

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

DOW JONES | News Corp *****

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 2025 ~ VOL. CCLXXXV NO. 64

WSJ.com

★★★★ \$5.00

DJIA 41581.31 ▼260.32 0.62% NASDAQ 17504.12 ▼1.7% STOXX 600 554.30 ▲0.6% 10-YR. TREAS. ▲6/32, yield 4.280% OIL \$66.90 ▼\$0.68 GOLD \$3,035.10 ▲\$35.10 EURO \$1.0946 YEN 149.28

What's News

Business & Finance

◆ **The world will need 100 times more computing power for advanced AI than it considered necessary a year ago, Nvidia Chief Executive Jensen Huang told a conference at which he unveiled a new, more-powerful line of the company's chips. B1**

◆ **A tech selloff and renewed violence in the Middle East drove U.S. stocks lower, with the S&P 500, Nasdaq and Dow falling 1.1%, 1.7% and 0.6%, respectively. B11**

◆ **U.S. housing starts** climbed more than expected in February, though that strength could be threatened by tariffs and inflation in coming months. **A2**

◆ **Nasdaq said it would** open a regional headquarters in Dallas to serve Texas and the Southeast and house part of its technology and financial-crime management businesses. **B1**

◆ **Siemens said it would** cut more than 6,000 jobs in its automation and electric-vehicle-charging businesses to boost competitiveness. **B3**

◆ **Business-software startup Rippling** accused one of its employees, later identified in a legal filing in Ireland, of stealing trade secrets for its rival, Deel. **B3**

◆ **Chinese electronics maker** Xiaomi said its net profit nearly doubled in the fourth quarter on record revenue as all of its business segments performed well. **B4**

◆ **BYD's shares rose** in Hong Kong and Shenzhen after the Chinese electric-vehicle company unveiled new fast-charging technology and announced an employee share-incentive plan. **B4**

World-Wide

◆ **Russia's Putin agreed** to a limited cease-fire against Ukraine's energy infrastructure during a phone call with Trump, but resisted a longer-lasting peace plan pushed by the president since his election. **A1**

◆ **Israeli strikes targeting** Hamas across the Gaza Strip killed more than 400 people, Palestinian authorities said, and marked what Israel's prime minister said was "just the beginning" of hostilities to come. **A1, A7**

◆ **The Trump administration** released thousands of previously classified or censored documents relating to the death of former President John F. Kennedy. **A3**

◆ **Chief Justice Roberts** decried calls from Trump and his supporters to impeach judges who have ruled against the administration, saying the courts should resolve disputes through traditional channels. **A3**

◆ **A judge ruled that** DOGE's dismantling of USAID was likely unconstitutional on multiple fronts, including the role Elon Musk played in orchestrating it. **A5**

◆ **A federal judge** blocked the Pentagon from implementing Trump's executive order that excludes transgender people from serving openly in the military. **A5**

◆ **HHS is weighing** plans to drastically cut the federal government's funding for domestic HIV prevention. **A5**

◆ **Trump fired the** FTC's two Democratic commissioners, the latest moves in his campaign to exert more control over independent government agencies. **A5**

CONTENTS	Opinion..... A13-15
Arts in Review..... A11	Personal Journal A9-10
Business & Finance B25	Property Report.... B6
Business News B3-12	Sports..... A12
Crossword..... A12	Technology..... B4
Heard on Street..... B12	U.S. News..... A2-6
Markets..... B11	World News.... A6-B16



© 2025 Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All Rights Reserved

Israel Threatens More Strikes

Attacks in Gaza killed more than 400, are 'just the beginning,' Israeli leader says

By **Feliz Solomon, Abeer Ayyoub and Carrie Keller-Lynn**

thorities said, ending a truce in place since January and marking what Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu threat-

ened is "just the beginning" of the hostilities to come.

Netanyahu ordered the attacks after Hamas failed to release the remaining hostages held in the enclave or accept U.S. proposals for extending the fragile cease-fire, his office said.

Gaza health authorities said 404 people were killed in the attacks, without specifying how many were combatants, making it one of the largest single-day death tolls since the war began in October 2023.

The strikes were aimed at what Israel said were dozens of targets among Hamas's leadership, midrank military commanders and infrastructure. Is-

rael said the effort would continue and would expand beyond airstrikes, threatening a return to full-scale war.

"From now on, Israel will act against Hamas with increasing force," Netanyahu said in televised remarks Tuesday night. "And from now on, negotiations will only take place under fire." He added, "This is just the beginning."

The Israeli military also issued evacuation orders covering a number of population centers in the enclave, particularly the northern city of Beit Hanoun and several neighborhoods of Khan Younis in the south.

An Israeli official said Pres-

ident Trump gave Israel the green light to restart attacks after the U.S.-designated terrorist group failed to give up hostages. Israel then gave the U.S. a heads-up before starting the operation, the official said.

White House press secretary Karoline Leavitt confirmed on Fox News that Israel had given advance notice of the attacks. She warned Hamas and other regional enemies of Israel and the U.S. "will see a price to pay."

Trump has pressed for the

Please turn to page A7

◆ **Israeli public support of Gaza war wanes..... A7**

Putin Agrees To Partial Cease-Fire In Ukraine

Russian leader tells Trump he will pause attacks on energy infrastructure

WASHINGTON—President Vladimir Putin of Russia agreed to a limited cease-fire against Ukraine's energy infrastructure during a phone call with President Trump on Tuesday, but remained resistant to a longer-lasting peace plan pushed by the U.S. president since his election.

By **Alan Cullison, Alexander Ward and Alexander Osipovich**

The cease-fire is the first tangible concession from Russia won by Trump in his campaign for a peace deal, in which he has mainly pressured Kyiv for concessions. For the Kremlin, Trump has dangled the enticement of improved relations and an end to its international isolation.

"We agreed to an immediate Ceasefire on all Energy and Infrastructure, with an understanding that we will be working quickly to have a Complete Ceasefire and, ultimately, an END to this very horrible War between Russia and Ukraine," Trump posted Tuesday to social media. "We will, hopefully, for the sake of Humanity, get the job done!"

The Kremlin said in a statement that Trump presented a proposal for Ukraine and Russia to cease strikes on energy

Please turn to page A6

After Nine Months, Astronauts Return Home



NASA/REUTERS (2)



WELCOME BACK: Butch Wilmore and Suni Williams were helped out of the SpaceX capsule Tuesday upon returning to Earth after their lengthy stay on the International Space Station. For video of the splashdown, scan the code with the article on **A3**.

Trade War, Politics Bedevil Fed Chair

By **NICK TIMIRAO**

Not long ago, it looked like Jerome Powell's final test as Federal Reserve chair would be to stick the soft landing. Now, with about one year left in his term, he faces a serious complication: navigating a trade war that threatens to push prices up while weakening the economy.

During a seven-year tenure that included President Trump's first trade war, a pandemic, historic inflation and high-profile bank failures,

Powell's final act also unfolds with an imperative to preserve the institution's apolitical DNA that protects its autonomy in setting interest rates.

Fed policymakers are alternately referred to as inflation-fighting "hawks" or labor-market-defending "doves." Right now, Powell looks more like a duck—calm on the surface while constantly paddling beneath murky waters.

Inflation fell over the past two years as supply-chain bottlenecks eased and workforce participation rose. Now, tail-

winds are becoming potential headwinds. Falling immigration and cuts to federal contracts risk hitting labor supply and demand. Dramatically raising tariffs could create an uncomfortable combination of weaker or even stagnant growth and higher prices.

Powell's 18 colleagues who participate in monetary-policy meetings have shifted their outlook. A few doves have become hawks, and vice versa. At least one has an eye on possibly succeeding Powell next year.

The Fed cut interest rates by 1 percentage point last year after lifting them to a two-decade high to combat higher prices. Inflation declined to around 2.5% in January from a recent peak of 7.2% in 2022. Officials are set to hold rates steady at their meeting this week.

Ahead of the latest trade-related swoon, acquaintances have tried to congratulate Powell

Please turn to page A2

◆ **Officials fine-tune reciprocal tariffs plan..... A2**

IRS Opts To Retreat On Audits As Staff Gets Cut

By **RICHARD RUBIN AND ASHLEA EBELING**

The Trump administration's rapid shrinking of the Internal Revenue Service is ending some large audits and putting others in limbo. That is the early fallout of a retreat from stepped-up tax enforcement that could dent compliance and cost the government tens of billions of dollars in revenue.

Treasury Secretary Scott Bessent hasn't detailed his plans for the IRS, its employees and operations. But a new direction is clear. Tough talk about pursuing tax dodging by corporations and high-income households is gone, and the administration is leaning more on technology for taxpayer service and enforcement.

That would reverse the recent IRS push to put more people

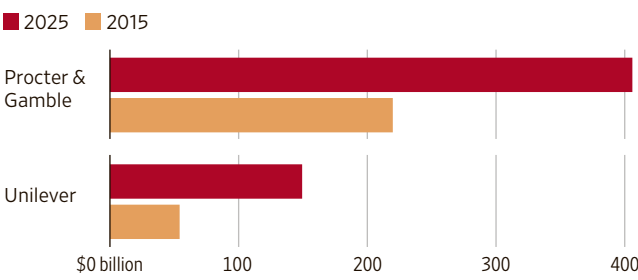
Please turn to page A4

◆ **Judge deals blow to DOGE dismantling of USAID..... A5**

P&G Takes Lead Over Unilever

Procter & Gamble and Unilever have been rivals for nearly a century. Now, P&G, after lagging behind in the early 2010s, has overtaken Unilever by doubling down on its biggest brands. **B1**

Procter & Gamble vs. Unilever market value



Note: Figures are as of March 11 of each year. Unilever dollar amounts were converted from British pounds. Source: FactSet

'Organized Hitchhiking' in D.C. Is Back—No Political Talk Allowed

◆ **Federal return-to-work mandates clog roads, helping revive a carpooling tradition** ◆

By **CORRIE DRIEBUSCH**

WOODBRIDGE, Va.—At 6:47 a.m. on a recent Wednesday, the Horner Road Commuter Lot started filling with workers in suits, military uniform and fleece quarter-zips. In the still-dark, they formed an orderly queue in Lot 8.

A car pulled up, the driver rolled down his window and,

after a brief exchange, two commuters hopped in for the 30-minute drive to the Pentagon, zooming past gridlock traffic.

"Slugging," a Washington, D.C., tradition, is back.

These slugs aren't of the mollusk variety. They're commuters looking to bypass the capital's notorious traffic and

Please turn to page A10

Morgan Stanley Went Big on DEI. No One's Happy.

