reported that Ms. Ovsyannikova had been detained. But human-rights lawyers couldn't locate her until she was officially charged with violating Russia's legislation on public demonstrations, which require prior authorization.

Human-rights lawyer Sergei Badamshin, whose group, Moscow Board of Attorneys SB has taken on Ms. Ovsyannikova's case, said in an interview that she was kept in a Moscow police station overnight.

She was facing a fine or up to 10 days in jail.

Ms. Ovsyannikova could also be fined for the studio protest and face more serious charges in a separate case.

Cultural Icons at Risk From Conflict

BY ISABEL COLES
AND FRANCIS X. ROCCA

LVIV, Ukraine—Experts in cultural property protection are working to verify reports of damage to hundreds of heritage sites across Ukraine and safeguard them from further destruction, as Russia's offensive intensifies.

Historic buildings, museums, monuments, churches, cemeteries and archaeological sites are among the sites to which possible damage has been detected. Over the weekend, shelling by Russian forces hit a 16th-century monastery and cave complex where people had sought shelter from fighting in the eastern Donetsk region, damaging two rooms at the Holy Mountains Lavra of the Holy Dormition, said the head of the Luhansk civil-military administration.

During the continuing siege of the port city of Mariupol, the mosque of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent and his wife Roksolana was damaged, according to an adviser to the mayor.

Russian forces looted the Vasylivka Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve, also known as Popov Manor House, museum director Anna Golovko said Monday, describing smashed windows and trampled office equipment.

Where possible, precious artworks, religious icons and other artifacts are being stashed away below ground to protect them from bombardment. Monuments and historic buildings have been fortified with sandbags and swaddled in protective materials.

Overseas, experts in cultural property protection are using satellite imagery to pinpoint and monitor damage across the country. The Cultural Heritage Monitoring Lab at the Virginia Museum of Natural History has identified several hundred heritage sites that may have been damaged in some way. The list is growing, according to its director, Hayden Bassett.

"We are going site by site to confirm those potential impacts or identify if some are indeed intact," he said. "Cultural heritage, among other things, is a tangible reflection of someone's long-term connection to an area. This is why we are focused on safeguarding the complete picture."

Ihor Kozhan, director of the Andrey Sheptytsky National Museum in Lviv, had staff take down the museum's entire collection on the third day of the invasion, packing things up to be hidden away.

Protecting the history and identity that Russia's invasion seeks to deny is key for Mr. Kozhan and others involved in the effort to keep Ukraine's heritage safe. In a televised speech days before he sent tanks across the border, Russian President Vladimir Putin questioned the concept of Ukrainian statehood and said the country was an indivisible part of Russia.



A statue and other sculptures in Lviv's historic city center have been covered to protect them. Workers at the Andrey Sheptytsky National Museum in Lviv, left, packed up its entire collection so that items could be hidden away.

from bombardment but also from potential looting.

Robert M. Edsel, author of "The Monuments Men," a book about a U.S. Army unit of art and architecture experts who helped conserve much of Europe's cultural heritage during World War II, said portable objects should be moved out of Ukraine to a country that is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

"Obviously, if we're able to get arms in, we can get works of art out," he said.

But moving objects can make them vulnerable to attack and potential damage, said Maria Shust, director of the Ukrainian Museum in New York. "You'd have to do this in trucks and this would probably be more unsafe than it is to try to hide them," she said.

Still, leaving them in place raises concerns about items falling into Russian hands. Many objects and religious artifacts looted from Ukraine were taken to Russia in the 1930s. "Much of Ukrainian heritage has been taken to Russia and it's sitting in their museums," said Ms. Shust.

Leaving cultural objects in place and running the risk that they end up in Russian hands might be safer, versus the potential for destruction, said Vasyly Petryk, head of the department of heritage protection in the Lviv region. "At least there will be some diplomatic means to recover it," he said.

"Putin's aim is to destroy Ukraine as an independent country, and to erase our cultural heritage and patrimony as evidence of that," said Mr. Kozhan, his voice echoing in the empty room where old Ukrainian art from the 12th to 18th century used to be on display. He declined to say where the museum's collection had been taken.

Buildings in the historic city center of Lviv—one of seven Ukrainian sites recognized by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization—have been marked by local authorities with a blue shield emblem, identifying them as protected under the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection

of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. A statue of Neptune that sits on a fountain in the cobbled square is now mummified in plastic wrap with its trident poking out. Stained-glass windows of the nearby Latin cathedral have been covered over with metal sheeting. A statue of Jesus Christ was taken down from the cross in Lviv's Armenian church for the first time since World War II. It is now in a bunker.

As Russian forces close in on Kyiv, there is growing concern for the Saint-Sophia Cathedral and the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, or Monastery of the Caves—another site recognized by Unesco.

Lazare Eloundou Assomo,

the director of Unesco's World Heritage Center, said he has been in daily contact with Ukraine's deputy minister of culture and other heritage experts since the start of the conflict.

Unesco is organizing a meeting this week with other agencies, partners and non-governmental organizations to coordinate and support emergency measures such as reinforcing heritage site buildings so that they can better withstand shelling and fire, said Mr. Eloundou Assomo.

The widening destruction is also fueling debate among those in the heritage community about how best to protect the country's cultural landmarks and icons, not only

TikTok's Curbs Benefit the Kremlin

BY LIZA LIN
AND EVAN GERSHKOVICH

TikTok is censoring its content in Russia more heavily than it said it would, blocking access to most overseas accounts and leaving a content vacuum that is being partially filled by state media propaganda, researchers and users in the country say.

The popular short video app said March 6 it would suspend live streaming and new content uploads for Russian users after the imposition of draconian censorship rules, which threatened jail for those publishing what authorities consider to be false information about the country's invasion of Ukraine. Russia has termed the fighting a special military operation.

TikTok's service disruption in the country has been more sweeping, with users shut off from almost all non-Russian TikTok accounts, including historical posts, for more than a week, according to Tracking Exposed, a nonprofit organization in Europe that analyzes algorithms on social media. The group said TikTok's removal of the accounts was indiscriminate, including non-political and benign channels.

Beyond blocking international news media such as British Broadcasting Corp.,

TikTok has restricted access to accounts run by Hollywood celebrity Will Smith, 17-year-old American teen Charli D'Amelio, one of TikTok's biggest creators with 137 million followers, as well as cat videos and the World Health Organization. Their historical posts are also off limits.

With no new content coming online, old videos from state media outlets Sputnik and RT (Russia Today) have been circulating, Tracking Exposed said. So, too, have posts from a TikTok account with 5.9 million followers called "simpleputin" that promotes fun and quirky videos of Russian President Vladimir Putin.

"It's such a weird information bubble, when we do not have access to videos abroad," said Niki Proshin, a 27-year-old TikTok user and creator in St. Petersburg. Mr. Proshin's For You page, the app's personalized feed, only shows him videos from accounts within Russia that were posted before March 6. "The more you scroll, the older they get," Mr. Proshin said, adding he now uses the app far less.

A TikTok spokeswoman referred to its March 6 statement, saying that safety of staff and users were paramount. "In light of Russia's new 'fake news' law, we have no choice but to suspend live

streaming and new content to our video service in Russia while we review the safety implications of this law," the statement said.

Social-media platforms have become ground zero for information warfare in the wake of the Russia-Ukraine fighting. TikTok, which is less than five years old, initially struggled with the huge influx of war-related content on its platform as it lacked the experience of

Social-media platforms have been a focal point for information warfare.

more established platforms.

TikTok has removed almost 95% of the content for its Russian users, according to Salvatore Romano, head of research at Tracking Exposed, whose team changed their internet protocol addresses to Russia to gather their findings. By restricting overseas accounts as well as new uploads, TikTok's content was reinforcing Russian propaganda, Mr. Romano said.

"Russian people are deprived of a global perspective on Russia's actions in

Ukraine," said the Padova, Italy-based Mr. Romano. "This makes it less likely that public opinion in Russia will become critical of the war."

The findings are significant because TikTok, owned by Beijing-based ByteDance Ltd., remains one of the last major foreign social-media platforms available within Russia, after the country's regulator restricted access to Twitter Inc. and Meta Platforms Inc.'s Facebook platform about two weeks ago. Unlike the other platforms, TikTok wasn't shut out by Russian regulators and chose to proactively limit the content on its platform.

Russian TikTok users searching for pages hosted outside the country on the app's search function will not see results.

Tracking Exposed said they also found a group of Russian users who had devised a workaround to disguise their location and post pro-war content.

Not all the old content was pro-Putin. Russian opposition leader Alexei Navalny's official TikTok account was also still available, according to users and researchers. One user said she could see earlier Russian posts containing positive messages about French President Emmanuel Macron and Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky.

Journalists Working For Fox News Killed

BY BENJAMIN MULLIN

Two journalists working for Fox News, a cameraman and a consultant, were killed covering the war in Ukraine, network chief Suzanne Scott told employees Tuesday.

Pierre Zakrzewski, a cameraman for Fox News, and Oleksandra "Sasha" Kuvshynova, a consultant, were reporting near Kyiv alongside foreign-affairs correspondent Benjamin Hall when their vehicle was hit by fire Monday, she said.

Based in London, Mr. Zakrzewski was a war photographer who covered several major conflicts for Fox News, including in Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria, the network said.

"His talents were vast and there wasn't a role that he didn't jump in to help with in the field—from photographer to engineer to editor to producer—and he did it all under immense pressure with tremendous skill," Ms. Scott, the CEO of Fox News Media, said.

Ms. Kuvshynova, 24 years old, was helping Fox News crews navigate Kyiv while gathering information and speaking to sources, Ms. Scott said.

"Several of our correspondents and producers spent long days with her reporting the news and got to know her

personally, describing her as hardworking, funny, kind and brave," Ms. Scott said.

Since the Russia-Ukraine war began, journalists have been shot at, beaten and jailed while covering the conflict and protests, said the Committee to Protect Journalists. Another journalist, Ukrainian Yevhenii Sakun, was killed this month when Russian forces shelled a television tower.

Last year, Mr. Zakrzewski was recognized internally at the network with an "Unsung Hero" award for helping to get Afghan freelance associates and their families out of the country. Mr. Zakrzewski was an Irish citizen.

Mr. Hall has been hospitalized in Ukraine.

Several journalists working for U.S. media have been killed covering the war in recent days. On Sunday, Brent Renaud, a journalist who was on assignment for Time Studios, was fatally shot near the front line of the war. Andrey Nebitov, a police official in the Kyiv region, blamed the killing on Russian troops, and said two other correspondents were injured.

Fox News parent Fox Corp. and Wall Street Journal parent News Corp share common ownership.

THE UKRAINE CRISIS

Russian Prosecutors Seek More Jail Time for Navalny

The opposition leader is facing an additional 13 years on fraud and contempt charges

By Gareth Vipers

Russian prosecutors asked a court to extend opposition leader Alexei Navalny's prison sentence by a further 13 years, accusing the anti-Putin campaigner of fresh fraud and contempt-of-court charges.

Mr. Navalny, a prominent and decadeslong critic of President Vladimir Putin, is currently serving a 2½-year sentence at a prison camp east of Moscow for apparent parole violations relating to charges he says were trumped up to restrict his political ambitions.

The latest charges, detailed by prosecutors on Tuesday, relate to allegations that Mr.

Navalny stole donations from the Anti-Corruption Foundation, a nonprofit he founded that works to investigate official corruption in Russia and has organized regular demonstrations.

Mr. Navalny has denied the charges, and his supporters say the latest case was ordered by Mr. Putin for political reasons.

"Today, the prosecutor's office asked for 13 years for Alexei and to replace the conditions of his detention with more strict ones," said his spokeswoman, Kira Yarmysh.

"This accusation has nothing to do with the law. The reason is Putin's personal order. Putin tried to kill Alexei but failed and now decided to keep him in prison indefinitely," Ms. Yarmysh said. "Navalny is his main political opponent, a man who has been fighting corruption for many years, and Putin is try-

ing his best to silence him."

One of the prosecutors said Mr. Navalny headed a conspiracy that sought to oust the government and steal donations for use on extremist activities.

"Navalny and other persons had self-serving and extremist intent when they stole donations to use for personal use," the prosecutor said during the hearing.

According to prosecutors, Mr. Navalny stole about 350 million rubles, roughly \$3.1 million, from the foundation.

Russian security forces detained Mr. Navalny on his return to Russia in January 2021, after he had spent five months recovering in Berlin from a poisoning attack that German scientists said was Novichok, a Soviet-era nerve agent.

Prison authorities said he was detained for repeated violations of his probation for a



Alexei Navalny, now serving a 2½-year sentence at a prison camp, stood during a hearing last month.

sentence he received in 2014 for embezzlement.

The European Court of Human Rights has called that court case politically motivated.

The latest legal proceedings come amid rising tensions over the conflict in Ukraine, which has seen Russian police detain thousands of antiwar

protesters. The Kremlin—which has banned Facebook and Twitter and shut down independent media—has moved to silence any dissent against the military operations.

Since his incarceration, Mr. Navalny has complained of mistreatment. In March 2021, he staged a weeklong hunger strike to protest poor treat-

ment in prison and authorities' refusal to allow him to see a doctor of his choice.

"Alexei is better in terms of his health and he is optimistic as usual," Ms. Yarmysh said Tuesday. "He told in court today that no verdict can scare him, because he can't give up on Russian future and just keep silent."

Chernobyl Staff Held Hostage

Continued from Page One

Their diet has dwindled to porridge and canned food, prepared by a 70-year-old cook who at one point collapsed from exhaustion. Their phones have been confiscated and they are trailed by Russian soldiers through the nuclear plant's labyrinth of reinforced-concrete corridors.

For weeks, the world's nuclear energy regulators have been trying to understand what is happening inside the Chernobyl complex, where the condition of the facility and its crew has been shrouded by competing Ukrainian and Russian narratives.

The Wall Street Journal heard from workers trapped inside, reviewed videos and texts they sent to family members and spoke to more than a dozen relatives, friends, plant managers and local officials. The Journal was also able to access recordings of a daily 10 a.m. phone call, which connects the plant to an office in the town of Slavutych, built by the Soviets to house Chernobyl workers after the explosion of Reactor No. 4 in 1986.

The picture that emerges is of a skeleton crew of nuclear technicians working under duress for nearly three weeks. Several need medicine. In the one-minute calls soldiers allow workers to place to family members, they have told of extreme fatigue, dizziness, nausea and terrible headaches.

That exhaustion is mutating into rebellion, with staff arguing with their captors over the nature of Russia's war and staging acts of defiance. Every morning at 9, the national anthem, "Ukraine Has Not Yet Perished," blares through the loudspeaker. The Ukrainian workers stand, palms pressed to chests, then return to work.

Atomic City

Their families, meanwhile, are running low on heat and power, trapped by a Russian military encirclement around the Atomic City, as Slavutych is known, where locals clang church bells or honk car horns to sound the alarm whenever warplanes approach. Their calls to replace the exhausted workers with other staff have been rejected by Russia.

"I didn't recognize his voice," said the wife of a plant worker who spoke to her husband on Friday. "I could tell someone was standing behind him. Very short phrases."

Ukraine's intelligence agency said Friday Russia was preparing a false-flag attack on the exclusion zone, the thousand-square-mile area around the plant, in order to blame Ukraine as a pretext for escalating the war. Russian state media said Ukraine was close to building a plutonium-based "dirty bomb" at Chernobyl. Neither side provided evidence for its claims.

Chernobyl stopped producing electricity around 2000, yet it still needs staff to keep cool water circulating over thousands of spent fuel rods kept in four-story-deep basins



Security footage, top, shows Russian troops on the grounds of the Chernobyl plant. Below left, a 2005 ceremony honored victims of the 1986 disaster there. At right, the plant after the explosion, which expelled 400 times as much radioactive material into the atmosphere as the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima.



lined with steel and reinforced concrete. The pumps pushing new water over the spent fuel now rely on diesel generators. High-voltage power lines connecting the plant's cooling system to the electricity grid were cut during fighting.

"If the pumps do not work," a memo by a Ukrainian nuclear association official reads, "the water in the pool may boil, which will lead to the formation of radioactive steam, followed by the melting of the fuel assemblies, which will lead to a severe accident."

Nuclear analysts based in the West say such a disaster is unlikely. "Chernobyl's spent fuel has cooled down after decades in storage and cannot melt down at this point," American Nuclear Society President Steven Nesbit said in a written statement.

One concern, debated by nuclear analysts, is whether the power outage at Chernobyl could compromise its ventilation system, exposing the staff to risky levels of radiation.

The International Atomic Energy Agency said while the condition of the trapped workers is of grave concern, there is no cause for immediate alarm. The rods are stored in enough water to keep the nuclear material from overheating, it said. The agency is more worried about the potential for an accident at Ukraine's still-active six-reactor Zaporizhzhia plant, where a fire broke out after Russian troops shelled nearby.

The crew at Chernobyl has worked almost twice as long

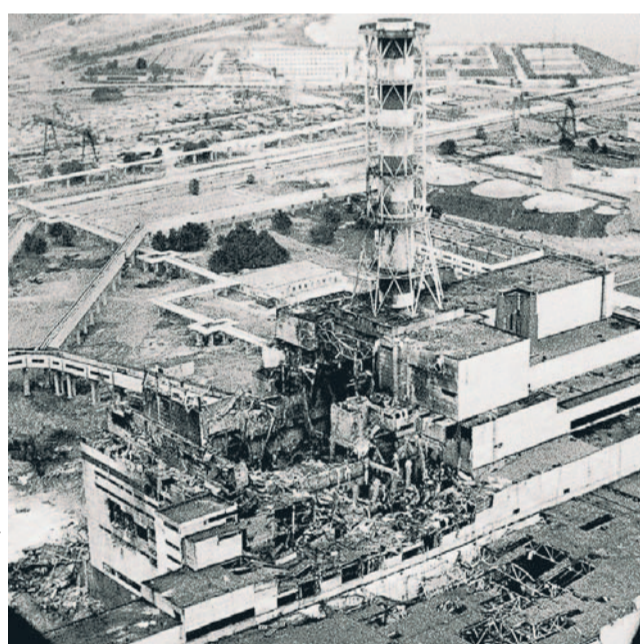
as the firefighters who put out a 10-day blaze after the Chernobyl disaster. "Even in the acute phase after 1986, the workers had breaks for safety," said Serhiy Myrnyi, who was a commander of a platoon in the 600,000-strong Soviet deployment of soldiers, firefighters and others sent to clean up in 1986.

The most senior members of the staff trapped inside Chernobyl have dedicated decadeslong careers to managing the 36-year aftermath of the accident. The meltdown that followed expelled 400 times as

Trapped staff work nonstop, snatching sleep sitting next to beeping machinery.

much radioactive material into the atmosphere as the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. The Soviet Union said little about the incident until a cloud of radioactive fallout stretched across Europe to as far away as Canada.

It dispatched firefighters and rescue workers to put out the blaze and to shovel radioactive debris into the skeletal remains of the ruined reactor. To this day, the government of Ukraine, which in 1986 was part of the Soviet Union, pays stipends to 36,000 widows of people considered to have died from exposure to radiation.



The accident, former Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev has written, was "perhaps the main cause of the Soviet Union's collapse five years later."

In February, workers began to get nervous about the swelling number of soldiers across the border of Belarus. On Feb. 23, the night crew decided to forgo the train ride between the Atomic City and Chernobyl, which passes through Belarus, and instead drove to their 12-hour shift.

At 4:58 a.m. on Feb. 24, the Chernobyl shift manager, Mr. Heiko, got a call from the neighboring town of Prip'yat: They'd heard shots. A gunbattle was under way in the exclusion zone between Ukrainian border guards and the Russian army.

At 5:55 a.m. came an operational announcement: Area residents were evacuating.

The staff debated whether to abandon their shift. "It all happened very suddenly, you know, like at the beginning of World War II," Mr. Heiko would later say, in an audio message reviewed by the Journal. "It was not clear what to do....There was no protocol in case of war."

Mr. Heiko called a general director overseeing the plant, and they made a decision: The night shift would stay on to control the temperature of water cooling the spent fuel rods.

They continued logging temperature and humidity readings until 3 p.m., when the plant director called to say

tanks and armored personnel carriers were in the area, kicking up radioactive dust.

Shortly after, Mr. Heiko looked out of his window and saw a Russian T-72 tank. Russian troops were taking position outside the building. The lightly armed Ukrainian national guard inside told the staff they were ready to fight, but after deliberations decided to negotiate to avoid a battle. In Slavutych, senior plant managers watched as a live closed-circuit TV feed from the plant showed Russian tanks barricading the road.

More Russians, arriving in five trucks, disembarked, their officers announcing they had received an order to take control of the plant. They appointed soldiers to guard the staff, took over the second story of the cafeteria and took down the plant's Ukrainian flag.

Mr. Heiko scooped it up and stored it in his office.

Propaganda shoot

Early on, a Russian state news crew arrived to film the soldiers delivering bread and other provisions to plant workers, but a call came over the loudspeaker from a senior Ukrainian technician: "Do not allow yourselves to be filmed for propaganda."

The soldiers put on blue overalls and posed as workers for the news segment. Some viewers spotted the ruse: The overalls bore the logo of French consortium Novarka, which stopped working at

Chernobyl in 2018.

As two days blurred into three, staff sneaked off to make cellphone calls to family members and the Ukrainian energy ministry. "They can't go anywhere without a military man following them, but for a few days they could call us secretly," said a senior adviser at the energy ministry. Then the Russians demanded the staff hand over their phones.

By regulation, each morning, the crew was meant to record the night's events in a logbook, informing the incoming shift of any occurrences or concerns. Now, the staff formally signed off—and then on again, transferring their shifts from themselves to themselves. Then on the intercom came the same joke: "Another permanent shift has taken place."

Conditions in the Atomic City were turning grim. Surrounded by Russian forces, it was running low on food and fuel. Relatives had little word of their loved ones confined at the plant.

Unable to heat their homes or ovens, locals began to cook outside on campfires, and people hunched over diesel generators outdoors to charge their phones.

By March 9, Chernobyl itself was depending on diesel generators. Lights dimmed in the cavernous facility. Systems transmitting data from the radioactive-waste facility went offline. In Slavutych, family members began to panic.

"If they don't let repair teams come and fix the electricity, there will be another nuclear catastrophe, and it will be a huge problem for the whole world," said the wife of one technician.

From Kyiv, Ukraine's government put out an alert: There were only 48 hours before the diesel generator ran out of fuel.

In Vienna, the IAEA said it was concerned, but added that it saw "no critical impact on safety." Later in the day, the agency reported it was no longer receiving monitoring data from Chernobyl and warned that the power cut would create stress for the staff. The following day, IAEA Director General Rafael Grossi flew to peace talks in the Turkish city of Antalya to petition both sides to agree to safeguard Ukraine's nuclear safety. In Washington, the U.S. activated its nuclear incident response team.

Back in the Atomic City, the plant's management had no answers for Mr. Heiko, who called each morning to ask if there had been a resolution—or at least a fresh supply of cigarettes. Last week, the plant's management wrote him a note of congratulations for his 60th birthday.

"He can't hand over his shift and can't leave his post, he stays at his workplace just as his colleagues did at the time of the biggest nuclear accident in 1986," it said.

The plant's off-duty management say their co-workers exemplify the Chernobyl tradition of self-sacrifice.

"This is not the first emergency that has occurred here," one manager said. "Our people are hardened."

—Yana Tashkevych, Laurence Norman and Ivanna Vasylieva contributed to this article.

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THE UKRAINE CRISIS



Russia's assault included strikes on two Kyiv apartment buildings, one of which is shown at right. Above, a woman was comforted by a firefighter outside one of the buildings, while below right, a resident looked at the charred remains of her apartment.



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: VADIM GHIRONA/AP; CHRISTOPHER OCCICONE FOR WSJ; FADEL SENNA/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Russians Step Up Kyiv Strikes

Continued from Page One
how to intensify pressure on Moscow while avoiding direct military conflict between North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries and Russia. On Tuesday, Secretary of State Antony Blinken spoke with his Ukrainian counterpart, Dmytro Kuleba, about efforts by Western allies to assist Ukraine. Mr. Biden signed into law on Tuesday a spending bill that includes \$13.6 billion in security, humanitarian and economic aid for Ukraine. Mr. Biden is expected to announce \$1.01 billion in new military assistance to the Ukraine government as early as Wednesday, according to U.S. officials.

to Kyiv jointly by train and arrived there Tuesday evening. "I am sure that with such friends, with such countries, with such neighbors and partners, we will really be able to win," Mr. Zelensky said after the meeting.

He said the talks focused on security guarantees for Ukraine, strengthening sanctions against Russia and the prospects of Ukraine's membership in the European Union, according to Mr. Zelensky's official website.

"Europe must guarantee Ukraine's independence and ensure that it is ready to help in Ukraine's reconstruction," Poland's Mr. Morawiecki said ahead of the meeting.

Mr. Zelensky, in an emotional televised speech earlier Tuesday addressing Canadian lawmakers, implored that country to increase military support and help implement a no-fly zone over his country to stop Russian bombardments. He told the lawmakers that 97 children had died since the Russian military began airstrikes on Ukraine. "Please close the sky," he said. "You all need to do more to stop Russia and protect Ukraine and protect Europe. They are destroying everything."

NATO has turned down requests for a no-fly zone, saying it would risk drawing the West into war with Russia.

Mr. Zelensky is scheduled to deliver a virtual address to members of the U.S. Congress on Wednesday.



The European Union and the U.K. agreed on separate sets of fresh sanctions and restrictions targeting Russia, a day after the U.S. added a roster of Russian Defense Ministry officials to its own target list—as all three seek to ratchet up pressure on President Vladimir Putin of Russia.

Moscow on Tuesday imposed sanctions on Mr. Biden and several top U.S. officials, including Mr. Blinken, Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin, Central Intelligence Agency Director William Burns and White House press secretary Jen Psaki, aimed at restricting their travel to Russia. The Russian

foreign ministry said the restrictions were in response to "unprecedented sanctions preventing Russian officials from entering the U.S."

Ms. Psaki said Russian sanctions wouldn't have much of an impact. "None of us are planning tourist trips to Russia, and none of us have bank ac-

counts that we won't be able to access," she said.

The moves came as Russian and Ukrainian negotiators were gearing up for more talks that had paused Monday. Mr. Putin told European Council President Charles Michel in a call on Tuesday that Kyiv wasn't showing a serious attitude toward finding "mutually acceptable solutions" in negotiations with Moscow, the Kremlin said.

Twenty days into the war, Russia has seized territory in the south of Ukraine but has been stopped short around Kyiv and elsewhere. Increasingly, its forces have resorted to bombing residential areas and civilian infrastructure in an effort to wear down Ukrainian resistance. The death toll from a rocket attack on the western city of Rivne on Monday rose to 19, the local military administration said.

Ukraine's military also said it had detected a Russian surveillance drone crossing the border into neighboring Poland. The drone was shot down by Ukrainian air defenses after it crossed back into Ukraine's airspace.

—Georgi Kantchev, Bojan Pancevski and Mauro Orru contributed to this article.

Tech Things

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THE UKRAINE CRISIS

Oil Drops Below \$100 A Barrel

Continued from Page One almost 600 points, or 1.8%. The unpredictability from all angles has clouded economic forecasts and made business decisions difficult for everyone from oil drillers and metal fabricators to restaurant owners and landlords.

At investor conferences and on earnings calls investors “uncertainty” has become a buzzword. Volkswagen AG Chief Executive Herbert Diess told investors Tuesday that the war has put the German auto maker’s optimistic outlook for 2022 into question.

“It is getting worse, not better, both on economic growth and inflation,” said Sung Won Sohn, a professor of finance and economics at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles. “The uncertainties are mounting.”

Last week oil prices were the highest they have been in more than a decade, spurred by speculation and panic buying after the U.S. sanctioned Russia. The fear was that output from one of the world’s top petroleum exporters would dry up right as economies emerged from the pandemic and began burning more fuel. Higher oil prices seemed like the surest bet in the market, with stocks and bonds selling off.

On Tuesday, West Texas Intermediate lost \$6.57 a barrel to end at \$96.44, down more than 22% from a week earlier, when the main U.S. oil price settled at \$123.70. Brent crude, which burst above \$130 a barrel at the start of last week’s trading, dropped 6.5% on Tuesday to end at \$99.91.

Gasoline and diesel futures in New York have also declined, reversing much of their run-up since Russia’s attack. Energy shares, which form the only segment of the S&P 500 stock index that is up this year and have served lately as an inflation buffer, also took a hit Tuesday.



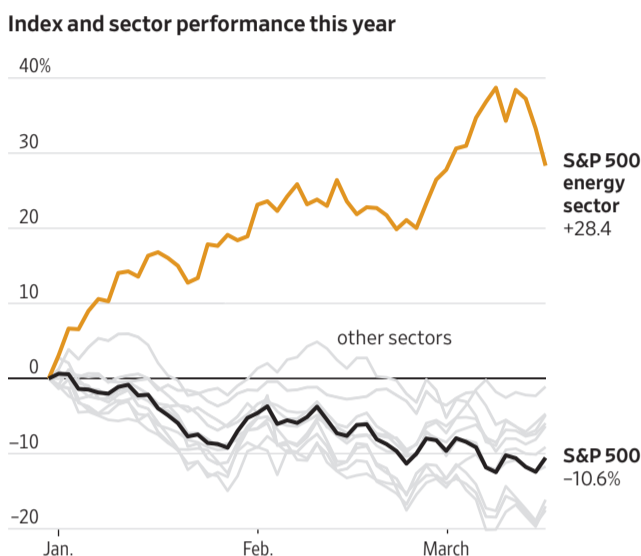
Notwithstanding the recent pullback in price, oil is still 49% more expensive than a year ago, contributing to overall inflation.

