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**Noticias** Internacionales

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

DOW JONES News Corp \*\*\*\*\* TUESDAY, MARCH 26, 2024 - VOL. CCLXXXIII NO. 71 WSJ.com \$5.00

What's News Business & Finance

- Boeing chief Dave Calhoun will step down at year-end amid the aircraft maker's crisis over product quality, and the company said its chairman won't stand for re-election. A1
Leaders of some of the biggest U.S. tech companies are getting extraordinary paydays thanks to restricted stock and stock options that rose with their employers' share prices. A1
The European Union launched investigations into Apple, Meta Platforms and Google parent Alphabet under the bloc's sweeping new digital-competition law. B1
U.S. stocks retreated for a second straight session, with the S&P 500 and Nasdaq both losing 0.3% and the Dow Industrials falling 0.4%. B10
WeWork co-founder and former CEO Adam Neumann recently offered to buy the bankrupt co-working company for more than \$500 million, people with knowledge of the matter said. B1
The trial opened of Do Kwon, who is accused of defrauding people who bought a cryptocurrency that collapsed two years ago. B1
Wegovy maker Novo Nordisk struck a deal to buy heart-disease-therapeutics developer Cardior Pharmaceuticals for up to the equivalent of \$1.11 billion. B2
Fisker said its negotiations for a tie-up with a large automaker broke down, heightening concerns about the EV startup's financial situation. B3
Ericsson will cut around 1,200 jobs in Sweden as the telecom-equipment company adjusts to a lower-volume environment. B4

World-Wide

- The U.N. Security Council approved a resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire in Gaza after the U.S. allowed it to pass by abstaining, prompting Israel to withdraw from scheduled high-level meetings with the Biden administration. A1
Trump needs to pay just \$175 million to put his \$454 million civil-fraud judgment on hold during his appeal, an appellate court ruled, giving the former president a crucial win on the cusp of a financial deadline. A1
Trump's struggling social-media platform will begin trading on Nasdaq on Tuesday at a market value of roughly \$6.8 billion. A4
Agents with the Department of Homeland Security raided homes connected to rapper and entrepreneur Sean Combs, a law-enforcement official with knowledge of the investigation said. A2
The Biden administration hit alleged Chinese hackers with sanctions and criminal charges, while the U.K. accused Beijing of hacking its electoral register to steal voters' information. A6
Shohei Ohtani broke his silence on the fallout from a betting scandal that linked the baseball star's longtime interpreter to an illegal bookmaker who is under investigation. A12
Florida passed a law that prohibits people under 14 years old from having social-media accounts, regardless of parental consent. A4
States are pushing to give teachers pay increases that haven't come through in decades as more funding was directed to other purposes in the education system. A3

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Besieged Boeing Chief to Quit

Calhoun to leave at year-end, chairman to be replaced amid 737 MAX struggles

By Sharon Terlep

Dave Calhoun stepped in to address a crisis at Boeing. He is stepping aside four years later with the manufacturer still mired in a crisis over the quality of its planes. The Boeing chief executive will exit at the end of the year, part of an executive shake-up after a Jan. 5 midair blowout and sweeping production problems that have angered

airlines and regulators. The aircraft maker also said Monday that the head of its commercial-aircraft business, Stanley Deal, will leave immediately and its chairman, Larry Kellner, won't stand for re-election. Steve Mollenkopf, a former CEO of Qualcomm, will take over as board chairman and lead the search for the next Boeing boss. The next leader will confront several problems at the company, including quality issues that have alarmed regulators, production snarls that have angered airlines and restless labor unions and suppliers. The stock has declined about 25% year to date.

Calhoun has been in the hot seat since the door panel detached on an Alaska Airlines flight after Boeing delivered a jet that was missing bolts. The Federal Aviation Administration imposed production limits and an audit later found widespread problems with 737 production. The Justice Department is conducting a criminal probe into the Alaska accident and recently told passengers they could be victims of a crime. A group of airline CEOs had recently requested meetings with Boeing's board, an unusual move showing their dissatisfaction with the company and Calhoun.

The Boeing board held a hastily scheduled virtual meeting over the weekend to formally vote on the leadership changes, people familiar with the matter said. The new chairman, Mollenkopf, is slated now to attend the planned meetings with airline CEOs. Michael O'Leary, the CEO of Ryanair, said on Monday that he "welcomed these much-needed management changes." The European carrier, like some of its U.S. peers, has had to reduce its flight schedules this year because of Boeing. Please turn to page A4

Heard on the Street: Boeing needs a clean break B11

Kidnapped Nigerian Schoolchildren Return Home



FREED: More than 130 Nigerian schoolchildren rescued after more than two weeks in captivity arrived Monday in their home state in northwestern Nigeria before being reunited with their families. Six of the kidnapped students remain hospitalized.