Black and white staff say efforts, now being softened, added to divisive culture

By **ANNA MARIA ANDRIOTIS AND LAUREN WEBER**

Across America, corporate diversity initiatives are in the crosshairs of legal activists and a Trump administration set on wiping them out. At Morgan Stanley, the backlash bubbled up from within.

After George Floyd's murder in 2020, the bank's then-CEO James Gorman called out "unresolved racial injustice" in society and vowed Morgan Stanley would be part of the solution. The bank created an Institute for Inclusion with external advisers and pledged to boost the share of racial minorities in executive ranks, where it trailed rivals.

Today, the bank faces discrimination accusations and lawsuits from both white and Black workers and criticism from staff who say the efforts either fell short or were unduly heavy-handed. Several

complaints were filed privately in recent months with a federal agency.

Even a high-profile initiative aimed at hiring more Black employees came under fire after some discovered they were underpaid compared with their peers. An internal review in early 2023 resulted in the firm increasing the employees' salaries and paying them tens of thousands of dollars in extra bonuses.

The workplace tensions at Morgan Stanley have flared as companies scrambled to respond to a national reckoning over race relations—and then tried to temper the approach once the legal climate shifted.

While outside pressure has been the focus of the growing political and legal war against DEI, employees and executives have also clashed inside offices, as business leaders brought on consultants, train-

Please turn to page A8



JIM ALTEGEN/AP

U.S. NEWS

Thousands of pages of previously classified or censored files on JFK's death are released. **A3**

U.S. NEWS

Officials Fine-Tune Reciprocal Tariffs Plan

Trump team weighs how much to tax nations after tiered system is ruled out

Trump administration officials are roiled in debate over how to implement the president's pledge to equalize U.S.

By Gavin Bade, Josh Dawsey and Vipal Monga

tariffs with those charged by other nations, with aides scrambling to meet the president's self-imposed deadline of April 2 to debut a plan.

Officials have recently weighed whether to simplify the complex task of devising new tariff rates for hundreds of U.S. trading partners by instead sorting nations into one of three tariff tiers, according to people close to the policy discussions, who emphasized that the situation remains fluid and could evolve in the coming weeks.

The proposal was later ruled out, said an administration official close to the talks, adding that Trump's team is still trying to sort how to implement an individualized rate for each nation.

"The president has made it clear he wants to see true reciprocity across the board from every one of our trading partners, and many ideas have been discussed on how to best achieve that outcome," White House press secretary Karoline Leavitt said.

Trump has repeatedly said reciprocal tariffs would mean "what they charge us, we charge them." That would be a gargantuan task, leaving officials to customize tariff rates for hundreds of countries and territories that the U.S. trades with around the world. The plan to match levies with other nations would come on top of his other tariff threats, such as 25% on imports from Mexico and Canada for fentanyl trafficking, and certain sector-based duties such as on steel and aluminum imports.

The simplified three-tier tariff proposal—with low, medium and high rates—was discussed last Thursday at a meeting featuring the likes of chief of staff Susie Wiles, Commerce Secretary Howard Lutnick, Treasury Secretary Scott Bessent, U.S. Trade Representative Jamieson Greer, deputy chief of staff for policy Stephen Miller, Office of Management and Budget Director Russ Vought, and Senior Counselor for Trade and Manufacturing Peter Navarro.

Officials discussed several proposals, including the three-tier approach. But on Friday, when officials huddled on the plan again, the tiered proposal was ruled out, the administration official said, in favor of an individualized approach. How to determine that tariff rate is the subject of debate and discussion among the team now, the official said.

Vice President JD Vance has taken on a larger role in Trump's trade agenda in recent weeks and helmed some policy discussions, people familiar with the matter said. There have been several lengthy meetings in recent weeks among top Trump aides, including an hourslong meeting at the Naval Observatory, the vice president's official residence in Washington. The meetings have centered on how to create a comprehensive tariff policy that achieves Trump's goals but has more flexibility.

Officials are weighing how to move forward without overwhelming the U.S. Trade Representative's office, an agency of more than 200 people charged with devising the reciprocal tariff plan. The Wall Street Journal previously reported that imposing reciprocal tariffs unique to each trading partner's duties and non-tariff barriers could take six months or more.



Jerome Powell's final act as chair unfolds with an imperative to preserve the Fed's apolitical DNA that guards its autonomy.

Trade War, Politics Vex Fed Chair

Continued from Page One
ell on achieving a soft landing, even if for a brief time. The Fed chair has been too superstitious to agree. At a congressional hearing last month, he would only say that the economy had avoided a recession.

"I call that a soft landing," Sen. John Kennedy (R., La.) told him. "I don't know why you don't take the credit."

Trump's latest trade war makes that tricky. When prices go up but growth falters, officials must choose between cushioning demand by lowering rates or preventing price increases by keeping rates higher.

Fresh on Fed officials' minds is how they misjudged inflation when the economy reopened from the pandemic in 2021. Back then, officials initially believed rising prices would pass as supply chains healed. They ultimately abandoned the "transitory" thesis and began raising rates.

Trump's Treasury secretary, Scott Bessent, said recently that Fed officials should treat tariff-related price rises like they did at first in 2021. "I would hope that the failed 'team transitory' could get back together and think that nothing is more transitory than tariffs," he said at a luncheon in New York this month.

If inflation accelerates in the months ahead, officials would parse the guts of inflation reports for signs that tariffs—as opposed to an overheated economy—were driving up prices.

"We call that a signal extraction problem," said Fed governor Christopher Waller in a recent interview. "You get this data point, and you're trying to find the signal of what's fundamental and what is maybe tariff noise, and that's tough."

The shifting landscape is testing not just Powell's economic chops but also his ability to manage a Fed board roiled by contrasting judgments and professional aspirations. A Fed that looks political would undercut the case for its so-called independence.

Trump's election ricocheted through the Fed even before his inauguration. Michael Barr announced in early January that he would surrender his job as vice chair of bank supervision after concluding Trump, a Republican, would seek to fire him. He will remain on the board as a plain-vanilla governor.

Barr, a law professor, concluded that fighting a messy legal battle to keep his job wouldn't be worth the reputational cost to the Fed. If Trump nominated and the Senate confirmed a replacement while Barr challenged his ouster, the Fed's staff could have been stuck trying to answer to two different people who claimed to be in charge of bank regulation. In addition, Barr might have had to pay for any lawsuit out of his own pocket.

Barr's self-demotion opened up a spot for another Fed governor to fill the role. Trump said on social media Monday he plans to nominate Michelle Bowman to the job.

Bowman was appointed to the Fed by Trump during his first term, in 2018. After Trump's re-election in November, Bowman delivered a speech before an invitation-only audience in West Palm Beach, Fla., near Trump's home. Her remarks touted her vote against the Fed's September rate cut. Trump advisers didn't think the Fed should cut rates before the election.

Waller, the other governor appointed by Trump, has been viewed by Fed insiders as gunning for the chairmanship. He has lately signaled a more-dovish posture toward rate cuts than was the case early last summer. In recent months, he has argued that the central bank should be prepared to continue cutting rates by looking past any tariffs.

As early as December 2023, he noted the prospect for the Fed to cut rates meaningfully if inflation declined.

Other colleagues who were some of the most-vocal advocates for front-loading the Fed's rate cuts last year have signaled they should now return their focus to inflation. Last fall, Fed governor Adriana Kugler foreshadowed a hawkish turn by noting that a drop in labor-force growth from falling immigration could undo progress on inflation, jeopardizing the case for continued rate cuts.

Chicago Fed President Austan Goolsbee, another advocate for rate cuts last year, also turned more vigilant on inflation. He signaled skepticism in a February speech about looking past tariff-related price increases by highlighting the lessons of Covid.

"It is dangerous to assume away supply chain issues," he said.

In an interview, Goolsbee said his fundamental outlook hadn't changed. "I keep saying, 12 to 18 months from now, rates are going to be way lower than they are today if we can just stay on the path" of declining inflation, he said. "I still basically think that's true. I'm not hawkish."

After the election, Powell asked his colleagues to tighten up their communications to avoid saying things that could be seen as unnecessarily provocative toward the new administration. Kugler, a Biden appointee, delivered a speech on central-bank independence one week after Trump's election.

Six years ago, in his first term, Trump publicly badgered Powell to cut rates—but most of Trump's senior advisers largely left the Fed alone. This time could be different. Advisers have suggested they regard the Powell Fed poorly.

"The people...who are running the Fed have made a lot of mistakes on inflation over the last years, starting with letting it get out of control by saying it's all just supply disruptions and so on," said Kevin Hassett, Trump's director of the National Economic Council, in a Bloomberg television interview last month.

While the administration said it isn't trying to interfere with interest-rate policy, it has taken steps that could indirectly curtail the Fed's independence or create new avenues to challenge the Fed.

An executive order last month would give the administration power to oversee the institution's regulatory agenda and interpret laws on its behalf. Though it exempts monetary policy, there is ambiguity over how it might be enforced.

Wait-and-See Path By Fed Obscures A Wider Strategy

By NICK TIMIRAO

Federal Reserve officials are set to hold interest rates steady at the end of their two-day meeting Wednesday. But underneath the surface, their strategy is shifting.

In the central bank's new quarterly economic projections, most officials are expected to pencil in one or two rate cuts this year. At first glance, that would suggest little meaningful change in the rate outlook since the last set of projections in December, when most officials penciled in two cuts.

Those projections are a subject of intense focus on Wall Street. But they are likely to obscure how the Fed's wait-and-see holding pattern has undergone an important reset because of the threat of an expansive trade war that sends up prices.

The Fed can cut because of good news—inflation has declined. That was the case last year. It can also cut because of bad news—the economy is sputtering.

The case for the first type of cuts has dimmed because sweeping tariff increases appear much more likely than they did just seven weeks ago, when Fed officials last met.

Tariffs represent an economic shock that can suddenly decrease the economy's ability to supply goods or services, sending up prices while weakening economic growth. Increased duties on imported goods threaten to roil interconnected global supply chains and, given their haphazard rollout, to chill new investment until businesses have more clarity on their underlying cost structure.

"It puts the Fed between a rock and a hard place," said Jay Bryson, chief economist at Wells Fargo. "If inflation goes up, you want to be tightening. On the other hand, if the unemployment rate goes up, you want to be loosening."

Consumer sentiment has grown gloomier recently amid comments from the president's senior advisers that they are willing to tolerate some short-term weakness in financial markets or the economy and amid high-profile cuts to the federal workforce. Moreover, the effects of the Fed's past rate increases continue to cast a chill on some parts of the U.S. economy, including manufacturing and housing.

Fed officials have recent experience with a trade war—when President Trump imposed tariffs in his first term. Back then, the Fed lowered rates pre-emptively to shore up economic growth. It had the luxury of doing so because inflation was low.