Exxon Mobil Corp. shares shed 5.7% while refiner Valero Energy Corp. sank 6.8%.

Still, fuel prices remain high enough to dent household budgets already strained by the highest inflation in decades. Consumer energy costs in the U.S. jumped 25.6% in February from a year earlier, compared with a 7.9% rise in overall inflation, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Notwithstanding the drop below \$100 a barrel, oil is 49% more expensive than a year ago. Despite declines in the futures markets, the national average retail price for a gallon of unleaded gasoline hit a record of \$4.33 over the weekend and was only about a penny cheaper on Tuesday, according to AAA.

Before Russia attacked Ukraine, analysts expected oil prices to reach \$100 this summer during peak driving season. That forecast was predicated on drillers falling behind demand, which was revving up as economic restrictions eased around the world. Russia’s aggression added to the concerns about fuel supplies.



Source: FactSet

Even the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries gave up trying to forecast the war’s effect on energy markets. The cartel declined on Tuesday to make any revisions to its monthly market forecast, saying that it couldn’t accurately predict the conflict’s far-reaching consequences.

China’s new restrictions

now call oil demand into question, raising doubts about the world moving beyond Covid toward stronger growth. Besides shut-in Chinese drivers, factories in locked-down areas could struggle to produce enough goods, exacerbating shortages and driving up prices.

“That’s the new wrinkle in the story that we’re grappling

with,” JPMorgan Chase chief economist Bruce Kasman said. He believes inflation will run much higher in the coming months than previously thought, which will ultimately impede the ability of households to spend broadly, slowing economic growth. “Right now I don’t want to think too much about where we’re going to be six or nine months from now because there are too many moving parts,” he said.

The bank’s economists project that the global economy will grow at a 2.5% annual rate in the first half of this year, down from their month-ago projection of 4% growth. They expect consumer prices to grow at an annual rate of 7% over that period instead of their prior estimate of 4%.

Bank of America predicted last week that global output will grow 3.6% this year, down from its prior estimate of 4.3%, but warned that projection could change again given how rapidly conditions are changing. “Forecasting the impact of the Russian invasion is like catching a falling knife,” the bank’s economists wrote in a note to clients.

OPEC Warns of Blow to Economy

By Will Horner

Russia’s invasion of Ukraine is likely to deal a severe blow to the global economy, something which could weigh on demand for oil, but the rapidly evolving situation made gauging the impact challenging, the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries said Tuesday.

The cartel, in its monthly market report, held off from revising its forecasts for oil demand, supply and global economic growth, saying the fast-changing, uncertain situation in Ukraine had affected its ability to accurately predict what the far-reaching consequences of the conflict would be on global energy markets.

Still, OPEC was unequivocal that the war’s impact on global economic growth would be painful and could be followed by a knock-on impact on oil demand.

OPEC said the conflict was driving up commodity prices, which were exacerbating already elevated global inflation; trade flows—having just recovered from supply-chain bottlenecks brought on in the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic—were becoming snarled again; and developing nations are likely to feel the effects of food inflation. A decline in consumption was likely if the conflict and those negative effects continued, OPEC said.

However, OPEC said the situation in Ukraine was still too fluid for it to accurately attach numbers on what the effects would be. It said its forecasts for 2022 global oil-demand growth, non-OPEC supply growth, and global economic growth remained under assessment, at the same levels as last month.

In February, OPEC forecast demand would grow by 4.2 million barrels a day.



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WORLD NEWS

Moscow Softens Its Iran-Deal Demands

Russia will accept narrower guarantees, clearing the way for the accord to be revived

By LAURENCE NORMAN

BERLIN—Russia walked back recently made demands on Washington related to the Iran nuclear deal, clearing the way for Tehran and Washington to revive the 2015 pact, senior Western diplomats said.

On Tuesday, after Russia's Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov

met in Moscow with his Iranian counterpart, both Mr. Lavrov and Hossein Amir-Abdollahian said Russia isn't standing in the way of the accord.

Russia earlier this month demanded guarantees from Washington that its economic ties with Iran wouldn't be affected by the Western sanctions imposed on Moscow over Ukraine. The last-minute move was the driving factor that prevented a deal to revive the 2015 nuclear agreement over the past 10 days, Western diplomats have said. The European Union, which

coordinates the talks, announced a break in the negotiations on Friday, blaming "external factors" for preventing a deal that is "essentially ready."

A senior Western diplomat said Tuesday evening that Russia's chief negotiator at the talks, Mikhail Ulyanov, informed the EU that Russia would accept narrower guarantees ensuring that Russia could carry out the nuclear work it is mandated to do under the 2015 deal. That includes a uranium swap with Iran, the redesign of the Fordow nuclear facility and

the provision of nuclear fuel to Iranian reactors.

State Department spokesman Ned Price said Tuesday that "we are not going to sanction Russia for undertaking, for participating in nuclear projects that are part of the" nuclear deal.

The talks, which have taken place for nearly a year, aim to reach agreement on the steps Washington and Tehran will take to return into compliance with the 2015 pact, which lifted most international sanctions on Tehran in exchange for tight but temporary restric-

tions on Iran's nuclear work.

After the Trump administration took the U.S. out of the deal and reimposed sweeping sanctions on Iran, saying the accord was too weak, Tehran expanded its nuclear work and has gathered almost enough nuclear high-grade enriched uranium for a nuclear weapon, according to the United Nations nuclear agency.

Iran says its nuclear program is purely peaceful, and U.S. officials have said there is no evidence Iran has decided to build a nuclear weapon.

Talks between the U.S. and

Iran could resume without negotiators returning to Vienna, where the meetings have been held since April 2021, said the senior Western diplomat. With so few issues to be settled, negotiators could work from capitals to resolve the remaining differences.

Time is pressing. U.S. and European officials say that Iran's nuclear work has expanded close to a point that the deal's main benefit to the West—keeping Iran months away from amassing enough nuclear fuel for a nuclear weapon—would be impossible.

Indian Court Upholds State Hijab Ban in Classrooms

By PHILIP WEN AND KRISHNA POKHAREL

NEW DELHI—An Indian court has upheld a ban against wearing the hijab in classrooms in the southern state of Karnataka, weeks after the issue sparked confrontations outside campus gates and stoked religious tensions.

Delivering its verdict on Tuesday, the Karnataka High Court ruled that hijabs—Islamic headscarves—didn't constitute a part of "essential religious practice in Islamic faith." It dismissed petitions filed by Muslim students who had been barred from attending classes.

The court ruled the state's government was within its right to have issued an order enforcing school dress codes, saying it was a reasonable restriction that was permissible under the constitution.

A government-run high school in the coastal city of Udupi began stopping students from wearing the hijab in class in September, according to court petitions. A group of students challenged the ban, inflaming a fractious national debate over religion and minority rights in India and sparking dueling demonstrations between Hindu and Mus-



An Indian court upheld a ban against Islamic headscarves, like the one on this woman in Bangalore, in classrooms in Karnataka state.

lim students outside campus gates across Karnataka. That prompted authorities to close schools for several days last month.

Ayesha Hajeera Almas, one of the students who lodged the court challenge, said she couldn't fathom how the court

could say the hijab wasn't essential to their religion. She said she would refuse to attend classes, and her exams, without her hijab.

"We had so much hope in our judicial system, in our society and constitutional values," said the 18-year-old. "But

we are feeling we've been betrayed by our own country."

Supporters of the ban say it is intended to enforce a uniform dress code and an atmosphere that is the same for all students.

Karnataka Chief Minister Basavaraj Bommai, from the

country's ruling Bharatiya Janata Party, called for calm and for all parties to respect the court's ruling. "The high court has settled the matter now," he said. "I request everybody to follow the high court order and maintain peace and order, and allow the children to do

their education as usual."

Ahead of Tuesday's verdict, the state government issued an order banning large gatherings for a week in the state capital, Bangalore. The district administration in Udupi shut schools and colleges for the day.

While echoing similar debates that have played out in other countries over the right to wear religious attire, the controversy also reflects deepening tensions between Hindus and Muslims in India under the government led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his Hindu nationalist BJP.

The Karnataka ruling will likely embolden Hindu nationalist groups to call for other states in India to introduce hijab bans of their own, further alienating the Muslim minority, said Ram Puniyani, president of the Centre for Study of Society and Secularism, a Mumbai-based think tank.

Lawyers and groups supporting the plaintiffs said the students were now considering filing an appeal to the country's supreme court.

"This order is a declaration of the status of Muslims in India, that Indian Muslims are second-class citizens," Mohammed Tahir, a lawyer for the students, said after the verdict.

WORLD WATCH

NORTH KOREA

Projectile Launch Is Failure, Seoul Says

North Korea test-fired an unknown projectile on Wednesday, though the launch was unsuccessful, Seoul's military said, a stumble that Pyongyang has largely avoided in recent years.

The attempted launch occurred at 9:30 a.m. local time from the Sunan area, just outside Pyongyang, according to Seoul's military. The U.S. and South Korea are conducting further analysis, it added. Japan's defense ministry said it has been unable to confirm the flight of any ballistic missile.

The type of weapon or the nature of the launch's breakdown weren't immediately shared. Sunan is the same location where the Kim Jong Un regime had recently conducted a pair of launches that it claims were test runs of the gear needed for a military reconnaissance satellite it has under development. Mr. Kim has recently said the country would pursue more satellite launches.

But the U.S., South Korea and Japan view the activity differently, seeing them as early trials of components of North Korea's new intercontinental ballistic-missile system. The Wednesday launch is North Korea's 10th weapons test of the year.

—Timothy W. Martin

GERMANY

Officials Tighten Gun-Access Rules

Germany's top security officials announced a 10-point plan Tuesday to combat far-right extremism in the country that includes disarming about 1,500 suspected extremists and tightening background checks for those wanting to acquire guns.

Interior Minister Nancy Faeser said the far right poses the biggest extremist threat to democracy in Germany and said authorities would seek to tackle the issue through prevention and tough measures.

"We want to destroy far-right extremist networks," she told reporters, saying this included targeting financial flows that benefit such groups, including merchandising businesses, music festivals and martial arts events.

Authorities will work to remove gun licenses from suspected extremists, crack down on incitement spread online through social networks and combat conspiracy theories online.

Ms. Faeser said an emphasis will be put on rooting out extremists who work in government agencies. Reports about far-right extremists among the police and military in Germany have raised concerns because of fears that they could use privileged information to target political enemies.

—Associated Press

SPAIN

Sahara Dust Makes It Hard to Breathe

Hot air from the Sahara has swirled over the Mediterranean Sea and coated Spain with red-orange dust, prompting authorities to issue extremely bad air-quality warnings Tuesday for Madrid and a swath of the country.

The national air-quality index listed the capital and large parts of the southeast coast as "extremely unfavorable"—its worst rating.

Spain's weather service described the dust storm from the Sahara as "extraordinary and very intense," adding that it was unclear if it was the worst episode of its kind on record.

Spain's weather service forecast that the dust would continue to accumulate through Wednesday and could reach as far north as the Netherlands and northwestern Germany.

On Tuesday, the dust storm spilled over into neighboring Portugal.

Many Spaniards awoke to find a layer of red-orange dust covering their terraces, streets and cars. The sky in the capital and other cities had a gritty tinge. Visibility in Madrid and cities such as Granada and Leon was reduced to 2.5 miles, the weather service said.

—Associated Press



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Dust from the Sahara covered the Almeria fortress in southeastern Spain on Tuesday. A wave of airborne dust is moving through southern and central Spain propelled by storm Celia.

CARLOS BARBA/EPA/SHUTTERSTOCK

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WORLD NEWS

Pandemic and War Threaten China's Economic Targets

By Stella Yifan Xie

HONG KONG—China's industrial output and retail spending in the first two months both blew past analysts' expectations, but a fast-spreading Covid-19 outbreak and the impact of war in Ukraine threaten gains, and throw into doubt China's economic-growth target of about 5.5%.

Industrial output in the first two months of the year was up 7.5% from a year earlier, accelerating from December's 4.3% pace and more than double the 3.5% expected by economists polled by The Wall Street Journal.

Retail sales, a gauge of household consumption, were up 6.7%, beating the 4.3% expected by the surveyed economists. Catering sales, including restaurants, grew at a faster pace than goods sales for the first time since July.

Fixed-asset investment recovered strongly, up 12.2% in the first two months from a year earlier, beating the economists 5% prediction and the 4.9% pace a year earlier.

Investment in infrastructure projects was up 8.1% from a year earlier, an indicator that authorities plan to rely on more publicly funded projects to drive growth as the contribution from exports wanes and the real-estate sector's woes drag on.

Defying market expectations, the central bank on Tuesday kept a key interest rate unchanged. Still, Goldman Sachs economists expect there will be more easing measures in coming months, such as cuts in the policy interest rate and banks' reserve-requirement ratio.

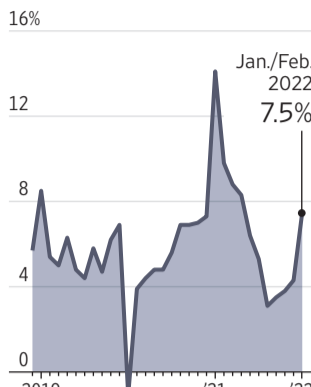
Despite the forecast-beating official data, China's overall growth remains unbalanced, with signs of weak demand and pressure building up in the jobs market.

Broad credit expansion pulled back to 10.2% in February from 10.5% in January, slowing for the first time since September. In February, new medium-term household loans, primarily mortgages, contracted for the first time since 2008, signaling that confidence remains weak even after banks in some cities cut mortgage lending rates to spur demand.

Home sales by value in the first two months were down 22.1% from a year earlier, the biggest decline since March 2020, when the erupting Covid-19 pandemic dealt a hammer blow to China's economy. Real-estate investment was up 3.7% from a year earlier, compared with a 4.4% pace for 2021 as a whole.

China's official unemployment rate in February was 5.5%, up 0.4 percentage point from the end of 2021, while the youth jobless rate climbed

China's industrial output, change from a year earlier



Note: China releases combined economic activity data for the first two months each year. Source: China National Bureau of Statistics

to 15.3% from 14.3%.

"Given the downward pressure on organic growth, I think achieving a 5.5% target is really, really challenging," said Louis Kuijs, chief Asia economist at S&P Global Ratings. Beijing in early March set a growth target for 2022 of around 5.5%, a goal deemed ambitious by many economists considering the multiple headwinds.

Chinese manufacturers must contend with profit-squeezing surges in commodity and raw-materials costs. Prices of some commodities including nickel and wheat have hit decade highs, fueled by the war in Ukraine. Slower global growth could weaken

demand for Chinese exports.

"Changes in geopolitics have led to a relatively obvious impact on global commodity prices, and China may face rising pressure from imported inflation," Fu Linghui, spokesman for the National Bureau of Statistics, said Tuesday, adding that the direct impact from the Russia-Ukraine conflict on China's economy would be limited, as the two countries are minor trading partners with China.

A new wave of Covid-19 outbreaks, with the number of reported daily cases the highest since early 2020, has set off lockdowns and factory closures that threaten exports and domestic demand for services.

Covid outbreaks pose the biggest downside risk to China's economy and make the government's 5.5% growth target more challenging, said Yi Xiong, chief China economist at Deutsche Bank. The bank predicts first-quarter growth from a year earlier of 4.5%, and a full-year pace of 5.1%.

Economists from ANZ, a bank, predict that a one-week lockdown of the affected regions could knock as much as 0.8 percentage point off GDP growth.

—Bingyan Wang
contributed to this article.

◆ Chinese stocks sink further as challenges mount B12

Beijing Changes Covid Protocols, as Cases Rise

By Sha Hua

HONG KONG—China is modifying its Covid-19 playbook amid a surge in cases as it seeks to avoid strains on its healthcare system.

Health authorities said patients with no symptoms or only mild ones should go to centralized isolation facilities so that hospitals can focus on more serious cases.

The change in the mandatory hospitalization rules that have been China through most of the pandemic is an acknowledgment that its current approach risks overwhelming hospitals amid a rapid increase in cases.

China recorded more than 15,000 symptomatic locally transmitted infections in 28 provinces so far in March, largely due to the spread of the more infectious Omicron variant, Mi Feng, spokesman for China's National Health Commission, said Tuesday.

The 5,154 new symptomatic and asymptomatic infections found Monday are the highest since early 2020. About 4,000 were from the northeastern province of Jilin, according to data published by the health commission Tuesday.

The latest wave of infections has seen nonessential businesses closed and travel restricted in the financial and industrial hubs of Shanghai and Shenzhen. Mounting concern that more cities will follow helped spark a selloff in shares of Chinese companies, sending

key indexes to their lowest in years. Covid-19 outbreaks now pose the biggest risk to China's economy, said Deutsche Bank's chief China economist Yi Xiong.

Seven Jilin hospitals were ordered to empty their wards and turn all efforts to treating at-risk and seriously ill Covid-19 patients. The province also is building five makeshift treatment facilities to house and observe mild and asymptomatic cases, bringing the available bed count to nearly 30,000, according to data provided by the Jilin provincial government.

These strategies were picked up in updated official guidance for the diagnosis and treatment of Covid-19 patients released by the National Health Commission on Tuesday.

More than 100 international flights set to arrive in Shanghai will be diverted to other Chinese cities starting next week, the state-run Xinhua News Agency quoted China's aviation regulator saying. The flight diversions will last until May 1, the regulator said.

The latest outbreaks are affecting logistics of goods in China. Trucking operations are likely to slow as drivers are frequently required to present negative Covid test results, said Danish container-ship company A.P. Moller-Maersk A/S in an advisory Monday. Warehouses in Shenzhen will be closed until March 20, Maersk added.

—Raffaele Huang
contributed to this article.

Economy Pressures Xi Jinping

Continued from Page One

the entente with Russian President Vladimir Putin while preventing a collapse in its relationship with the West, underpinning the disquiet is the decline in economic growth to 4% in the fourth quarter from 18.3% at the beginning of 2021. Officials are now speaking of a "course correction" to mitigate some effects of Mr. Xi's policies.

The maneuverings come as Mr. Xi sets the stage to extend his rule, which began in late 2012, for a third term. Party insiders said there is little doubt that he will prevail at a Communist Party conclave later this year—for one thing, there is no potential successor candidate.

But other voices have recently suggested a measure of skepticism over whether now is the right time to pursue Mr. Xi's vision of remaking China in the spirit of Mao Zedong.

Some officials have indicated they are worried about the costs of the alignment with Russia. Chinese manufacturers are now racing to assess the risks of becoming collateral damage in Western sanctions on Moscow. Soaring commodity prices are squeezing Chinese businesses already facing weakening global demand. The U.S. has indicated it won't hesitate to inflict pain on China if its companies and banks help Russia.

"The Ukraine crisis has made Xi's domestic economic challenge harder at a time when he craves stability," said Diana Choyleva, chief economist at Enodo Economics, a London-based risk forecaster.

Both the pact with Russia and the economic downturn at home grew out of Mr. Xi's drive to stand up to the U.S. and mark some distance from Deng Xiaoping's policy of opening China to the Western world. Paired with an increasingly hard stance toward China in Washington, relations with the U.S. and its allies have sunk to their lowest level in decades.

Whenever Mr. Xi has had an opportunity to challenge the U.S.-led world order, he has taken it, prioritizing political goals over economic ones.

Last year, a ban on Australian coal, after Canberra angered Mr. Xi by edging closer to the U.S., worsened a power shortage that forced manufacturers to temporarily close factories.

Shortly before Russia invaded Ukraine, Beijing agreed to purchase oil and gas from Russia valued at an estimated \$117.5 billion. China may be able to re-negotiate terms, but some Chinese officials have questioned whether it made sense to get locked into such contracts when



Xi Jinping, center, at China's annual legislative sessions in early March. Faint cracks have been exposed in his hold on power.

energy prices are high.

Even before the Ukraine crisis, China was already dipping into strategic reserves to combat inflation from soaring commodity prices.

During China's annual legislative sessions in early March, Mr. Xi sought to inject confidence in his policies. "The game between major powers is becoming more and more fierce," he told a group of delegates on March 6. "China's development still has many strategic advantages."

Different views

The same day, Premier Li Keqiang spoke in more somber tones about the risks China is facing. "This year, the external environment has become more complex and severe," Mr. Li said on the sidelines of the sessions, referring to pressure on China from the outside world. "Domestic development difficulties and challenges have increased."

Around that time, Hu Wei, a senior adviser to the State Council, stirred up online discussion with an article about Mr. Xi's pro-Russia policy. "China can't be tied to Putin and the ties need to be cut off as soon as possible," Mr. Hu wrote in the piece, which has been taken down by Beijing's censors. "Cutting off from Putin," he added, "will help build China's international image and ease its relations with the U.S. and the West."

In a country where leaders often try to present a united front, such different messages betray tensions within the top echelon of the party around Mr. Xi's policies, party insiders say.

Mr. Xi last year rallied the whole government behind his campaign to clamp down on capitalist forces, from tightening

Beijing's grip over data accumulated by the private sector to restricting overseas share listings and shutting off lending to property firms, in a realignment with socialist principles.

By the end of the year, developers' sales were plunging more sharply than during the global financial crisis. Big tech firms, long a draw for the young and bright in China with their Silicon Valley vibes, were laying off droves of staffers.

China's top government body, the State Council, was startled by the economic assessment, according to people with knowledge of the council's economic surveys of major cities.

The leadership had anticipated hits on certain sectors, said an economic adviser in Beijing, but "the speed of the slowdown was a surprise."

In recent months, China has scrambled to dial back some of last year's efforts, policy announcements and interviews with people close to decision-making show.

Financial regulators are loosening restrictions on banks to lend to developers and home buyers. Various government agencies are affirming support for tech firms. Local officials are shifting attention away from wealth redistribution to how to prop up businesses.

The course correction, as some officials describe the recent policy shift, has created openings for other party figures to play a more visible role in what has long been a solo act.

One of them is Mr. Li, the premier. Long sidelined by Mr. Xi, Mr. Li could leverage the economic pressure on Mr. Xi to install more members of his faction in key posts, party insiders said. They said that even though Mr. Li's term as premier will

soon end, he is likely to stay on in a different position.

Some party "elders," or retired leaders who still have a say in political discourse, have recently spoken up against Mr. Xi's desire to break with the established leadership-succession system, according to the insiders. They include former Premier Zhu Rongji, an elder statesman known as Boss Zhu in China and an economic reformer admired by the West. Mr. Zhu, who negotiated China's 2001 entry into the World Trade Organization, privately has questioned Mr. Xi's state-centered policy, the insiders said.

That Mr. Xi's hold on power would be in any way questioned was unthinkable just a few months ago, although it is too early to tell how serious the challenge might be. China has a history of mobilizing to overcome economic challenges. And previous powerful leaders Deng and Mao weathered setbacks only to re-establish firm control.

The Information Office of the State Council, which handles media inquiries for senior lead-

ers, didn't respond to questions.

Since the beginning of the year, various levels of government have shifted away from a near-blanket crackdown on private businesses.

The National Development and Reform Commission, China's top economic-planning agency, led a group of government agencies in reaffirming support for companies forming the so-called platform economy, such as Alibaba Group Holding Ltd., the e-commerce giant co-founded by billionaire Jack Ma; conglomerate Tencent Holdings Ltd.; and search-engine firm Baidu Inc., which all received stiff regulatory punishments last year for what authorities called anticompetitive behavior.

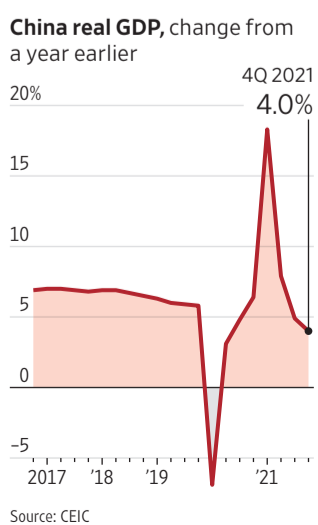
A buzzword Mr. Xi introduced last year, "common prosperity," an aim to distribute wealth more equitably that had made business owners worried about being forced to hand over their fortunes, is barely mentioned anymore.

Behind closed doors at a December conference to set the 2022 economic agenda, Mr. Xi appeared to acknowledge wealth redistribution is hard to do when growth is slowing. Common prosperity, he told officials, according to people briefed on the remarks, was about "making the cake bigger first," and then dividing it more equally.

A few months later, Mr. Li mentioned Mr. Xi's common-prosperity agenda exactly once when laying out the key economic goals for 2022 in his speech to China's legislature.

Mr. Xi isn't done fighting for his economic revamp, and the pressure on entrepreneurs hasn't entirely gone away.

At home, stringent requirements on the tech sector's data and investments remain in



Source: CEIC

place. To adhere to those rules, Tencent has been divesting its vast portfolio, including by unloading shares in a Singaporean internet firm and in a Chinese e-commerce operator.

Debate on 'opening'

Concerns have grown Beijing is going too far in dialing back Deng's "reform and opening."

Li Yang, a senior member of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, a government think tank, noted in a January article that the party's focus on building the economy brought China 40 years of rapid growth. That focus, he wrote, "has been rarely mentioned in recent years."

While millions of posts on China's tightly monitored social media voice support for Russia since it invaded Ukraine, some are expressing concerns over Beijing's foreign-policy shift.

One well-known blogger, Qin Quanyao, in a March 4 post rebuked the notion of what some nationalist commentators call a new world led by China and Russia. "China has the unparalleled happiness brought by 40 years of reform and opening, and the infinite benefits brought by globalization," Mr. Qin wrote, adding that the so-called new global order is "not suitable for China's national conditions."

Recently, an article by the late Wu Jianmin, a prominent Chinese diplomat, recirculated on China's social media. It highlighted a decision facing the party leadership after the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in the U.S.: Should Beijing stay quiet or voice support for the U.S.?

Then-leader Jiang Zemin quickly convened a meeting of the top leadership. Five hours after the attacks, he spoke to President George W. Bush, condemning them and expressing deep condolences to the U.S. government and people. That decision, Mr. Wu argued in the article, helped bring U.S.-China relations to a new level and won China years of development.

Beijing hasn't condemned Russia's war in Ukraine and has refrained from using the term "invasion."

Mr. Xi has stepped away from the collective decision-making model his predecessors have followed since the Deng era and made a challenge of the U.S. a centerpiece of his policies. Anyone in the party questioning that mission would risk being called a traitor, as it touches on issues Beijing considers "core."

It is relatively safer for Mr. Xi's fellow leaders to express concern around economic decisions, because they hinge less on ideology. In addition, a healthy economy is key to the party's claim to legitimacy.

"The economy is one area where local officials can say, 'I'm politically loyal and I support you, but some of the policies haven't been going very well,'" says Joseph Fewsmith, a longtime observer of China's elite politics at Boston University.

Gig Work Pays Off—Quite Well for Some

Many professionals who have become independent consultants say they now have additional money and control over their lives

By KATHRYN DILL

Some professionals have found they can earn six figures when they go solo.

High-end gig work in consulting, marketing, writing and project management has gained more traction during the pandemic, independent consultants and recruiters for such project-based work say.

Once viewed as an off ramp for executives drifting toward retirement or a life raft for those struggling to re-enter the workforce after a break, independent consulting has emerged as a viable, and even attractive, option in today's hot job market. Many professionals see the perks: more money, flexible hours and control over the type and amount of work performed. Companies can tap a significantly broader talent pool to work remotely as they struggle to hire all the full-time staff they need.

'I never wanted work to get in the way of taking my girls to soccer practice,' one contractor says.

The share of U.S. workers categorized as freelance, which includes all types of gig workers, remained steady at 36% in 2021. But the number of skilled freelancers within that group—those providing services in high-demand areas like computer programming, writing, business consulting, marketing and information technology—expanded, as temp workers declined, according to a survey of 6,000 working U.S. adults conducted by freelance platform Upwork in 2021.

"I'd be bored if you gave me a full-time job now," says Krish Venkata, 43 years old, who made the leap to independent consulting last March.

The healthcare process-management expert says the consistently steep learning curve of new clients and new projects suits him. Mr. Venkata now earns twice what he was making before in a full-time job, only now he works on one or two three-month-long projects at a time.

There are trade-offs. Mr. Venkata says he works more hours from his Indianapolis-area home each day than he did, without the job security of being with a major employer. (He's able to do this because he's married to somebody

with great health insurance.)

His yearlong plan is a new work-life balance desired by many: Work enough to fulfill his mid-six-figure financial goals, which he expects to accomplish in eight months of work each year. A motorcycle enthusiast, he also plans to do the more-than-13,000-mile ride from Ushuaia, Argentina, to San Francisco, and has a training ride on the books for June and July—something he'd never have the time to do while holding down a full-time job.

Nearly 80% of those surveyed by Upwork said control over their schedule was a key motivator for pursuing freelance work, while 73% said the same about location flexibility. A similar share said independent consulting allows them to pursue work they find meaningful.

Jody Greenstone Miller co-founded and helps run Business Talent Group LLC, which connects independent consultants with companies looking to staff projects and fill interim executive roles.

Before the pandemic, roughly 80% of projects she recruited for had an in-person component. Today, 90% of those projects are all-remote, she says.

The most in-demand skills from employers looking for high-end gig workers: project management, market landscape and research, organizational design and workforce planning.

These gigs can be found through firms like BTG, clients that workers may have known through previous full-time roles and, many emphasize, active networking.