CEOs Get Bumper Paydays As Stock Prices Soar

By Theo Francis

Chip maker Broadcom gave Hock Tan, its chief executive, a \$161 million stock award, instantly landing him among the highest-paid CEOs. His payday could end up being even bigger because of a surge in the company's share price. Lately, the market has valued the underlying shares at about \$1.3 billion. As the stock market roared to a 24% gain for the S&P 500 index last year, executives steering some of the biggest U.S. publicly traded technology companies got a bigger lift than most. The pay for Charles Robbins at Cisco Systems more than doubled in value, to \$65.5 million, for the year ended in July. Adobe chief Shantanu Narayen's 2023 compensation nearly doubled, to \$87.2 million. Driving that growth: awards of restricted stock and stock options that rose with their companies' share prices—and faster, in some cases. The gains in the equity awards for Tan, Robbins and Narayen outstripped shareholders' annual returns, based on the formulas used to determine the eventual payout. The gains are revealed in new disclosures imposed by the Securities and Exchange Commission starting last year, including a measure of how much executives' equity awards changed in value during the year. Previously, companies generally disclosed the value of such awards at the time of the grant. Overall, pay for the top executives at 187 S&P 500 companies. Please turn to page A2

Court Lets Trump Post Smaller Bond

By Corinne Ramey and James Fanelli

NEW YORK—Donald Trump needs to pay just \$175 million to put his \$454 million civil fraud judgment on hold during his appeal, an appellate court ruled, giving the former president a crucial win on the cusp of a financial deadline. But Trump still faces legal headwinds on other fronts: On Monday, a justice overseeing a separate criminal case in New York involving a hush-money

payment to a porn star ordered the trial to start on April 15. That keeps that case on track to be the first of Trump's four criminal matters to go to trial as he runs for president as the presumptive Republican nominee. The last-minute reprieve to the \$454 million civil judgment came on the day that New York Attorney General Letitia James, a Democrat who brought the case, could have started enforcing it. A trial court justice ruled last month

in James's favor, finding that Trump fraudulently inflated his wealth. While a five-justice panel on Monday found that Trump only needs to pay a fraction of the judgment for the time being, he could be on the hook for the full amount if he loses his appeal. A spokeswoman for James said Monday that Trump still faces accountability and that the judgment still stands. The case has been an extra financial hurdle for Trump as

he racks up legal fees in defending himself in the four criminal cases. Trump's legal team had said it was virtually impossible to secure a bond to cover the whole judgment. Trump said Monday that the New York state appellate-court ruling was a vindication of his view that the justice who imposed the \$454 million judgment was wrong. He said Please turn to page A4

Truth Social's parent set for a stock listing A4



Student Housing Heats Up Moving to an off-campus apartment used to be a way for students to save money. No longer. Rents have risen nearly 30% nationwide in the past decade, according to CoStar, and are now more expensive than on-campus dorm rooms at many schools. A2

Biden's Trustbuster Draws New Allies: The 'Khanservatives'

Growing Republican skepticism toward big business has won Lina Khan fans

By Molly Ball and Brody Mullins

When you're trying to restructure the entire American economy, you take your allies wherever you can find them. And so Lina Khan, the liberal chairwoman of the Federal Trade Commission, welcomes her growing group of Republican fans. "Antitrust and antimonopoly has historically been deeply bipartisan," Khan said in a recent interview in her spacious Washington office lined with 1920s political cartoons. "Conceptually, conservatives view concentration of power skeptically, and there has been a recognition that concentration of corporate power can in some instances be deeply antithetical to liberty." Since being appointed by President Biden three years

ago, the 35-year-old Khan has turned the obscure federal agency into a high-profile battleship aimed at the big corporations she says have distorted markets and harmed consumers. Her aggressive actions against Big Tech and other industries have inflamed the business community, and not all have been successful. But in an anomaly in this partisan age, a group of conservatives has cheered her efforts, seeing her as a fellow traveler in the populist cause. The "Khanservatives," as they call themselves, tend to be younger and Trumpier, part of the growing ranks of Republicans who question unfettered markets and see big corporations as an adversary. Please turn to page A8

Apple, Meta, Alphabet face EU scrutiny B1

Wait, When Did the Schlubs Of Silicon Valley Learn to Dress?

Tech moguls trade hoodies for suits, style; dressing down 'is so played out' By Jacob Gallagher hoodies and his shower slides. And how Zuckerberg, the underdressed coder, inspired a legion of Silicon Valley clones in their dishwasher colored hoodies and "oh whatever" sneakers. This year, a new Zuckerberg has emerged. This Zuck wears Please turn to page A8



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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, mostly cloudy, high 56. Tonight, rain and drizzle late, low 42. Tomorrow, cloudy, a brief shower or two, a light southwest wind, high 59. Weather map appears on Page A14.