By contrast, the current round of tariffs is shaping up to be larger than that previous episode. And inflation has been above the Fed's target for the past four years. Businesses have spent more time figuring out when and to what degree they might be able to pass along higher costs to customers.

"In 2019, this really wasn't on their minds," said Michael Reid, senior U.S. economist at RBC Capital Markets.

Several Fed officials have said they would be even more cautious if there were signs that the public was beginning to anticipate inflation will rise in a sustained fashion. Central bankers are particularly focused on making sure that consumers and businesses expect inflation to stay low, because those expectations can be self-fulfilling.

"Probably for the next six months, I would expect the Fed to be watching and not doing very much," said Eric Rosengren, former president of the Boston Fed. He said he had expected tariffs to keep the Fed on hold for much of the year. But he also said he had been surprised that the tariff increases that have taken effect and those that seem likely have been even larger than he anticipated.

The Fed's interest-rate projections don't easily capture the wide range of potential outcomes that could lead to rate cuts or keep the Fed on hold. Philadelphia Fed President Patrick Harker said last month he had been "on the fence between one and two cuts" when he had to make his submission in December. "I couldn't do 1½," he said in an interview.

Coming up with a forecast has only grown more difficult since then. "The uncertainty is going to be very high," Harker said. "None of us in the profession can say for sure what's going to happen."

CORRECTIONS & AMPLIFICATIONS

Readers can alert The Wall Street Journal to any errors in news articles by emailing wsjcontact@wsj.com or by calling 888-410-2667.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

(USPS 664-880) (Eastern Edition ISSN 0099-9660)
(Central Edition ISSN 1092-0935) (Western Edition ISSN 0193-2241)

Editorial and publication headquarters: 1211 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10036

Published daily except Sundays and general legal holidays.
Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and other mailing offices.

Postmaster: Send address changes to The Wall Street Journal,
200 Burnett Rd., Chicopee, MA 01020.

All Advertising published in The Wall Street Journal is subject to the applicable rate card,
copies of which are available from the Advertising Services Department, Dow Jones & Co.
Inc., 1211 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10036. The Journal reserves the right
not to accept an advertiser's order. Only publication of an advertisement shall constitute
final acceptance of the advertiser's order.

Letters to the Editor: Fax: 212-416-2891; email: wsj.letters@wsj.com

Need assistance with your subscription?
By web: customercenter.wsj.com; By email: support@wsj.com
By phone: 1-800-JOURNAL (1-800-568-7625)

Reprints & licensing:
By email: customreprints@dowjones.com
By phone: 1-800-843-0008

WSJ back issues and framed pages: wsjshop.com

Our newspapers are 100% sourced from sustainably certified mills.

GOT A TIP FOR US? SUBMIT IT AT WSJ.COM/TIPS

Housing Starts Top Estimates

By Ed Frankl

U.S. housing starts climbed more than expected in February, though that strength could be threatened by tariffs and inflation in the coming months.

Housing starts, a measure of U.S. home building, jumped 11.2% in February to a rate of 1.501 million, the Commerce Department said Tuesday. That was considerably stronger than expectations of 1.38 million from economists polled by The Wall Street Journal.

Starts were, however, 2.9%

lower than the same month of 2024.

Residential permits, which offer some indication of the direction of home construction, ticked down 1.2% to 1.456 million.

The uptick comes despite confidence among home builders weakening in March, according to data released Monday by the National Association of Home Builders, partly driven lower by the Trump administration's introduction of tariffs on imports, including on building materials.

U.S. housing starts

Year	Housing Starts (Million Units)
2020	1.25
2021	1.40
2022	1.50
2023	1.45
2024	1.40
2025 (Jan)	1.35
2025 (Feb)	1.50 (+11.2%)

Note: Seasonally adjusted at an annualized rate.
Source: Commerce Department

U.S. NEWS

Roberts Steps In to Defend Court System

By **JESS BRAVIN**
AND **JAN WOLFE**

WASHINGTON—Chief Justice John Roberts decried calls from President Trump and his supporters to impeach judges who have ruled against administration policies, saying the court system should resolve legal disputes through the system of litigation.

“For more than two centuries, it has been established that impeachment is not an appropriate response to disagreement concerning a judicial decision,” Roberts said Tuesday. “The normal appellate review process exists for that purpose.”

The comments from Roberts followed a statement from Trump, who demanded the impeachment of a federal judge who is hearing a challenge to the removal of alleged Venezuelan gang members under a long-dormant 18th century statute, the Alien Enemies Act.

The administration sent more than 250 migrants to a prison in El Salvador last weekend, despite an order from Chief Judge James Boasberg of the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., that temporarily halted the deportations for 14 days.

Trump lashed out at Boasberg in a social-media post, calling the judge “a troublemaker and agitator who was sadly appointed by Barack Hussein Obama.” The president continued: “I’m just doing what the VOTERS wanted me to do. This judge, like many of the Crooked Judges’ I am forced to appear before, should be IMPEACHED!!!!”

Tuesday’s statement isn’t the first time Roberts has scolded politicians for disparaging the judiciary. In 2018, after Trump attacked what he called an “Obama judge” for ruling against him in a separate immigration case, Roberts defended the courts.

“We do not have Obama judges or Trump judges, Bush judges or Clinton judges,” Roberts said then. “What we have is an extraordinary group of dedicated judges doing their level best to do equal right to those appearing before them.”

The Constitution provides that federal judges serve during “good behavior,” a term inherited from the English tradition that provides for life tenure, absent misconduct. In his year-end report last December, Roberts observed that among the grievances Americans lodged against King George III was his removal of

life tenure—and thus independence—from colonial judges.

Fifteen judges have been impeached since 1789, according to the Federal Judicial Center, of whom eight were convicted and removed from office. The first, in 1804, was removed for “mental instability and intoxication on the bench,” according to the center. The most recent, in 2010, was removed for taking bribes and lying under oath.

Impeachment threatens against district judges over preliminary orders issued at the outset of litigation are all but unheard of—let alone from the president.

To remove a judge, the House would have to approve articles of impeachment, and the Senate, following a trial, would need to convict by a two-thirds vote. While the odds of that are slim, Roberts and other judges have warned that incendiary rhetoric from political leaders can lead to intimidation of judges and even threats to their and their families’ safety.

For weeks, the president’s supporters—including his billionaire benefactor Elon Musk—have been calling for impeachment of judges who found against the administration in preliminary stages of litigation over its policies.

On Tuesday, several House Republicans rushed to back the president’s call. “Impeach rogue judges,” Rep. Nancy Mace (R., S.C.) said on social media. Rep. Brandon Gill (R., Texas) said Tuesday he had filed articles of impeachment against Boasberg.

Democrats expressed incredulity. “My Republican colleagues have filed articles of impeachment against judges not for misconduct, not for corruption, but for the crime of upholding the rule of law against Trump’s plainly lawless acts,” said Rep. Jamie Raskin (D., Md.).

Asked about Roberts’s statement in a Fox News interview Tuesday with Laura Ingraham, Trump said: “Well he didn’t mention my name in the statement. I just saw it quickly. He didn’t mention my name.” The president also defended his criticism of the judge and said the decision to deport criminals in the country illegally should be “a presidential job, that’s not for a local judge to be making that determination.”

Trump said he would not defy a court order but added: “At a certain point, you have to start looking at what do you do when you have a rogue judge.”



The SpaceX capsule splashed down Tuesday in waters near Tallahassee, Fla., and was met by recovery teams.

Astronauts Return to Earth at Last

By **MICAH MAIDENBERG**

It’s the end of a space odyssey.

After more than nine months in orbit, astronauts Barry Wilmore and Sunita Williams returned to Earth Tuesday, with their vehicle splashing down in the waters not far from Tallahassee, Fla. around 6 p.m. ET.

The return of Butch and Suni, as the duo are called, caps an extended saga that thrust the agency into some of its most fraught debates about safe human space flight in years. During that time, Wilmore and Williams’s lives were disrupted, exposing them to risks in orbit and keeping them far from family to carry out a mission that was supposed to last about eight days.

Throughout it all, Wilmore and Williams, experienced astronauts and former Navy pilots, maintained an even keel. With Tuesday’s landing, they logged 285 days at the International Space Station and orbited Earth almost 4,600 times. “Don’t remind me, this might be my last flight” to the ISS, Williams said during a recent briefing with reporters. “That’s a little sad.”

Williams, 59 years old, and Wilmore, 62, wound up celebrating Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Year’s Eve and both their birthdays on the space station.

The two astronauts were part of a four-person crew that returned from space. After the splashdown, which was livestreamed by NASA, SpaceX teams quickly retrieved the spacecraft, and crew members soon began to emerge from the vehicle.

Williams came through a hatch waving and smiling, just under an hour after the landing. Wilmore exited the space-



NASA/EMILY SHUTTERSTOCK

craft next, briefly stood with help and then sat on a cart to be wheeled away. He gave a double thumbs up, with a broad smile on his face.

All four will travel to NASA’s Johnson Space Center in Houston for several days of medical checks by agency flight surgeons.

Wilmore and Williams arrived at the orbiting research laboratory on June 6. Their mission aimed to test the capabilities of a Boeing-developed spacecraft, called Starliner, designed to ferry astronauts to and from the ISS.

NASA’s plan for Starliner’s first crewed voyage called for the astronauts to remain aboard the ISS for a little over a week before piloting the craft back to Earth. Problems with Starliner’s propulsion system prompted the agency to change course: Officials decided that bringing the pair back on the Boeing craft was too risky, though the aerospace company said the vehi-

cle was up to the task.

Last August, NASA leaders made the call on Wilmore and Williams’s return. They would stay on board the ISS, and be incorporated into the agency’s regular crew rotation. That meant that both would return to Earth in early 2025 after the arrival of another crew.

Starliner successfully flew back empty in early September. Later that month, a SpaceX vehicle brought NASA astronaut Nick Hague and Russian cosmonaut Aleksandr Gorbunov to join Wilmore and Williams as a unit aboard the ISS.

On Sunday, a separate SpaceX craft brought a new crew to the space station, clearing the way for Wilmore, Williams, Hague and Gorbunov to fly back with SpaceX.

President Trump and SpaceX Chief Executive Elon Musk have accused the Biden administration of leaving Wilmore and Williams in orbit for political reasons. Leaders

appointed to run the space agency by former President Joe Biden have said they made calls about the return based on safety, and that politics never came into play.

NASA officials have said the agency wanted to maintain its schedule of crew missions and that slotting Wilmore and Williams into the rotation was part of that plan.