Employer expectations of independent talent can be a lot higher than they are for their own employees, Ms. Miller says. "You have to continue to prove yourself, and you also have to be able to walk into an org and be effective really fast," she says.

Cory Krall, who led student recruitment and family engagement for a network of charter schools, was initially unsure she could find enough clients to succeed on her own.

► **Krish Venkata earns twice what he was making in a full-time job.**

▼ **Cory Krall was unsure she could find enough clients on her own.**



▼ **Family time was the main driver in Brad Roller's decision to become a contractor.**



"It was hard to say, 'I'm going to do this,' until I knew someone was going to give me the chance," says Ms. Krall, who is 34 and found her first client, a charter school, through a previous boss. "I definitely had this impostor syndrome feeling of, 'Is someone going to pay me for my expertise?'"

While Ms. Krall anticipated earning less than her previous salary during her first year on her own, she's now on track with several clients to earn more. She says her bonus is being home in the afternoon to greet the school bus when her daughter starts kindergarten this fall.

She has to fire up her laptop to work once the children are asleep, but the trade-off is worth it.

"Working through the pandemic, trying to keep my kids safe and happy—I don't think I even realized how exhausting that was," she says. "Having the space

to feel like I'm choosing how to spend my time feels like a real luxury."

For Brad Roller, family time was also the main driver in his decision to become a contractor. Remote work meant he's left his Atlanta home only once for work since making the move to independent consulting on product strategy and project leadership in February 2021.

"I kind of decided I never wanted work to get in the way of taking my girls to soccer prac-

tice," says Mr. Roller, 41.

He bills around 40 hours each week, arranging his schedule so that he can drop off his 6- and 9-year-old daughters at school and be at soccer games in the late afternoon. He also allows for a week or two of downtime between projects, a significant change from his management-consulting days, when he spent much of his time on the road. Without overhead expenses, he expects to ultimately keep more this year—and work less—than he did in his previous role.

Students Analyze Taylor Swift

Continued from Page One
writing style, her feud with rapper Kanye West and whether Jake Gyllenhaal has her scarf.

Like Ms. Cohen, most of the students in the class are self-professed Swifties, the nickname for Ms. Swift's biggest fans. So is the teacher, Brittany Spanos, a 29-year-old journalist who has written extensively about the artist as part of her job at Rolling Stone magazine.

Ms. Cohen and her classmates were shocked to learn one student

hadn't watched last year's short film for the 10-minute version of "All Too Well." The group watched the film together, which depicts a romantic relationship that ends in heartbreak. "We turned around at the end and she was crying," Ms. Cohen said. "I was like, 'You want tissues?'"

The class was the idea of Ms. Spanos, an NYU alum. She pitched a list of musical megastars she could focus on, including Britney Spears, Janet Jackson or Tina Turner. Ms. Swift was at the top, she said.

NYU said students, many of whom want careers in the music industry, were expected to develop their writing, critical thinking and research skills, but also learn about Ms. Swift's creative process and her business sense.

"Taylor Swift is one of the leading creative music entrepreneurs of the 21st century," said Jason King, chair of the Clive Davis Institute of Recorded Music, NYU's music program. "I would love for them to walk away from the course with a deeper understanding of who Taylor Swift is and why she matters to the history and study of recorded music."

Students listened to Ms. Swift's genre-spanning albums, read articles or watched old interviews and performances. Every class started with a quiz. "I know the class sounds ridiculous to a lot of people," Ms. Spanos said. "But still, you know, it's a college course."

A 2,000-word paper was due at the end of the course. One student focused on the theory that the fifth track in each Taylor Swift album is the best song. Another wrote about



Lydia Cohen, left, is a fan. Above, students watched performances.

how the 2017 album "Reputation" wasn't about feuds, but about falling in love.

In class, they re-examined the time Mr. West, the rapper who recently changed his name to Ye, jumped on stage and interrupted Ms. Swift's acceptance speech during the 2009 MTV Video Music Awards. They watched him apologize on talk shows for the incident, explaining he just wanted to help Beyoncé, who had lost an award for her "Single Ladies" music video.

The discussion shifted the perception of Emily Patt, a 19-year-old singer-songwriter, who said she was on Taylor's side. "I had a one-sided view on it," said Ms. Patt, who remembers asking her mom to buy Taylor Swift's "Fearless" album at

age 8. "Now I can sort of understand both sides of it a little bit better."

Another lifelong Swiftie, Madelyn Paquette, discovered something new in class: She hadn't known about the journal entries Ms. Swift included in special editions of "Lover," the 2019 album. "There were pages wondering if she could do this, wondering if she was good enough," said Ms. Paquette, 22, a singer-songwriter who is graduating in May. "I identify with that. Everyone I know pursuing a music career identifies with that."

The class, an elective, was open to any undergraduate student at NYU. Students received two credits for the class, which was held in Brooklyn at the Clive Davis Institute's building, where students train to be songwriters, music engineers and record la-

bel bosses. The class was the first at NYU devoted to Ms. Swift—though similar ones have been offered on Aretha Franklin, James Brown and Nirvana. Ms. Swift was invited to the class through her team, but she didn't come. A publicist for Ms. Swift didn't respond to a request for comment.

One of the world's bestselling singer-songwriters, Ms. Swift has used her clout to publicly push music streaming services to pay artists more. When ownership of her songs landed in someone else's hands, she found a loophole and started rerecording her older albums, labeling them "Taylor's Version," ensuring revenue from those streams go to her. The unprecedented move caused a flurry of new standards from her label Universal Music Group NV to make sure other artists didn't follow suit.

The class explored the mystery surrounding many of Ms. Swift's songs and who they are about—details the singer-songwriter, like others before her, doesn't divulge. They also discussed Ms. Swift's "All Too Well," a song about a lover who keeps his ex's scarf. Rumors that the man is Mr. Gyllenhaal, the actor who recently dated Ms. Swift, resurfaced briefly with the rerelease of the song. A representative for Mr. Gyllenhaal didn't respond to a request for comment.

The last class was held last Wednesday. Ms. Spanos blasted "All Too Well" on the final day and they all sang together. "I walked through the door with you," the group sang. "The air was cold, but something about it felt like home."



GABBY JONES FOR THE WALL STREET JOURNAL (2)

PERSONAL JOURNAL.

By ANNE TERGESEN
AND LAUREN WEBER

Plenty of older workers have wished for something between full-bore work and retirement. Now, more companies seem to be giving them what they want.

Phased-retirement programs—which allow workers nearing retirement age to cut back on their hours while keeping some pay and benefits—are growing in popularity. Human-resource executives say the pandemic has opened bosses to flexible work arrangements, while the fierce hiring market and higher-than-expected rate of retirements have motivated managers to find ways to retain older workers with key skills.

In a forthcoming survey of 1,736 HR executives world-wide from consultant Mercer LLC, about 38% say they offer phased retirement, more than double the 17.2% that did so before the pandemic.

In the U.S. 23% of employers had these arrangements in 2021, up from 16% in 2016, according to the Society for Human Resources Management. A growing subset—8%, up from 6% in 2019—have introduced formal programs, which generally target older workers who meet certain criteria. An additional 15% offer the option on an informal or ad hoc basis, frequently to employees in hard-to-fill roles.

Phased retirement is “a way to slow the brain drain and manage talent shortages” at a time when the U.S. workforce is aging, said Andrés Tapia, a senior partner at consulting firm Korn Ferry. He encourages clients to add the programs to “find ways to leverage rather than lose that voice of experience.”

Some workers have longed for such arrangements, which financial advisers say can provide financial and psychological benefits compared with going from full-time work to retirement. Among companies adopting phased retirement programs, figuring out how to provide benefits and set criteria for participation can be a sticking point in some HR suites, said Yvonne Sonsino, a partner at Mercer.

Potential legal and financial complications loom, consultants say, not to mention the fact that some companies would like their longest-tenured people to move on.

Companies adding or considering formal phased retirement pro-



Employers Embrace Retiring In Phases

grams include SAP North America, Owens Corning and Haynes International Inc., a Kokomo, Ind.-based maker of high-temperature alloys.

The pandemic accelerated the pace of baby-boomer retirements and created challenges for employers. From February 2020 through November 2021, up to 2.6 million more people retired than were expected to, given prepandemic trends, said Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis senior economist Miguel Faria-e-Castro.

Universities have long offered phased-retirement programs to tenured professors, in part to make room for younger faculty. Others with the benefit include the federal government, some law and accounting firms, and companies including **Abbott Laboratories**.

Many of the new programs involve employees helping train workers who will take their place.

23%

U.S. employers with phased-retirement programs in 2021

Kathy Bird, who leads employee communications for SAP North America, started considering retirement last summer when she and her husband moved to coastal North Carolina from Pennsylvania. She imagined devoting more time to volunteering and golf but said she felt unready to leave the job she loves.

Ms. Bird, now 66 years old, approached her manager. They discussed her cutting back to a part-time schedule and training a colleague to take on more of her duties. Ms. Bird will begin working

20 hours a week starting in July and will keep all of her benefits during the transition. She and her manager haven't yet determined how her pay will be adjusted to reflect her reduced schedule.

“For me, it's kind of the best of both worlds,” Ms. Bird said.

Her manager, Jackie Montesinos-Suarez, agrees. “Her giving me 20 hours a week, from a business continuity standpoint as a manager, that's a no-brainer.”

Owens Corning, a Toledo, Ohio-based maker of building and construction materials, launched a phased retirement program in 2020. Salaried employees age 55 or older with at least five years at the company can ask to be considered for the program, which allows part-time work and pay with full-time benefits, including health insurance.

With a projected wave of retirements, “we were concerned we

were going to lose a lot of institutional knowledge and intellectual capital,” said Paula Russell, chief human-resources officer.

The program gives the company time to recruit and train a successor before the employee in the job retires, she said.

Managers typically approve phased retirement for workers with hard-to-replace skills; participants have included engineers, legal specialists and research and development staff, Ms. Russell said. Employees often retain some responsibilities in addition to helping train a successor, she said.

Thirty employees have participated so far. Eight are in the program now, with more in discussions.

Consumer-goods maker Unilever PLC started U-Work, a program combining elements of contract work with some stable pay and benefits, in 2020 in the U.K. Unilever has expanded the program to eight other countries and is considering bringing it to the U.S.

The initial goal was to retain older workers who want to phase into retirement, said Morag Lynagh, the company's global future of work director. Rising demand for flexible work prompted Unilever to make the program available to employees of all ages, she said.

Employees in U-Work can take breaks between assignments, some of which entail part-time commitments. In return for committing to working a certain number of weeks a year, employees receive a monthly retainer fee and some benefits. During an assignment, they earn additional income at the rate set for the job. The goal is to provide “flexibility with security,” Ms. Lynagh said.

Obstacles to adopting phased retirement programs can include the risk of lawsuits for allowing some—but not all—workers to participate, said Chantel Sheaks, vice president of retirement policy at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

The rules of some pension and 401(k) plans can also create complexities. People phasing into retirement may want to tap their retirement benefits to supplement a lower paycheck. Many employers allow employees ages 59½ or older to tap their 401(k) accounts without penalty, but some don't.

Although companies can amend their pension plans to allow workers to take partial withdrawals starting as early as age 59½, that can backfire if it encourages more people to retire early, Ms. Sheaks said.

PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY CHAYA HOWELL/THE WALL STREET JOURNAL; ISTOCK

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ANATOMY OF A WORKOUT JEN MURPHY

Dance Your Way To Fitness

Cardio doesn't have to be boring. One good way to shake up your routine? Dancing.

Even bad dancing counts toward the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' recommended 150 weekly minutes of moderate-intensity activity. And for lots of us, it's way more fun than running on a treadmill or spinning on a stationary bike.

After teaching fitness classes at nearly every major gym in Manhattan, Matthew Johnson Harris joined Ailey Extension in 2019. A former Broadway performer and choreographer for Carnegie Hall, he introduced hip-hop cardio classes to the public arm of New York's Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater.

Mr. Johnson Harris, 34 years old, has observed that dance makes people feel particularly vulnerable.

“I start every class with affirmations and by saying, ‘Dance like nobody's watching,’ because most times no one is,” he says.

The following are some of the moves that appear in his 60-minute classes. He suggests performing each exercise for one minute and gradually ramping up the tempo as you master the coordination. Once you can do each move for one minute, loop the workout or extend the time per exercise.

THE WORKOUT:

Core Blaster

Why: This exercise is a good alternative for people who can't do floor core work because of lower-back issues, Mr. Johnson says.

How: Think of this move as running in place with high knees, plus an added hand-to-knee element, he says. Stand with feet hip-width apart, arms overhead and



Matthew Johnson Harris

ADRIENNE GRUNWALD FOR THE WALL STREET JOURNAL (7)

Core Blaster ▼



Pepper Grinder ▼



core tight. As you raise your left knee to hip height, bring both hands down to tap the top of the knee. Now raise the right knee and bring both hands down to the top. Tap left, right, left, right, then reverse to right, left, right left.

Pepper Grinder

Why: This exercise builds flexibility in the spine while strengthening the core.

How: Stand with your feet 6 inches apart and arms

crossed in front of your chest so your wrists stack on top of one another and your elbows are parallel to the floor. Drop into a low squat and twist your hips to the left as you simultaneously raise your wrists to shoulder height and twist the upper body to the right. Your gaze should follow the direction of your twist. Rise up and come back to center. Repeat the twisted squat in the opposite direction.

ARTS IN REVIEW



TELEVISION REVIEW | JOHN ANDERSON

‘Bad Vegan’: A Meaty Tale In Four Courses

Google the New York restaurant Pure Food & Wine and you’ll find photos of an uncommonly airy Midtown patio space; portraits of soaring, meatless food architecture; and a forbidding legend: “Permanently Closed.” How one of New York’s hotter foodie destinations got eighty-sixed is the subject of “Bad Vegan: Fame. Fraud. Fugitives,” though exactly *why* it all happened still may seem as cloudy as a quart of kombucha, even after the four episodes of director Chris Smith’s engrossing docuseries.

The rise and fall of Sarma Melngailis and her trendy, plant-focused restaurant Pure Food & Wine.

The enigmatic ingredient is Sarma Melngailis, who took Pure Food & Wine and its takeout offshoot, One Lucky Duck, to the top of the Manhattan food chain after she and celebrity chef Matthew Kenney opened their raw-food eatery in 2004 (with the financial backing of restaurant mogul Jeffrey Chodorow, a very sympathetic source in director Smith’s story). Veganism was hardly as ubiquitous as it is now, but after Mr. Kenney was eased out, Melngailis helped make the regimen hip and elitist—so much so that when the fugitive

restaurateur and her criminal husband were later tracked down on the basis of a Domino’s pizza order, the headline writers were in heaven.

Timing had been everything for Melngailis, and it became a principal ingredient in the schadenfreude reduction that was ladled all over an already tabloid-perfect combo platter of embezzlement, brainwashing, reincarnation and faux-espionage. The title “Bad Vegan” doesn’t have the sting now it would have had a few years ago. But the point is made.

What’s not quite nailed down is the culpability of Mr. Smith’s subject, who in some way conforms to a cable-series type—the highly intelligent, beautiful woman who, despite being well-educated (UPenn, Wharton, French Culinary Institute), is conned by a lowlife, whom she would, of course, marry. And who would become a convicted felon herself. Retrospection is everything in these stories, but there’s no question that Melngailis drained almost \$2 million from the restaurant’s coffers, stiffed her devoted employees, cheated her investors, and perpetrated an enormous fraud on her friends and supporters (such as Mr. Chodorow). But it was all done at the behest of one Anthony Strangis, alias Shane Fox, someone Melngailis had met through one of her loyal celebrity customers (Alec Baldwin) and who sold her a bill of goods involving a mysterious cult-like family, his purported membership in the CIA and



Clockwise from above: Sarma Melngailis, Anthony Strangis, and Jeffrey Chodorow in the new Netflix series



“black-ops” missions (to Las Vegas, it turns out). Strangis also promised that at the end of her ordeal, Melngailis—and, just as important, her beloved pit bull, Leon—would be made immortal. Viewers will find themselves rooting for Leon.

As a documentarian, Mr. Smith frequently focuses on twisted stories that conceal something not only profound but distinctly American beneath their surface sensationalism (“Operation Varsity

Blues,” for instance, or his early “American Movie”). His documentary “Fyre,” about the misbegotten music festival in the Bahamas, is in line with the current passion for films about dubious business endeavors/perpetrators (Elizabeth Holmes, Uber, Anna Delvey, WeWork, etc.). But with Melngailis, other questions loom. Was she brainwashed? What exactly does that mean? (Smartly, the Patty

Hearst case is invoked toward the end of the series.)

Melngailis, who is quite forthcoming about having both enormous debt and no future in restaurants (who would back her?), was smart enough to agree to the extended interview that serves as the spine of Mr. Smith’s film—and to have recorded her phone conversations with Strangis. His tone and his apparent sociopathy make her look even more gullible in hindsight. But there’s something

penitential about her account, a purging of her regret and guilt about her co-workers (many of whom testify here) but also her stupidity, about business and men. She doesn’t play the victim, which makes her sympathetic. If Strangis were your neighbor, you’d move.

The problem, such as it is with “Bad Vegan,” is that the story isn’t naturally a movie subject. It’s a magazine article—Allen Salkin, who wrote one about the case for *Vanity Fair*, makes frequent appearances here, providing clarifying thoughts about the trajectory of the Pure Food & Wine narrative and his own reservations about Melngailis as a victim. Mr. Smith’s objective is the creation of mood, which he does quite successfully, punctuating an ethereal portrait of the confused Melngailis’s thought process with the recollections of her employees, who were quite confused themselves when the whole drama was on the front burner, so to speak. One wishes composer Dan Romer’s music wasn’t trying so hard to be ominous, but there is a lot of scary stuff in “Bad Vegan.” For Sarma Melngailis, it’s most certainly a horror movie.

Bad Vegan: Fame. Fraud. Fugitives
Wednesday, Netflix

By MARTIN JOHNSON

Bassist Michael Formanek and drummer Tomas Fujiwara share the stage in one of the most prolific and respected new groups in jazz, Thumbscrew, a collective trio with guitarist Mary Halvorson. The band, which played its first gig in March 2012, is emblematic of jazz for the past 10 years. Its members are equally adept at honoring the tradition, adding to the canon, and showcasing originals; each aspect of their work features extraordinary rapport. It’s as if the listener is eavesdropping on an insightful conversation among three old friends.

Ms. Halvorson’s music apart from the trio has been prolific and justly celebrated—she won a MacArthur Fellowship in 2019—but her bandmates have been creating superior albums that deserve close attention. This month Messrs. Formanek and Fujiwara are releasing exceptional new recordings that go in contrasting directions yet share the same sense of rigorous precision that makes Thumbscrew such a pleasure. Mr. Formanek presents a new trio featuring the lyrical reedman Chet Doxas and the meticulous drummer Vinnie Sperrazza. Mr. Fujiwara’s Triple Double is a six-musician phalanx of measured fury. The sextet’s “March” (Firehouse 12) is out now. Mr. Formanek’s “Were We Where We Were” (Circular File) will be released March 18. In their divergent sounds, they reveal much about jazz today.

The lineup in Triple Double is unusual: trumpeter Ralph Alessi and cornettist Taylor Ho Bynum, guitarists Halvorson and Brandon Seabrook, and drummers Fujiwara and Gerald Cleaver. Mr. Fujiwara formed the band in 2016 and liked



‘Were We Where We Were,’ out Friday, is the new album from the Michael Formanek Trio.

the possibilities of creating unusual combinations of duos and trios within the group. He has played with Mr. Bynum and Ms. Halvorson in numerous settings, but he had yet to share a bandstand with Mr. Cleaver. This group became an expansion of a band he led with Messrs. Alessi and Seabrook.

“March” opens with “Pack Up, Coming for You,” and it begins with Mr. Bynum, Mr. Fujiwara and Ms. Halvorson building from a simple, sunny segment to a ferocious roar, then simmering down as the rest of the band kicks in. The tone softens to gentle introspection on “Life Only Gets More,” highlighted by intertwining drumming and guitar

work. The longest, most intricate song on the program, “The March of the Storm Before the Quiet of the Dance,” features the best individual showcases for the guitarists. And the recording closes with “For Alan, Part II,” a percussion duet that is a dedication to Mr. Fujiwara’s mentor, the educator and drummer Alan Dawson.

Mr. Fujiwara is 45 years old and grew up in Boston. He’s an avid NBA fan, and some of the publicity photos show Triple Double in replica Celtics jerseys (he wears 33 for all-time-great Larry Bird). The name of the band and some of his tunes for their previous recording, like “Pocket Pass,” were drawn

from basketball terminology. “March” has fewer hoops references, but the intuitive play, especially the seamless movement from rhythm to lead functions by the members, reflects the near telepathic cohesion of a playoff team.

Mr. Formanek, who is 63, spent the first decade of his career playing alongside first-tier mainstream musicians like Joe Henderson, Freddie Hubbard and Dave Liebman, but since the ‘90s he has been a stalwart in the avant-garde scene, increasingly working as a leader of superb bands that bring together disparate voices and present innovative compositions.

The evolution of the music on

his new recording is a pandemic version of his approach. Suddenly faced with a far less busy schedule after the Covid-19-related shutdowns in spring and summer 2020, Mr. Formanek began experimenting with graphic notation for composing rather than the conventional five-line musical staves. He gradually began seeking symmetrical forms in the compositions, which led to his consideration of palindromes. Then, in the autumn of 2020, he began rehearsing the material with Messrs. Doxas and Sperrazza socially distanced in the backyard of his New Jersey home, and the trio went into the studio that December.

The recording opens with “Tattarrattat,” a spare number that unfolds at a glacial pace, highlighted by Mr. Doxas’s pungent tone, the leader’s nimble lines and Mr. Sperrazza’s sly accents. These virtues repeat in “Never Odd or Even,” which starts slowly and builds toward a walking tempo. The exchanges between Messrs. Doxas and Formanek lift “Is It What It Is,” the most up-tempo song on the recording. A second, less spare version of “Tattarrattat” highlights the ingenuity of the bassist’s compositional strategy.

The lean tone of the recording is markedly different from several of Mr. Formanek’s other ensembles, where band members engage and intersect with flamboyant play. It feels as if the bassist is conveying a sense of loss that is consistent with the time of its creation. It has the hallmarks of Thumbscrew, but with a palpable sobriety that thankfully is starting to feel in the past.

Mr. Johnson writes about jazz for the Journal.

SPORTS

By RACHEL BACHMAN

When Oregon forward Sedona Prince posted a video contrasting weight facilities at the 2021 NCAA men's and women's basketball tournaments, she ignited a chain reaction that's still unfolding.

A firestorm over inferior perks and marketing for the women's tournament spawned a 200-page NCAA-commissioned outside review that found longstanding inequities between the men's and women's tournaments in everything from staff sizes to contracts that hobble the women's event's capacity to generate revenue. It was the most detailed comparison ever of the NCAA's two most popular championships. (Major college football controls its own playoff.)

The report by law firm Kaplan Hecker & Fink LLC, released last August, found that the NCAA's "broadcast agreements, corporate sponsorship contracts, distribution of revenue, organizational structure, and culture all prioritize Division I men's basketball over everything else." The findings were significant because the NCAA, a nonprofit organization, is obligated to pursue its stated values such as gender equity in ways professional sports are not.

A year later, the women's tournament that tips off on Wednesday will be upgraded in a number of ways—many of which were among the Kaplan report's more than two dozen recommendations.

The field has been expanded by four teams to mirror the men's 68-team bracket. The number of people working on the women's tournament has been increased so that each event now has a staff of 10. Signage for the women's tournament will be boosted, especially in the early rounds, and gifts and other perks for male and female players will be aligned.

Most visibly, the women's tournament that tips off Wednesday will for the first time feature the "March Madness" branding that was long used exclusively by the men's tournament. The NCAA earlier had refused to let the women use the slogan even though it owned the right to use it for both tournaments, as The Wall Street Journal reported.

Perhaps the biggest organizational change: For the first time in the 40-year history of the women's tournament, men's and women's basketball are working together.

"Going back to before Lynn and I got here to the NCAA, the two committees have operated basically independently—supportive of each other, certainly, but not in a collaborative way that it has happened this year," said Dan Gavitt, NCAA senior vice president of basketball, in a phone interview with Lynn Holzman, VP for NCAA women's basketball, and the Journal. Gavitt added that the men's and women's basketball committees are "very much connected at the hip now."

Going forward, bigger changes are also under consideration—



FROM TOP: JOHN LOCHER/ASSOCIATED PRESS; IMAGE OF SPORTS/NEWSOM/ZUMA PRESS

NCAA Women's Tournament Has More Teams and 'Madness'

A firestorm spurred by inequities last year spurred a review and an ongoing overhaul



Above, Stanford is the defending NCAA women's basketball champion. Left, UCLA coach Cori Close and guard Charisma Osborne.

year after the ESPN deal expires in 2024, a former longtime NBA executive projected in the Kaplan report.

The number of brands advertising on the 2022 women's tournament broadcast jumped to 15 this year from four last year, said Sean Hanrahan, SVP, Sports Brand Solutions-Disney Advertising.

ESPN will use virtual "March Madness" logos on its broadcasts of first- and second-round women's tournament games, since those on-campus venues won't have the logos on their courts.

A few of the Kaplan report's biggest recommendations haven't been enacted.

The NCAA hasn't elevated the VP of women's basketball so the position is equivalent in seniority to the head of men's basketball, as the Kaplan report recommended. Holzman still reports to Gavitt, who oversees all of NCAA basketball.

namely, the possibility that the NCAA will sell stand-alone broadcast rights to the women's basketball tournament, which is now bundled with 28 other NCAA championships in a package for which ESPN pays \$34 million a year. The NCAA men's basketball broadcast deal with CBS/Turner most recently was extended by eight years for \$8.8 billion, and now runs through 2032.

The NCAA women's basketball tournament has never been put up for competitive bid, and it alone could be worth about \$100 million a

Also, the NCAA corporate sponsorship program that the Kaplan report found hindered sports outside men's basketball from cultivating sponsors, is unchanged.

Under that program, CBS/Turner, which owns the broadcast rights to the men's basketball tournament, controls the right to sell sponsorships in all 90 NCAA sports championships.

Representatives of CBS/Turner declined to comment. An NCAA spokeswoman said revenue from the CBS/Turner deal helps support all NCAA sports championships.

UCLA women's basketball coach Cori Close called the NCAA's changes to the women's tournament "really good, needed steps, and they need to be appreciated and acknowledged and celebrated."

But, she added, the NCAA's deals are holding back the potential of the women's tournament, whose TV ratings rose across all rounds last year, capped by the championship audience of 4.1 million, the largest since 2014.

"We're not asking to be a charity. We're not asking to be a cause," Close said. "We're asking to treat us as the product we've earned, the asset we've earned credibility in."

Another big idea recommended

in the Kaplan report was combining the men's and women's Final Fours on one weekend in the same city.

The NCAA men's and women's basketball committees voted not to pursue a combined Final Four at least through 2031, the round of host-city selections beginning now, Gavitt said. They want to see where the women's tournament's current momentum and the NCAA's recent changes can take it, he said. The women's Final Four has sold out in seven of the past eight years.

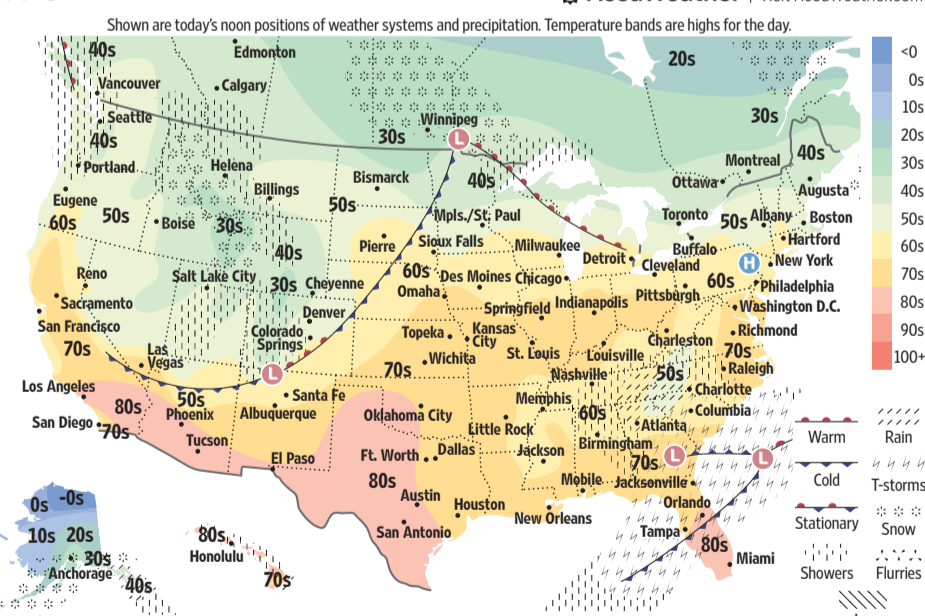
Women's tournament organizers are, however, considering alternative plans such as holding the two Final Fours on different weekends, Holzman said.

"They are looking at the totality of what's best for the championship and the health of the championship and where are the areas of growth actually needed," she said.

One thing that won't take center stage this year: weight rooms. Last year's tournaments had unusual setups because they were held entirely in single cities to mitigate Covid spread—Indianapolis for the men, San Antonio for the women—rather than in many different locations, as in a typical year. NCAA championships don't usually have weight rooms.