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TUESDAY, MARCH 26, 2024

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

## Delay Denied In Trump Trial In Manhattan

### Hush-Money Case Set to Start April 15

This article is by Ben Protess, Joshua E. Brumwick, Jesse McKinley and Kate Christobek.

Donald J. Trump is all but certain to become the first former American president to stand trial on criminal charges after a judge on Monday denied his effort to delay the proceeding and confirmed it would begin next month.

The trial, in which Mr. Trump will be accused of orchestrating the cover-up of a simmering sex scandal surrounding his 2016 presidential campaign, was originally scheduled to start this week. But the judge, Juan M. Merchan, had pushed the start date to April 15 to allow Mr. Trump's lawyers to review newly disclosed documents from a related federal investigation.

Mr. Trump's lawyers had pushed for an even longer delay of 90 days and sought to have the case thrown out altogether. But in an hour-long hearing on Monday, Justice Merchan slammed their arguments, rejecting them all.

In a particularly low moment for the defense team, the judge questioned the assertions — and eventually, the résumé — of one of Mr. Trump's lawyers as the former president looked on.

After a midmorning break, the judge returned to the courtroom, said that Mr. Trump had suffered no harm from the late disclosure of the documents and made the April 15 trial date final.

"Defendant has been given a reasonable amount of time," the judge said crisply.

The ruling — coming nearly a year to the day after the Manhattan district attorney's office obtained an indictment of Mr. Trump — makes it highly likely that the former president will go on trial next month even as three other criminal cases against him are mired in appeals and other delays.

The decision underscored the limits of Mr. Trump's favored legal team.

**TRUMP'S BOND CUT** An appeals court unexpectedly lowered the amount to \$175 million, PAGE A13



## Evacuating the Most Vulnerable From Gaza

Many children have sustained grievous injuries during Israel's monthlong campaign against Hamas, Page A8.

## Legal Woes Looming, Bolsonaro Holed Up at Hungarian Embassy

This article is by Jack Nicus, Christoph Koeth, Leonardo Coelho and Paulo Motoryn.

RIO DE JANEIRO — On Feb. 8, Brazil's federal police confiscated former President Jair Bolsonaro's passport and arrested a pair of his former aides on accusations that they had plotted a coup after Mr. Bolsonaro lost the 2022 presidential election.

Four days later, Mr. Bolsonaro was at the entrance to the Hungarian Embassy in Brazil, waiting to be let in, according to the embassy's security camera footage, which was obtained by The New York Times.

The former president appeared to stay at the embassy for the next two days, the footage showed, ac-

companied by two security guards and waited on by the Hungarian ambassador and staff members. Mr. Bolsonaro, a target of various criminal investigations, cannot be arrested at a foreign embassy that welcomes him, because they are legally off-limits to domestic authorities.

The stay at the embassy suggests that the former president was seeking to leverage his friendship with a fellow far-right leader, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán of Hungary, into an attempt to evade the Brazilian justice system as he faces criminal investigations at home.

The Times analyzed three days' worth of footage from four cameras in the Hungarian Embassy. Continued on Page A7

## Speaker Wants to Aid Ukraine. The Obstacle Is His Own Party.

By CATIE EDMONDSON

WASHINGTON — When Speaker Mike Johnson opened the floor for questions at a closed-door luncheon fund-raiser in New Jersey last month, Jacques Colgan asked how, in the face of vehement opposition within his own ranks, he planned to handle aid for Ukraine.

What followed was an impassioned monologue by Mr. Johnson in which he explained why continued American aid to Kyiv was, in his view, vital — a message starkly at odds with the hard-right views that have overtaken his party. He invoked his political roots as a Reagan Republican, denounced President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia as a "madman" and conceded the issue had forced him to walk a "delicate political tightrope."

Reminded by Ms. Colgan, a member of the American Coalition for Ukraine, a nonprofit advocacy group, of the adage that the only thing necessary for the triumph of evil was for good people to do nothing, Mr. Johnson replied that he kept a copy of the quotation framed in his office.

"That's not going to be us," he assured her. "We're going to do our job."

The exchange reflects what Mr. Johnson has privately told donors, foreign leaders and fellow members of Congress in recent weeks, according to extensive notes Ms. Colgan took during the New Jersey event and interviews with several other people who

### 'We're Going to Do Our Job,' Johnson Vows

have spoken with him.

While the speaker has remained noncommittal about any one option, he has repeatedly expressed a personal desire to send aid to Ukraine — something he has voted against repeatedly in the past — and now appears to be in search of the least politically damaging way to do it.

The challenge for Mr. Johnson is that any combination of aid measures he puts to a vote will likely infuriate the growing isolationist wing of his party, which considers the issue toxic. Repre-

Continued on Page A5



Speaker Mike Johnson.