“We’re trying to lay out the rest of our manifest, you know, to make sure we have vehicles available for all the flights and it just didn’t make sense to go ahead and accelerate a flight” to bring Wilmore and Williams back earlier, NASA program manager Steve Stich said during a briefing last August.

Musk has said that he made an offer to the Biden administration for SpaceX to bring Wilmore and Williams back sooner. He hasn’t detailed his proposal.

Pam Melroy, who served as NASA’s deputy administrator during Biden’s term in office, said in a recent interview that leaders at the agency’s headquarters didn’t receive any such pitch from Musk. A SpaceX vice president declined to address Musk’s comments during a briefing earlier this month.

While aboard the ISS, Williams and Wilmore carried out research projects and conducted station maintenance, in between the usual daily exercise and occasional video calls with students. Both donned spacesuits and conducted a spacewalk together outside the facility earlier this year.

Watch a Video



Scan this code to watch the astronauts’ craft splashing down off Florida.

Trump Releases Files on JFK’s Death

WASHINGTON—The Trump administration on Tuesday released more than 30,000 pages of previously classified or censored documents relating to the death of former President John F. Kennedy, potentially providing answers to decades-old questions that helped make the 1963 assassination an emblem of distrust in government.

By **Joel Schectman,**
Jack Gillum
and **Brian Whitton**

President Trump said last year on the campaign trail he would disclose those documents if elected, and on Monday said most of the 80,000 remaining pages would be released in full. “You’ve got a lot of reading,” he told reporters while visiting the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. Lawyers from the Justice Department’s national-security division were tapped to review hundreds of documents each, which they did late into the night on Monday, in preparation for the release, according to a person familiar with the matter.

The Warren Commission in 1964 found that Kennedy was killed by Lee Harvey Oswald, who acted alone. In the years since, a raft of alternate theories have bubbled up, including whether the U.S. government itself killed him.

The release, made public by the National Archives, contains at least 31,000 pages of digitized paper documents going back to the 1960s. Some have faded typewritten text and handwritten notes; others contain faint classified “SECRET” markings. The documents appeared to address a range of topics, from a trip Oswald took to Finland, to a \$210 rent reminder for a Central Intelligence Agency safe house in Maryland, to the financing of covert operations. One March 1993 memo shows the CIA arranged for two Washington Post reporters to interview Yuri Nosenko, a former KGB agent, about his knowledge of Oswald when he lived in the Soviet Union. “The POST reimbursed Nosenko for expenses and paid him a \$250 consulting fee,” the memo said.

The secrecy around Kennedy’s assassination was in many ways ground zero for the idea of “deep state” bureaucrats acting secretly to undermine elected officials, historians say, an idea that has been crucial to Trump’s rise. Before Kennedy’s assassination, most American conspiracy theories were about foreign countries meddling in U.S. affairs, said Steven Gillon, a historian on the Kennedy family. Kennedy’s killing, U.S. dishonesty about the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal all created “a breeding ground of suspicions



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Theories arose over the years about Kennedy’s killing.

that led to this fear of a deep state,” Gillon said.

Documents released Tuesday help explain why some of the materials have remained secret for decades. CIA operations that could be exposed spanned dozens of countries.

The documents, many of them fully unredacted, provide a window into the overlap between covert action and statecraft. One CIA document from 1960 recounts how Mexico’s President Adolfo López Mateos, who had spoken publicly against American intervention in Cuba, praised American plans to oust Cuban leader Fidel Castro. López Mateos asked the CIA’s local station chief to convey to President Eisenhower that “he is delighted that a decision has now been made to get rid of Castro.”

While most Kennedy scholars don’t expect any released documents to dispute the notion that Oswald shot Kennedy, they say the documents could shed more light on whether Cuban or Soviet officials knew about the former Marine’s intentions to kill the president. The release could also provide more information about whether the CIA and Federal Bureau of Investigation ignored warning signs about Oswald’s plans.

One previously declassified FBI report showed that, in the months before the assassination, Oswald had tried to defect to Cuba, and sought a visa from Havana’s mission in Mexico City. After being rejected for the visa, Oswald was heard screaming that he was going to kill Kennedy, that FBI report alleged. Castro also knew about Oswald’s visit and his threat, the report alleged, attributing the comments to an FBI source who spoke to Castro after Kennedy’s death.

Another document released Tuesday says that the CIA’s station chief in Mexico City asked about an American trying to get a visa and having a problem with the Soviet consul. “Can we identify?” the chief wrote. An officer identified the American as Oswald, pulled the tape of the wiretap of the Soviet consulate that captured his visit, and marked it “urgent,” the document said.

NAUTISCHE INSTRUMENTE
MÜHLE
GLASHÜTTE/SA.

TEUTONIA IV CHRONOGRAPH

Our Teutonia IV Chronograph model is characterized by a 39 millimeter stainless steel case and automatic movement that has up to 62 hours power reserve.

For more information please contact:

Joseph Gann Jewelers-Boston, MA-617-426-4932
Joseph Edwards-NYC-NY-212-730-7300
Little Treasury Jewelers-Gambrills, MD-410-721-7100
Exquisite Timepieces-Naples-FL-800-595-5330
Brentwood Jewelers-Brentwood, TN-615-373-5959
State St. Jewelers-Greensboro, NC-336-273-5872
Old Northeast Jewelers - St. Pete-FL-727-898-4377
Old Northeast Jewelers - Tampa-813-875-3935
Orlando Watch Co-Winter Park, FL-407-975-9137

Muhle Glashutte USA · 727-896-4278
www.muhleglashutteusa.us

Hurdles Await Housing on Federal Land

Logistical challenges and Nimbyism leave few clear paths for a new U.S. initiative

By Rebecca Picciotto and Drew An-Pham

The Trump administration is creating a task force to identify federal land that would be suitable for building affordable housing.

The initiative marks the administration's first step toward unlocking swaths of federal land to address America's housing shortage by transferring or leasing the land to local governments.

The task force will be run jointly by the Interior Department, which oversees the Bureau of Land Management, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the two agencies' secretaries wrote in a Wall Street Journal opinion piece on Sunday.

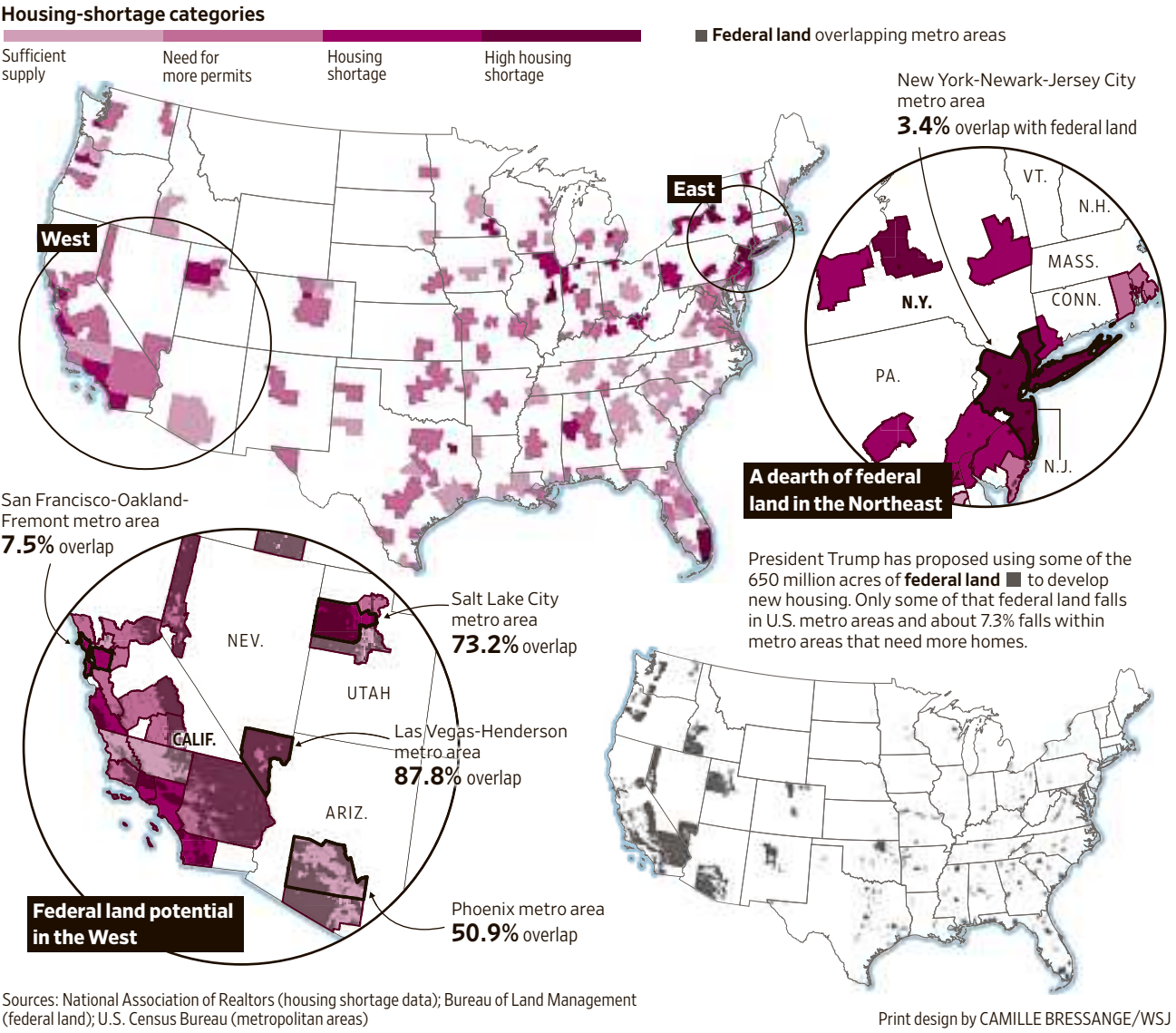
Developing even 512,000 acres of the BLM's lots could yield between three million and four million new homes across western states such as Nevada, Utah, California and Arizona, according to a preliminary analysis by the American Enterprise Institute, a Washington, D.C., center-right think tank.

An increase of that magnitude would represent one of the most ambitious housing proposals in U.S. history. It would go a long way to addressing the U.S. housing shortage, which depending on the estimate runs to more than seven million units.

But few housing analysts see a clear path for a program like this. In some areas, the surrounding infrastructure and zoning laws would have to allow for home building, or be changed to do so. President Trump's plan would also contend with logistical and environmental challenges.

The home-building ambitions could slam into many of the same thorny challenges that any housing initiative of

The U.S. is facing a housing shortage. That scarcity is most acutely felt in the country's more densely populated metropolitan areas.



acres, or 7.3% of all federal land, falls within metropolitan areas that need more homes, according to a Wall Street Journal analysis of government land maps and housing-shortage data from the National Association of Realtors.