Weather

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U.S. Forecasts

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

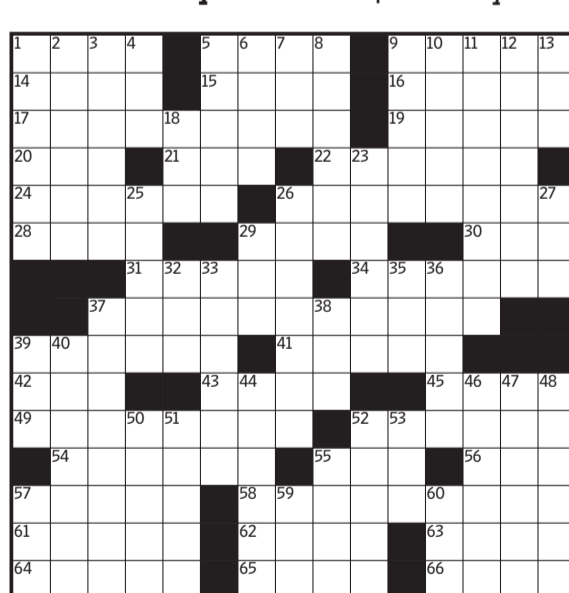
City	Today		Tomorrow	
	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo
Anchorage	36	23	sf	29 15
Atlanta	60	52	r	70 53
Austin	80	50	s	80 45
Baltimore	70	47	s	59 48
Boise	52	30	pc	57 38
Boston	53	41	pc	58 48
Burlington	51	43	pc	61 43
Charlotte	62	53	r	71 51
Chicago	68	49	pc	58 41
Cleveland	67	48	pc	66 48
Dallas	78	54	s	76 45
Denver	62	30	r	42 23
Detroit	63	43	pc	65 44
Honolulu	84	71	sh	83 70
Houston	76	53	s	74 53
Indianapolis	70	46	pc	68 50
Kansas City	74	49	s	61 37
Las Vegas	76	53	pc	72 51
Little Rock	71	49	s	75 55
Los Angeles	80	58	s	82 54
Miami	84	72	t	83 71
Millwaukee	64	46	pc	54 37
Minneapolis	57	35	c	48 32
Nashville	63	50	r	69 55
New Orleans	70	52	pc	76 62
New York City	63	49	s	55 48
Oklahoma City	75	51	s	69 38

International

City	Today		Tomorrow	
	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo
Amsterdam	60	46	pc	52 36
Athens	59	47	pc	62 44
Baghdad	59	39	pc	64 41
Bangkok	96	81	pc	96 80
Beijing	53	36	c	37 26
Berlin	56	40	pc	58 39
Brussels	66	47	pc	54 34
Buenos Aires	81	70	s	82 63
Dubai	96	75	s	82 70
Dublin	49	36	pc	54 36
Edinburgh	47	33	r	51 35

City	Today		Tomorrow	
	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo
Frankfurt	60	43	pc	57 38
Geneva	65	44	pc	64 46
Havana	87	65	pc	87 65
Hong Kong	76	70	c	78 70
Istanbul	47	39	pc	47 33
Jakarta	89	76	t	89 76
Jerusalem	45	27	pc	50 37
Johannesburg	66	56	t	62 56
London	56	36	s	55 39
Madrid	64	50	c	58 46
Manila	94	80	t	95 80
Melbourne	73	63	c	83 64
Mexico City	74	53	sh	77 51
Milan	64	48	pc	62 46
Moscow	31	16	c	34 21
Mumbai	97	80	s	97 80
Paris	67	48	pc	56 38
Rio de Janeiro	87	77	pc	89 77
Riyadh	73	50	pc	82 42
Rome	60	44	pc	63 47
San Jose	84	73	s	84 73
Seoul	61	39	s	60 42
Shanghai	79	63	pc	69 49
Singapore	87	78	t	87 78
Sydney	76	66	sh	78 68
Taipei City	87	68	c	87 68
Tokyo	65	51	pc	63 50
Toronto	46	38	c	62 41
Vancouver	51	42	pc	48 41
Warsaw	53	31	pc	46 25
Zurich	66	39	pc	64 44

The WSJ Daily Crossword | Edited by Mike Shenk



LIMITED LIABILITY | By David Alfred Bywaters

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| Across | 22 Tidy | 43 Heredity carrier |
| 1 Like Mother Hubbard's cupboard | 24 Sentence structure? | 45 Six make a fl. oz. |
| 5 Takes an ax to | 26 Time for which hall-decking is scheduled? | 49 Midlife, for some? |
| 9 Imitates an instrument | 28 In the mail | 52 Fairy tale setting |
| 14 Admission of enlightenment | 29 Make a book | 54 Crossword constructor's work |
| 15 Voting no in all likelihood | 30 In shape | 55 Summer cooler |
| 16 Fare from some food trucks | 31 Greek fabulist | 56 Not just rare |
| 17 Chihuahua in Chicago, maybe? | 34 Hug | 57 Neglect |
| 19 Upper regions | 37 Horse-training specialist? | 58 Dunce cap? |
| 20 Very long time | 41 "Zounds!" and "By Jove!" | 61 "Walk Away" (1966 hit) |
| 21 Mag. employees | 42 Counterpart of post- | 62 Unwritten |
| | | 63 Finished |

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 64 Fruit filling, sometimes | 32 Country music's ___ Young Band |
| 65 The latest | 33 Motto |
| 66 Understands | 35 Unspecified ordinal |
| Down | |
| 1 Curls target | 36 Celebrations |
| 2 Off the boat | 37 Carburetor connection |
| 3 Check | 38 Dubai's nat. |
| 4 Slender fish | 39 Tanning lotion spec. |
| 5 "The Creation" creator | 40 Poetic foot |
| 6 Extremities | 44 Encourages |
| 7 Global commerce agcy. | 46 Made an effort |
| 8 Enlist | 47 Vulcan, for one |
| 9 Real bargain | 48 Home to the Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles |
| 10 Slyly malicious | 50 Enticed |
| 11 Desired badly | 51 "Oh no!" |
| 12 Pedicurist's target | 52 Ump's announcements |
| 13 Estonia, once: Abbr. | 53 "It doesn't matter which" |
| 18 Zodiac feline | 55 Defect |
| 23 Primogeniture beneficiary | 57 Fourth-yr. students |
| 25 Unadventurous | 59 Fiery feeling |
| 26 Pelvis part | 60 Small part of a machine |
| 27 Since Jan. 1 | |
| 29 Delivery possibility | |

Previous Puzzle's Solution

EIVES STATS AJAR
 PINA COMET LADE
 TITEM ANIMA OZZY
 CAMDOROSPITIZ
 SILVLY SPIORISMAC
 EELIS LAURA
 LAP SITAPLOSSON
 ISEE PALLAU PISA
 APPROVLINE CEL
 REESE DART
 SNL AIKS TOWAN
 ETHNOCON CLAVIE
 CAPE SIPIORISMAC
 APEX EERIE FLIA
 NEWT TREND EONS

► Solve this puzzle online and discuss it at [WSJ.com/Puzzles](https://www.wsj.com/puzzles).

OPINION

China and the Ukraine Stakes



BUSINESS WORLD

By Holman W. Jenkins, Jr.

More important than surplus MiGs is the economic pressure being applied to Russia in conjunction with the military pressure applied by Ukraine's brave resistance. Unfortunately the West is faltering.

Europeans continue to pay cash for Vladimir Putin's natural gas though, as I and others have argued, they could easily escrow the money until the fighting ends. The idea is not a reach. Something like this is already happening in effect as Russian suppliers have begun offering hydrocarbons on extended credit terms.

Yuriy Vitrenko, head of Ukraine's national pipeline company Naftogaz, which continues to deliver Russian gas supplies to Europe despite the war raging around it, lent his voice to the proposal on Monday. He points out how technically unattractive the alternative of shutting down flowing gas wells would be to the Kremlin.

The possibilities are opened thanks to the central role of the U.S. dollar in global trade and finance. Barely discernible at this point, however, may be an emerging U.S.-China—I won't call it an entente, but a shared

reluctance to push the Putin regime to the wall.

A sterile conversation about foreign-policy “realism” has popped up in the media, concerning whether the West took Russia's security concerns seriously enough. Palpably, though, the lack of realism was on the other side. Ukraine is not digestible by Russia, militarily or otherwise. The attempt, if it persists, will only endanger the future of the Russian Federation itself.

The Russian state cannot survive as a giant North Korea. Its regions have too much to gain from their resources and from trade with the outside world. Moscow is too far away. If the permafrost is really less permanent, the tenuous rail and road links that hold Russia together will be sinking in the muck at the very moment the country is being pushed apart by Western sanctions and Mr. Putin's mismanagement.

Beijing's radar screen suddenly is filled with visions of instability and risk from the north (good news for Taiwan). Listen closely and the debate in China is quickly becoming how to manage this risk—by doubling down on support of Mr. Putin or by pressuring him to trim his aims in Ukraine. A meeting Monday between the White House's national security team and senior Chinese diplomats in Rome does not seem to have breathed any certainty that the Chinese

have made up their minds.

As we go down this road, let's be realistic about a few things. Some say it was a mistake to open the door to Ukraine NATO membership while simultaneously saying “not yet.” But this is the hindsight fallacy. Just as arguably, this half-measure deterrent worked until President Obama failed to enforce a red line in

The West isn't yet using its full economic power on Beijing's client Vladimir Putin.

Syria. It worked while the unpredictable Donald Trump was president. Joe Biden certainly pulled out nearly every stop to warn Mr. Putin off his mistake.

Possibly the only way to imagine a peaceful Russia is with NATO or something like it on every border closing the door to regional conflict. Any Ukraine that emerges now, far from being neutralized or disarmed, will have to be bristling with weapons or allies or today's war will be a down payment on the next.

I've cited in the past a paper by economists Shaun Larcom, Tim Willems and Mare Sarr on how authoritarians can become trapped in a cycle of growing repression because of the means that brought them to power. This column

argued for years that Mr. Putin was on the path to some colossal miscalculation. His regime inevitably was devolving into one driven by one man's need for survival rather than by any genuine strategic, economic or national interest of the Russian people.

Finally we need some realism on the escalation risks. Nuclear war between the U.S. and Russia is not a good outcome for the Putin clique. His regime may well seek escalation for a different reason, however, and that's to bring the U.S. to the table and displace Ukraine as its main interlocutor.

A superpower summit in Geneva, played to voters back home as Mr. Putin and the U.S. getting together to divide the world as in the days of yore, may well be the Russian dictator's plan B, now that any hope of subjugating Ukraine without having to fight a permanent war is receding.

His aim in this respect, alas, might not be unrealistic. Western governments, through a series of provocations, were always reluctant to destabilize the Putin regime for the reasons that now worry the Chinese—what comes next. But realism speaks here too. As long as President Volodymyr Zelensky is alive and urging his people to fight on, Presidents Putin, Biden and Xi Jinping may be frustrated in their preferred exits from this crisis.

BOOKSHELF | By Michael Saler

Everyone's A Critic

Audience-ology

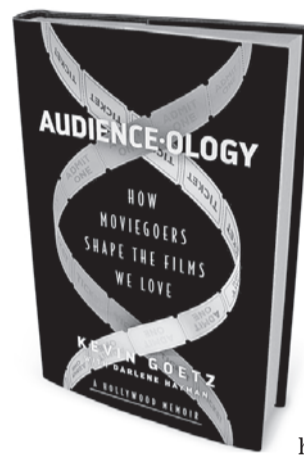
By Kevin Goetz

(Tiller, 225 pages, \$25.99)

When it comes to motion-picture exposés, who wouldn't want to read about a secretive place “where famous directors are reduced to tears and multimillionaire actors reduced to fits of rage”? This image may evoke a Hollywood Babylon, but Kevin Goetz is describing ordinary movie theaters where audience test-screenings are conducted. In “Audience-ology: How Moviegoers Shape the Films We Love,” Mr. Goetz lays bare the ins and outs of survey questionnaires, demographics and psychographics, biometric wristbands, and night-vision cameras.

“Audience-ology” is an informal, entertaining brief for movie testing as an expression of effective audience

empowerment. Mr. Goetz has been involved in audience-survey research for more than 30 years; in 2010 he formed Screen Engine/ASI, which currently conducts most of Hollywood's test screenings. His experience leads him to embrace the wisdom of crowds, at least when it comes to films: “Not only do audiences know what a good movie is,” he tells us; “sometimes, they know better than the filmmakers themselves and the executives charged with shepherding the films to the screen.”



One might reasonably assume that Mr. Goetz has a vested interest in defending audience research, and he is certainly not shy about promoting his services. (“I'm lucky to have a company filled with experienced and dedicated professionals who can handle these complex projects,” etc.) Yet he supports his populist faith with numerous examples, spanning from the silent era to the present. He includes interviews with notable producers, directors and actors—among them, Ron Howard, Drew Barrymore and Richard Zanuck—who relate their experiences and insights. (There are limits to what the author can discuss about his own work, however, due to nondisclosure agreements.)

The practice of movie testing originated, we are told, around 1919, when the slapstick comedian Harold Lloyd honed his pratfalls based on audience reactions. By the 1930s, test screenings were extended to other genres, but the research process was still more intuitive than analytic, focusing on ad hoc questions and audience monitoring. During the 1970s, in-depth research methods became desirable as the costs and profits of movies grew. It was not until the new century, however, that Hollywood adopted the popular mantra of data-driven decisions: Testing now became “a protocol.”

This mandate amplified the significance of survey results. A film's potential profitability is forecast by two scores: the rankings of overall quality (from “excellent” to “poor”) and the likelihood that viewers would recommend the movie to others. Studio suits and film creatives alike are understandably anxious as they huddle in the back rows during a screening, scrutinizing an audience's spontaneous reactions, and later as they watch the focus-group interviews. Money, art and careers depend on the discernment, if not the kindness, of strangers.

‘Thelma & Louise’ didn't always have its iconic ending. Test audiences were so miffed by the original cut that the director was forced to fix it.

Mr. Goetz demonstrates that testing often improves films in ways large and small. Audiences are adept at evaluating a movie in terms of its core elements, such as plot cohesion, character plausibility and thematic focus. Filmmakers sometimes lose sight of these while laboring on a detailed and lengthy production; audience feedback redirects them to the flaws that become obvious in retrospect.

In the case of “Thelma & Louise” (1991), for example, screeners loved everything about the movie except the original ending, which briefly showed the couple cruising down a road after they had driven off a cliff. Ridley Scott, the film's director, intended the coda to be a visual metaphor for the pair's spiritual partnership. Viewers considered it inauthentic and downgraded their scores. The coda was excised, the test scores rose and the ending has since become iconic.

Beginnings matter as well. An early version of “La La Land” (2016) lacked any songs during its first 12 minutes. Audiences settled in for what they assumed was a romantic comedy and found it jarring when the film unexpectedly became a musical. Fortunately the filmmakers had already shot a bravura song-and-dance sequence set on a Los Angeles freeway, which had been cut because it didn't advance the plot. “Another Day of Sun” now starts the film, sounding the necessary keynote.

Mr. Goetz wants to allay fears that testing can dilute or ruin a film, citing examples of innovative scenes—and entire films—that were saved by audience feedback. These include Oscar winners like “Driving Miss Daisy” (1989) and feisty independents like “Paranormal Activity” (2007), a \$15,000 film that grossed nearly \$200 million globally and spawned a \$900 million franchise. But the author is less forthcoming about a downside to testing: Preview audiences can be resistant to challenging films. Movies that some (including their writers and directors) insist have been neutered by testing, such as “Pretty in Pink” (1986) and “I Am Legend” (2007), go unmentioned. To his credit, Mr. Goetz allows others to express their ambivalence. Ed Zwick, the Oscar-winning producer and director, believes that his highest-scoring films have “elements that are the most comforting or reassuring to an audience, but not necessarily the most dramatically interesting or the most sophisticated.”

“Audience-ology” is an enlightening history. It may also be a relic of “old” Hollywood. Mr. Goetz devotes scant paragraphs to the new world of streaming. He claims that the testing process remains largely the same, tweaked by adding more online surveys and new questions about which films “must” be seen in theaters. (The answers may be easy to guess.) But we are all passive research subjects for the hybrid studio-streaming companies that stealthily harvest data about our choices. Mr. Goetz's book supports the idea of empowered audiences, but will that concept survive Hollywood 2.0?

Mr. Saler is a professor at the University of California, Davis, and the author of “As If: Modern Enchantment and the Literary Prehistory of Virtual Reality.”

Our Moral Obligation to Ukraine



POLITICS & IDEAS

By William A. Galston

Early in the morning of March 13, 1964, a young woman named Kitty Genovese was stabbed to death near her apartment building in New York's borough of Queens. Although early reporting exaggerated the number of people who heard her screams and minimized their response, the episode became a parable of bystander inaction in the face of deadly assault.

I was a college freshman when this event occurred, but it has stuck with me ever since because it raises such profound questions about our responsibility to protect others from harm.

Some people who witnessed the attack tried to call the police—with mixed results, in part because the 911 system did not exist at the time.

There was reason to believe that if an assault was in progress, the police would not arrive in time. In these circumstances, calling for help was not enough. Nor would it have been enough to hand the victim a knife to defend herself.

Still, anyone who intervened to prevent Genovese's knife-wielding assailant from completing his gruesome act would have run some degree of risk. It is wrong to say that

even a small risk would justify standing aside. But it is also wrong to say that we have a moral responsibility to jeopardize our own lives to save someone else's. This is what heroes do. We honor them for their courage, but we are not obligated to follow their path.

The extent of the responsibility to protect depends on the ability to do so and on the degree of risk that trying to do so would entail. At some level of risk, intervening to save others becomes morally optional. There is no bright line that defines this level. It is a matter of moral judgment, which can be—and often is—questioned after the fact.

In April 1994, the Hutu genocide of Rwanda's Tutsi minority began. By the time it ended in July, at least half a million Tutsis had been slaughtered (many were hacked to death) along with large numbers of moderate Hutus who had counseled reconciliation with the Tutsis. The nations with the power to prevent this—including America—refused to intervene. President Clinton later conceded that the use of U.S. forces could have prevented at least 300,000 deaths, and he came to regard the failure to do so as one of the worst mistakes of his presidency.

Mr. Clinton could not have promised the American people that intervening in Rwanda would have been risk-free. Six months earlier the U.S. had lost 18 soldiers in a botched

mission in Somalia. But the president could have told his people that with so many lives at stake, the risks to the U.S. would have been acceptable. The alternative was to embrace tacitly the shameful proposition that preventing the death of hundreds of thousands of Africans was not worth a single American life.

We shouldn't risk nuclear armageddon, but there's still a lot more we could do.

This brings me to Ukraine. The U.S. and its allies have contributed large amounts of weapons and other resources to help the Ukrainians defend themselves, and the Ukrainians have made extraordinarily effective use of what they have received. But in the end, it probably won't be enough.

In the coming weeks, it is likely that the Russian army will encircle and besiege many of Ukraine's largest cities. The inhabitants of these cities will be left without food, water and electricity, as they already are in Mariupol. The Russians will batter these cities with bombs, missiles and artillery, making no effort to distinguish between military targets and civilians. The longer Ukrainians resist, the more their cities will resemble Grozny and Aleppo. As the

chief of the confederacy that fought the Romans in Scotland said of the imperial invaders' strategy, according to Tacitus, “they make a desert and call it peace.”

President Biden insists, rightly, that America should not fight World War III in Ukraine. But there is a lot of daylight between nuclear armageddon and our current stance. For example, the U.S. is preventing the transfer of Polish aircraft to Ukraine on the grounds that doing so would be “escalatory.” Translation: It would entail risks that America should not take.

I'm not the only one to wonder whether this is true. Let's assume that the Ukrainian government dispatches its pilots to fly these plans across Ukrainian airspace to a Ukrainian airfield that remains operational. How does this differ in principle from the other defensive weapons that NATO is sending to Ukraine?

There may be technical or operational reasons to reject this transfer. But the degree of risk the U.S. would run is not high enough to justify blocking it.

If, as seems all too likely, we are fated to witness the dismemberment or outright destruction of a sovereign nation, we should be able to tell ourselves that we did everything that could reasonably be expected of us, short of risking war with a nuclear-armed aggressor, to prevent this outcome.

The Commies Step Up to the Plate

By Bob Greene

As baseball's spring training finally gets under way, you may think that the Cleveland Guardians face a public-relations and marketing challenge as they put on their new uniforms, ending more than a century of being called the Indians.

But that's a relatively easy hurdle to overcome compared with perhaps the most unfortunate team name in the history of professional sports: Ladies and gentlemen, please welcome the starting lineup for your Decatur Commies.

During the Cold War, the Decatur, Ill., team name seemed to come out of left field.

It's true—in the central Illinois town of Decatur, for 74 years starting in 1900 the beloved minor-league baseball team was known as the Commies. The name was emblazoned across the front of their jerseys, and that's how



The 1928 Decatur (Ill.) Commodores.

the local newspapers and fans referred to them.

In the team's early years it wasn't a problem, but as tensions between the U.S. and the Soviet Union mounted after World War II, and as Sen. Joseph McCarthy pursued his investigations of alleged communist influence in the U.S. government in the 1950s, things became a bit awkward.

The city of Decatur was named in honor of Commodore Stephen Decatur, an early U.S. Navy hero, and the official name of the town's baseball team was the Commodores. But few people called them that—they were simply the Commies. From Decatur sports pages over the years:

• “Commies Rout Danville”

• “Two Commies Ready for Opener Sunday”

• “Commies Conquer Bloomington”

• “Commies Triumph”

• “Commies Batter Moline”

• “Commies Unleash Power”

Perhaps in today's America, with focus groups and cautious image consultants fine-tuning every branding decision, a team called the Commies in a conservative part of the heartland would raise business-office alarms. But loyal fans in Decatur—the town's ballpark was called Fans Field—liked the Commies just the way they were, and Commies they remained.

Even when some members of Congress were portraying themselves as communist-

hunters in the 1950s, the citizens of Decatur continued to cheer when they saw the team run onto the field with that name on their jerseys. In case there was any doubt about the city's devotion to the team and its moniker, in 1952 Mayor Robert E. Willis officially declared Sept. 15 to be Commies Day in Decatur: “Whereas, Hallelujah, the . . . Decatur Commies on Sept. 14 humbled the baseball team from Mark Twain's home town to win the play-off championship . . .”

The ball club and its name finally disappeared from town not because of political sensitivities but because of financial difficulties. After the 1974 season the team moved to Wausau, Wis., where, unsurprisingly, it was given a new name. First it was the Wausau Mets, then the Wausau Timbers, then, when the team moved to Kane County, Ill., the Cougars. For the national pastime, the era of the Commies had become past tense.

Mr. Greene's books include “Duty: A Father, His Son, and the Man Who Won the War.”

OPINION

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The SEC's Private Market Takeover

The Securities and Exchange Commission's power has diminished in tandem with public markets since Congress passed the Sarbanes-Oxley Act two decades ago. But rather than ease regulatory burdens on public companies, Chairman Gary Gensler is seeking more control over private markets.

Chairman Gensler dances to the public pension tune.

Congress established the SEC during the Great Depression to oversee public stock exchanges and protect mom-and-pop investors from fraud. After the WorldCom and Enron accounting scandals, Congress gave the agency more power and increased public-company reporting requirements.

One result: More companies avoid public markets. Start-ups can raise money at low cost in private markets thanks to venture capital and private equity. Public pensions chasing higher returns have also piled into private equity and hedge funds; government pensions now account for about 35% of private-equity capital.

But public pensions complain that private fund managers have too much bargaining power, and that they risk being frozen out of high-yielding private investments if they demand more disclosure or lower fees. Unions want politicians to mandate what unions want.

* * *

Enter Mr. Gensler, who says he wants to "level the playing field and strengthen transparency" in private markets. One proposed regulation would impose fee, expense and performance disclosure requirements on private fund advisers similar to those for public advisers. They'd also require independent annual financial audits. More transparency, what's not to love?

First, says GOP Commissioner Hester Peirce, the proposal's focus on protecting private fund investors "is a departure from the Commission's historical view that these types of investors can fend for themselves."

She's right. The SEC doesn't exist to protect sophisticated investors. Mr. Gensler wants to expand the agency's mission from protecting Granny's life-savings to shielding deep-pocketed investors from risks they freely take. The California Public Employees' Retirement System (Calpers) manages more assets than KKR. How is it at a disadvantage?

Another proposed rule would bar indemnifi-

cation clauses for simple negligence in investor contracts. This would increase private fund liability for business judgments made in good faith and increase the cost of insurance. It would mean higher costs for investors and less risk-taking by fund managers. But investors pay private managers to take more risks.

Mr. Gensler also wants private funds to report more information to the SEC—supposedly to better monitor systemic financial risks. One proposed rule would require large hedge fund advisers to report to the SEC within one business day significant events such as a loss in assets of 20% or more.

Dodd-Frank already requires hedge funds to file quarterly reports about their assets. Yet Mr. Gensler cites big losses last winter at hedge funds that took short positions in meme stocks. Melvin Capital was bailed out by Point72 Asset Management and Citadel. Private fund managers rescued another private fund. Where was the systemic risk?

"A regulator's desire for data is insatiable, but more data is not always better," says Ms. Peirce. "What will [the Financial Stability Oversight Council] and the SEC do with this information? Jump in to protect private fund investors from losses?" That's precisely what unions want the feds to do.

Ironically, another proposed SEC regulation pushed by unions could make private markets less resilient. It would prohibit private funds from giving some investors better terms based on the timing and size of their investment. Would Citadel and Point72 have rescued Melvin if they were offered the same terms as all other fund investors?

* * *

Unions have a love-hate relationship with private asset managers. Their pension plans need higher returns to meet obligations to workers. But they dislike how private equity and hedge funds enforce market discipline, and how for the most part they ignore the left's environmental, social and governance (ESG) fad.

Mr. Gensler's goal is to erase the distinction between public and private companies so he can foist new ESG disclosures across the economy. He wants to impose costly new regulations that further discourage companies from going public, and then "level the playing field" by punishing companies that stay private.

The Message of Sarah Raskin's Defeat

Sarah Bloom Raskin on Tuesday withdrew her nomination for vice chairman of the Federal Reserve, and the message of her defeat is more important than the fate of one would-be regulator. Her defeat is a warning to the Fed that a majority of the Senate doesn't believe the central bank should use its power to allocate capital for political purposes.

President Biden blamed Ms. Raskin's defeat on "baseless attacks from industry and conservative interest groups." But Ms. Raskin's most significant opponent was her oft-expressed view that the Fed and other regulators should deny credit to companies that produce or heavily consume fossil fuels. We've documented those views in several editorials.

While she and her supporters tried to say she wouldn't use her powers that way at the Fed, everyone knew that was false. Those views are the reason that Sens. Elizabeth Warren, Sherrod Brown and Sheldon Whitehouse pushed her so hard for the job.

This isn't part of the Fed's dual mandate, which is full employment and stable prices. Congress gave the central bank additional regu-

latory power after the financial panic, but in the name of bank safety and soundness, not to steer capital to one industry or deny it to another. But

Democrats now want the Fed to use those powers to promote their political goals.

This would be economically destructive if it ever became Fed policy because politicians inevitably distort investment decisions. It would also lead to the corruption of the Fed itself, as the central bank became another avenue for political and industry lobbies to implement their policy goals without having to do the messy business of passing legislation.

This has been Ms. Warren's explicit mission since she created the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau and insulated it from Congressional appropriations and executive oversight. Ms. Raskin was her agent to do the same at the Federal Reserve.

Her defeat should give Fed Chairman Jerome Powell more confidence to oppose attempts by others on the Fed Board of Governors to politicize financial regulation in the name of climate change. It should also instruct the White House not to replace Ms. Raskin with a nominee with the same views, though it probably won't.

The Senate is saying it doesn't want the Fed to allocate capital.

The state will soon have a flat 2.5% income tax, after flirting with 8%.

A Big Taxpayer Victory in Arizona

Arizonans who fled California for sunnier tax climes can breathe easier after a court ruling that has saved the day from a punitive 8% top state tax rate.

A state judge on Friday struck down Arizona's Proposition 208, which placed a 3.5% surtax on incomes above \$250,000, or \$500,000 for joint filers. The surtax passed narrowly in a 2020 referendum that sought to raise hundreds of millions of dollars for public schools. But the surtax would also have blown past the cap on education spending in the state constitution.

Nixing the surtax means Arizona will soon have a flat tax of 2.5% on individual incomes, the lowest flat rate among states with an income tax. Gov. Doug Ducey slashed the previous 4.5% top rate in his 2022 budget, and the flat 2.5% rate will phase in by 2024. If the 4.5% rate and the surtax had stayed in place, a combined 8% top rate would have given Arizona the 10th-highest state income tax rate.

Judge John Hannah hewed to the letter of the law in reviewing the surtax. "School district spending more likely than not will exceed the predicted spending limit in 2023," he wrote. That's an understatement. Invest in Arizona, the advocacy group behind the surtax, said its proposal would raise at least \$253 million for schools that year, pushing spending far above the likely limit.

The state Supreme Court ruled last year that money raised by the tax couldn't be re-

branded as "grants" outside the spending cap, or be put aside to be spent later. It remanded the case for Judge Hannah to rule on the spending cap issue, and he said the constitution didn't allow the surtax.

Arizona's teachers union argued that ending the surtax would rob funding from hard-up school districts. State Superintendent Kathy Hoffman agreed after Friday's ruling, asking "how will we remain competitive when our neighboring states have increased teacher pay?"