## Will a Refusal To Court Haley Haunt Trump?

By SHANE GOLDMACHER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

When Nikki Haley dropped out of the 2024 presidential race in early March, she withheld endorsing Donald J. Trump and extended a pointed invitation for him to court her and the political coalition she constructed. "This is now his time for choosing," she said then.

It has been nearly three weeks. He has not called.

There has never been very much magnanimity in the MAGA movement.

But as Mr. Trump prepares for a rematch against President Biden that is expected to offer little margin for error — the last race was decided by fewer than 50,000 votes across three states — the question is whether Mr. Trump's decision to bypass any sort of reconciliation with Ms. Haley after a brutal and personal primary will matter.

Even out of the race, Ms. Haley has continued to pull in a significant number of voters in primary contests. Across the five swing states that have held primaries — Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Continued on Page A12



## After 83 Years, an Army Funeral

Pvt. Albert King, a Black soldier killed by a white military police officer in Georgia, had been blamed for his own death, Page A11.

## Michigan Is Looking for a Hollywood Comeback

By MATT STEVENS and CHRISTOPHER KLO

Michigan desperately wanted a Hollywood makeover. And for \$200 million, studios were more than happy to help.

When the state started writing checks in 2008 from one of the nation's most generous film incentive programs, productions flocked there, making box-office hits like Clint Eastwood's "Gran Torino," Sam Raimi's "Oz the Great and Powerful" and Zack Snyder's "Batman v Superman: Dawn of Justice."

### Pricey Film Tax Breaks Are Rarely Worth It, Experts Say

Then Michigan did the math.

After a state economist determined that "the film incentives represent lost revenue" and that their economic benefits were "negligible," Michigan, which cut funding for the police and schools while facing a severe budget deficit, eventually decided to end

its incentives.

As the program gradually unwound, "The Avengers" moved to Cleveland and "Iron Man 3" went to Wilmington, N.C. Even "Detroit" was filmed in Boston.

Now, almost a decade after the state stopped paying Hollywood, lawmakers think they can no longer afford not to.

"We're not on an even playing field," said Dayna Polshinski, a state senator and one of the sponsors of legislation that would thrust Michigan back into fierce competition with dozens of states Continued on Page A13



INTERNATIONAL A4-10

**Tracing the Moscow Attackers**  
Online videos and images appear to connect the four suspects detained by Russia to last week's massacre, PAGE A6

**Sanctions on Chinese Hackers**  
The United States accused the nation's elite hacking units of targeting critical infrastructure in America, PAGE A5

NATIONAL A11-17

**Who Makes Hunting Rules?**  
A bill in Vermont that would add people who don't hunt or fish to the board that drafts hunting and fishing rules has stirred an outcry in the state, PAGE A10

**Settlement for Home's Value**  
After a Black couple claimed bias relating to their house's appraisal, their mortgage lender agreed to a payout and several policy changes, PAGE A10

**Agents Raid Combs's Homes**  
Homeland Security agents searched homes in Los Angeles and Miami that were said to be linked to Sean Combs, the hip-hop mogul, PAGE A14

BUSINESS B1-6

**Boeing C.E.O. to Step Down**  
The chief executive, Dave Calhoun, said he would leave at the end of the year amid the company's most significant safety crisis in years, PAGE B1

**NBC Faces On-Air Rebellion**  
In live remarks, some of the network's best-known anchors questioned a decision to hire a political analyst, PAGE B1

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

**Doubts on Psychedelic Studies**  
A scientist was known for rigorous research into the benefits of psilocybin, but now questions have arisen, PAGE D1

SPORTS B7-10

**Leave Me Alone, Coach**  
Major league hitters and pitchers are struggling to sort through all the voices in their ears as the coaching staffs expand and the players also work with their own advisers, PAGE B7

**A Testament to Toughness**  
Four Houston starters holed out and a walk-on had to shoot crucial free throws for a 100-95 overtime victory against Texas A&M in the N.C.A.A. men's basketball tournament, PAGE B8

OPINION A18-19  
**Tina Brown** PAGE A18



ARTS C1-6

**Afghan Bowls in Connecticut**  
Moin Malikzada, a ceramicist who left Afghanistan in 2021, has made a new life in America. Above, "wedging" clay before potting it on a wheel, PAGE C5



The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

RE V1 V2 V3 V4

Partly sunny 56/44 • Tomorrow: Showers 57/47 B6 Democracy Dies in Darkness TUESDAY, MARCH 26, 2024 - \$3

Partial stay granted in Trump fraud case

Former president given 10 days to post reduced bond of \$175 million

BY MARK BERMAN, JONATHAN O'CONNELL AND SHAYNA JACOBS

An appeals court panel in New York said Monday that former president Donald Trump would be allowed to post a \$175 million bond to stave off enforcement of a nearly half-billion-dollar civil judgment against him and his business.

The order was a significant win for Trump, who was otherwise facing a massive cash crunch and the prospect of New York Attorney General Letitia James (D) moving to seize some of his assets as soon as this week.