In the New York City metro area, just 3.4% of the land is federally owned. Much of it is concentrated in New Jersey, Brooklyn and Queens.

In a few cases, local housing shortages overlap with an abundance of federal land in the area, such as Salt Lake City and Las Vegas. This policy could make a big difference for those markets.

In Nevada, which is more than 80% federal land, the state's Bureau of Land Management has sold 50 acres to build affordable housing through a unique Southern Nevada land-sale program that became law in 1998. That program could achieve even more supply if some environmental and appraisal reviews were streamlined, said BLM Acting Director Jon Raby.

Local residents are also inevitably going to voice Nimby concerns over more crowded neighborhoods, schools and other changes that come with more density, said National Association of Home Builders President and Chief Executive Jim Tobin.

"You're going to run up against the people who don't want more housing in their neighborhood because it's going to increase the line at Starbucks," Tobin said.

Past presidents, including Joe Biden and Barack Obama, have tried to repurpose the government's unused land for housing. The policy is difficult to execute partly because it requires coordinated buy-in from local, state and federal government officials, said Shaun Donovan, Obama's former HUD secretary and director of the Office of Management and Budget.

Still, said NAHB's Tobin, "finding developable, desirable land for cheap is the holy grail of home building."

IRS Staff And Audits Cut Back

Continued from Page One

ple on telephone lines, in walk-in centers and on the front lines of audits and collections.

The IRS expansion started by former President Joe Biden, a Democrat, screeched to a halt after President Trump, a Republican, took office. The new administration fired 7% of IRS employees, mostly from the en-

forcement staff, and froze hiring. The Republican Congress moved to rescind almost all the enforcement spending Democrats approved in 2022. Former IRS officials expect thousands of further job cuts soon.

The administration mostly delayed taxpayer-service cuts to avoid damaging tax-filing season, so the most immediate changes are being felt in enforcement.

Bryan Skarlatos, a New York tax lawyer, said an IRS appeals officer on a long-running partnership case called and said he was leaving the government soon. He asked for Skarlatos's best offer and settled on taxpayer-favorable

terms. In two other cases involving high-net-worth people, Skarlatos said, the IRS closed recently opened audits without seeking money.

"We have seen agents just disappear from cases that we're in the middle of, and I don't know what's going to happen," said Kathy Pakenham, co-head of the tax controversy practice at law firm Vinson & Elkins, who saw a ramp-up in IRS activity for 18 months and then a rapid drop-off. "We have seen like a switch flipping in the number of audits that are being started."

Thousands fired

It has been a turbulent period at the IRS, which has had three commissioners and three chief counsels this year as Biden's picks resigned and acting replacements exited or were pushed aside.

The IRS fired 7,400 probationary employees from about 100,000 total workers, including more than 1,000 in the large-business and international division that handles the biggest cases. Some probationary workers are being rehired under court order and placed on leave. Another 4,700 accepted the government's deferred-resignation offer.

"That's just money being thrown away," said Barry Johnson, who retired in January after running the IRS's research-and-analytics division. "It seemed counterproductive to me to lose staff we worked so hard to recruit and bring on."

Biden administration officials repeatedly highlighted enforcement efforts aimed at corporations and wealthy people and argued that a strong IRS was good for the country. Now, the country is flipping from an IRS scrutinizing corporate jets and large partnerships to one that is smaller and stressed.

The administration's view, a Treasury official said, is that tax compliance is critical but that Biden's expansion added too many people.

"We are doing a big review," Bessent said on NBC on Sunday. "I have three priorities for the IRS: collections, privacy and customer service. And we'll see what level is needed to prioritize all those."

The Senate is expected to



Clipboards and paperwork at the Internal Revenue Service campus in Austin, Texas.

Talented Auditors Preferred by Lawyers and Accountants

For large, sophisticated taxpayers, the best outcome is no audit at all. But lawyers and accountants say they often prefer a talented auditor to an inexperienced or weak one.

Larry Campagna, a Houston tax lawyer, was defending an audit for a corporate client facing a civil investi-

gation about research-and-development claims. Three weeks after a promising full-day meeting with the agent and witnesses, the agent said he was taking the government's deferred-resignation offer, and the audit was transferred to someone else.

"The agent was con-

vinced that very likely we hadn't done anything improper. Now we're back to square one," Campagna said.

"Every time you change agents there's a cost to both the government and the taxpayer. You can't cut the workforce in half and expect the people left can handle the work."

soon consider confirming Billy Long, a former congressman from Missouri who is Trump's pick to run the agency. Long is trying to create an "efficient, transparent and accountable" IRS, said Senate Finance Committee Chairman Mike Crapo (R., Idaho).

'No strategy here'

Former officials see potentially dangerous consequences. They warn that weaker enforcement would reduce revenue far beyond savings from firing workers, and worry about disruptions to tax filing. Some expect longer telephone wait times and doubt computers can replace humans as quickly as Trump allies expect.

"There's no strategy here except to, I don't know, weaken the IRS and replace it with apps," says Nina Olson, who was the national taxpayer advocate, the agency's in-house critic, for 18 years.

One big concern: Hollowing

out the IRS could erode a valuable asset—high voluntary tax compliance by households and businesses. People pay partly because of social norms against lawbreaking and partly because they fear getting caught. Now, Americans pay about 85% of what they owe, with direct IRS collections adding 2%, levels that research suggests are above many European countries.

David Kautter, who was acting IRS commissioner and a top Treasury official in Trump's first term, said the new approach might work—if officials protect core functions.

"If you want change fast, this is about the only way I know of to do it," he said. "We've tried the slow, incremental way, and not much has happened. So I don't know how else to shock the system."

The emerging Trump administration vision could use data analytics and artificial intelligence to identify problems in returns and manage audits.

The IRS has made plenty of missteps over the years, but it has taken some recent technological steps forward. It created Direct File, a free tax-filing platform for simpler returns. The IRS added new features to online taxpayer accounts, made progress upgrading 1960s-era technology that undergirds individual records and added callback options to customer-service lines.

Even with better technology, agency veterans said people are crucial. Many taxpayers aren't computer-savvy or prefer talking to a person.

A person familiar with the administration's IRS inquiries said the Department of Government Efficiency team assigned to the agency thinks far more can be automated than is actually feasible. The team's questions, the person said, suggested that the administration sees technical solutions to nearly every problem.

An IRS spokeswoman declined to comment.

I spent my life helping other Veterans

but not always myself

As a Veteran, when someone raises their hand for help, you're often one of the first ones to respond. But it's also okay to get help for yourself. Maybe you want or need assistance with employment, stress, finances, mental health or finding the right resources. No matter what it is, you earned it. And there's no better time than right now to ask for it.

Don't wait. Reach out.

Find resources at [VA.GOV/REACH](https://www.va.gov/reach)

ad

U.S. NEWS

Funds to Curb HIV in the U.S. Eyed for Cut

Plans come as the administration looks to sharply reduce personnel at CDC

The Health and Human Services Department is weighing plans to drastically cut the federal government’s funding for domestic HIV prevention, according to people familiar with the matter.

By Liz Essley Whyte, Dominique Mosbergen and Jonathan D. Rockoff

The discussions come as the Trump administration is preparing for deep cuts of personnel at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, part of a reorganization of the agency, people familiar with the planning said.

The cuts and reorganization would take advantage of a weakness of the agency’s legal underpinnings: No single law outlines its purposes and authorizes its many programs.

The CDC has a department dedicated to the prevention of HIV and other infectious diseases. The department funds state and local surveillance programs for HIV, syringe services and community-outreach initiatives.

The agency spent about \$1.3 billion on the prevention of HIV, viral hepatitis, sexually transmitted infections and tuberculosis in the 2023 fiscal year, the agency said on its website. About three-quarters of the CDC’s funds to address the infectious diseases go to grants and cooperative agreements with organizations outside the agency, the CDC has said. That includes money for

state and local health departments and nonprofits working to prevent HIV or respond to outbreaks.

Among the programs that could be scaled back or eliminated is the CDC’s PrEP initiative, which launched last fall as a pilot program and provides free pre-exposure prophylaxis, medication that helps prevent HIV, according to Mitchell Warren, executive director of HIV prevention organization AVAC.

“One of the greatest lessons in public health is you can’t end epidemics with treatment alone. Without prevention, we are going to be fighting the virus with one hand behind our back,” Warren said, who also noted that cuts to domestic HIV prevention would conflict with President Trump’s 2019 pledge to end the HIV epidemic in the U.S.

The Health Department said it is following the administration’s guidance and taking a careful look at all divisions to see where there is overlap that could be streamlined to support Trump’s efforts to restructure the federal government.

“No final decision on streamlining CDC’s HIV Prevention Division has been made,” a department spokesman said.

The CDC didn’t respond to requests for comment. The White House didn’t provide a comment.

The Trump administration has made cuts to the President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, or PEPFAR, which supplies antiretroviral drugs to millions of people globally. The administration has also suspended the work of the U.S. Agency for International Development, which helped administer PEPFAR.

Judge Deals a Blow to Dismantling Of USAID and Musk’s Role in Action

By MARIAH TIMMS

A federal judge on Tuesday ruled that the Department of Government Efficiency’s dismantling of the U.S. Agency for International Development was likely unconstitutional on multiple fronts—including the role Elon Musk played to orchestrate it.

The order from Judge Theodore D. Chuang in Maryland directed the team to halt its work to shutter the agency and reinstate access to electronic systems for employees and contractors who were shut out.

He also took aim at Musk himself, spending pages wading through White House comments and social-media posts about the role played by the billionaire, an adviser and close ally of President Trump.

The Trump administration’s lawyers have said Musk is a presidential adviser giving recommendations with no binding legal effect.

But Chuang, an appointee of former President Barack



The judge said Elon Musk has acted as DOGE’s de facto head.

Obama, in his ruling pointed out that Musk has continuously acted as DOGE’s de facto head, without having been properly appointed with Senate approval—likely in violation of the Appointments Clause of the U.S. Constitution.

During its first few weeks, the Trump administration largely dismantled the work of

the 10,000-person agency and the thousands of people in nonprofits and other groups who work with it. Its headquarters was closed, its name taken off the building and most of its staff put on paid leave.

The case was filed by more than two dozen USAID employees and contractors over the rapid-fire moves to terminate

or put on leave most of the agency’s workforce.

Lawyers for the government had argued the president and executive branch have the authority to direct the strategy of foreign relations and agency priorities.

White House deputy press secretary Anna Kelly called the ruling a “miscarriage of justice” and said the government plans to appeal Chuang’s decision. “Rogue judges are subverting the will of the American people in their attempts to stop President Trump from carrying out his agenda,” she said.

