

PUTIN ORDERS FORCES INTO EASTERN UKRAINE



LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Taking shelter in a basement in eastern Ukraine. The nation’s president, Volodymyr Zelensky, spoke to President Biden on Monday.

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

This article is by **Michael D. Shear, Julian E. Barnes and Eric Schmitt.**
WASHINGTON — In a series of top-secret meetings last October, President Biden’s national security team presented grim intelligence that would soon trigger a fierce effort to prevent what could become the largest armed conflict in Europe since World War II. Vladimir V. Putin, the Russian president, was preparing to invade Ukraine, top intelligence and military officials told Mr. Biden.

Gathering each morning in the Oval Office for the global threat assessment known as the President’s Daily Brief, they described satellite images of Russian forces methodically advancing toward Ukraine’s border. Not only did the United States have images of troops moving into position, it also had the Russian military’s plans for a campaign against Ukraine — elements of which had already begun. At one of the morning meetings, Mr. Biden dispatched William J. Burns, the C.I.A. director, to Moscow with a message for Mr. Putin:

Blunting Provocations
While Seeking to
Unite Allies

We know what you’re planning to do. Stopping him would be a challenge. Many of America’s closest allies were skeptical that Mr. Putin — a master of disinformation — would actually invade. The use of U.S. military force against

Russia was off the table, so the allies would have to threaten Mr. Putin with economic pain so severe it would also have consequences in Europe and the United States. And it was far from certain that Republicans in Congress would back whatever the administration did. On Monday, after delivering a grievance-filled speech attacking Ukraine’s sovereignty, Mr. Putin ordered troops into two Russia-backed separatist regions in the country. But it remains unclear

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

This article is by **Anton Troianovski, Valerie Hopkins and Steven Erlanger.**
MOSCOW — President Vladimir V. Putin on Monday ordered troops into separatist-held eastern Ukraine and hinted at the possibility of a wider military campaign, delivering an emotional and aggrieved address to his nation that laid claim to all of Ukraine as a country “created by Russia.” After the speech, state television showed Mr. Putin at the Kremlin signing decrees recognizing the so-called Donetsk and Luhansk People’s Republics, which were formed after Russia fomented a separatist war in eastern Ukraine in 2014. The decrees, published by the Kremlin, directed the Russian Defense Ministry to deploy troops in those regions to carry out “peacekeeping functions.” The action by Mr. Putin, who has commandeered the world’s attention with an enormous deployment of troops along Ukraine’s border in recent weeks, was the most blatant yet in a confrontation that Western officials warn could escalate into the biggest armed conflict in Europe since World War II.

His speech that his goals extended beyond the enclaves. He laid out such a broad case against Ukraine — describing its pro-Western government as a dire threat to Russia and to Russians — that he appeared to lay the groundwork for action against the rest of the country. He even went so far as to describe Ukraine’s elected pro-Western leaders as stooges and cast them as the aggressors — even though Russia has 190,000 troops, including allied separatist fighters, surrounding Ukraine. “As for those who captured and are holding onto power in Kyiv, we demand that they immediately cease military action,” Mr. Putin said at the end of his speech, referring to Ukraine’s capital. “If not, the complete responsibility for the possibility of a continuation of bloodshed will be fully and wholly on the conscience of the regime ruling the territory of Ukraine.” It was a thinly veiled threat against the government of President



POOL PHOTO BY ALEXEI NIKOLSKY
President Vladimir V. Putin recognized separatist regions.

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

By **MICHAEL D. SHEAR and DAVID E. SANGER**
WASHINGTON — Russia’s decision to order troops into Ukraine on Monday presented the United States and Europe with the challenge of deciding how quickly to move in imposing stiff sanctions on Moscow, seeking to balance punishment, deterrence and maintaining unity among the allies. President Biden’s initial reaction was cautious, limited to issuing a narrow set of sanctions aimed at two regions in eastern Ukraine that are partly controlled by Russian-backed separatists and that President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia recognized as independent on Monday. The targeted nature of the penalties appeared intended to allow the United States and its European allies to hold in reserve the most aggressive sanctions they have threatened to impose on Moscow if Mr. Putin carries out a full-scale assault to bring down Ukraine’s democratically elected government. In private, administration officials have conceded that Mr. Putin did not seem interested in further negotiations that did not address his core demands that NATO stop expanding to the east, and speculated that he had tolerated diplomatic overtures mostly to gain