How many raises does she want? The courts held that the spending cap couldn't be surpassed by referendum. But last month the Republican-controlled Legislature voted to suspend the cap temporarily, letting schools claim an extra \$1.2 billion appropriated last year. Funding increases in recent years are on top of a 20% raise that Arizona teachers gained after striking in 2018.

Tax competition has helped Arizona draw residents and businesses from neighbors like California, but the surtax would have sent the Grand Canyon State down a Golden State path. The tax's \$250,000 income threshold made it a particular burden on small businesses that pay taxes under the individual code.

The episode is a reminder of the value of constitutional guardrails on state taxes and spending. Arizona voters in 1980 placed limits on school spending through a ballot initiative, preventing unrestrained budget bloat. Taxpayers in other states, take note.

A Betrayal of 9/11 Victims and Their Families

As the son of Capt. John R. Fischer, FDNY, who was tragically killed on 9/11, I applaud the editorial board for calling out the injustice that this administration is inflicting on the bulk of the 9/11 community ("Trial Lawyers Raid a 9/11 Victims Fund," March 10). I wish I could say I was surprised, but this is another in a long line of inexplicable U.S. government decisions.

Congress instituted the United States Victims of State Sponsored Terrorism Fund only in 2015. From the outset, it wrongfully excluded spouses and children of 9/11 victims. Only after four years of effort by those same widows and children were we admitted. By that time most of the fund's assets had already been distributed. The result is that the victims of 9/11, their spouses and their children have been undercompensated for decades.

Now we finally have an opportunity for real compensation. All we ask is that all who were harmed be treated equally and that the administration follow the congressionally approved method for compensating victims of terrorism. I have yet to hear from my representatives and have to wonder why they would let the executive usurp their lawful process and authority. I hope Sens. Chuck Schumer and Kirsten Gillibrand as well as Rep. Nicole Malliotakis take note and action.

TIMOTHY R. FISCHER
Staten Island, N.Y.

Let's Strengthen, Not Sunset, Social Security

In "Why I'm Defying Beltway Cowardice" (op-ed, March 4), Sen. Rick Scott defends his Rescue America Plan. I give him credit for being honest about what Republicans intend to do: raise taxes on lower- and middle-income Americans and end federal programs after five years. His plan is cruel and would threaten the financial security of all Americans, but he is right on one thing: The public needs to know where their representatives stand, and Congress needs to act.

The urgency to act on Social Security is clear. The elderly are not only the most susceptible to this pandemic; since they are on fixed incomes, they are also the most susceptible to inflation. They need help and they need it now. It has been more than 50 years

March 8 was a tough day for the Force family. It was the sixth anniversary of the stabbing death of our son, Taylor Allen Force, at the hands of a Palestinian terrorist in Jaffa, Israel. March 9 was not a good day either. After reading your editorial, I want to share my perspective.

As lead plaintiffs in a successful lawsuit addressing Iranian funding of terrorism, we knew that recovery of damages was a very remote possibility. The United States Victims of State Sponsored Terrorism Fund is intended to assist victims and their families as they deal with the horrific consequences of acts of terror against U.S. citizens.

The Biden administration is unilaterally deciding which U.S. victims of terror are more important and deserving of compensation from US-VSST funds. Perhaps it feels that atonement for the botched Afghanistan withdrawal is necessary, but Congress authorized the USVSST fund for all U.S. victims, not a chosen few and their attorneys.

To send billions of dollars—to which victims of terrorism already have a legal claim—as foreign assistance to countries and organizations that shouldn't receive them is inexcusable. Stop ignoring the laws passed by Congress.

STUART FORCE
The Hills, Texas

Playing the Nuclear Get-Out-of-Jail-Free Card

Your editorial "The Ukraine MiG-29 Fiasco Gets Worse" (March 11) reveals the prevailing thinking on Ukraine: Don't aggravate Vladimir Putin or he will use his nuclear weapons. With each new crime, Mr. Putin waves his nuclear flag and we paralyze ourselves. But such weapons are effectively unusable, since their first use would prompt a devastating response.

The Ocean's Power to Absorb CO2 and Restore the Climate

I'm inspired by the growing cadre of innovators and scientists preparing to combat climate catastrophes ("Sinking More CO2 Beneath the Waves," Future of Everything, March 10). The oceans have been used and abused by humans for far too long. We have a fast-closing window of opportunity—but a window nonetheless—to get this right.

With the commitment of governments and philanthropists around the world, it will be possible to develop and deploy processes that will safely harness the ocean's potential to remove billions of tons of carbon dioxide from the atmosphere. As an ocean swimmer, when I immerse myself in the Pacific Ocean, I marvel at the hidden world below that holds so much potential to alter our future. There are dedicated individuals, nonprofits and companies working to use the ocean's power to halt climate change and restore a climate in which humans and the natural world have thrived for millennia. Knowing this makes me feel not so alone out in the deep blue sea.

RICK WAYMAN
Foundation for Climate Restoration
Santa Barbara, Calif.

The Tax-and-Spend Formula

The Democrats have found the perfect circular procedure for the tax-and-spend agenda ("It's Joe Biden's Inflation," Review & Outlook, March 11): Declare a basic necessity such as fossil fuels the enemy and limit production. Then, when shortages occur and prices go up, tax the producers for excessive profits. Make it all seem right by returning some of the tax proceeds to the people.

JOY KORMANYOS
Sammamish, 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.

You note that the White House is refusing to let Warsaw send fighter jets to Ukraine primarily due to concerns about Mr. Putin's response. One solution would be to put the monkey on Mr. Putin's back by conditioning the delivery of the jets to our humanitarian concerns. Tell Mr. Putin that if he does not stop killing and harming civilians, we will not stand in the way of the delivery of the MiGs. We have the moral high ground and we should use it.

DAVID B. GERGES
Bonita Springs, Fla.

The Inflation Blame Game

The Biden administration blames higher gas prices on big oil companies ("Democrats for Higher Gas Prices," Review & Outlook, March 12). Several months ago, the same accusations were leveled at big meat processors for higher meat prices. In both cases, the administration takes no responsibility and provides no specifics on individual companies to support its accusations. It also provides no workable solutions. Finally, in both cases, the press is notably quiet when it comes to asking questions that will expose the administration's false narratives used to cover up its incompetence.

MATT SEGAL
Cary, N.C.

Pepper ... And Salt

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL



"Our aging pharaoh demands large fonts."

OPINION

Don't Count on China to Mediate in Ukraine

By Kevin Rudd

Before White House national security adviser Jake Sullivan and top Chinese diplomat Yang Jiechi met in Rome on Monday, many in the West hoped that Beijing might limit its support for Russia following its invasion of Ukraine or even help end the conflict, having recently talked up its wish to see a cease-fire and its potential interest in a mediating role.

After the seven-hour meeting, the U.S. issued a three-sentence summary noting that the talks were intense and covered a range of concerns including Ukraine.

Russia's aggression has caused anxiety in Beijing, but Xi has staked too much on his 'best friend.'

Meanwhile, the official Chinese media report on the meeting rehearsed China's standard position on Ukraine. Beijing defended the principles of national sovereignty and territorial integrity and said that while it "did not want to see the current situation in Ukraine," the international community needed to "identify the real causes and issues from the history of the Ukraine." This is code for recognizing that Russia has legitimate security concerns arising from the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. "China would not tolerate any misinformation and efforts to smear China," the report continued, presumably referring to U.S. intelligence briefings to the international media warning of Russian requests to China for military equipment.

On the surface, nothing seems to have changed in Xi Jinping's position, which remains deeply

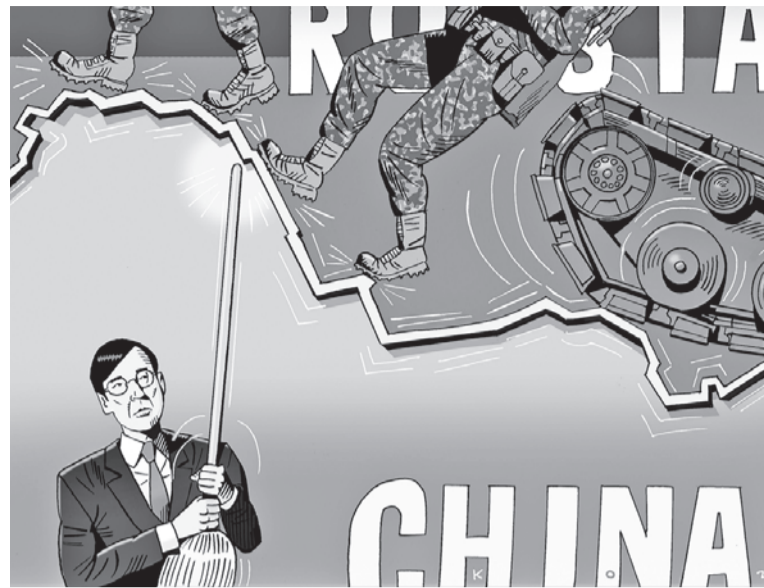
supportive of Vladimir Putin's interests. This is despite Foreign Minister Wang Yi's statement last week that China was willing to mediate. So where does Beijing stand? And how does China view strategic and economic reality as the siege of Kyiv begins, three weeks into Mr. Putin's failed blitzkrieg against Ukraine?

The war's duration, destruction, and civilian casualties have stunned Beijing, as have the intensity and near-unanimity of the international and European reaction. Chinese diplomats worry about the foreign-policy blowback for being so close to Russia during the war. Chinese leaders are concerned about its effect on the global economy and their country's 2022 growth prospects, which were under pressure before the invasion.

China only last week set its official growth target for the year at an ambitious 5.5%. Premier Li Keqiang acknowledged that achieving such growth is "not easy." China's economy was already on shaky ground because of Mr. Xi's post-2017 "pivot to the state" and his crackdown on the private sector.

Skyrocketing commodity prices are now even more of a problem for Beijing. Surging energy prices in particular spell trouble for the world's largest oil and gas importer. Rising grain prices are also a political issue for Mr. Xi, who on March 6 devoted an entire speech to berating China's legislature not to "slacken our efforts on food security." The war between Russia and Ukraine—two of the world's top wheat exporters—could not come at a worse time for China. Torrential rains have the country facing a wheat harvest that China's agriculture minister said "could be the worst in history."

China's biggest economic concern arising from Ukraine, however, is the risk of secondary sanctions to its financial institutions. If any



are judged in violation of U.S. and allied sanctions against Russia, China is exposed because it depends on the Swift global financial messaging system.

Despite the war's increasing economic and diplomatic costs for China, there is still no evidence that Beijing will change its strategy toward Moscow or seek to mediate a cease-fire between Russia and Ukraine. Here are four reasons why.

First, the Joint Strategic Framework that China and Russia signed on Feb. 4, which foreshadows "no limits" on strategic collaboration between Moscow and Beijing, remains in full force. The document reflects the deep personal relationship Messrs. Putin and Xi have developed over the past seven years. Mr. Xi likely is wary of taking any action that could disturb the Russia-China relationship, from which Beijing benefits strategically. The most significant benefit China derives from a benign relationship with its vast northern neighbor is that it enables Mr. Xi to focus almost solely on his principal strategic rival, the U.S. The two countries share an in-

terest in challenging the U.S.-led liberal international order.

Second, while Beijing worries about negative European perceptions of Chinese support for Russia, it believes it can manage any damage to its interests in Brussels and elsewhere. Last week, France's President Emmanuel Macron and Germany's Chancellor Olaf Scholz participated in a virtual summit with Mr. Xi on potential mediation. This caused hard-liners in Beijing to conclude that although relations will be rocky for a while with the Europeans, these problems likely are temporary.

Third, Mr. Xi likely was surprised by the Ukrainian military's resistance, the slowness of the Russian advance, and the degree of European unity that the invasion generated. But in the absence of direct NATO intervention, he likely expects Russia to achieve an acceptable military outcome in the conflict.

Finally, even if Mr. Xi decided to intervene to end the war, it isn't clear what China could bring to the negotiating table that wouldn't

By Paul H. Tice

On the back of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, crude oil prices jumped above \$100 a barrel, and the average cost of U.S. gasoline has surpassed \$4 a gallon. Yet domestic oil production has barely budged over the past two years and remains stuck below 12 million barrels a day, 10% to 15% below the pre-pandemic high.

The total U.S. oil rig count has bounced back, but only to roughly 75% of the recent peak in March 2020. Major U.S. shale producers, particularly ones in the Permian Basin of Texas, have a break-even oil price close to \$30 a barrel, so why isn't American supply responding to price signals from the global market?

First and foremost, U.S. shale got a wake-up call about its business model in 2020. That's when the combination of an OPEC+ oil-market-share battle and pandemic lockdowns briefly turned crude oil prices negative and decimated the energy sector, driving more than 100 North American oil and gas companies into bankruptcy by year end.

After largely giving lip service to shareholder activists following the 2014 shale crash, almost every U.S. energy company has also embraced the need for capital spending restraint and generating free cash flow rather than simply expanding production. Flat or up slightly (5% or less) is the new production growth paradigm, and living within cash flow is paramount. This fiscal discipline held through 2021 even as crude oil prices doubled and continues to hold despite a roughly \$30-a-barrel price jump since the beginning of 2022.

Last year energy rebounded from the annus horribilis of 2020 and became the best-performing sector in the U.S. equity and debt markets. Energy-company management teams don't want to rock this boat, especially given regulatory clouds looming over the industry.

Feeding into the U.S. industry's self-imposed choke valve on aggregate oil volumes is the outlook for restricted drilling growth and market

access in coming years, which is where the Biden administration's anti-fossil-fuel policies come into play.

U.S. oil and gas producers need to extend their drilling inventories and permit runways further into the future because the Biden White House is canceling or slow-walking leases on federal lands while clawing back acreage for national monuments. The administration also is taking advantage of environmental and endangered-species statutes to curtail drilling on private land. New energy infrastructure projects—including interstate pipelines and liquefied natural gas export facilities—are subject to a global climate test, a charge for the social cost of carbon and environmental-justice standards. All this will have a chilling effect on new projects and further reinforce industry consolidation.

The main risk to the industry over the next decade is not the potential for oil and gas demand to go down because of the global energy transition away from fossil fuels. It is the high likelihood of more energy supply-chain bottlenecks created by

government officials. A supply-constrained scenario would be bullish for oil prices, giving producers even more incentive to keep hydrocarbon reserves in the ground now to produce them at higher realized prices down the road. As seen by the four legally paralyzed years of the Trump

The crash of 2020 and the pressure of climate politics led them to reconsider their business models.

administration, even if Republicans regain the White House in 2024, not much would change with regard to the inexorable march toward 2030, the year of the climate rapture set by the United Nations.

U.S. energy companies have begun to wise up to the threat that the theory of man-made climate change poses to the industry. Since the Paris Agreement's signing in

2015, the global goal of decreasing carbon emissions has provided moral justification for an all-out regulatory assault.

The latest front is the sustainable-investment movement sweeping Wall Street, which has climate action as its top environmental, social and governance objective. U.S. and European financial regulators are pushing through mandatory reporting standards on sustainability. This is the first step toward screening and excluding politically incorrect industries such as oil and gas from investment portfolios. As the intertwined climate-change and sustainability movements gain momentum between now and 2030, the lending and capital markets are likely to become more hostile toward traditional energy.

U.S. shale companies will need to ensure their ability to self-fund from operations and run with less balance-sheet debt to reduce their dependence on financing from the banking system and institutional investors. Consequently, corporate sustainability doctrine provides another strong

argument for U.S. energy companies to maintain the status quo of slow to no production growth and to continue living within cash flow over the long term.

Ironically, all the defensive measures now being taken by the U.S. shale industry make it more attractive—and sustainable—from an investment perspective. On top of production and spending discipline and stronger energy commodity prices, some shale players are merging to build critical mass, both in operating scale and financial-market capitalization.

So why aren't American oil and gas companies producing more barrels to help tamp down oil and gasoline prices during a global market shock when domestic inflation is rampant? The answer, as with everything that revolves around climate change, is complicated.

Mr. Tice works in investment management and is an adjunct professor of finance at New York University's Stern School of Business.

Why U.S. Producers Aren't Solving the Energy Crisis

Phil Murphy Stifles New Jersey's Charter Schools



UPWARD MOBILITY
By Jason L. Riley

their support among minority voters. Maybe there's a connection.

Typical is New Jersey Gov. Phil Murphy, a Democrat in his second term who gives lip service to school choice but in practice does the bidding of charter-school opponents. Mr. Murphy is said to have presidential ambitions, and he doesn't want to anger the powerful teachers unions that spent more than any other interest group to back his

gubernatorial campaigns.

This explains Mr. Murphy's appalling decision last month to block the expansion of New Jersey's best-performing charter schools, including North Star Academy and Phillips Academy, even while thousands of families wallow on waiting lists. A majority of residents in struggling cities like Newark and Camden are lower-income blacks and Hispanics, and high-quality public schools are a lifeline. Anyone yapping about equity while denying underprivileged minorities access to better schools deserves to be ignored.

North Star consistently ranks as the most popular charter-school network in Newark and repeatedly has earned top marks from the state Education Department on academic performance, fiscal management and other measures. Some 89% of North Star students take Advanced Placement exams, for example, versus only 41% of students statewide. The school achieves those results even though 85% of its students come from families that qualify for free or reduced-price lunch, which is the case for only 33% of all students in New Jersey.

No matter. North Star's request for additional seats was denied for a second straight year, and the 800 families on its wait list will have to make other plans. Phillips Academy, which currently educates about 600 students in grades K-8 and is another top-tier school by the state's reckoning, was told it could not add grades 9-12. That means eighth-grade families could be forced to attend neighborhood high schools known not only for their persistent academic underperformance but

also for their high levels of violence. There's a reason more than 1 in 3 students in Newark attend a charter school.

The Murphy administration says charters have not exhausted their current capacity, but schools can't wait until they are out of seats to expand any more than Costco can wait until the shelves are empty before it orders more food. These schools request additional seats based on projected demand. The

In his first term, the Democratic governor denied nearly two-thirds of requested expansions.

governor's objections are disingenuous at best. Under his Republican predecessor, Chris Christie, good charter schools grew to meet demand. During Mr. Murphy's first term, he denied nearly two-thirds of requested charter expansions.

Aside from the recent polling, there are other indications that Democrats and their union allies are paying a price for their behavior. According to Ballotpedia, school-board recall efforts tripled between 2020 and 2021 and are on pace to rise even higher this year. Mr. Murphy was re-elected last year, but not by much. The race was much closer than it should have been in a state that Joe Biden won by 16 points and where there are a million more registered Democrats than Republicans.

The pandemic has lifted the curtain on what kids are (and aren't)

learning in our schools, and parents are not particularly pleased. Enrollment in traditional public schools has declined, while private schools and charters have seen an uptick in applications. "It's not just about New Jersey," says Derrell Bradford, a veteran school-choice advocate who has worked in the Garden State. "It's really about where the Democratic Party is right now on education policy reform." Over the past two years, "we've seen poorly implemented school closures and poorly implemented virtual learning. And we know that tuggish teachers unions have inflicted a great deal of harm on all of America's kids, but especially on low-income kids of color in big urban areas."

A McKinsey & Co. study from December found that remote learning had significantly widened pre-pandemic black-white gaps in math. A New York Times report from last week said that "a cluster of new studies now show that about a third of children in the youngest grades are missing reading benchmarks, up significantly from before the pandemic."

Mr. Bradford tells me that "Newark has some of the most-studied charter schools in the nation, and one of the things we know is that they are incredibly good at closing the achievement gap for low-income students of color." For him, it's personal. "I gave the commencement speech at North Star in 2018. The valedictorian went to Yale; the salutatorian went to Princeton—two black women. The one going to Princeton was studying particle physics. I'm offended by what the governor is doing."

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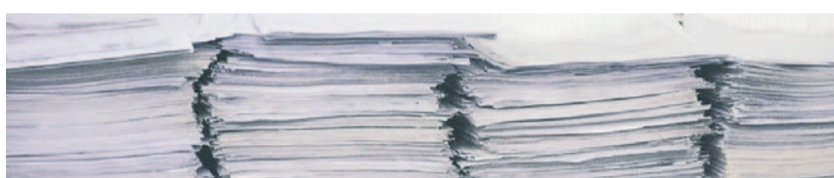
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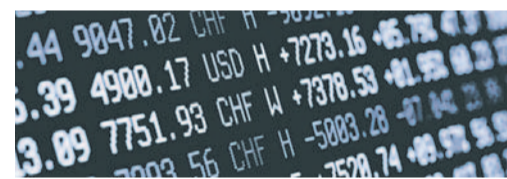
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Wednesday, March 16, 2022 | B1

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Chip Makers, Airlines Lift Stocks

Concerns on Fed meeting, inflation recede for a day; energy sector falters

By JUSTIN BAER AND WILL HORNER

Stocks climbed on Tuesday after a retreat in oil prices eased investors' concerns about inflation and the prospect that the Federal Reserve will move more aggressively to lift interest rates.

Oil's decline came as investors waited for Wednesday's decision by the Fed, which is expected to raise rates for the

first time since 2018. Russia's invasion of Ukraine had increased prices on the commodity well above \$100 a barrel, raising the stakes for the U.S. economy and its central bank.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average advanced 599.10 points, or 1.8%, to 33544.34. The S&P 500 climbed 89.34 points, or 2.1%, to 4262.45, while the Nasdaq Composite added 367.40 points, or 2.9%, to 12948.62.

The major U.S. benchmarks opened higher and then gained strength throughout the afternoon. The S&P 500 and Nasdaq snapped three-day losing streaks.

Oil prices dropped back below \$100 a barrel, undoing much of the price surge since Russia invaded Ukraine. West Texas Intermediate, the U.S. benchmark, dropped 6.4% to \$96.44 a barrel. Brent crude, the international benchmark, declined 6.5% to \$99.91.

Delta Air Lines closed at \$34.86, up \$2.79, or 8.7%. American Airlines rose \$1.32, or 9.3%, to \$15.57, and United Airlines climbed \$3.22, or 9.2%, to \$38.24.

Shares of Nvidia, Advanced Micro Devices and other chip makers also rose, as investors flocked to technology companies more sensitive to the economy's outlook. As a

group, information-technology stocks posted the biggest gains in the S&P 500.

Russia's invasion of Ukraine could weigh on global demand for oil, according to a monthly market report from the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries.

Energy shares retreated, as Valero Energy tumbled 6.8%, the most of any S&P 500 stock, losing \$6.14 to \$84.41. Baker Hughes slipped 5.7%, or \$2.11, to \$34.87. Exxon Mobil also fell 5.7%, or \$4.66, to \$77.22.

"You have this negative correlation right now where when oil goes up, the market goes down, and when oil is down

the market goes up," said Jack Janasiewicz, lead portfolio strategist for Natixis Investment Managers Solutions. "If you can get oil to calm down to preinvasion levels, it gives us a little more confidence that inflation is not running away and making things more difficult for the Fed."

Oil prices fell as investors weighed what Beijing's sweeping Covid-19 lockdowns will mean for demand.

Chinese indexes slid, extending a recent rout fueled by the country's rising

Streetwise: Market narratives collide on many fronts..... B12

Intel Set To Boost Output Across Europe

By ASA FITCH

Intel Corp. said it would invest \$36 billion in chip production and research across Europe, including a new chip-making complex in Germany, to keep pace with surging demand for semiconductors.

Chief Executive Pat Gelsinger on Tuesday said Intel had selected the city of Magdeburg, Germany, to put up what would be one of the biggest and most advanced semiconductor manufacturing facilities on the continent. The company plans a down payment of \$18.6 billion, the equivalent of about €17 billion, on that facility.

It is the second multibillion-dollar plant investment Intel has announced in 2022. Earlier this year, it selected Ohio to erect a \$20 billion chip-making facility that could expand to a \$100 billion site. Intel last year said it would expand in Arizona and New Mexico, as well, as Mr. Gelsinger tries to gain a step on aggressive competitors.

Beyond that, Mr. Gelsinger said the company in the longer term would invest a total of up to €80 billion in Europe, including research-and-development facilities in France, as well as manufacturing facilities in Ireland, Italy, Poland and Spain.

Construction of two new factories on the German site will start in the first half of next year, with production slated to start in 2027 pending European Commission approval, Intel said. They will make some of the company's most advanced chips, the company said, and would serve both Intel's internal needs and make chips for outside customers.

Intel is among chip companies responding to unprecedented demand for digital products and a global chip shortage that has amplified the need for more manufacturing

Please turn to page B4

Buybacks Are on Track for Another Record

By HARDIKA SINGH

Companies are unveiling plans to repurchase their own shares at a record pace, lending support to the battered stock market.

Firms in the S&P 500 have outlined buyback plans valued at \$238 billion through the first two months of 2022, according to data from Goldman Sachs Group Inc., a high for this point in the year.

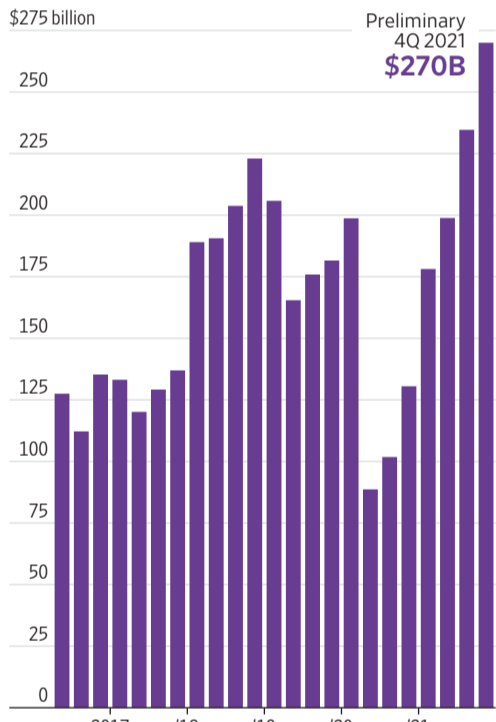
They appear to be taking advantage of the volatility that rattled markets lately. Stocks have come under pressure this year on worries about the pace of the Federal Reserve's plan to raise interest rates, Russia's invasion of Ukraine and a surge in commodity prices that could stall the economy. The S&P 500 is down 12% year to date.

Repurchases can support stocks by reducing a company's share count, boosting its per-share profit. And they can boost investor sentiment by suggesting executives are optimistic about their companies' prospects.

"It does add a layer of overall support during periods of volatility," said Anthony Saggiombene, global market strategist at Ameriprise Financial.

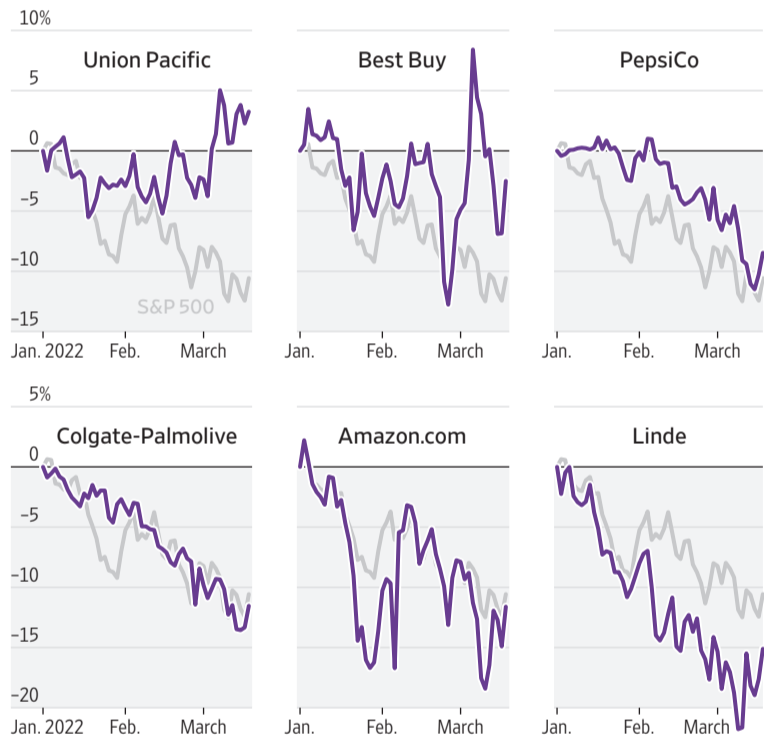
Union Pacific Corp. has led the way, outlining plans for a buyback plan valued at roughly \$25 billion, while PepsiCo Inc. and industrial-gas company Linde PLC said they

S&P 500 stock buybacks, quarterly



Sources: S&P Dow Jones Indices (buybacks); FactSet (performance)

Stock performance this year of companies authorizing buybacks



plan to repurchase as much as \$10 billion in stock.

The surge of activity has continued in March. Amazon.com Inc. said last week that it would buy back as much as \$10 billion in shares, while Colgate-Palmolive Co. and Best Buy Co. unveiled \$5 billion plans.

Goldman analysts recently raised their 2022 forecasts for

buybacks to a record \$1 trillion, which would represent a 12% rise from last year when repurchase activity helped propel the S&P 500 to a 27% gain.

The analysts said the breadth of buyback activity is near a historic high, with the number of active programs double the typical figure.

To be sure, some investors worry buybacks redirect cor-

porate spending from capital expenditures, research and development, and workers' wages—advancing stock prices in the short run at the expense of long-term growth.

In mid-December, the Securities and Exchange Commission proposed greater disclosure requirements on buybacks, which would compel companies to detail their ra-

tionale and the criteria used to determine the amount of shares to be repurchased.