The ruling was one of several setbacks for the Trump administration on Tuesday. In another, U.S. District Judge Tanya Chutkan temporarily blocked the Environmental Protection Agency from terminating Biden administration climate grants that were meant to fund clean-energy projects across the country, saying lawyers for the government hadn’t shown sufficient proof of illegality.

Trump Fires FTC’s Democratic Commissioners

By DANA MATTIOLI AND DAVE MICHAELS

President Trump fired the Federal Trade Commission’s two Democratic commissioners on Tuesday, the latest moves in his campaign to exert more control over independent government agencies.

The two commissioners, Rebecca Slaughter and Alvaro Bedoya, were informed of their dismissals on Tuesday.

The move runs counter to current Supreme Court precedent that says the FTC’s commissioners can only be removed for cause. The Trump administration has been clear that it is eager to see that precedent revisited.

An FTC spokesman declined to comment.

The move comes after the century-old agency’s new chief, Andrew Ferguson, endorsed the president’s authority to remove members of the commission, which has five members when it is at full strength.

The FTC is one of several commissions that were created to be bipartisan. It is not supposed to have more than three members from the same political party. After Tuesday’s dismissals, it will only have two members—Ferguson and fellow Republican Melissa Holloak—both of whom are Republicans.

The Trump administration

has embraced a legal theory that the Constitution gives the president unconditional authority to manage the executive branch, which is popular among some conservative jurists and thinkers. It has put that to the test by dismissing appointees at several agencies, betting the courts will side with its interpretation of the Constitution.

Bedoya, who was sworn into office in May 2022, wrote on X that his dismissal was illegal and he would challenge it. He suggested that Jeff Bezos, the founder of Amazon and one of several tech billionaires to attend Trump’s January inauguration, would cheer his removal. The FTC is

litigating two cases in federal court against Amazon.

“The president wants the FTC to be a lapdog for his golf buddies,” Bedoya wrote.

Slaughter, who joined the FTC in 2018, said she was also illegally fired, “violating the plain language of a statute and clear Supreme Court precedent.”

“The administration clearly fears the accountability that opposition voices would provide if the President orders Chairman Ferguson to treat the most powerful corporations and their executives—like those that flanked the President at his inauguration—with kid gloves,” Slaughter added.



Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth has sought to implement the Trump transgender policy.

Court Blocks Presidential Ban On Trans Members of Military

By MARIAH TIMMS

A federal judge on Tuesday blocked the Pentagon from implementing President Trump’s executive order that excludes transgender individuals from serving openly in the military, the latest legal setback for one of the administration’s policy priorities.

Judge Ana Reyes in Washington, D.C., ruled the order likely violated the constitutional guarantee of equal protection and issued a preliminary injunction that halted it while litigation continues. The White House in January directed the military to adopt a policy that said transgender individuals are unable to meet the “high standards for troop readiness, lethality, cohesion, honesty, humility, uniformity, and integrity.”

Reyes, a Biden appointee, said the ban was motivated by animus and stigmatized transgender individuals as inherently unfit to serve.

“The cruel irony is that thousands of transgender servicemembers have sacrificed—some risking their lives—to ensure for others the very equal protection rights the Military Ban seeks to deny them,” Reyes wrote in a 79-page ruling.

Current and prospective

transgender service members challenged the executive order as discriminatory. They argued the president ignored a number of studies showing that their participation had no meaningfully negative impact on military readiness.

The government defended the policy, saying that military leadership has the broad authority to decide medical criteria for service members.

Reyes’s ruling is set to go into effect on Friday. The White House didn’t respond to a request for comment.

The Pentagon released new guidance to military officials in late February barring from service anyone with a diagnosis, symptoms or history of gender dysphoria, a psychological condition in which one feels their gender identity doesn’t match their assigned sex at birth. The new rules would also affect anyone who has or has attempted to transition from their birth sex.

The policy does include a narrow exemption for individual transgender service members where there is a “compelling Government interest...that directly supports warfighting capabilities.” To qualify, however, the person must have never attempted to transition, be willing to live with the gender expression and service re-

quirements of their birth sex and show no symptoms of gender dysphoria for three years.

In her Tuesday ruling, Reyes called it an exemption “in name only.”

The judge repeatedly pressed the government to explain how that policy didn’t amount to a total ban on openly serving as transgender, expressing skepticism there was a meaningful category of transgender people who could fit the exemption.

Reyes’s ruling came after a series of lengthy hearings and extensive written legal arguments examining the challengers’ case and the government’s order.

She had declined to issue a restraining order or injunction until the new policy had been finalized and made public. The policy had indicated that the process of identifying or removing transgender service members wouldn’t begin before March 26.

Trump has promised a dramatic rollback of transgender rights. In addition to the military action, he also signed an executive order to restrict gender therapies for minors, which has been blocked by federal judges in Maryland and Washington as challenges against the directive proceed.

GLOW BIG

\$895
Compare at \$1,295

Boast an iconic look with our luxe 18kt gold Bismark-link bracelet, crafted in Italy.

Also in 8" \$995

ROSS SIMONS
Fine Jewelry | Fabulous Prices

Item #886161 | Use Offer Code: GLEAM94
1.800.556.7376 or visit ross-simons.com/gleam

U.S. NEWS

Putin Agrees To Limited Cease-Fire

Continued from Page One infrastructure facilities for 30 days. “Vladimir Putin responded positively to this initiative and immediately gave the Russian military the corresponding command,” the statement said.

More talks are being scheduled in the Middle East to broaden the deal, the White House said in a readout of the conversation. “The leaders agreed that the movement to peace will begin with an energy and infrastructure ceasefire, as well as technical negotiations on implementation of a maritime ceasefire in the Black Sea, full ceasefire and permanent peace,” the statement said.

President Volodymyr Zelenskyy of Ukraine said his country was in favor of any steps to decrease strikes on military and civilian infrastructure, but said he was waiting for more details on the call. “We support all steps toward ending the war,” he said. “But in order to support something we need to understand what exactly.”

Zelenskyy criticized Putin for not agreeing to an immediate unconditional ceasefire, saying Russia was preparing new offensives in Ukraine’s south and north, and denounced Putin’s demands that Ukraine cease mobilization and the West end arms deliveries.

“That was the ultimatum since the start of the war. He hasn’t changed,” Zelenskyy said. “His whole game is to weaken us as much as possible.”

Russia’s concessions fall short of a full cease-fire agreed upon by Kyiv under U.S. pressure after talks in Saudi Arabia earlier this month, however. The Kremlin’s initial statement after the phone call suggests tough negotiations ahead, as Moscow is sticking to the initial aims prior to its invasion in 2022.



A worker inspected the damage at an oil refinery Tuesday, a day after a Russian drone attack, in Ukraine’s Kharkiv region.

For a lasting peace, the Kremlin repeated the need to address what it calls the “root causes” of the conflict—verbiage used by Putin to assert Russia’s right to seize Ukrainian provinces and exert political control over parts of

The Russian statement also called for an end to what it called forced mobilization and the rearming of the Ukrainian military, which has been helped by U.S. aid. Both sides have expanded the draft of military-aged men since Russia launched its invasion in 2022.

In a Fox interview Tuesday night, Trump disputed that Putin asked the U.S. to halt aid to Ukraine. “Actually, we didn’t talk about aid at all,” he said.

Putin told Trump that Russia and Ukraine would conduct a prisoner swap on Wednesday of 175 prisoners each, according to the Kremlin statement. Similar swaps have taken place every few weeks in recent months.

Trump, a Republican, had vowed to broker a quick peace deal between Russia and Ukraine during his presidential campaign, and since Janu-

ary he repeatedly pressured Ukraine as the biggest hold-out. Last week, Kyiv agreed to a full, unconditional cease-fire after a meeting with U.S. officials in Saudi Arabia.

Moscow’s response on Tuesday is a half-step toward the Trump-sponsored plan that Kyiv agreed to, said Oleksandra Matviichuk, the head of the Kyiv-based Center for Civil Liberties, on social media.

“To call a spade a spade, we must say that Putin refused a temporary armistice,” she said. “He supposedly promised not to strike energy facilities and civilian infrastructure. But even when the Russians hit a children’s cancer hospital in Kyiv with a missile, he continued to insist that Russian missiles were used only for military purposes.”

Russia has pounded Ukraine’s electric grid and power plants during the war, leading to periodic blackouts and prompting criticism that such attacks hurt civilians. Such strikes have been most effective during the winter months. Halting them as warmer spring weather is set

to begin is less of a concession by Russia than it would have been several months ago.

On Tuesday, soon after the phone call between leaders was finished, air-raid alerts sounded across eastern and central Ukraine. Air defense could be heard firing in central Kyiv.

Ukraine, for its part, has used long-range aerial drones and missiles to strike military targets such as airfields and ammunition stores as well as oil refineries.

Trump’s pursuit of a peace deal with the Kremlin has sparked fears that he would surrender swaths of Ukraine to Moscow, and agree to a denuding of Ukraine’s defenses. The U.S. didn’t make any concessions to Russia during their talk Tuesday, according to the White House and Kremlin readouts, which Ukraine openly feared Trump might do on the call.

Earlier in Moscow, the Kremlin damped hopes of any breakthrough as a result of the conversation between the two leaders, their second official call since Trump took office in

January. On Monday, a top Foreign Ministry official said any peace deal would have to guarantee Ukraine’s neutral status and appeared to rule out any European peacekeeping force on Ukrainian soil, a key provision of Kyiv and Western allies for any peace accord.

Aides around Putin have been floating possible economic enticements to the U.S. as a reward to any detente between Moscow and Washington. A top protégé to Putin, Kirill Dmitriev, said in televised remarks on Monday that Russia was ready to meet with Elon Musk and cooperate on space exploration, including a possible mission to Mars. Musk, the founder and chief executive of SpaceX and other companies, is a close ally of Trump.

“I think there will be discussions with Musk in the near future,” said Dmitriev, who manages Russia’s \$10 billion Russian national wealth fund created by the Kremlin to invest in the Russian economy. “We believe that Musk is a unique leader who is focused on humanity moving forward together.”

U.S. WATCH

WASHINGTON, D.C. Industrial Output Rose in February

Output increased by more than expected from the U.S. industrial sector last month, according to data from the Federal Reserve Board.

Industrial production rose by 0.7% in February, after growing by a downward-revised 0.3% in January. Economists surveyed by The Wall Street Journal had expected production to grow by 0.3% last month.

Production of final goods grew by 0.6%, including 0.2% growth in consumer-goods output and 1.6% growth in output of business equipment.

Output from manufacturing increased by 0.9%, while mining output rose 2.8%. Utilities output fell 2.5%.