After Booster,
Body’s Defense
Is Long-Lived

By **APOORVA MANDAVILLI**
As people across the world grapple with the prospect of living with the coronavirus for the foreseeable future, one question looms large: How soon before they need yet another shot? Not for many months, and perhaps not for years, according to a flurry of new studies. Three doses of a Covid vaccine — or even just two — are enough to protect most people from serious illness and death for a long time, the studies suggest. “We’re starting to see now diminishing returns on the number of additional doses,” said John Wherry, director of the Institute for Immunology at the University of Pennsylvania. Although people over 65 or at high risk of illness may benefit from a fourth vaccine dose, it may be unnecessary for most people, he added. Federal health officials have said they are not planning to recommend fourth doses anytime soon. The Omicron variant can dodge antibodies — immune molecules that prevent the virus from infecting cells — produced after two doses of a Covid vaccine. But a third shot of the mRNA vaccines made by Pfizer-BioNTech or by Moderna prompts the body to make a much wider variety of antibodies, which would be difficult



MONTINIQUE MONROE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Brandon Smith, a rancher, applied for debt relief. Instead, he received a foreclosure warning.

Debt Relief Blocked, Black Farmers Fear Ruin

By **ALAN RAPPEPORT**
WASHINGTON — For Brandon Smith, a fourth-generation cattle rancher from Texas, the \$1.9 trillion stimulus package that President Biden signed into law nearly a year ago was long-awaited relief. Little did he know how much longer he would have to wait. The legislation included \$4 billion of debt forgiveness for Black

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

Instead, he has fallen deeper into debt. Months after signing the paperwork he received a notice informing him that the federal government intended to “accelerate” foreclosure on his 46-acre property and cattle if he did not start making payments on loans he believed had been forgiven. “I trusted the government that we had a deal, and down here at the end of the day, the rug gets pulled out from under me,” Mr.

Jury to Decide Whether Racism
Motivated 3 Men to Kill Arbery

By **TARIRO MZEZEWA and RICHARD FAUSSET**
BRUNSWICK, Ga. — A federal prosecutor in the hate crimes trial for the three white men who murdered Ahmaud Arbery told the jury in closing arguments on Monday that the defendants had targeted Mr. Arbery because of his race and did not help him after he was shot because they considered him to be “subhuman.” Defense attorneys argued that their clients had chased Mr. Arbery because they thought he might have committed a crime. And despite copious evidence that the men harbored bigoted be-

liefs — including referring to Black people as animals — and that two of them repeatedly used racist slurs, defense lawyers said there was not enough evidence to prove that racism was the reason they had pursued Mr. Arbery, a 25-year-old Black man, through their neighborhood on a Sunday afternoon in February 2020. On Monday afternoon, a jury began deliberating on whether the five-minute pursuit, which ended in the fatal shooting of Mr. Arbery, amounted to a crime of in-



INTERNATIONAL A4-14
Japan’s Past With South Korea
A bid for a UNESCO World Heritage designation is the latest flash point over World War II colonial abuses. PAGE A4

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

NATIONAL A15-18
An Uproar Over ‘Crack Pipes’
“Harm reduction” is a key pillar of President Biden’s drug policy agenda, but the effort is threatened by a conservative backlash. PAGE A15

BUSINESS B1-7
Fallout for the Global Economy
Countries dependent on Ukraine’s rich supply of energy, wheat and nickel could face spikes in prices. PAGE B1

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



SPORTS B8-12
A Winning Horse No Longer
Medina Spirit, who failed a postrace drug test, was stripped of last year’s Kentucky Derby victory. PAGE B10

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

ARTS C1-6
Paths to New Social Visions
MoMA explores an era of sweeping change, when South Asian architects — pioneering women among them — redefined the postcolonial era. PAGE C1

OBITUARIES A19, 22
Giant of Global Public Health
Dr. Paul Farmer, who cared for some of the world’s poorest people, influenced strategies for combating tuberculosis, H.I.V. and Ebola. He was 62. PAGE A19

OPINION A20-21
Thomas L. Friedman PAGE A21



SCIENCE TIMES D1-8
Protecting Gorillas From Covid
A preliminary report suggests that mask wearing and social distancing may curb the spread of disease from humans to great apes. PAGE D4