However, while the five state judges on the panel eased the financial strain on Trump, they did not erase it entirely. They gave Trump 10 days to come up with the reduced bond of \$175 million, saying they would only delay enforcement of the full amount if he put up that lower figure within this window — and it is not immediately clear how he will come up with the money.

"We'll put up the cash or a bond very quickly," Trump told reporters Monday, but he provided no specifics. Trump's attorneys had previously sought to post a \$100 million bond rather than the full amount.

The panel's order came at a precarious moment for Trump, who is contending with significant financial pressure and legal peril. The appeals panel's order came down while he was in a New York court in a bid to delay the start of his criminal case related to hush money payments made to

SEE BOND ON A4

Hush money case: Trump criminal trial date is set for April 15. A5



ALEXANDER ZEMKOV/REUTERS

ISIS spinoffs take up its mantle

Russia rampage shows reach of splinter groups, with one apparently focused on attacks abroad

BY JOBY WARRICK, ROBYN DIXON AND SOUAD MEKHENNET

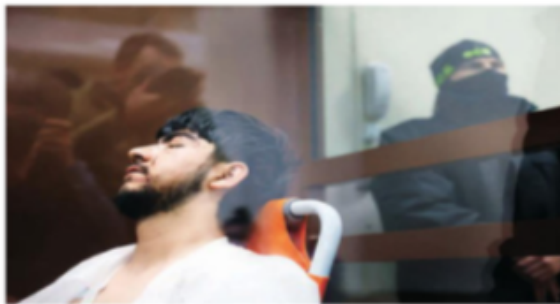
A few months before being killed in a U.S. Special Forces raid, Islamic State leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi released a final video message that symbolically passed the torch to far-flung followers in distant lands. His self-declared caliphate had been defeated, he acknowledged, and it was now up to the terrorist group's regional chapters to carry out "revenge operations" around the world.

"Our battle today is one of attrition and stretching the enemy," Baghdadi said in the April

2019 video, released just after the fall of the Islamic State's last stronghold in Syria. "They should know that jihad is ongoing until the Day of Judgment."

Friday's bloodbath at a suburban Moscow concert hall is but the latest reminder of how effectively Baghdadi's brutal vision is being carried out. While his self-proclaimed Middle East "caliphate" is in ruins, a constellation of Islamic State regional affiliates is gaining strength in many parts of the globe, fueled by a mix of traditional grievances as well as new ones, including the war in Gaza, counterterrorism officials and experts say.

SEE ISIS ON A8



YULIA MOROZOVA/REUTERS

TOP: A service takes place at a memorial outside the Moscow-area concert venue where 139 people were killed Friday in an attack the Islamic State claimed responsibility for. ABOVE: Muhammdsobir Fayzov, a suspect, appears in court showing signs of torture and abuse.

Threats: Attack reveals Russia's vulnerability to extremist groups. A7

Putin's message: He continues attempts to tie attack to Ukraine. A8

Vote widens rift with Israel

NETANYAHU CANCELS DELEGATION TO U.S.

Biden officials insist U.N. action not a policy shift

BY KAREN DEYOUNG, YASMEEN ABUTALEB AND TOLUSE OGORUNNIPA

Senior Biden administration officials believed they made clear to their Israeli counterparts in nonstop talks over the weekend the possibility that the United States would abstain from — rather than veto — a U.N. Security Council resolution Monday calling for an immediate ceasefire in Gaza.

But the White House was taken aback by what happened after the abstention vote was cast: Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu abruptly canceled a high-level delegation's trip to Washington, specifically requested by President Biden in a phone call last week, to discuss U.S. concerns about Israel's plans for a major military operation in the southern Gaza city of Rafah.

In a reaction that understated the administration's shock, State Department spokesman Matthew Miller called the cancellation "surprising and unfortunate."

The remarkable turn of events has transformed a widening rift between Biden and Netanyahu into a public chasm. Administration officials hastened to insist there had been no U.S. policy change, that Israeli plans for a Rafah operation were not imminent.

SEE ISRAEL ON A10

U.N. vote: Result highlights erosion of U.S. diplomatic cover. A10

A surreal tale of two court cases for Trump

BY ISAAC ARNSDORF

NEW YORK — Within the span of an hour, one court rescued Donald Trump from potential financial ruin, while another set a trial to start in the height of the campaign season.

The presumptive Republican presidential nominee rolled with the rapid twists Monday with his usual defiance and bluster — in split seconds attacking one set of judges and praising another, ignoring reporters and then suddenly pivoting to address them, brushing off heckles and welcoming cheers from onlookers along the streets.