This hasn't stopped companies from planning more buybacks this year. "Companies have created, in the last six to 12 months, something of a fortress in their balance sheets," said Jessica Bemer, portfolio manager at Easterly Investment Partners.

Life-Insurance Sales Rise on Covid Fears

By LESLIE SCISM

Americans went on a buying spree for life insurance in 2021, driven by concerns of death from the coronavirus pandemic.

Premium volume for new individual life-insurance policies surged 20% from 2020, while the number of policies issued rose 5%, the biggest year-over-year percentage gains since the 1980s, according to industry-funded research firm Limra.

"As we zero in on one million Americans who tragically lost their lives, it's not a surprise that people are thinking about their own mortality and the impact on loved ones if anything were to happen to them," said David Levenson, Limra's chief executive.

The exact number of policies sold is still being calculated, but it is expected to top 10 million, Limra said. That milestone was last crossed in 2016. In 2020, an estimated

9.83 million policies were sold, up 1.7% from 2019.

The growth in 2021 in annual premiums collected from new sales outpaced growth in the number of policies sold in part because the average size of policies increased. Limra said inflation wasn't a factor in the higher revenue figure.

The 2021 sales increases follow decades of declining and sluggish activity across the U.S. life-insurance industry. For many years Americans have been more concerned about outliving their savings than dying prematurely, according to surveys and industry executives. Buying individual-life policies fell in priority as they contributed to 401(k)s and other savings vehicles, and many insurers increased sales of annuities and mutual funds as a result.

Many people in recent decades have relied on life insurance provided by their employers, which became a more

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INSIDE



PROPERTY REPORT
A venture to create Airbnb-style listings for office space draws investment. **B6**



FINANCE
Saudi Arabia is in talks with China to price some of its oil exports in yuan. **B11**

Carriers Say Strong Demand Helps Ease Pain of Fuel Costs

By ALISON SIDER

Airlines said travel demand is roaring back—and they believe fliers will pay up to cover carriers' mounting fuel bills.

After the wave of Omicron variant-driven Covid-19 infections slowed travel bookings at the start of 2022, airline executives said demand has rebounded more quickly than they anticipated. As a result, carriers said they expect to be able to absorb higher jet fuel costs by paring back flying capacity and passing the costs along to customers.

"We're seeing an increase in demand that is really unparalleled," Delta Air Lines Inc. President Glen Hauenstein said at an investor conference Tuesday. "That surge couldn't come at a better time."

Russia's invasion of Ukraine sparked fears about global energy supplies, pushing jet fuel prices last week to their highest levels since 2008. Oil



Travelers are willing to pay higher fares, airline executives said.

prices have receded in recent days, and airline executives said demand is strong enough that volatile fuel costs won't jeopardize their recovery.

Fuel is typically airlines' second-biggest expense after labor, accounting for around

20% of their costs. That can jump to 30% or more when prices surge, according to government figures. With a few exceptions, most major U.S. airlines no longer use futures contracts and other financial instruments to hedge against price swings, and buy fuel just

Please turn to page B2

INDEX TO BUSINESSES

These indexes cite notable references to most parent companies and businesspeople in today's edition. Articles on regional page inserts aren't cited in these indexes.

Index table with columns A, B, C, D, E-I and rows listing companies like Abbott Laboratories, Amazon.com, etc.

INDEX TO PEOPLE

Index table with columns A, B, C, D, E-I and rows listing names like Aron, Adam, Bailey, Mike, etc.

BUSINESS & FINANCE

Netflix to Build Children's Shows With Deal for Dr. Seuss Stories

By JOE FLINT

Netflix Inc. said it has reached an agreement with Dr. Seuss Enterprises LP to create five animated series and specials based on Dr. Seuss's work...



Theodor Seuss Geisel, aka Dr. Seuss, in 1956, reading his book 'Horton Hears a Who!' to a child at his home in La Jolla, Calif.

Animation, which is overseen by writer and director John Lasseter, to create programming for children and families.

Dr. Seuss's legacy has come under scrutiny recently, in the wake of Dr. Seuss Enterprises' decision a year ago to stop publishing six of the late author's books...

Netflix said it would use the Dr. Seuss material as a foundation to 'explore themes of diversity and respect for others...

Susan Brandt, president and chief executive of Dr. Seuss Enterprises, said: 'We are always looking for new and engaging ways to share our stories, characters and messages with the next generation of fans.'

—Jeffrey A. Trachtenberg contributed to this article.

Covid Fears Boost Life Insurance

Continued from page B1

common workplace benefit in the 1980s. As the pandemic hurt the economy, sales of individual policies got a lift partly because people either lost their employer-sponsored life insurance or feared losing it...

In 2020, insurers and agents were still grappling with how to sell and underwrite policies amid Covid-19 stay-at-home directives and other disruptions.

Sales of policies under \$100,000 grew the fastest in 2021, up 7%, including many modest-size policies aimed at covering people's funeral ex-

penses and other bills, Limra said.

'As a result of the pandemic, there is greater consumer demand for life insurance to cover burial and final expenses,' Mr. Levenson said.

At the same time, the industry added back some of the higher-income, more-complicated and bigger sales that were lost when shutdowns and fear of Covid limited insurers' ability to collect blood and urine samples...

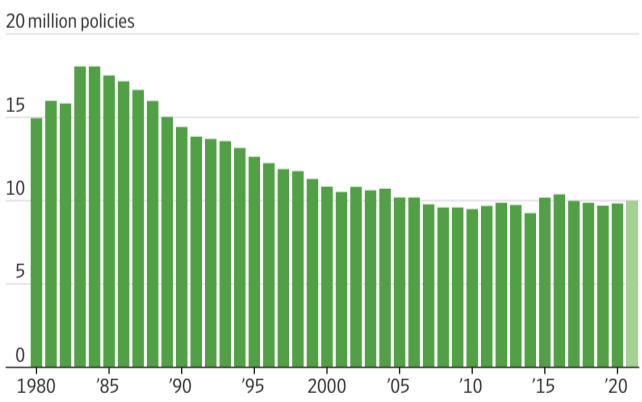
Whole-life insurance was a popular choice in 2021. This type of policy combines a death benefit with a savings component and is designed to be in place until the insured person dies.

It does this by allowing tax-deferred savings to build up to be used to help offset the rising cost of the insurance as the person ages.

Face value of the average term-life policy edged up 2% to \$498,871.

Term life is a basic type of coverage, paying out if death occurs during a specified number of years. The policies are popular with young families who want to be able to pay the mortgage and tuition bills should a breadwinner die.

U.S. individual life-insurance sales



Note: Exact number of policies sold in 2021 is still being calculated, but it is expected to top 10 million. Source: Limra



The Seattle-based company is testing ways to get more customers to bring reusable cups and mugs into their stores.

Starbucks to Ditch Disposable Coffee Cups

By JENNIFER CALFAS

Starbucks Corp. wants its green-and-white cups to become less ubiquitous.

The coffee company said Tuesday it is working to veer away from single-use paper and plastic cups and instead provide reusable ones to customers within three years.

It is the latest effort from Starbucks as the company moves to hit company-set waste-reduction goals by 2030 and address customer sustainability concerns.

The Seattle-based company is testing ways to get more customers to use reusable cups.

By 2025, Starbucks aims to have more people either bring their own cups and mugs, as they can do currently, or take part in a program it is calling 'Borrow A Cup.'

Under the program, customers can get their Starbucks drink in a reusable cup they borrow from a store location. Then, once they are finished with the cup, they can return it. The cup will be cleaned and used again.

Starbucks is experimenting with the model in several markets to nail down specifics, including whether an incentive such as a discount for using reusable cups or a disincentive such as a charge for using a single-use one would sway customers' preferences.

Testing will also give the company more insight on how much water would be used to clean the cups and other sustainability questions.

Eliminating single-use cups is the ultimate goal, said Megan Lagesse, a Starbucks spokeswoman.

'I think that would be the

dream, but I also think there's a lot of work that needs to be done to get to a point like that,' Ms. Lagesse said.

The company said customers could use personal cups for in-store, drive-through and mobile orders by the end of 2023.

In fiscal 2020, about 1.3% of Starbucks beverages were sold in customers' personal reusable cups, said Ms. Lagesse.

The company halted their use between March 2020 and June 2021 because of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Starbucks offers a 10 cent discount for customers who bring their own reusable cups.

Starbucks said in 2020 it intended to halve its amount of waste from restaurants sent to landfill by 2030. The com-

pany has also said it would phase out single-use plastic straws.

Single-use cups and lids make up 40% of the company's packaging waste, Ms. Lagesse said. Their cups also make up 20% of its global waste.

The coffee chain previously tested a prototype of a more sustainable paper cup in some cities two years ago.

That cup included a liner made up of compostable materials, rather than plastic liners often used in paper cups.

The company chose not to move forward with the prototype. 'It didn't meet our expectations,' said Ms. Lagesse.

'We took learnings from that test and were progressing on a new iteration.'

Starbucks plans to roll out a new hot cup in the fall made out of recycled materials.

Airlines Confident Of Rebound

Continued from page B1

a few weeks in advance.

To cover fuel price increases, airlines typically try to boost fares and cut less profitable flying, which results in fewer flights and in turn, higher prices for travelers.

Some industry analysts have questioned whether those moves will work this time around, with price-sensitive leisure travelers accounting for the lion's share of fliers now, and amid a rebound that remains fragile and prone to sudden reversals.

But airline executives said Tuesday they are confident that the playbook still works.

'We can make money at oil

prices of \$100 a barrel or higher, and we will,' American Airlines Group Inc. Chief Executive Doug Parker said.

Major U.S. airlines said Tuesday that their revenues in the first quarter of 2022 will likely be at the high end of what they had expected at the start of the year, or better. Airline shares jumped Tuesday morning: American, and United Airlines Holdings Inc. gained more than 9%.

Delta rose 8.7% and Southwest Airlines Co., which reiterated its expectation that it will post profits after the first quarter, rose 4.9%.

Delta won't have trouble recapturing the additional \$15 to \$20 each way for the average ticket that it needs to make up for the higher fuel costs—an amount the airline believes its customers will be willing to shoulder, Mr. Hauenstein said.

'We are very, very confident of our ability to recapture over 100% of the fuel price run up in the second quarter and through probably the end of the summer,' he said Tuesday.

Airlines including United and American said they would trim back some flying. United said it has reduced its flying plans and now expects to fly slightly less this year than in 2019.

American said it now expects its capacity to be down 10% to 12% from 2019 levels in the first quarter, compared with its previous expectation of an 8% to 10% reduction.

'At this point there is no demand destruction, in fact it's the opposite,' said Andrew Nocella, United's chief commercial officer. The airline is capturing a 'large percentage' of the run-up in oil prices, he said—after leaving many seats unsold for the coming summer, United is now able to sell them at higher prices.

Southwest, one of the few carriers that hedges against fuel price increases, said it raised fares across its network Feb. 1.

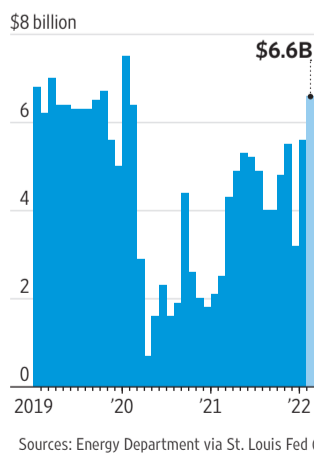
'The pricing environment has been healthy as demand has been returning following the Omicron variant,' Tammy Romo, Southwest's chief financial officer, said.

U.S. Gulf Coast kerosene-type jet fuel spot price



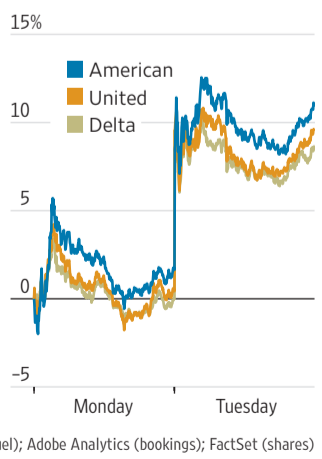
*As of March 7

Domestic flight bookings online



Sources: Energy Department via St. Louis Fed (fuel); Adobe Analytics (bookings); FactSet (shares)

Share price performance of selected airlines



and revenue rose above 2019 levels for the first time since March 2020, according to the Adobe Digital Economy Index.

Daily travel spending on Chase credit cards has eclipsed 2019 levels for the first time since late January 2020, JPMorgan Chase & Co. analysts said this month.

Delta and American both said they logged record sales days last week.

Airlines said they are also seeing encouraging signs for business travel, a lucrative

sector that has been slower to recover as companies have delayed bringing workers back to offices. Corporate travel bookings have reached 70% of 2019 levels, United said, the highest levels since the start of the pandemic.

Some airline executives have raised concerns that soaring gasoline prices at the pump could weaken the economy, battering consumers and undermining their appetite to spend on travel.

JetBlue Airways Corp. Chief Executive Robin Hayes said Tuesday that pent-up travel demand could keep customers flying through the summer, but cautioned that may not last.

Watch a Video



BUSINESS NEWS

VW Weighs Making U.S. Electric Truck

German auto maker sees the potential of growing American demand for EVs

By WILLIAM BOSTON

BERLIN—Volkswagen AG is close to deciding whether to build an electric pickup in the U.S. that would target a growing and highly profitable segment of the American auto market, according to people familiar with the company's plans.

Scott Keogh, head of the car maker's U.S. business, pitched the idea to management in Wolfsburg, Germany, last year and won backing from Volkswagen Chief Executive Herbert Diess and other top executives, the people said. A final decision could be made by the middle of the year.

Competition in the U.S. truck market is intense, led by Ford Motor Co. and General Motors Co. This discouraged most foreign manufacturers

from trying to break into the market. Some, like Toyota Motor Corp. and Nissan Motor Co., have largely focused on the midrange segment.

VW executives see the gains made by Rivian Automotive Inc. and the enthusiasm generated by Tesla Inc.'s planned Cybertruck as a sign that there may be room for more electric models in the U.S. truck market, the people said.

Rivian, the Irvine, Calif.-based electric-truck maker that attracted investment from Ford and Amazon.com Inc., went public last year, raising around \$12 billion. Tesla has been taking registrations for its Cybertruck but delayed production until 2023.

There are still few details about Volkswagen's planned pickup, and it isn't clear under which of its brands the company would launch the vehicle. If it proceeds with the plan, VW would build the model in North America, the people said.

Volkswagen currently builds VW- and Audi-brand vehicles

in North America, while exporting Porsche, Bentley, and Lamborghini luxury cars to the U.S. from Europe.

Volkswagen hasn't decided which class of truck it would bring to the U.S. market—a midsize vehicle like the Ford Ranger, Toyota's Tacoma, or Nissan's Frontier or a full-sized truck in the class now dominated by the Ford F-150, which has been the top-selling vehicle in the U.S. for four decades. An electric version of the F-150 is slated to go on sale in the U.S. this year.

In the 1960s, VW was the first foreign auto maker to break into the U.S. market on the appeal of its iconic Beetle and its TI microbus. But the car maker lost momentum in the market when top management in the 1980s turned their focus toward China. Today, China is Volkswagen's largest single market, while in the U.S., the company is a niche player.

Still, Volkswagen globally runs a close race with Toyota for the title of top-selling auto



Volkswagen hasn't decided which class of truck it would bring to the U.S. market.

maker by volume.

About a decade ago, when U.S. consumers were shifting to SUVs and pickups, VW was selling sedans and wagons that undersold rivals and lost money. Then, it launched a lineup of VW, Audi and Porsche SUVs. Currently, Mr. Diess said, the VW brand's five SUV models account for 70% of the company's U.S. sales.

"For years we lost money in our key market U.S.," Mr. Diess said during a presenta-

tion of 2021 earnings on Tuesday. "In 2021, the Volkswagen brand was profitable again."

After this success, Volkswagen sees electric vehicles as the next step in its U.S. strategy. Its push began with the ID. 4, a hatchback built in Zwickau, Germany, and exported to the U.S., the Audi e-tron, and Porsche's Taycan. Sales of its electric vehicles last year made Volkswagen the second-largest EV maker in the U.S. after Tesla.

Volkswagen's 8% share of the U.S. EV market is twice the market share of its conventional vehicles.

Mr. Diess traveled to Austin, Texas, this week, where he presented the company's ID. Buzz, a retro-style model that resurrects the iconic microbus as an electric van. It is expected to be available for U.S. consumers in 2024.

◆ Heard on the Street: Crisis drives VW off course..... B13

Cinema Chain AMC Acquires Stake in Gold Miner Hycroft

By CAITLIN MCCABE

AMC Entertainment Holdings Inc. is buying 22% of a Nevada-based miner of gold and silver, venturing away from its core movie-theater operations as it adapts to a post-Covid-19 world.

AMC said it would invest \$27.9 million in Hycroft Mining Holding Corp.

Chief Executive Adam Aron said on Twitter, "AMC is playing on offense again with a bold diversification move."

Shares of Hycroft rose 9.35% Tuesday to \$152. Earlier in the session, Hycroft shares had spiked as much as 96% but pared their gains as trading

continued. AMC climbed 6.8% on the day to \$14.48.

Hycroft owns a more than 70,000-acre mine in northern Nevada that the company says contains 15 million ounces of gold and 600 million ounces of silver. It said Tuesday that Eric Sprott, a precious metals investor, will also invest \$27.9 million in cash in the company. AMC and Mr. Sprott will become the company's second-largest stockholders.

AMC and Mr. Sprott's investment in Hycroft stands to provide a crucial lifeline to Hycroft, which in the first nine months of 2021 recorded a net loss of \$41.3 million. In November, the company said it

was ceasing mining operations immediately. Hycroft's stock started 2022 trading under \$1, a sharp fall from the \$10 mark that it hovered around when shares started publicly trading in 2020 under ticker HYMC.

Hycroft was taken public via a special-acquisition purpose company deal in 2020 by merging with Mudrick Capital Acquisition Corp., a blank-check company backed by distressed-debt investor Jason Mudrick. Mr. Mudrick's hedge fund, Mudrick Capital Management LP, had acquired private shares in Hycroft through a bankruptcy deal in 2015, and owned about 40% of Hycroft shares as of December, FactSet data show.

Mr. Mudrick has another link to AMC. In December 2020, Mudrick Capital Management provided a lifeline to AMC by supplying \$100 million in debt financing. Then, last year, AMC raised \$230.5 million by selling shares to Mudrick. Mr. Mudrick quickly flipped the shares to eager individual investors. However, the fund also faced losses on its AMC strategy last summer, the Journal reported, after a multipronged strategy on the company boomeranged.

AMC declined to comment beyond its news release. Hycroft didn't respond to a request for comment. Hycroft on Tuesday indicated it was eager

to capitalize on the recent interest in its stock. It said in a filing with securities regulators that it had entered an agreement with B. Riley Securities Inc. to from time to time sell up to \$500 million of its stock in an at-the-market offering program.

The investment by AMC is an unusual move for the movie-theater chain, which has worked for the last two years to try to shore up its finances after the Covid-19 pandemic forced the theater closures.

In 2021, AMC earned revenue of about \$2.5 billion, more than double that of 2020, but down from almost \$5.5 billion in 2019. Its net loss in 2021

was also wider than in 2019.

AMC became a fan-favorite stock among individual investors last year, who piled into its shares during the meme-stock mania. Many traders still haven't sold, even as the stock has fallen roughly 78% from its closing high of \$62.55 reached last year.

AMC has experimented with new strategies, including accepting cryptocurrencies for online payment. Still, the news surprised some analysts. "It makes no sense whatsoever," said Michael Pachter, an analyst at Wedbush Securities. "There is no rational argument where AMC is a good strategic investor in a gold-mining company."

Walmart To Hire 5,000 for Tech Staff

By ISABELLE BOUSQUETTE

Walmart Inc.'s technology organization, Walmart Global Tech, aims to hire 5,000 technology associates globally during this fiscal year and open new hubs in Toronto and Atlanta as part of its expansion plans, the retailer said.

Chief Technology Officer and Chief Development Officer Suresh Kumar said he is looking to fill roles in cybersecurity, architecture, development, software engineering, data science, data engineering, technical program management, and product management.

He said the new hires would work on technology across Walmart's business, including customer experience, associate experience and back end systems like supply chain.

"We are pretty much all in on tech innovation," Mr. Kumar said, noting the Walmart Global Tech team grew 26% last year and now has more than 20,000 employees.

Opportunities to hone skills on cutting-edge technology make Walmart attractive to job seekers, he added.

For example, Walmart recently used augmented reality to allow associates to track and map boxes around backrooms and locate products more easily, Mr. Kumar said.

The company also developed an artificial-intelligence-powered shopping tool to help customers determine the best substitutes for grocery items that are out of stock, he said.

Additionally, Walmart has been building more automated fulfillment centers attached to existing stores and experimenting with autonomous trucks as part of an effort to move online inventory as the pandemic-related e-commerce surge shows signs of cooling.

Before the addition of the two new hubs, Walmart Global Tech already had 15 hubs in places that included Silicon Valley and Bangalore, India.



Daniel Craig, left, on the set of the 007 film, 'No Time to Die'

EU Clears Amazon Deal to Buy MGM

By KIM MACKRAEL

European Union antitrust officials gave a green light to Amazon.com Inc.'s proposed \$6.5 billion acquisition of movie studio MGM, clearing one hurdle for the e-commerce company ahead of a deadline for the U.S. Federal Trade Commission to deliver a verdict on the deal.

The European Commission, the EU's executive arm and its top competition regulator, said Tuesday that it has approved the deal with conditions. The commission said the deal wouldn't significantly reduce competition in part because the two companies don't significantly overlap in content production and that MGM content "cannot be considered as must-have."

The proposed deal, which was announced last May, would give Amazon access to an extensive film and TV catalog, including James Bond movies, that could better position its Prime Video streaming service to compete with more dominant rivals like Netflix Inc.

Amazon notified the EU about the deal in February, and antitrust regulators set a

provisional deadline of March 15 to approve it or decide to open an in-depth investigation.

The Wall Street Journal reported this month that Amazon had effectively given antitrust regulators at the FTC a mid-March deadline.

If the FTC doesn't file a legal challenge before the deadline, Amazon could move forward with the deal.

Amazon is among several major, U.S.-based tech companies that face heightened scrutiny in the U.S. and Europe over their size and whether their behavior is harming smaller competitors.

The EU is completing legislation that would designate Amazon and several other large tech companies as "gatekeepers" that must abide by a new set of rules for how they treat competitors and consumers.

Separately, both the European Commission and the FTC have opened investigations into Amazon's business practices in recent years.

The commission has also filed charges against Amazon, accusing it of breaking antitrust rules in a case that is pending. Amazon has denied the allegations.



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Big Indonesia IPO Poses Test

GoTo Group will seek \$30 billion valuation amid period of volatility for technology stocks

By Dave Sebastian

Indonesia's biggest startup filed to go public, seeking a valuation of nearly \$30 billion in a deal that will test market appetite for new listings of emerging-market technology stocks.

GoTo Group offers ride-hailing, e-commerce and financial services in the world's fourth-most populous nation, and counts Alphabet Inc.'s Google, Tencent Holdings Ltd. and Singapore's Temasek Holdings among its backers.

The company, known formally as PT **GoTo Gojek Tokopedia Tbk**, aims to raise the equivalent of about \$1.1 billion at the midpoint of its price range.

That would make the Jakarta share sale one of the world's five biggest initial public offerings so far this year, and the fifth-largest ever in Indonesia, Dealogic data shows.

The planned listing comes amid global market volatility, stoked by Russia's invasion of Ukraine, elevated inflation and the prospect of increasing U.S. interest rates. Some companies have pulled IPOs recently, while Southeast Asian tech stocks have come under pressure.

However, Indonesia's overall stock market has outperformed rivals, with the IDX Composite Index of Jakarta-listed stocks gaining more than 5% so far this year.

"Indonesia is one of the largest and most exciting growth markets in the world, as reflected in the resilience our capital market has shown this year, against a backdrop of global market volatility," Andre Soelistyo, GoTo's chief executive, said Tuesday.

As of Tuesday, shares in Singapore-based Grab Holdings Inc. and Sea Ltd. had both fallen 58% so far this



CEO Andre Soelistyo called Indonesia 'one of the largest and most exciting growth markets in the world.'

year. Shares in Indonesian online-mall operator PT Bukalapak.com have fallen more than 67% from last year's IPO price.

This will be the first IPO in Indonesia with supervoting stock for key shareholders, including the company's founders.

Such corporate-governance arrangements are common for tech listings in markets such as New York and Hong Kong, but weren't possible in Jakarta until a new regulation was introduced last year by the financial-services authority.

GoTo's supervoting stock will have 30 votes per share, and that could increase to up to 60 votes if those shareholders' total voting rights fall below 50%. The dual-class share structure gives the company's founders the ability to make decisions quickly, Mr. Soelistyo said.

GoTo was created by the merger of two predecessors, Gojek and Tokopedia, and competes with companies including Grab and Sea. Indonesia is the most populous country in Southeast Asia, an archipelago of more than 600 million people.

Gojek is best known for its app connecting motorcycle taxis with passengers in places like greater Jakarta, a densely populated metropolitan area of some 30 million people. It later expanded into services such as payments, housecleaning, and delivering

The company offers ride-hailing, e-commerce and financial services.

food and parcels. Meanwhile, Tokopedia operates an online consumer-to-consumer marketplace. Its name blends the Indonesian word for store—*toko*—with part of the word *encyclopedia*.

Jakarta-based GoTo plans to offer new shares at a price of 316 to 346 Indonesian rupiah, the equivalent of about 2.2 cents to 2.4 cents. That implies a market value of \$26.2 billion to \$28.8 billion. It expects its shares to debut in early April.

Last year, The Wall Street Journal reported that GoTo

was targeting a valuation of between \$35 billion and \$40 billion.

The company plans to pursue a second listing outside of Indonesia and is assessing options for the venue, depending on market conditions, executives said Tuesday. GoTo previously said it wanted to pursue listings in Jakarta and New York.

The shares being offered for sale represent up to 4.35% of the company's enlarged share base. Underwriters have a so-called greenshoe option to increase the deal's final size by \$160 million.

The company said it would hand out some shares to its drivers and let some merchants and consumers buy allocated shares as part of the IPO.

GoTo's loss totaled 11.58 trillion rupiah for the first nine months of last year, equivalent to about \$808 million, and an 11% increase from the same period a year earlier.

Net revenue rose 45% for the same period to 3.4 trillion rupiah. The company said it had more than 55 million annual transacting users as of the end of September.

Intel Sets Europe Expansion

Continued from page B1

Semiconductor industry sales globally surpassed \$500 billion for the first time last year, and executives believe that total could double in less than a decade.

Intel is also expanding its existing manufacturing in Ireland with about €12 billion in fresh investment, doubling its manufacturing space and focusing there on one of its more advanced chip-making technologies. In Italy, Intel plans to spend up to about €4.5 billion in back-end manufacturing, where chips are packaged up and finished. In France, the company plans a research-and-development facility, and in Poland it is increasing its laboratory space.

Governments have helped give Mr. Gelsinger and others confidence to invest. Many policy makers, wary of fragility in the supply chain exposed by the Covid-19 pandemic and a global chip shortage, now view the industry as strategic and are pushing incentives to spur on domestic manufacturing.

Mr. Gelsinger suggested that the German project was contingent on government support coming through, saying in a webcast Tuesday that there was still work to be done to secure permits and "financial support needed to make the project competitive."

In February, the European Commission proposed €43 billion of support for the industry, aiming to double Europe's global share of manufacturing to 20% by 2030. Thierry Breton, European commissioner for the internal market, said advanced chips had become a geopolitical priority, and government support could help avoid future shocks.

For Intel, the factory complex would be its second in Europe, and one of only a handful of major manufacturing sites outside of the U.S. In-

tel's other factory in Europe is in Ireland, where it has produced chips since the 1990s. That facility got started and grew with the aid of development incentives from the Irish government. The company also makes chips in Israel.

Mr. Gelsinger said last year that Intel intended to invest heavily in its new European factory. The company spent months scouting locations before recently settling on Germany, already home to several big chip-making sites, including ones owned by U.S. contract chip maker **GlobalFoundries Inc.** and German chip maker **Infineon Technologies AG.**

The hefty investment plan will dent profitability in the near term, Intel has said, unnerving some investors.

Intel said it expects to largely fund its investments through its cash flow and about \$29.5 billion in cash and investments on hand at the end of the year, according to regulatory filings. It closed the period with about \$38 billion in debt. The precise amount of cash needed will depend on the scale of government subsidies, the company said.

Intel's big bet on manufacturing aims to recapture a technological edge from Asian rivals that have surpassed it in recent years. Intel stumbled in its effort to downsize transistors at a steady pace and pack more of them onto its chips, driving better performance, which allowed **Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Co.** and South Korea's **Samsung Electronics Co.** to take the lead.

Mr. Gelsinger also is aiming to build up a contract chip-making business, where it churns out semiconductors for others—a market dominated by TSMC. Intel has attempted to build a contract chip-making business in the past with limited success.

Intel's rivals have expansion plans of their own—with big pocketbooks to fund them. Samsung said last year that it was planning \$205 billion in investments over the next three years, including a \$17 billion chip factory in Texas. TSMC, the world's largest contract chip maker, is plowing \$100 billion into new chip capacity over the same period.