—Matt Grossman and Joshua Kirby

LOUISIANA Nitrogen Gas Used To Execute Inmate

Louisiana used nitrogen gas to put a man to death Tuesday evening for a killing decades ago, marking the first time the state has used the method as it resumed executions after a 15-year hiatus.

Jessie Hoffman Jr., 46 years old, declined to give a final statement.

It was the fifth time nitrogen gas was used in the U.S. after four executions by the same method—all in Alabama.

Hoffman was convicted of the murder of Mary “Molly” Elliott, a 28-year-old advertising executive. At the time of the crime, Hoffman was 18.

Hoffman’s lawyers had unsuccessfully argued that the nitrogen gas procedure—which deprives a person of oxygen—violates the Eighth Amendment’s prohibition on cruel and unusual punishment. They also argued the method would infringe on Hoffman’s freedom to practice religion, specifically his Buddhist breathing and meditation in the moments leading up to death.

—Associated Press

PAID ADVERTISEMENT

NABR
National Association for Business Resources

OUR PROGRAMS:



Visit nationalbiz.org to learn more.

Thank you to the sponsors of the National Association for Business Resources in our endeavors to Ignite Greatness in Companies and Their People

baudville
BRANDS

Corp!

GNS AMERICA

HED

isolved®

now®
Live Happy. Live Healthy. Live NOW.



WHAT DOES 'HEALTH SYSTEM' EVEN MEAN? IT MEANS A BIG DIFFERENCE FOR YOUR HEALTH.

A health system is more than a doctor. In our case, it's 320+ locations with the exact same high standard of care. It's integrated medical teams that achieve the best patient outcomes. It's leading the charge in medical discoveries. It's the lowest mortality rates in the nation. It's being named #1 for quality care in the U.S. Our health system has the best doctors, and the best doctors are just the beginning.

Better health starts with a better health system.



See what makes us
the better health system



PREDIABETES HAS MET ITS MATCH. YOU.



**Prediabetes captures
1 in 3 adults. But you
can reverse it and prevent
or delay type 2 diabetes.
Take the 1-minute risk
test today.**

**Be your own hero at
DolHavePrediabetes.org**



WORLD NEWS

Israeli Public Support of Gaza War Wanes

Neutralizing Hamas still key, but desire to free hostages is a priority for many

By DOV LIEBER
AND CARRIE KELLER-LYNN

Israel returned to fighting in Gaza on Tuesday, but without clear public backing amid a wave of political turmoil that has caused trust in the government to plummet. It is a very different environment than when Israel first launched its battle against Hamas after the Oct. 7, 2023, attacks left about 1,200 dead and some 250 taken hostage. Israelis at the time set aside bitter internal political disputes and fell in behind the war effort. Then, the public was united in wanting to see Hamas punished and neutralized. Now, with the group battered, many Israelis—even some on the right—are more concerned with freeing the hostages still alive in Gaza, and feel only a negotiated settlement to the war can bring them back. The shift in opinion was prompted by the images of two dozen Israeli captives released over the past two months—often in poor shape, with injuries or obvious malnutrition that heightened concerns about the fate of the remaining 59 hostages, as many as 24 of whom Israel thinks might still be alive.



Protesters took to the streets of Tel Aviv on Tuesday to demand the release of hostages held by Hamas in the Gaza Strip.

In addition, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is reviving old disputes by taking another run at legislation that would give him more control over the country's judicial system, a move that sparked a year of mass demonstrations leading up to the war. He also is seeking to preserve the fast-growing ultraorthodox population's

exemption from military service. He has further purged the security establishment of those who favored a truce, and is maneuvering to fire Ronen Bar, the head of Israel's Shin Bet internal security service, arguing that he has lost his trust. "The fault line runs on the question of the hostages," said Yossi Klein Halevi, a senior fel-

low of the Shalom Hartman Institute in Jerusalem. "It doesn't get any more loaded than this convergence of grievances." A poll released March 9 by the Israel Democracy Institute, a Jerusalem-based think tank, found that 73% of Israelis supported negotiating with Hamas over an end to the fighting and an Israeli with-

drawal from Gaza in exchange for the release of the remaining hostages. Notably, 56% of right-wing Israelis polled said they supported the cease-fire deal, as did 62% of voters from Netanyahu's Likud party. Many Israelis who want to see a deal that would free hostages now still support fully defeating Hamas and driving

it out of Gaza, but they are willing to delay that goal. The divide could hurt the war effort of a country that depends heavily on volunteer fighters. In contrast to October 2023, Netanyahu is now facing an opposition determined to remove him from power. "Our heroic fighters need a prime minister that they can believe is interested only in the security of the country and the fate of the hostages," opposition leader Yair Lapid said. "That is not the situation today." The prime minister repeatedly has said he wants the hostages released, and that military pressure is necessary for that to happen. He said Hamas rejected proposals to renew the cease-fire. More than 40 hostages have been killed during the war. Israel has acknowledged that at least 14 died as a result of military activity including airstrikes. Another six were executed by Hamas in late August, as Israeli troops closed in. "The greatest fear of the families, of the hostages, and of the people of Israel has been realized," the Hostages Families Forum, which represents most hostage families, said Tuesday, demanding Israel go back to the negotiating table. While renewing the war is unpopular for most Israelis, so was keeping the cease-fire alive without drawing any further concessions from Hamas.

Netanyahu Threatens More Strikes

Continued from Page One
release of all remaining hostages and has repeatedly said Hamas would face a return to war if it doesn't comply. The hostages include one remaining living U.S. citizen, dual-national Edan Alexander, who was serving in the Israeli military when he was kidnapped by Hamas. Of the 59 hostages who remain in Gaza, Israel believes as many as 24 are still alive. "Hamas could have released hostages to extend the cease-fire but instead chose refusal and war," National Security Council spokesman Brian Hughes said. Hamas blamed Netanyahu and his government for endangering the lives of remaining hostages by ending the cease-fire. The group later in the day said several of its senior officials were killed, including Issam al-Da'alis, head of government affairs, Bahjat Abu Sultan, a top leader of Hamas's internal security, a feared branch of the group's rule in Gaza, Ahmed Al-Hatta, deputy minister of justice, and Mahmoud Abu Wafaa, deputy minister of the interior. Militant group Palestinian Islamic Jihad said Israel killed the spokesman for its military wing. The fighting comes amid an upswing in violence in the Middle East after weeks of relative calm. The U.S. launched three days of airstrikes on the Houthis, a militant group that holds much of Yemen, and Trump threatened Iran on Monday over its support for the group. Israel also carried out strikes in southern Syria late Monday, the latest in a string of attacks aimed at demilitarizing its border. The Israeli



Women mourn over the bodies of people killed in the Israeli airstrikes on Khan Younis.

military said it targeted command centers and sites containing weapons and military vehicles that belonged to the former regime, which collapsed in December. Dozens of Israeli warplanes and naval assets struck about 80 targets in Gaza shortly after 2 a.m. Tuesday in an intense assault that lasted about 10 minutes, an Israeli security official said. Lower-intensity strikes continued throughout the day. Residents reported strikes across Gaza overnight. Osama Humaid, a resident of the Al-Nuseirat refugee camp in central Gaza, said he awoke to the sound of explosions nearby. "We were sleeping, when we heard multiple airstrikes around us at the same time," he said. "People were screaming." Amal Ismael, a nurse who works at a hospital in Rafah, in southern Gaza, was on a night shift when she heard loud explosions. "It was around 2 a.m. I was working with a child when warplanes suddenly started bombing different targets around us," she said. "The situation is still scary and I

don't know how I will get to Deir al-Balah where my family is," she said, referring to the central city in Gaza. The Israeli military also confirmed that it had closed a border crossing connecting Rafah with Egypt, a vital corridor for aid, and for the injured and sick to leave the enclave. Israel renewed its attacks amid domestic criticism that talks to extend the lapsed cease-fire deal had de facto extended the truce for several weeks without securing the release of additional hostages. The fresh campaign also prompted Israelis to publicly protest the failure to secure a deal. Public opinion in Israel strongly favors securing an agreement that would free hostages over resuming fighting, according to recent polling by the Israel Democracy Institute, a Jerusalem-based think tank. Hostage families are worried that a return to fighting will endanger the lives of their relatives. Several hostages have been killed by Israeli military activity in Gaza, including airstrikes. "The return to fighting before bringing back the last hostage will cost the lives of 59 hostages who are still in Gaza and can be saved and returned," the Hostages Families Forum said on Tuesday. Some analysts said Israel restarted fighting in part to pressure Hamas to come to favorable terms. Hamas began reasserting its authority after the fighting paused and has been recruiting new fighters, despite Israeli and U.S. demands that it disarm and leave the Gaza Strip. Israel has drafted plans for escalatory steps to ratchet up pressure on Hamas, an Israeli security analyst briefed on the plan said. The steps kicked off this month with Israel blocking the entry of goods and supplies into Gaza and cutting off power. The Gaza cease-fire deal between Israel and Hamas had been structured in phases, calling for an initial exchange of hostages for Palestinian prisoners while deferring the more difficult question of a permanent end to the war. Talks to extend the cease-fire stalled, however, after Israel failed to begin talks on an end to the war and Hamas didn't accept proposals to extend the cease-fire by releasing more of the hostages.

Some analysts said Israel restarted fighting in part to pressure Hamas to come to favorable terms. Hamas began reasserting its authority after the fighting paused and has been recruiting new fighters, despite Israeli and U.S. demands that it disarm and leave the Gaza Strip. Israel has drafted plans for escalatory steps to ratchet up pressure on Hamas, an Israeli security analyst briefed on the plan said. The steps kicked off this month with Israel blocking the entry of goods and supplies into Gaza and cutting off power. The Gaza cease-fire deal between Israel and Hamas had been structured in phases, calling for an initial exchange of hostages for Palestinian prisoners while deferring the more difficult question of a permanent end to the war. Talks to extend the cease-fire stalled, however, after Israel failed to begin talks on an end to the war and Hamas didn't accept proposals to extend the cease-fire by releasing more of the hostages.

Watch a Video



Scan this code to see a video about Israel's latest strikes on the Gaza Strip.