The surreal string of turnabouts capped another chaotic day of Trump's 2024 campaign, with almost no resemblance to the conventional activities of campaigning. Trump last held a rally March 16 as his campaign juggled an overhaul of the Republican National Committee and has not announced where or when the next one will happen. He spent the weekend golfing in South Florida, then dropped into New York for a contentious court hearing and

SEE TRUMP ON A4



MICHAEL S. WILLIAMSON/THE WASHINGTON POST

Contrasting strategies for Ala. election reflect national reproductive rights debate

BY COLBY ITKOWITZ IN HUNTSVILLE, ALA.

Teddy Powell, a Republican running for a state House seat, walked a suburban neighborhood one recent afternoon, pledging to voters that he would fix roads, improve schools and redirect tax dollars to the district. Not once did he bring up abortion and in vitro fertilization — which have sparked an impassioned debate across this state and the country that has put many Republicans on the defensive.

His Democratic opponent, Marilyn Lands, has put abortion and IVF front and center. All of

her campaign literature mentions reproductive rights. She has shared how more than 20 years ago she had a nonviable pregnancy that ended in abortion. Lands is running a television commercial telling her story beside that of an Alabama woman who says her fetus was given a similar fatal diagnosis last year, and that she had to drive 10 hours to get an abortion because of the state's strict ban.

"It's shameful that today women have fewer

SEE ALABAMA ON A14

'Self-managed' abortions surged after fall of Roe

Data shows rise in use of pills to end pregnancies outside medical system

BY CAROLINE KITCHENER AND N. KIRKPATRICK

The number of women using abortion pills to end their pregnancies on their own without the direct involvement of a U.S.-based medical provider rose sharply in the months after the Supreme Court eliminated a constitutional right to abortion, according to the most comprehensive examination to date of how many people have ended their pregnancies outside of the formal medical system since the ruling.

Nearly 28,000 additional doses of pills intended for "self-managed" abortions were provided in the six months after the fall of Roe v. Wade — more than quadrupling the average number of abortion pills provided that way per month before the decision and suggesting that many women have turned to medication abortion to circumvent state bans.

The research — published in JAMA on Monday, the day before the highly anticipated Supreme Court arguments on a challenge to a key abortion drug — highlights

the importance of abortion pills in post-Roe America. Before the ruling legalized abortion nationwide in 1973, women seeking abortions were forced to find someone to perform an illegal surgical procedure, leading to thousands of deaths. Today, the process for accessing abortion is far easier and safer, with a rapidly expanding online and community-based network of pill suppliers sending pills through the mail into states with strict bans.

Other studies have estimated that approximately 32,000 fewer abortions occurred at licensed brick-and-mortar and telehealth clinics in the six months following the fall of Roe. But the jump in self-managed abortions offsets nearly that whole figure.

"The numbers we're looking at seem to suggest that [self-managed abortion] is more mainstream than perhaps we thought," said Abigail Aiken, a professor at the University of Texas at Austin and the lead author of the study. "This is something people are doing on a larger scale."

Women in states with bans are also using the traditional healthcare system to access abortion, traveling out of state to pick up

SEE PILLS ON A14

Supreme Court: See live coverage of today's hearing starting at 9:30 a.m. at washingtonpost.com.

IN THE NEWS

At the forefront Vice President Harris is central to President Biden's efforts to hang on to young and minority voters. A3

Ex-officer awarded nearly \$400K A former member of the Prince George's County police force had alleged in a lawsuit that she was sexually assaulted, then retaliated against. B1

THE NATION Threats against election workers have led to charges against about 20 people, officials said. A2 Some \$4 billion in federal funding will help reduce emissions from industrial facilities. A2

THE WORLD Anti-establishment candidate Bassirou Diomaye Faye will be Senegal's next president. A6 The United States unveiled charges and sanctions tied to a Chinese hacking campaign. A11

THE ECONOMY Biden promised to significantly expand the social safety net but has fallen short of his most ambitious goals. A12 Boeing's CEO and two other top executives will leave the company as it faces heightened scrutiny over a host of quality-control issues. A13

THE REGION Rep. Jamie Raskin (D-Md.) endorsed the U.S. Senate bid of Prince George's County Executive Angela D. Alsobrooks (D). B1 Still missing crucial information on college aid because of FAFSA delays, students are struggling to pick schools. B1

SPORTS Shohel Ohtani says he "never bet on baseball or any other sport" in his first comments on last week's allegations. D1

HEALTH & SCIENCE Uploading footage of their IUD placement procedures, women are making a case for better pain-relief options. E1

BUSINESS NEWS...A12 COMICS...C6 OPINION PAGES...A15 OBITUARIES...B3 TELEVISION...C3 WORLD NEWS...A6

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# FORO

# HORA 21

### March Madness standouts: 2 teams clearly dominant

Opening week shows UConn men and South Carolina women will be tough to beat. **In Sports**

### Petrified Forest worthy of being destination spot

Often a stop to somewhere else, national park offers more than petrified wood. **In Money**



### WWE star: 'It's more fun to be the bad guy'

Rebecca Quin, better known to fans as Becky Lynch, chats about new memoir chronicling her journey to becoming a pro wrestler. **In Life**

# USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | TUESDAY, MARCH 26, 2024

## Pharmacy unionizing efforts hit milestone

### Workers at Vegas CVS file first petition to join guild

Emily Le Coz  
USA TODAY

A national effort to unionize pharmacists against worsening conditions inside chains like CVS and Walgreens has hit a milestone as workers at the first of what organizers say will be dozens of pharmacies files a federal petition seeking the right to join The Pharmacy Guild.