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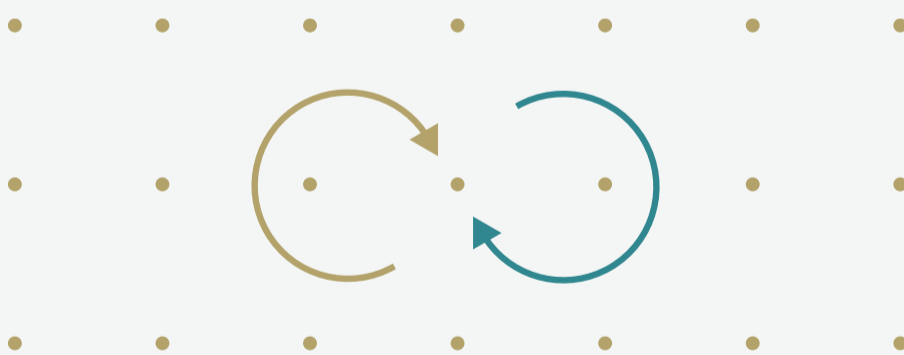
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RISE UP WITH US TO COMBAT ONLINE HATE SPEECH

Humanity is under attack online. Join us in fighting back.

More and more, hate speech is turning corners of our online spaces toxic. Words are being used as weapons. Perpetrators sit behind screens, spewing hate with expressions of racism, homophobia, xenophobia, misogyny, and other forms of targeted harassment against vulnerable groups and individuals. These actions know no borders; they are demoralizing and destructive to people of all ages.

People know it's a problem: 35% of Americans have experienced online hate* and 80% actually consider it their responsibility to be part of the solution and are holding online media platforms and brands accountable**. Small to midsize businesses (SMBs) are ready to join the fight, with almost 70% saying they would take action if they just had the tools and resources to guide their efforts**. With #EngageResponsibly, we will deliver the resources SMBs and consumers need to join us in combatting online hate.

The time is now. Together, we can stand up to those emboldened to use the internet for hate speech. Together, we can restore our online spaces to be more accepting and convivial to others. Join us by pledging to #EngageResponsibly—a commitment to stand up against online hate speech and drastically reduce its presence by 2025 through education and action.

A pledge to #EngageResponsibly empowers and commits you to:

- ♥ Support your consumers and communities, by leveraging the voice of your brand and the power of your channels to amplify #EngageResponsibly, driving us all to education and action at scale.
- ♥ Engage your customers and partners, by distributing #EngageResponsibly educational materials and supporting content through your Small and Midsize Business networks, including franchisee and distributor channels, agency partners and diverse owned media companies.
- ♥ Involve your employees and stakeholders, by using the online education content to strengthen their understanding of online hate speech's real-life consequences and providing them with the tools to act.
- ♥ Demonstrate a true commitment to the most marginalized and vulnerable among us by reporting hate speech when you see it.

We believe the problem is too pervasive to work in silos and too big to be solved by individual efforts. If we step up and stand up together, we will make more than a small dent. We will make a significant difference.

Collectively, thanks to every single company, organization and individual signing this pledge, we are recreating a movement to combat hate that is centered around education and action. NGOs and institutions have already shown the way. Now it is time for marketers and advertisers to stand with them. Collectively, we can show the world the power in coming together as brands for humans—because human beings need human brands to put an end to hate.

Help us protect our online spaces with passion and purpose. Lift your pen, strike a key, raise your voice against online hate speech. Pledge to #EngageResponsibly.

I Pledge to #EngageResponsibly.



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SOURCES:
*https://www.adl.org
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Join the pledge now at engageresponsibly.org

Seeded and donated by Pernod Ricard to the industry, #EngageResponsibly is an industry-wide initiative spearheaded by the Association of National Advertisers (ANA) together with the Global Alliance for Responsible Media (GARM), and with support from the Alliance for Inclusive and Multicultural Marketing (AIMM), Brand Safety Institute (BSI), and Ogilvy.

THE PROPERTY REPORT

Airbnb for Offices Draws Interest

Venture looks to create a marketplace as demand grows for short-term leases

By KONRAD PUTZIER

Entrepreneurs have long sought to create a big online listing site for office space similar to how Booking.com or Airbnb Inc. offer lodging options. Now the Covid-19 pandemic is breathing new life into these efforts.

Flexible-office operator IWG PLC. said last week that it is investing around \$350 million into a venture with the Instant Group, which runs an online listing site for office space. The companies say the business will be the world's largest online marketplace for flexible office space.

The move comes as demand for furnished office space under short-term leases is gradually recovering from its pandemic low.

As more companies send their employees back to the office, many are embracing hybrid-work schedules. That is increasing demand for offices and meeting rooms that can be booked by the day or by the hour. IWG and Instant Group are betting that this, in turn, creates the need for an online marketplace to easily find and book these spaces.

IWG Chief Executive Mark Dixon said he is making a move now to get ahead of potential competition. "I bet Marriott wish they'd set up Booking.com before Booking.com did, right?" he said.

IWG, based in Switzerland, operates more than 3,000 office spaces across the globe under brands like Regus and Spaces. Under the deal, IWG merged its digital offerings with the Instant Group, which aside from the marketplace also offers services like office management and con-



A co-working space in Singapore, above, and another in Austin, Texas, below, which are part of the Regus brand operated by IWG.

sulting. IWG owns 85% of the combined company and Instant Group's management holds the remaining 15%, Mr. Dixon said.

Flexible-office operators suffered during the early part of the pandemic, in part because their short-term leases, typically lasting a few months to a year, were easier for users to exit than traditional office leases that run to 10 years or more.

Many are still struggling with high vacancy rates at some urban locations, but demand is returning. WeWork Inc. said Friday that its open locations were profitable in the fourth quarter of 2021 for the first time since the pandemic started, though a third of its space still sat vacant. IWG said last week that revenue at its open locations rebounded in the second half of 2021 after a weak first half of the year and about a quarter of its space was vacant.

In a mid-2021 survey conducted by property brokerage JLL, 41% of office tenants said they expect to use more flexible office space as a result of the pandemic, up from 29% in a 2020 survey.



IWG (2)

While a number of listing sites for office space exist, none has so far managed to emulate the success of Airbnb or Booking.com. Flexible spaces grew in the years before the pandemic, but they are still a small part of the office sector and the more common long-term leases still depend on brokers. That has limited how much business

online marketplaces can do. The two companies said they plan to take the venture public within the next two years. Much of IWG's investment was used to buy out Instant's backer, private-equity firm Bowmark Capital, the companies said.

Instant Group CEO Tim Roder was tapped to become CEO of the combined company. The

online marketplace will include offices managed by companies like IWG and WeWork as well as hotel conference rooms and unused corporate office space, said Instant Group's CEO for the Americas, Joe Brady. The new company will also offer other products and services including software to help companies manage remote work, he added.

Houston Cubicles Are Open, Not Full

By PETER GRANT

Houston has set the standard for bringing workers back to the office during Covid-19. About 85% of its businesses have employees at their desks or have plans to do so, one of the highest rates in the nation, according to firms that track the return-to-office trend.

But Houston office floors are barely half full. While the number of workers showing up at their desks has been rising, the office crowds are far smaller than those showing up at restaurants, basketball games and other gathering spots.

A big reason is that most Houston companies have implemented hybrid strategies, combining office and remote work. As this policy has played out, the average worker is showing up at the office about 10.7 days a month, compared with 17 before the pandemic, according to an analysis from Central Houston Inc., which represents downtown landlords, businesses and residents.

Central Houston's chief executive, Kristopher Larson, suggests that Houston's return-to-office rate will hit a "glass ceiling" limiting the post-pandemic return.

Houston and other Texas cities have been closely watched during the pandemic because workers there have consistently returned to the office at a higher rate than those in other states, according to Kastle Systems, a security company that monitors access-card swipes in 10 large U.S. cities.

The state's low reliance on public transportation and decision to keep public schools open through most of the pandemic have paved the way for more workers to return to the office. Dallas, Houston and Austin last week recorded office-return rates of 51%, 52% and 58%, respectively, according to Kastle.

The Lone Star State offers an early glimpse into what the return-to-office movement might look like across the U.S. this year, as Covid-19 infection rates plummet and more companies enact back-to-work plans but offices remain well below capacity.

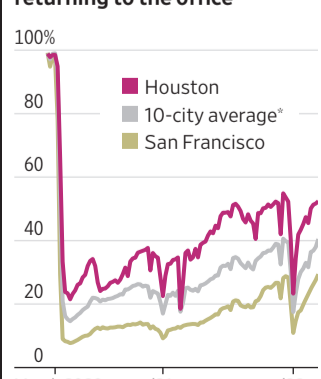
"It's hard to imagine, when you look at office workers who can do their jobs remotely, that those numbers are going to get above 60% to 65% nationwide," said Brian Kropp, chief of human-resources research for advisory and research firm Gartner. "This is just the remote hybrid future. We have kind of arrived."

That future has enormous implications for the value of commercial property, the health of business districts and city tax revenues derived from real-estate owners. Thousands of restaurants, bars, stores, barbers and other small businesses throughout the country also depend heavily on commuters and office workers.

Chevron U.S.A. Inc., one of Houston's largest employers, with nearly 6,000 people in downtown Houston, allows workers two days of remote work a week.

Bottle Rocket, a Dallas-based app and digital consulting firm, will maintain an office in the city but has told employees they can choose to work from anywhere. "Companies will like employees to be in the office on a regular basis, but there's a large segment of the workforce that doesn't want that anymore," said Rajesh Midha, the firm's chief executive.

Percentage of workers returning to the office



*Includes Washington, DC, N.Y., Chicago, Houston, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Dallas, San Jose and Austin
Source: Kastle Systems

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A WeWork building in Coral Gables, Fla., an area where Amazon is renting nearly 9,000 square feet of office space.

Amazon Is Latest Tech Firm to Set Up An Office in Miami

By DEBORAH ACOSTA

Amazon.com Inc. is establishing a new foothold in Miami, the latest sign that the city is succeeding in its efforts to become an East Coast tech hub.

The e-commerce giant is renting nearly 9,000 square feet of office space at a WeWork Inc. building in Coral Gables, a city in Miami-Dade County, according to a person familiar with the matter. The space is occupied by employees in the Amazon Prime Video and Amazon Web Services teams, this person said.

Some employees are transferring to Miami from Latin America. Amazon is in the process of hiring more than 60 employees to bring its total in Miami to about 160 jobs, this person said. This office represents its biggest corporate commitment in South Florida.

While the Seattle company's presence in Miami is modest in scale by Amazon's standards, the company becomes the latest in a string of tech and financial companies that relocated to the Miami area or opened satellite offices. They were drawn by lower taxes and a more business-friendly environment than most states. The investment firms Blackstone Inc. and Starwood Capital Group, and Microsoft Corp. and Spotify Technology are among the high-profile firms to lease or build offices in or near the city within the past few years.

Large tech-focused venture capital and private-equity

firms like SoftBank, and Thoma Bravo migrated to the area. Most recently, Apollo Global Management leased 23,000 square feet of office space in Miami's 701 Brickell.

About a third of the tenants who are looking for office space in the region are new to South Florida, or five times the 10-year average, said Grant Killingsworth, a Senior Vice President at CBRE representing office tenants in Miami-Dade County, Broward County and Palm Beach County. "The majority of the tenant growth that's been happening through the Covid pandemic has been financial service firms and technology companies," he said.

Miami was among 20 short-listed cities when Amazon went in search of a second headquarters, the company has said, but it lost to Arlington, Va. In addition, Amazon created 18 tech hubs across North America, announcing further expansions in late 2021.

Instead of signing a multi-year lease, Amazon followed the lead of other tech companies in the city, like Kayak.com, and quietly rented its Miami space at a WeWork instead. Kayak rented space at the WeWork in Coral Gables.

While office space is less expensive in Miami compared with New York City, the price rose in the past two years by as much as 30% in locations like the Brickell area, where some of the top-tier Class A buildings are asking between \$70 to \$100 a square foot, and up to \$150 a square foot for certain spaces.

COMMODITIES

Futures Contracts

Table of Metal & Petroleum Futures, Agriculture Futures, and Commodity Indexes. Columns include Open, High, Low, Settle, Chg, and Open interest.

Table of Commodity Futures including Soybean Oil, Rough Rice, Wheat, Wheat KC, Cattle-Feeder, Cattle-Live, Hogs-Lean, and Lumber. Columns include Open, High, Low, Settle, Chg, and Open interest.

Table of Interest Rate Futures including Ultra Treasury Bonds, Treasury Bonds, Treasury Notes, and Federal Funds. Columns include Open, High, Low, Settle, Chg, and Open interest.

Dividend Changes

Table of Dividend announcements from March 15, listing Company, Symbol, Yld %, Amount New/Old, and Frq.

Table of Interest Rate Futures including Ultra Treasury Bonds, Treasury Bonds, Treasury Notes, and Federal Funds. Columns include Open, High, Low, Settle, Chg, and Open interest.

Table of Currency Futures including Japanese Yen, Euro, Eurodollar, Canadian Dollar, British Pound, Swiss Franc, Australian Dollar, and Mexican Peso.

Currency Futures

Table of Currency Futures including Japanese Yen, Euro, Eurodollar, Canadian Dollar, British Pound, Swiss Franc, Australian Dollar, and Mexican Peso.

Table of Index Futures including Mini DJ Industrial Average, Mini S&P 500, Mini S&P Midcap 400, Mini Nasdaq 100, and Mini Russell 2000.

Index Futures

Table of Index Futures including Mini DJ Industrial Average, Mini S&P 500, Mini S&P Midcap 400, Mini Nasdaq 100, and Mini Russell 2000.

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 of Bond Benchmarks showing return close, YTD total return, and Index for Broad Market, U.S. Corporate, and High Yield Bonds.

Table of Bond Benchmarks showing return close, YTD total return, and Index for Mortgage-Backed and Global Government Bonds.

Cash Prices

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...

Table of Cash Prices for various commodities including Energy, Metals, Fibers and Textiles, Grains and Feeds, Food, Fats and Oils, and Diamonds. Columns include Commodity Name, Price, and Change.

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...

Table of Global Government Bonds showing Coupon, Maturity, Yield, and Spread for various countries like U.S., Australia, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain, and U.K.

Corporate Debt

Prices of firms' bonds reflect factors including investors' economic, sectoral and company-specific expectations

Table of Corporate Debt showing Issuer, Symbol, Coupon, Yield, Maturity, Spread, and Last week.

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...And spreads that widened the most

Table of bond spreads showing Issuer, Symbol, Coupon, Yield, Maturity, Current Spread, and Last week.

High-yield issues with the biggest price increases...

Table of high-yield issues showing Issuer, Symbol, Coupon, Yield, Maturity, Current Price, and Last week.

...And with the biggest price decreases

Table of bond price decreases showing Issuer, Symbol, Coupon, Yield, Maturity, Current Price, and Last week.

NEW HIGHS AND LOWS

Table with columns for Stock, 52-Wk High/Low, % Change, and various stock symbols. Includes sub-tables for Tuesday, March 15, 2022, and a 'Highs' section.

Table with columns for Stock, 52-Wk High/Low, % Change, and various stock symbols. Includes sub-tables for Tuesday, March 15, 2022, and a 'Lows' section.

Table with columns for Stock, 52-Wk High/Low, % Change, and various stock symbols.

Borrowing Benchmarks

wsj.com/market-data/bonds/benchmarks

Money Rates

March 15, 2022

Key annual interest rates paid to borrow or lend money in U.S. and international markets. Rates below are a guide to general levels but don't always represent actual transactions.

Inflation table with columns for Fed. Index, Chg From (%), Latest, and 52-Week High/Low.

U.S. consumer price index table with columns for All items, Core, and various indices.

International rates table with columns for Latest, High, and Low.

Prime rates table with columns for U.S., Canada, Japan, and various rates.

Policy Rates table with columns for Euro zone, Switzerland, Britain, Australia, and various rates.

Other short-term rates table with columns for 30 days, 60 days, and various rates.

Call money table with columns for 2.00, 2.00, and various rates.

Commercial paper (AA financial) table with columns for 90 days, 0.71, 0.72, and various rates.

Libor table with columns for One month, Three month, Six month, and various rates.

DTCC GCF Repo Index table with columns for Treasury, MBS, and various rates.

Other short-term rates table with columns for 30 days, 60 days, and various rates.

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BANKRATE.COM® MMA, Savings and CDs

Average Yields of Major Banks

Tuesday, March 15, 2022

Table with columns for Type, MMA, 1-MO, 2-MO, 3-MO, 6-MO, 1-YR, 2-YR, 2.5YR, 5YR.

Consumer Savings Rates

Below are the top federally insured offers available nationwide according to Bankrate.com's weekly survey of highest yields. For latest offers and reviews of these financial institutions, please visit bankrate.com/banking/reviews. Information is believed to be reliable, but not guaranteed.

High yield savings

Table with columns for Bank, Phone number, Minimum, Yield (%).

Table with columns for Bank, Phone number, Minimum, Yield (%).

Table with columns for Bank, Phone number, Minimum, Yield (%).

Table with columns for Bank, Phone number, Minimum, Yield (%).

Table with columns for Bank, Phone number, Minimum, Yield (%).

Table with columns for Bank, Phone number, Minimum, Yield (%).

Table with columns for Bank, Phone number, Minimum, Yield (%).

High yield jumbos

Table with columns for Bank, Phone number, Minimum, Yield (%).

Table with columns for Bank, Phone number, Minimum, Yield (%).

Table with columns for Bank, Phone number, Minimum, Yield (%).

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Table with columns for Bank, Phone number, Minimum, Yield (%).

Table with columns for Bank, Phone number, Minimum, Yield (%).

Table with columns for Bank, Phone number, Minimum, Yield (%).

Notes: Accounts are federally insured up to \$250,000 per person. Yields are based on method of compounding and rate stated for the lowest required opening deposit to earn interest. CD figures are for fixed rates only. MMA: Allows six (6) third-party transfers per month, three (3) of which may be checks. Rates are subject to change.

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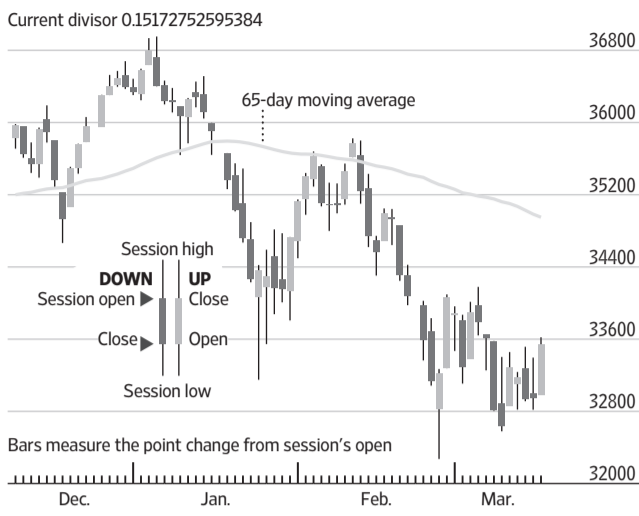
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MARKETS DIGEST

EQUITIES

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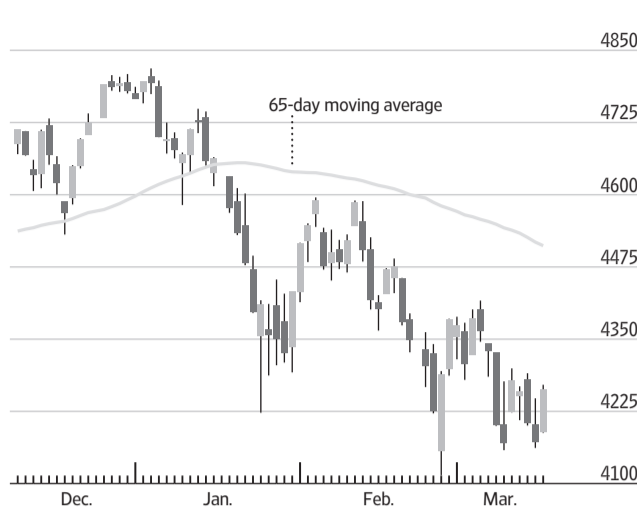
33544.34 ▲599.10, or 1.82%
Trailing P/E ratio 18.63 33.40
P/E estimate * 17.43 21.27
Dividend yield 2.10 1.82
All-time high 36799.65, 01/04/22



*Weekly P/E data based on as-reported earnings from Birliny Associates Inc.; *Based on Nasdaq-100 Index

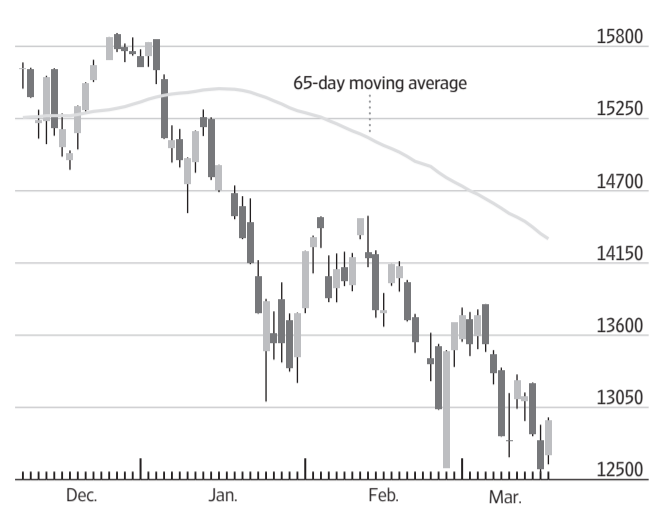
S&P 500 Index

4262.45 ▲89.34, or 2.14%
Trailing P/E ratio * 23.68 45.02
P/E estimate * 18.85 22.34
Dividend yield * 1.44 1.49
All-time high 4796.56, 01/03/22



Nasdaq Composite Index

12948.62 ▲367.40, or 2.92%
Trailing P/E ratio ** 30.25 37.25
P/E estimate ** 23.57 28.01
Dividend yield ** 0.78 0.78
All-time high: 16057.44, 11/19/21



Major U.S. Stock-Market Indexes

Table with columns: Index, High, Low, Latest Close, Net chg, % chg, 52-Week High, Low, % chg, YTD, 3-yr. ann.

Nasdaq Stock Market table with columns: Index, High, Low, Latest Close, Net chg, % chg, 52-Week High, Low, % chg, YTD, 3-yr. ann.

S&P table with columns: Index, High, Low, Latest Close, Net chg, % chg, 52-Week High, Low, % chg, YTD, 3-yr. ann.

Other Indexes table with columns: Index, High, Low, Latest Close, Net chg, % chg, 52-Week High, Low, % chg, YTD, 3-yr. ann.

\$Nasdaq PHLX

Sources: FactSet; Dow Jones Market Data

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...

Most-active issues in late trading

Table of most-active issues in late trading with columns: Company, Symbol, Volume, Last, Net chg, After Hours, High, Low.

Percentage gainers...

Table of percentage gainers with columns: Company, Symbol, Volume, Last, Net chg, After Hours, High, Low.

...And losers

Table of percentage losers with columns: Company, Symbol, Volume, Last, Net chg, After Hours, High, Low.

Trading Diary

Volume, Advancers, Decliners

Table showing trading diary statistics: Total volume, Adv. volume, Decl. volume, Issues traded, Advances, Declines, Unchanged, New highs, New lows, Closing Arms, Block trades.

Total volume*5,401,176,762 427,001,463

Adv. volume*4,093,991,527 265,618,318

Decl. volume*1,216,777,879 160,541,305

Issues traded 4,912 1,700

Advances 2,928 1,270

Declines 1,735 410

Unchanged 249 20

New highs 28 12

New lows 561 237

Closing Arms* 0.50 1.83

Block trades* 31,254 1,669

*Primary market NYSE, NYSE American NYSE Arca only.

**TRIN 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

Table of international stock indexes with columns: Region/Country, Index, Close, Net chg, Latest % chg, YTD % chg.

Sources: FactSet; Dow Jones Market Data

Percentage Gainers...

Table of percentage gainers with columns: Company, Symbol, Latest Session, 52-Week, YTD.

Most Active Stocks

Table of most active stocks with columns: Company, Symbol, Volume, % chg from 65-day avg, Latest Session, 52-Week, YTD.

* Volumes of 100,000 shares or more are rounded to the nearest thousand

Percentage Losers

Table of percentage losers with columns: Company, Symbol, Latest Session, 52-Week, YTD.

Volume Movers

Table of volume movers with columns: Company, Symbol, Volume, % chg from 65-day avg, Latest Session, 52-Week, YTD.

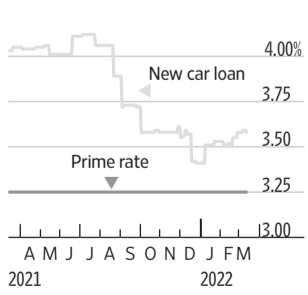
* Common stocks priced at \$2 a share or more with an average volume over 65 trading days of at least 5,000 shares *Has traded fewer than 65 days

CREDIT MARKETS

Consumer Rates and Returns to Investor

U.S. consumer rates

A consumer rate against its benchmark over the past year



Selected rates

Table of selected rates for various banks and loan types.

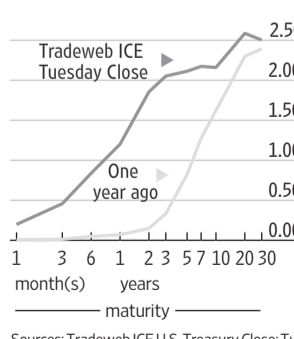
Table of Federal-funds rate target, Prime rate, and other interest rates with yield and 52-week range.

Bankrate.com rates based on survey of over 4,800 online banks. *Base rate posted by 70% of the nation's largest banks. † Excludes closing costs.

Sources: FactSet; Dow Jones Market Data; Bankrate.com

Treasury yield curve

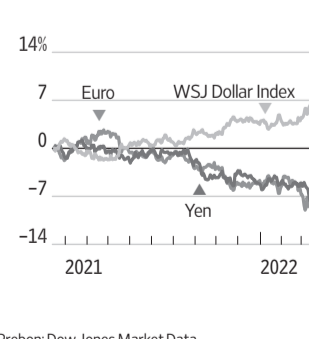
Yield to maturity of current bills, notes and bonds



Sources: Tradeweb ICE U.S. Treasury Close; Tullett Prebon; Dow Jones Market Data

Forex Race

Yen, euro vs. dollar; dollar vs. major U.S. trading partners



Sources: Tullett Prebon; Dow Jones Market Data

Corporate Borrowing Rates and Yields

Table of corporate borrowing rates and yields for various bonds.

Sources: J.P. Morgan; Bloomberg Fixed Income Indices; ICE Data Services

CURRENCIES & COMMODITIES

Currencies

U.S.-dollar foreign-exchange rates in late New York trading

Table of U.S.-dollar foreign-exchange rates for various countries and currencies.

Commodities

Table of commodity prices for various goods like oil, gas, and gold.

BANKING & FINANCE

Saudis, China Discuss Pricing Oil in Yuan

Saudi Arabia is in talks with Beijing to price some of its oil sales to China in yuan, people familiar with the matter said, a move that would dent the dol-

By Summer Said in Dubai and Stephen Kalin in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

lar's dominance of the global petroleum market and mark another shift by the world's top crude exporter toward Asia.

The talks with China over yuan-priced oil contracts have been off and on for six years but accelerated this year as the Saudis have grown increasingly unhappy with decades-old U.S. security commitments to defend the kingdom, the people said.

The Saudis are angry over the lack of U.S. support for their intervention in the Yemen civil war and over the Biden administration's attempt to strike a deal with Iran over its nuclear program. Saudi officials have said they were shocked by the precipitous U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan last year.

China buys more than 25% of the oil that Saudi Arabia exports. If priced in yuan, those sales would boost the standing of China's currency. The Saudis are also considering including yuan-denominated futures contracts, known as the petroyuan, in the pricing model of Saudi Arabian Oil Co., known as Aramco.

It would be a profound shift for Saudi Arabia to price even some of its roughly 6.2 million barrels of day of crude exports in anything other than dollars. The majority of global oil sales—around 80%—are done in dollars, and the Saudis have traded oil exclusively in dollars since 1974, in a deal with the



Pricing oil contracts in China's currency would dent the dollar's dominance. A Saudi Aramco oil field.

Nixon administration that included security guarantees for the kingdom.

China introduced yuan-priced oil contracts in 2018 as part of its efforts to make its currency tradable across the world, but the dollar still reigns in the oil market. For China, using dollars has become a hazard highlighted by U.S. sanctions on Iran over its nuclear program and on Russia in response to the Ukraine invasion.

China has stepped up its courtship of the Saudi kingdom. In recent years, China has helped Saudi Arabia build its own ballistic missiles, consulted on a nuclear program and begun investing in Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman's pet projects, such as Neom, a futuristic new city. Saudi Arabia has invited Chi-

nese President Xi Jinping to visit later this year.

Meanwhile the Saudi relationship with the U.S. has deteriorated under President Biden, who said in the 2020 campaign that the kingdom should be a "pariah" for the killing of Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi in 2018. Prince Mohammed, who U.S. intelligence authorities say ordered Mr. Khashoggi's killing, refused to sit in on a call between Mr. Biden and the Saudi ruler, King Salman, last month.

The U.S. economic relationship with the Saudis has also been diminishing. The U.S. is among the top oil producers in the world. It once imported 2 million barrels of Saudi crude a day in the early 1990s but those numbers have fallen to less than 500,000 barrels a day in December 2021, according to

the U.S. Energy Information Administration.

By contrast, China's oil imports have swelled over the past three decades, in line with its expanding economy. Saudi Arabia was China's top crude supplier in 2021, selling 1.76 million barrels a day, followed by Russia at 1.6 million barrels a day, according to data from China's General Administration of Customs.

"The dynamics have dramatically changed. The U.S. relationship with the Saudis has changed, China is the world's biggest crude importer and they are offering many lucrative incentives to the kingdom," said a Saudi official familiar with the talks.

"China has been offering everything you could possibly imagine to the kingdom," the

official said.

A senior U.S. official called the idea of the Saudis selling oil to China in yuan "highly volatile and aggressive" and "not very likely." The official said the Saudis had floated the idea in the past when there was tension between Washington and Riyadh.

It is possible the Saudis could back off. Switching millions of barrels of oil trades from dollars to yuan every day could rattle the Saudi economy, which has a currency, the riyal, pegged to the dollar. Prince Mohammed's aides have been warning him of unpredictable economic damage if he moves ahead with the plan hastily.

Doing more sales in yuan would more closely connect Saudi Arabia to China's currency, which hasn't caught on

with international investors because of the tight controls Beijing keeps on it. Contracting oil sales in a less stable currency could also undermine the Saudi government's fiscal outlook.

Some officials have cautioned Prince Mohammed that accepting payments for oil in yuan would pose risks to Saudi revenues tied to U.S. Treasury bonds abroad and the limited availability of the yuan outside China.

The impact on the Saudi economy would likely depend on the quantity of oil sales involved and the price of oil. Some economists said moving away from dollar-denominated oil sales would diversify the kingdom's revenue base and could eventually lead it to repeg the riyal to a basket of currencies, similar to Kuwait's dinar.

"If it is [done] now at a time of strong oil prices, it would not be seen negatively. It would be more seen as deepening ties with China," said Monica Malik, chief economist at Abu Dhabi Commercial Bank.

The Saudis still plan to do most oil transactions in dollars, the people familiar with their talks say.

The Saudi move could chip away at the supremacy of the dollar in the international financial system, which Washington has relied on for decades to print Treasury debt it uses to finance its budget deficit.

"The oil market, and by extension the entire global commodities market, is the insurance policy of the status of the dollar as reserve currency," said economist Gal Luft, co-director of the Washington-based Institute for the Analysis of Global Security.

—David S. Cloud contributed to this article.

Big Lots Shares Rally as Investor Presses Retailer to Sell

By DENNY JACOB

Big Lots Inc. shares gained roughly 15% after Mill Road Capital Management LLC disclosed a 5.1% stake in the discount retailer and said it was pushing it to pursue a sale.

The investment company said that it believes a sale could maximize value for shareholders at an assumed purchase price between \$55 and \$70 a share. This would represent a premium in the range of 72% to 119% from Monday's closing price of \$31.99.

Mill Road said Big Lots' management has performed well over the past several years in ways that have improved its outlook and value, including by laying out a long-term plan earlier this year that would lead to at least a 150% increase to annual operating income.



Mill Road Capital said it is disappointed that management's efforts aren't reflected in the retailer's current market value. A Big Lots store in Frankfort, Ky.

However, the investor said it is disappointed that management's efforts aren't reflected

in the company's current value. "There is a significant disconnect between the com-

pany's current public market valuation and the price a well-capitalized buyer could pay to

take the company private," Mill Road said in its letter to shareholders.

Mill Road also outlined to recent proposals to take Kohl's Corp. private to support its view that there are buyers for retailers with growth potential.

Shares closed Tuesday at \$36.93. The stock is down 47% over the past 12 months.

"We welcome engagement and input from all our shareholders, but it is not appropriate for the company to comment on dialogue with an individual investor," a Big Lots spokesman said in an emailed statement.

Retailers have had a mixed experience throughout the Covid-19 pandemic. Demand from consumers has remained strong even in the face of rising inflation and supply-chain disruptions.

The Federal Reserve has been laying the groundwork for a series of rate increases aimed at tamping down increasing inflation. But the fallout from Russia's invasion of Ukraine poses new complications, namely the risk of tipping the U.S. economy into a recession.

A recession could buoy results at Big Lots, as off-price retailers tend to perform well during and after downturns.

Earlier this month, the Columbus, Ohio-based company reported its fourth-quarter results. Revenue totaled \$1.73 billion, down slightly from a year earlier. Adjusted earnings of \$1.75 a share were below expectations, however.

Chief Executive Bruce Thorn said January was a tough month due to inclement weather and the Omicron coronavirus variant.

New Highs and Lows

Table with columns for Stock, 52-Wk % Chg, and % High/Low. Lists various stocks and their performance metrics.

Mutual Funds

Table with columns for Fund, NAV, YTD Chg, and % Ret. Lists various mutual funds and their performance metrics.

MARKETS

STREETWISE | By James Mackintosh

Narratives Collide on Many Fronts

For years, investors have only had to deal with one overarching market narrative at a time: Covid, then deflation, then supply-chain inflation, then a tardy Federal Reserve, then war. Now things are getting more complicated.

The trouble is that lots of stories suddenly apply at once. The market's focus on Russia's invasion of Ukraine is being interrupted by the supply-chain effects of Covid lockdowns in Chinese technology hub Shenzhen, imminent tightening by the Federal Reserve as it tries to catch up with inflation, and the risk to the deflation story as consumer sentiment is crushed by rising prices.

The result is a confused, and confusing, market, exemplified by this week's moves. On Monday, (exaggerated) hopes of peace in Ukraine led to a standard risk-on start to the day. Oil prices plunged, gold fell and share prices and Treasury yields rose.

But at the same time, Chinese tech stocks plummeted as Covid cases rose, Shenzhen went into lockdown and the Securities and Exchange Commission targeted more U.S.-listed China stocks for probable delisting.

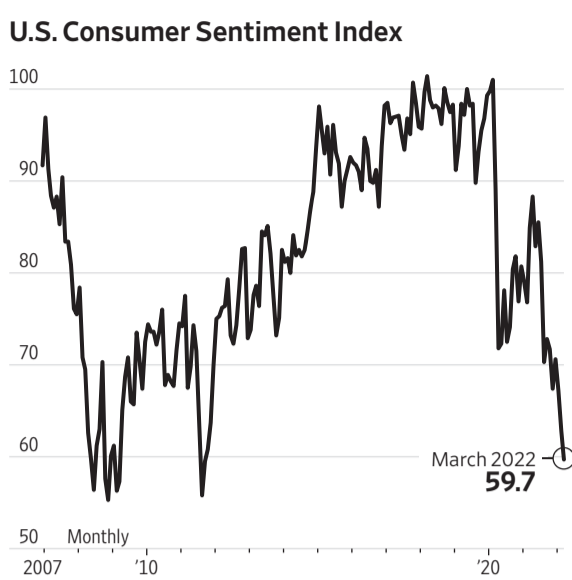
By the time U.S. exchanges closed, the focus had shifted, and not just because peace hopes had been dashed.

The Nasdaq Composite swung from being up to losing 2%, even as oil prices stayed down. On Tuesday, the narrative had shifted again: Brent lost an additional 6.5% and the haven of gold was down again, while U.S. stocks rose.

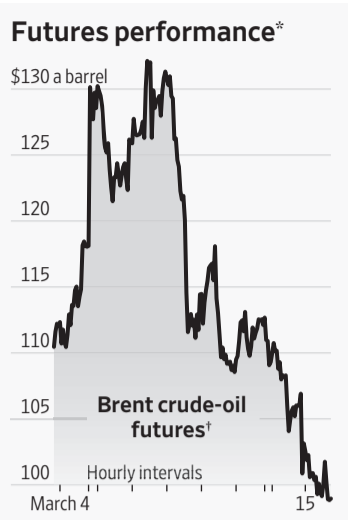
Markets have trouble focusing on more than one thing at a time, partly because multiple stories mess with the cross-market correlations that investors who trade across stocks, bonds, commodities and other assets rely on.

Traders who grew up with the post-2008 markets had to make just one decision, whether it was a risk-on or risk-off day.

The prices of almost everything were closely linked to that single factor. War or



Sources: University of Michigan via Refinitiv (sentiment); Refinitiv (spread); FactSet (futures)



*As of 4 p.m. EDT †Most-active contract



Supplies for Hong Kong are loaded onto a ship at the Dachanwan wharf of Shenzhen port.

peace is similarly binary, as Russian sanctions push up oil and other important commodity prices, with all-encompassing but easy-to-understand macroeconomic effects.

Now, investors are also trying to assess the possibility of a U.S. recession—Goldman Sachs economists think

there's a 20% to 35% chance of one in the next year—accompanied by a tighter Fed and rising inflation.

Consumer sentiment has dropped to the lowest in more than a decade as households worry about rising prices, according to the University of Michigan.

Already part of the Treasury yield curve has inverted, with seven-year Treasuries yielding more than the 10-year bond since Friday, although the three-month-10-year inversion that is often used to predict recession is nowhere close.

One sign of the problems for investors created by the conflicting narratives is in the weakest junk bonds.

Dollar bonds rated CCC are those most likely to default, but the rise in the additional yield, or spread, they offer above Treasuries has been fairly small.

Why aren't they more worried about economic slowdown and recession risk?

Partly it is due to the war-related rise in oil. The average spread of energy stocks in the ICE CCC index is down 1.8 percentage points this year, according to ICE Data Services, while the average for nonenergy stocks is up 1.3 percentage points.

Even stripping out the energy sector, though, the rise in yields doesn't show investors bracing for the hit from a recession.

Similar rises over a 10-week period are far from unusual, occurring four times in 2019 alone, for example.

Lotfi Karoui, chief global credit strategist at Goldman, has yet another narrative: The junkiest companies are less likely to default than usual, justifying their resilience.

"I don't think it's evidence of complacency as much as it is an acknowledgment that this market can survive a recession," he said.

If he is right, it is yet another problem for those who try to trade the macroeconomic picture, because selling junk bonds into a recession is usually a no-brainer.

Still, narrative uncertainty rarely lasts. As risks get priced in, investors herd together, and a single story comes to dominate.

Mahmood Noorani, chief executive of Quant Insight, thinks we may be heading for a new "debt regime" where prices in other markets are sensitive to small moves in junk bonds.

"We're in an incredibly indebted world so that might be why sensitivity to credit is so high," he said.

If this becomes the new narrative, junk bonds will be a leading indicator again.

Meanwhile, investors should be ready for perplexing plot twists as multiple stories collide.

Pressure Increases On Shares In China

The rout in Chinese stocks extended in Asia Tuesday, with indexes falling to their lowest levels in years and the battered shares in China's two biggest tech companies tumbling by double-digit percentages.

By Quentin Webb, Gunjan Banerji and Clarence Leong

The selling pressure has built in recent days as investors face up to the growing risks of widespread U.S. delistings of Chinese companies as soon as 2024 and signs that Beijing's long-running regulatory crackdown has further to run.

The war in Ukraine has also dented global investor sentiment and raised the potential for a new deterioration in U.S.-China relations. Meanwhile, a surge in China's Covid-19 daily case load—which the latest figures show has more than doubled—has prompted a series of lockdowns, disrupting supply chains and casting a shadow over the economy.

"There are definitely a lot of unknowns there," said Mike Bailey, director of research at FBB Capital Partners. "The question is, are you getting paid to take on that risk? The answer is 'no,' in our opinion."

Mr. Bailey said that he exited from most of his exposure to China and emerging markets during the pandemic, pouring the money back into U.S. bets. He remains bearish on China.

In Asian trading hours Tuesday, Hong Kong's benchmark Hang Seng Index sank 5.7% to its lowest close since February 2016, as tech, financial and

5.7%

Drop in Hong Kong's Hang Seng Index on Tuesday

property shares wilted. Early Wednesday, the Hang Seng was up 2.3%.

In the U.S., where some of the heaviest selling has taken place, some Chinese-listed companies recovered ground Tuesday. The Nasdaq Golden Dragon China Index, which includes China-focused U.S.-listed companies, rose 5%. Still, it has fallen 39% this year and has fallen by roughly three-quarters from its highest point.

Tencent Music Entertainment Group and Yum China Holdings Inc. were among stocks that rebounded Tuesday, though they are still sitting on double-digit losses this year. Tencent Music rose 15%, and 15% and Yum China jumped 8.3%.

After the Securities and Exchange Commission took a step toward eventually forcing Chinese shares off U.S. exchanges, the market is worried "about potential further escalation between the U.S. and China," said Louisa Fok, China equity strategist at Bank of Singapore.

Ms. Fok said investor sentiment on China was very depressed, with Chinese shares trading at their biggest mark-downs compared with other emerging markets in five or six years.

So far this year, the selloff has shaved \$132 billion from the market value of Alibaba Group Holding Ltd., whose U.S.-listed shares declined 1.3% on Tuesday, according to Dow Jones Market data.

That built on an earlier sell-off in Asia Tuesday, in which Hong Kong-listed shares in Alibaba sank 12%, while those in rival Tencent Holdings Ltd. pulled back 10%.

Shares of internet companies have been especially punished. The KraneShares CSI China Internet ETF fell 12% on Monday, its biggest one-day fall on record, to the lowest level since it started trading in 2013, according to FactSet. It fell 1.3% on Tuesday in London.

"The decline in Chinese internet company stocks over the last 13 months has been even worse than the comparable period for U.S. tech stocks in the early 2000s," wrote Jessica Rabe, co-founder of DataTrek Research.

Outside of tech, major losers in Asia included Ping An Insurance Group.

Stocks Rise as Oil Falls

Continued from page B1 Covid-19 caseload, renewed regulatory pressure from Beijing and the threat of U.S. delistings of Chinese stocks. China's daily cases more than doubled, the government said Tuesday, in an outbreak that has prompted lockdowns in major cities and an entire province.

The mainland Chinese CSI 300 index of blue-chip stocks fell 4.6% to register its lowest close since June 2020. In Hong Kong, the Hang Seng sank 5.7%, ending at a six-year closing low, as large technology and financial stocks cratered.

A clampdown in travel and retail spending in China, coupled with supply-chain disruptions, further complicates a global economy already dealing with the war in Ukraine and the highest inflation in a generation.

"The headlines that Covid is swirling throughout China is something else that stokes uncertainty in global markets because it adds to concerns about supply-chain disruptions," said David Donabedian, chief investment officer at CIBC Private Wealth.

Fed officials met Tuesday, the beginning of a two-day policy meeting that comes against a backdrop of 40-year-high inflation and concerns that Russia's invasion could hurt global economic growth. While the Fed is expected to stick to its plans for a cycle of rate rises beginning with a quarter-percentage-point increase Wednesday, investors

seek clarity on how the war in Ukraine might affect the pace of future tightening.

A delegation of European leaders headed to Kyiv on Tuesday to meet with Ukraine's president and offer his country a broad package of support. Meanwhile, Russia continued to lob more missiles at the capital city.

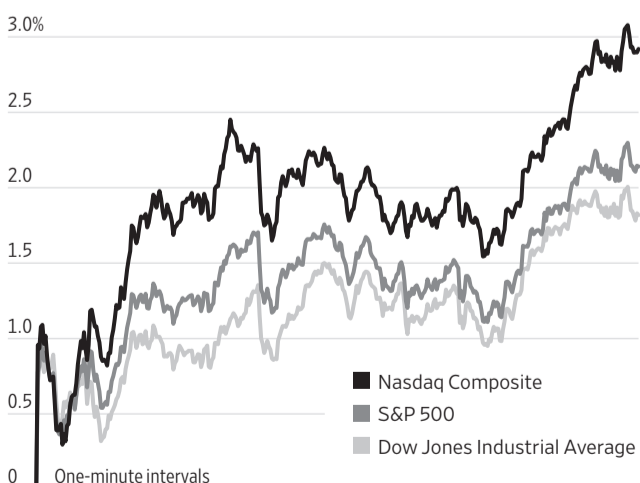
The yield on the benchmark 10-year U.S. Treasury note rose to 2.160% from 2.139% on Monday. Bond yields and prices move in opposite directions. Gold fell 1.6%, its third consecutive retreat and fourth in five sessions.

Investors were also considering fresh data on producer prices.

The producer-price index, which generally reflects supply conditions, rose a seasonally adjusted 0.8% in February, according to the Labor Department, down from January's upwardly revised 1.2% rise.

Investors read the drop in oil prices and a slowdown in producer prices as signs the Fed may not need to raise interest rates as aggressively to stave off inflation, said Tim

Index performance Tuesday



Source: FactSet

Murray, capital-market strategist at T. Rowe Price Group.

"If lower oil means lower inflation, it would hopefully mean a lower end point for Fed tightening," Mr. Murray said. "Rates are the No. 1 issue for U.S. stocks."

Investors have been concerned that the Russia-Ukraine conflict would push inflation

even higher by cutting off Russia's sizable supplies of oil and gas and snarling shipments of metals and grains. They worry the shock could crimp the growth of the global economy just as it gets over the impact of Covid lockdowns. "The fundamental challenge for investors is that the invasion of Ukraine stokes

inflation, which was already an issue of concern but also injects doubt into the outlook for economic growth," said Mr. Donabedian.

Heightening that uncertainty is the threat of an escalation, as the latest diplomatic efforts to end the fighting have shown little signs of progress.

Investors are growing increasingly concerned that a conflict that many people just weeks ago thought wouldn't happen could now spill beyond Ukraine's borders, said Mr. Donabedian.

Reports that China is considering supplying military aid to Moscow raise the threat that Western sanctions could be targeted at Beijing, he added. "That would open up a whole new Pandora's box," he said.

Elsewhere, the Stoxx Europe 600 dropped 0.3%, led by its raw-materials and energy sectors, while the FTSE 100 fell 0.2%. At midday Wednesday, Japan's Nikkei 225 was up 1.7%.

—Quentin Webb contributed to this article.



Energy shares retreated, as Valero Energy tumbled 6.8%, the most of any S&P 500 stock, losing \$6.14 to \$84.41.

GABBY JONES/VELOMBERG NEWS

HEARD ON THE STREET

FINANCIAL ANALYSIS & COMMENTARY

Insecurity in the World's Food Supply Grows

Agricultural supply chain will struggle with invasion's impact at a time of higher energy prices

Even during the pandemic, the world's food system churned out its usual 11 billion tons of food a year. That consistency is unlikely to survive the war in Ukraine. International food markets will probably face shortages due to the conflict. Russia and Ukraine together supply almost one-third of the world's wheat, a quarter of its barley and nearly three-quarters of its sunflower oil, according to the International Food Policy Research Institute.

Commercial activity in Ukraine's ports has stopped since Russia's invasion began on Feb. 24, and it will be hard for farmers to harvest

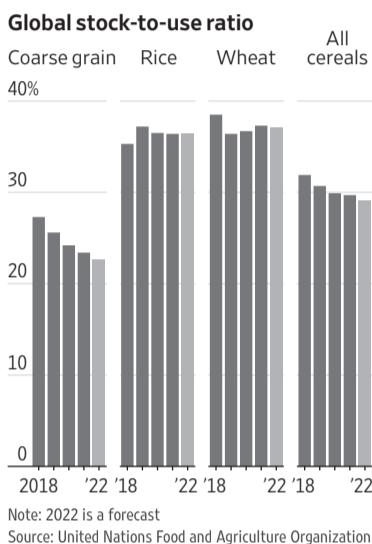
crops later this summer and export grains if fighting cuts them off from the land. Agricultural producers may face shortages of fuel, which is needed for military use. Russian farmers don't face the same physical hurdles, but sanctions are already affecting demand for the country's agricultural goods. Skyrocketing insurance premiums for vessels in the Black Sea are adding to the cost of grain shipments from the region. Last week, price quotes for Russian wheat were \$405 a ton compared with \$460 and \$539 for European Union and U.S. wheat, respectively, according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

The latest shock comes on top of two years of disruption related to Covid-19. After panicked shoppers stripped supermarket shelves in the early days of the pandemic, world food supplies got back to normal surprisingly quickly, but they remain stressed. The global stock-to-use ratio for cereals, a measure of inventories as a proportion of annual demand, is forecast to be 29% this year, according to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. While stockpiles were more seriously depleted in the past—the ratio was 18.8% during the 2008 food-price crisis—today's level still marks an eight-year low.

Other big grain producers can try to make up some of the Rus-



Russia and Ukraine together supply almost one-third of the world's wheat. A wheat field in Ukraine.



sian and Ukrainian shortfalls. After five consecutive record crops, India's government has plenty of wheat inventories that could be exported. Australia had a good harvest this year but shipping capacity is tight, with slots booked up months in advance. Lack of transport means the country's producers may struggle to get as much grain to international markets as they would like. Energy markets will influence how farmers respond to shortages. Food prices are high, motivating

production, but so are fuel costs, which squeeze agricultural profit margins. Fertilizer has become much more expensive. Last week, Norwegian fertilizer giant **Yara International** said its European ammonia and urea production is running at less than half of normal capacity because of record-high natural-gas prices in the region. The latest threat comes as prices for many important food commodities have already reached unprecedented levels. The U.N. estimates the crisis in Ukraine could

push international food prices up a further 22% in its worst-case scenario. This will increase the cost of doing business for global food manufacturers like **Nestlé** and **Kraft Heinz**, which will pass it on to shoppers where they can. Bumper harvests from other countries in the Northern Hemisphere and lower energy prices would help to ease the pain. The latter looks increasingly less likely. Consumers can expect to pay more to put food on the table. —Carol Ryan



There is the question of parts made in Ukraine, particularly those for EVs. A Volkswagen ID.5 being assembled in Germany.

Geopolitical Crisis Drives Volkswagen Off Course

Volkswagen has more to lose than most global companies from the war in Ukraine. Chief Executive Herbert Diess said Tuesday the conflict put the German car maker's outlook for 2022 "into question." Subject to that caveat, the company expects to sell between 5% and 10% more vehicles this year, after two years of shrinkage due to the pandemic and semiconductor shortage. The company delivered about 205,000 passenger cars and 11,000 commercial vehicles to Russia last year—2.4% and 4.2% of its respective totals. This month, it suspended its two factories there as well as exports, though it continues to supply spare parts to the country and pay 80% of the wages of its local employees.

for 39% of its sales last year. The region's economy is much more exposed than the U.S.'s to sanctions, given its reliance on Russian fuel. And despite much talk of car software and recurring revenue streams, for now the industry remains dependent on selling big-ticket items to consumers. Even if the war ends and sanctions are unwound, the EU is set on an overdue but likely expensive course of weaning itself off Russian gas. That suggests European energy prices will remain high, triggering slower growth and weaker demand for cars. Rising commodity prices cut car makers the other way by increasing their input costs. VW expects an operating margin of between 7% and 8.5% in 2022, in line with last year's 8% level, but this is another element of its outlook that war could drive off course. UBS last week calculated that commodity-price inflation year to date worked out at 2% to 3% of a conventional vehicle's price, and 5% to 6% for all-electric models, whose batteries are often dependent on Russian nickel.

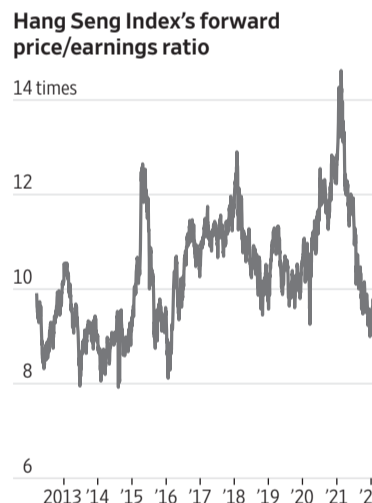
VW delivered about 205,000 cars and 11,000 commercial vehicles to Russia last year.

Its Russian assets are at risk of expropriation by President Vladimir Putin's government. Such a move "would not materially affect our business, but still it would be a hit and we would lose certain strategic options," Mr. Diess told reporters. Russian assets account for less than 0.5% of VW's total. There is the question of parts made in Ukraine, particularly so-called wiring harnesses that connect vehicle electronics. Shortages of these could stop production lines. VW is supporting its Ukrainian suppliers where possible while building up capacity elsewhere. But the main impact of the war and sanctions on the company is macroeconomic: VW is the market leader in the European Union, selling about one in every four cars, and Europe as a whole accounted

To be sure, VW is in good financial shape, having generated €15.5 billion, equivalent to \$17 billion, in net cash from its automotive business last year, before acquisitions and payments for the diesel scandal. That was more than in 2019 as supply-constrained sales were offset by higher prices and a richer mix of vehicles. The company has strategic options. Most notable is the initial public offering of its Porsche brand, which VW is keeping on the table for the fourth quarter. Still, it is hard to see the 20% drop in VW's preference shares since war broke out, which has taken the forward earnings multiple below five times, as anything other than a fair reflection of the new risks facing all car makers—and VW in particular. —Stephen Wilmot

Chinese Stocks Imploded, but It's Too Early to Buy the Dip

Chinese stocks are facing a perfect storm of Omicron, geopolitics and regulatory blowback. A short-term bounce might be possible given how cheap the market looks now. But without some ebbing of those headwinds, it is hard to make a case for a rebound. The Hang Seng Index lost 10% so far this week, its biggest two-day decline since 2008. The benchmark is at its lowest level in six years. Technology stocks fared even worse: The Kraneshares CSI China Internet exchange-traded fund, which tracks offshore-listed Chinese tech stocks, is down nearly 30% since Thursday. China's worsening Omicron variant woes might be a major factor. The nation on Tuesday reported more than 5,000 locally transmitted Covid-19 cases, its highest total since the initial outbreak in Wuhan. The resurgence led to lockdowns in many cities, including the tech and manufacturing hub of Shenzhen. That poses risks to China's anemic recovery in consumption. And the new, stringent measures dashed hopes that China might relax its zero-Covid strategy soon. Reopening plays like Macau casino operators are among the biggest losers. Morgan Stanley cut its China growth forecast for the first quarter to 3.9%, from 4.5%. Weakening consumer sentiment is bad for China's housing market, which is deep in the doldrums.



Shares of Chinese developers plunged: **China Evergrande** is down 21% this week while **Country Garden** dropped nearly 28%. Another concern is that China could be dragged into the fracas triggered by Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Investors, particularly foreign ones, might be starting to worry that its companies could get caught in the West's sanctions, too. Regulatory risks—from the U.S. and China—are hitting the market. The fear that hundreds of U.S.-listed Chinese companies might soon be delisted sparked a selloff last week. While many of these stocks have or will probably obtain

another listing in Hong Kong, U.S. investors might dump them from their portfolios, especially considering the geopolitical risks. J.P. Morgan analysts downgraded China internet stocks Monday because they believe global investors will reduce their exposure. Chinese domestic shares also fell, but to a lesser extent than offshore-listed stocks, hinting at heavier selling by foreign investors. The regulatory storm buffeting Chinese tech stocks hasn't cleared yet either. **Tencent** might face a record fine for anti-money-laundering violations by its mobile payment network. The market is very cheap by historical standards: The Hang Seng is trading at 7.4 times the next 12 month's expected earnings, the lowest in 10 years, according to S&P Global Market Intelligence. Similarly, tech giants **Alibaba** and **Tencent** are trading at the lowest earnings multiples of the past decade. That might draw some bargain hunters in. But one big question is whether those low multiples are based on too-optimistic earnings forecasts given how much the business environment in China has changed. Dead cats, as everyone knows, do bounce—particularly ones that have lost as much weight recently as the Hang Seng. That isn't necessarily a good reason to climb aboard. —Jacky Wong

Paytm Investors' Payday Might Never Come

Paytm investors hoping to cash out could be in for a long wait. Regulatory trouble and, perhaps, geopolitical tensions are clouding the Indian fintech giant's path to profitability. The dismal performance of the stock after its November initial public offering, India's largest to date, might create trouble for early-stage, unprofitable technology firms hoping to tap public equity markets. The company, which counts SoftBank's Vision Fund, Jack Ma's Ant Group and Berkshire Hathaway as its investors, is worth about \$5 billion—far from the \$20 billion valuation it sought on its debut. The stock, formally known as **One97 Communications Ltd.**, is down over 20% in the past two trading sessions. The latest sell-off was driven by the Reserve Bank of India's decision to ban Paytm's payments bank from onboarding new customers, pending an audit of its IT systems. After the RBI's announcement on Friday, Bloomberg on Monday reported

Paytm violated data localization rules by allowing data to flow to China—a report the company denies. The RBI had no response to a request for comment. On first glance, the selloff looks overdone. Paytm Payments Bank, a joint venture between Paytm and founder Vijay Shekhar Sharma, makes up about a third of Paytm's revenue according to Macquarie Capital, and houses all its key products, including over 300 million wallets and 60 million deposit accounts. But since existing customers aren't affected and Paytm built a sizable base of users, there might not be an immediate material impact, note Morgan Stanley and Macquarie. The problem is what the central bank's decision signals about other regulatory hurdles. Another run-in with the central bank doesn't bode well for Paytm's chances of upgrading to a "small finance bank" license—for which it is eligible to apply in May, according to Macquarie Capital analyst Suresh

Ganapathy. Right now as a so-called payments bank, Paytm cannot lend and cannot accept deposits of more than 200,000 rupees (\$2,613). Getting a banking license would help Paytm imbibe deposits at cheaper rates and give out loans, in turn helping it make some real money. Paytm's current net margin for the December quarter was negative 53.5%, according to FactSet. This is the second time in less than five years of the Payment Bank's operations that the RBI has instituted such a ban. The prior instance was in June 2018 and the ban was lifted six months later. Paytm's listing documents highlight that Paytm Payments Bank received a notice last year from the RBI for submitting false information and was fined 10 million rupees. Paytm needs to show it has a viable path to profitability for the stock to turn around. And to do that, it needs regulators on its side. On this front, the signs are far from encouraging. —Megha Mandavia

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