The petition, made public Monday, puts CVS on notice that workers in its Omnicare pharmacy in Las Vegas plan to hold an election to determine whether the newly formed guild should represent them in labor negotiations with the Fortune 500 company.

Nearly 30 pharmacists and pharmacy technicians work at the Omnicare location, which fills prescriptions for nursing homes across Nevada and is not a public-facing pharmacy like most of the chain's more than 9,600 locations. A simple majority is needed to win and organizers told USA TODAY they are confident they have the numbers.

"It's time to move away from the system of abuse and intimidation," said Bled Tanoe, an Oklahoma pharmacist and a founding member of The Pharmacy Guild, which drew hundreds of people to its booth at the American Pharmacists Association's annual conference in Orlando, Florida, over the weekend.

Tanoe said the guild anticipates pushback from CVS as its employees prepare for the election, which could be held within the next couple of months. The National Labor Relations Board, which oversees union activity, must first seek an agreement between the employees and their employer before green-lighting the election.

USA TODAY reached out to CVS, which said early Monday that it had not yet seen the petition.

"While we haven't had an opportunity to review any petition, we respect our employees' right to either unionize or refrain from doing so," said Michael DeAngelis, CVS' executive director of corporate communications. "We believe the direct, two-way relationship we have with our colleagues is the best way to resolve workplace concerns. We continually listen to our colleagues' feedback which helps inform our programs and policies."

The Pharmacy Guild formed late last year in the wake of a series of high-profile walkouts by CVS and Walgreens

See PHARMACISTS, Page 6A



The Rev. Pat Mahoney, left, Peggy Nienaber of Faith and Liberty and Mark Lee Dickson of Right to Life East Texas kneel outside the Supreme Court in April 2023 in a demonstration against so-called abortion pills. CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES

## Court could open door to national abortion ban



The Supreme Court is set to decide whether the FDA improperly relaxed requirements on mifepristone, one of the two drugs used in medication abortions. EVELYN HOOKSTEIN/REUTERS

More than 6 in 10 abortions in the United States last year were completed with pills, according to the Guttmacher Institute, a research group that supports abortion rights.

### Long-dormant 1873 law invoked in arguments to restrict mifepristone

Maureen Groppe  
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON - Two years after the Supreme Court erased the constitutional right to an abortion, creating a patchwork of access across the country, the justices could now pave the way toward a national ban.

In a case they will consider Tuesday about access to the abortion drug mifepristone, the court could give legitimacy to a 19th-century obscenity law that some abortion opponents are promoting as a de facto federal abortion ban that just needs enforcing.

Even if the court decides the case without addressing the 1873 Comstock Act - which it could easily do - the justices could restrict access to mifepristone in a way that would make it more difficult for millions of women to end a pregnancy in states where abortion is legal.

The result would be an end run around the high court's stated purpose, when it overturned Roe v. Wade, of leaving the question of abortion to Congress and the state legislatures, according to abortion rights advocates.

Keeping in place a lower court's decision restricting access to mifepristone, more than 640 state

See MIFEPRISTONE, Page 4A

## Wildfires are growing larger, faster and more dangerous

### 50% increase

in acreage burned over the past 20 years, despite the 10-year average of wildfires decreasing by 20%, according to statistics from the National Interagency Fire Center.

### 850,000 acres

burned in the Texas Panhandle during a 48-hour time span, torching more than 100 homes and killing thousands of cattle.



The Smokehouse Creek Fire raced across Texas in February, fueled by high winds. PROVIDED BY SAM CRAFT/TEXAS A&M AGRILIFE MARKETING AND COMMUNICATIONS

### Experts: Climate change is just one of the culprits

Dinah Voyles Pulver  
USA TODAY

Joyce Blankenship, an 83-year-old grandmother of four, died inside her home in February when a single brush fire exploded in size in just 24 hours, racing across the landscape, burning her home and others in Stinnett, Texas.

Fueled by 50 to 60 mph winds and dry grasses, the fire grew so fast that it surrounded the truck of Cindy Owen, 44, where she was working more than 40 miles east of Blankenship's home. Owen was burned and died of her injuries two days later.

Called the Smokehouse Creek Fire, it burned across 850,000 acres in the

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FORO

HORA 21

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## ONU aprova 1º pedido de cessar-fogo na Faixa de Gaza

O Conselho de Segurança da ONU aprovou pela primeira vez resolução de cessar-fogo imediato, no Ramadã, na guerra em Gaza entre Israel e o Hamas. O texto recebeu o apoio de 14 dos 15 países membros do órgão. Os EUA se abstiveram, em mudança de postura de Washington, que até então havia usado poder de veto. O governo israelense criticou a medida e os americanos. **Mundo A14**

## Após ação da PF, Bolsonaro ficou 2 dias em embaixada húngara

Moraes dá 48 horas para defesa explicar estadia; ex-presidente diz que frequenta representações

O ex-presidente Jair Bolsonaro (PL) passou dois dias na embaixada da Hungria em Brasília, após a PF apreender seu passaporte em operação que investiga a trama golpista. A informação foi revelada pelo jornal The New York Times e confirmada pela defesa do ex-mandatário.

Vídeo mostra Bolsonaro chegando à embaixada em 12 de fevereiro. A ação da PF havia ocorrido quatro dias antes. Imagens do sistema de segurança indicam que o ex-presidente ficou no local por dois dias, acompanhado de dois seguranças e atendido pelo embaixador.

O ex-mandatário é aliado do líder húngaro Viktor Orbán, expoente da extrema direita na Europa. A estadia em prédio diplomático impediria uma eventual prisão. Após a reportagem, o ministro Alexandre de Moraes, do STF, deu 48 horas para Bolsonaro explicar o caso.

A defesa do ex-presidente afirmou que ele se hospedou "a convite" na representação húngara para manter contato com autoridades do país amigo. "Frequento embaixadas pelo Brasil, converso com embaixadores", disse Bolsonaro em discurso em São Paulo. **Política A4 e A6**

**Análise J.P. Charleaux**  
Asilo de ex-presidente, na prática, já aconteceu nesses dois dias **A8**

**MÔNICA BERGAMO**  
Ministros do STF avaliam que episódio pode motivar prisão, mas há cautela **C2**

## Vera Iaconelli Pausa para cuidar de adolescentes

Algumas mulheres estariam abrindo mão de suas carreiras para retornar aos lares e cuidar ostensivamente de seus filhos adolescentes. Há a necessidade de nos perguntarmos sobre o que está ocorrendo com eles para que precisem de um verdadeiro "recall" de cuidados. **B2**

## Ilustrada C1 e C3 Retorno às raízes

De volta ao teatro, Fábio Porchat dirige peça que abre o Festival de Curitiba

## Ilustrada C6 Confirmado, show grátis de Madonna em Copacabana será em 4 de maio

## Comida C7 Bacalhau desfiado e outros peixes são alternativa para Páscoa econômica

## Mundo A16 Brasileiro vira dono de hotel em NY na Justiça e mora de graça até ser preso

## Daniel Alves deixa prisão após pagar fiança de R\$ 5,5 mi

## EDITORIAIS A2 Caso Marielle avança após 6 anos do crime

## Segurança previdenciária

## Acerca de queda da revisão da vida toda no STF



O ex-presidente Jair Bolsonaro (centro) conversa com o embaixador Miklós Halmi na representação húngara, em vídeo de 12 de fevereiro. Reprodução/New York Times



**VINICIUS JR. CHORA AO FALAR DE RACISMO**  
Atacante da seleção e do Real Madrid se disse frustrado com a falta de punições na Espanha e afirmou que cada vez tem menos vontade de jogar; Brasil enfrenta espanhóis hoje **Esporte B6**

## Brasileiro vê piora na economia e no desemprego, diz Datafolha

A avaliação dos brasileiros de que a economia piorou após dezembro cresceu de 35% para 41%, segundo pesquisa Datafolha. Com isso, a fatia dos que veem piora na situação econômica superou a dos que vinham percebendo melhora, que caiu de 33% para 28% no período. Aumentou também a taxa daqueles que veem mais inflação e desemprego à frente. Os dados coincidem com uma oscilação negativa de três pontos na taxa de reprovação do presidente Lula (PT), de 30% para 33%, em relação a levantamento feito em dezembro. **Mercado p.1**

## Relatório da PF não traz prova de reunião de Lessa e irmãos Brazão

Em documento do caso Marielle, a PF não citou elementos que comprovem o que Ronnie Lessa disse sobre reuniões com os irmãos Brazão, supostos mandantes. A corporação relata dificuldade em obter 'prova cabal'. **Cotidiano B1**

## Marcos Lisboa Violência na disputa por terras urbanas não deveria ser uma surpresa

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## Pepe Segarra

Es un cronista deportivo mexicano

Ha narrado diversos eventos deportivos, en especial de béisbol y fútbol americano

Es egresado de la carrera de Ciencias de la Comunicación de la UNAM



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