Macron Heralds Nuclear Arsenal

By NOEMIE BISSEBEE
AND STACY MEICHTRY

PARIS—French President Emmanuel Macron is showcasing France's plans to upgrade its nuclear arsenal as he seeks to engage in talks with Germany and other European powers about extending his country's nuclear umbrella. On Tuesday, Macron visited an air base near the eastern town of Luxeuil-les-Bains, announcing plans to spend nearly 1.5 billion euros, or \$1.6 billion, to modernize the facility so it can host a fleet of 40 advanced Rafale jets by 2035. The jets would carry next-generation hypersonic missiles, equipped with nuclear warheads, that are expected to have a range of more than 600 miles, twice that of its predecessors. President Trump's push for détente with Russia has rattled allies across Europe, with many capitals moving to increase military spending and prepare for a world in which Washington is no longer willing to come to the Continent's defense. Some leaders have begun to question whether Europe needs an alternative to the U.S. nuclear deterrent that has shielded Germany and other countries without nuclear arsenals for decades. "Our country and our continent will have to continue to defend, equip and prepare ourselves if we want to avoid war," Macron told a throng of airmen Tuesday. "What I want is for us to be ready." Friedrich Merz, who is poised to become Germany's next chancellor, has called for talks with France and the U.K., the continent's only nuclear powers, to extend their deterrence to cover other European countries, including Germany. Macron has long floated the idea. Merz is pushing a plan to amend Germany's constitution to exempt military spending from the country's strict fiscal rules and set up a €500 billion infrastructure fund. The move would pave the way for what economists have said could be a €1 trillion rearmament and investment splurge over the next 12 years. On Tuesday, just more than two-thirds of lawmakers in the Bundestag voted for the amendment. It will face a final hurdle Friday in the upper house of parliament, which also requires a two-thirds majority. European leaders are walking a tightrope as they look for ways to wean themselves off U.S. military might without jeopardizing the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which undergirds the continent's security. For years Macron has pushed European leaders to develop "strategic autonomy," inviting European allies to participate in French nuclear-force exercises and to discuss how French deterrence capabilities could bolster European security. But many European allies initially were reluctant to engage with France for fear of alienating Washington. Trump's decision to sideline European allies in talks with Russia to end the Ukraine war has changed the thinking in many capitals. In addition to Germany, Poland, Lithuania and Latvia have also expressed interest in Macron's offer. For Germany and other allies, the idea of outsourcing nuclear deterrence to Paris or London means they would still be at the mercy of another country's national politics. Marine Le Pen, the nationalist politician polls suggest could succeed Macron in 2027, has criticized the French president for broaching the question of whether France's nuclear deterrent can be extended. "We shouldn't share it, let alone delegate it," she said. France has a much smaller nuclear arsenal than the U.S., which has thousands of warheads. France has about 290. They can be fired from submarines as well as Rafales.

One ECB Rate Setter Sees Tariff Talk Forcing More Cuts

By JOSHUA KIRBY

Trade uncertainty is weighing on the European economy, and any boost from investment in defense will take time, meaning the European Central Bank may need to keep cutting rates, rate setter Olli Rehn said. "As regards trade policy, the effect is fairly immediate because of pervasive uncertainty," said Rehn, governor of the Finnish central bank and a

member of the ECB's Governing Council, in a livestream hosted by MNI on Tuesday. "Increased tariffs will weigh on growth before the economy may adjust." Europe's new drive to step up spending on defense amid a change in the continent's security order will meanwhile boost GDP, Rehn said. But that will take some time, he added. "If I had an optimistic view of Europe, there would be a rapid impact on growth

thanks to rapid decision-making and implementation of decisions to invest in defense both at the European level and at member-state level," Rehn said. "But there are often delays in execution. The effect will rather be over the medium term; it is likely to have some upward impact on inflation. So we have effects going in different directions." Germany has announced a large stimulus package, including loosening its fiscal

rules to allow it to spend more on its military. As it balances these opposing pressures, the ECB's governing council will continue to take its decisions meeting by meeting and according to available data, Rehn said. "The governing council wants to retain full freedom of action," he said. But if signs continue to point to weak growth and a downward trajectory in inflation, the central bank will cut

rates further, he said. The ECB's task is to keep price inflation stable at a medium-term level of 2%, the governor said. "If the data, including our forecasts and other analysis, show that to reach that goal the right reaction is to cut, then in our view we should indeed do so," he said. The central bank has reduced its key rate six times over the past nine months, taking it to 2.5%, but some pol-

icymakers suggest it will need to fall to 2% or lower before interest rates stop weighing on investment in the eurozone. The bank at its last meeting said policy was now less meaningfully restrictive. But weakness in loans to households and businesses in the eurozone suggests financing conditions are still tight, even if they are now climbing after reaching a low point, Rehn said. "We have bottomed out," he said.

WORLD NEWS

German Economic Sentiment Soars in March

By Ed Frankl

Financial analysts became much more upbeat about Germany's economic prospects this month as the country's lawmakers closed in on an agreement to raise spending on defense and infrastructure. The ZEW Indicator of Economic Sentiment, a monthly gauge that tracks the expectations of analysts at around 150 banks, insurance companies and other businesses, jumped 25.6 points to 51.6 in March from February, reaching its highest level since February

2022, ahead of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine. It also beat a consensus of 45.0 from economists polled by The Wall Street Journal, and was the largest monthly increase since January 2023. The survey is one the first to gauge the response of businesses to a recasting of Germany's economic policies by politicians in response to the threat of higher tariffs on its exports to the U.S. and fresh doubts about the reliability of the U.S. as an ally in a future conflict with Russia. The survey was conducted between

March 10 and March 17. Friedrich Merz, the country's likely next chancellor, on Friday announced a large increase in spending on defense and infrastructure that is likely to be approved by lawmakers this week. Previous German governments were much more reluctant to borrow, leaving the economy dependent on exports for growth and hampered by outdated transport and digital systems. Positive signals regarding Germany's future fiscal policy, alongside the recent European Central Bank interest-rate cut,

are offering more-favorable financing conditions for private households and companies, ZEW President Achim Wambach said. The ECB lowered borrowing costs for the fifth meeting in a row this month. Despite the rebound in confidence as the next government outlines its ambitious plans, Germany's economy may weaken further before it begins to recover. Economists warn that much of the increase in military spending may initially be directed to imports as domestic producers expand their capacity,

while infrastructure projects can take years to initiate, let alone complete. Meanwhile, the Trump administration has implemented 25% tariffs on all steel and aluminum imports, with a further increase in duties on imports from the European Union likely to be announced at the start of April. Those tariffs come as Germany's factory output remains well below prepandemic levels, having been hit hard by a jump in energy costs following Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in early 2022. The

U.S. was Germany's top export market last year. Bundesbank President Joachim Nagel said last week that higher U.S. tariffs could push the economy into a recession. The Ifo Institute, which also produces a widely watched gauge of business sentiment, on Monday cut its forecast for the country's economic growth this year to 0.2%, from the 0.4% it expected in December. However, some economists predict Germany could see a revival of household spending.

FROM PAGE ONE

Big Bank Revises Its DEI Push

Continued from Page One
ing sessions and race-specific hiring targets.

Morgan Stanley is now watering down initiatives it put in place, including after 2020. The endeavors had added to a divisive culture in which white and Black employees said there were few winners, despite what bank executives said has been a vigorous and well-intended effort to tackle a complex challenge.

A Morgan Stanley spokesman disputed that the bank's policies have created divisiveness or tensions. He pointed to companywide surveys in which most employees gave the bank high scores on its commitment to diversity and inclusiveness and said the bank is a place where they are "treated with dignity and respect." With 80,000 employees around the world, "there will always be outliers, but the vast majority of our employees of all backgrounds agree that Morgan Stanley is a great place to work," said Wesley McDade, the spokesman.

In interviews with more than two dozen current and former employees and others close to the firm, some Black staffers said they got little support after being recruited through a minority training program launched in 2021. Others said they were poached from competitors, but to lower-level roles than they had previously held or to positions that were eliminated within a year or two.

Anthony Fletcher, who runs a Chicago-area recruiting firm contracted in the effort to bring more Black employees on board, recalled asking one of Morgan Stanley's regional diversity officers why so many of his recruits weren't getting bigger jobs.

The reply: White financial advisers wouldn't respect them, and it would be problematic for the firm, said Fletcher, who sent a letter to Gorman and the board, and then sued Morgan Stanley for discrimination and unpaid fees in 2023.

McDade, the spokesman, said the bank rejects Fletcher's allegations of racism and his contractual claim, and said Fletcher was an external recruiter whose contract was terminated.

Several white executives, meanwhile, said they felt pushed to hire nonwhite candidates, even without the right experience, or to refrain from ousting underperforming ones. Kevin Meyersburg, a former managing director in the wealth-management division, said in his own 2023 lawsuit against the firm about his termination that HR blocked him from laying off some of his lowest performers because they were women or minority employees. The case is in arbitration.

McDade said Meyersburg was terminated in a round of layoffs that included employees of every demographic, adding "We strongly refute the allegations made in his claim." He said the bank adheres to federal employment guidelines when it conducts layoffs.

Black staffers received emails starting in 2021 welcoming them to an online Black leadership program they hadn't asked to be part of. The six-month McKinsey program included discussions on race and presenters teaching strategies such as tackling "common mindset challenges for Black leaders."

In interviews, some invitees said they wondered why employees of other races weren't included and likened the program to "special education" for



Inclusive Ventures Group

Underrepresented entrepreneurs are the cutting-edge leaders of businesses that power markets. Hear their stories and learn about how we are transforming the investment landscape around the world.

Explore our programs and efforts >

Inclusive Ventures Group

We provide early-stage startups with access to capital and resources to help them develop and scale. Learn more about how we are working to transform the investment landscape around the world.

Explore our programs and efforts >

Morgan Stanley changed a description of a program for 'underrepresented entrepreneurs.' Left, text in early February; right, in March.

Black employees. Senior executives, on the other hand, said they saw McKinsey's program as a way to support up-and-coming Black employees. Employees of all races have recently been invited to participate.

The bank's diversity efforts are "an ongoing effort, and there is no finish line," said Mandell Crawley, Morgan Stanley's chief client officer, who was the firm's chief human resources officer until the end of last year and is among the most senior Black executives at the firm. "You have to have a lot of humility doing this work."

The bank has been revising references to underrepresented groups that some of its diversity efforts were geared toward and broadening their eligibility criteria. The moves come after a 2023 Supreme Court ruling banning affirmative action at colleges opened the door to related DEI, or diversity, equity and inclusion, claims. Morgan Stanley began offering a college-freshman training program that was for Black, Hispanic, LGBTQ and other minority students to all freshmen in 2023. An anti-DEI group led by President Trump's now deputy chief of staff, Stephen Miller, had filed a complaint about the program.

Morgan Stanley recently decided it will no longer dole out bonuses to some managers that were entirely based on numbers of women and minorities they hired and their performances.

And among other changes in how it describes its policies and

programs, Morgan Stanley's annual report released last month says its talent development is based on "meritocracy."

CEO Ted Pick, who succeeded Gorman last year, told staff multiple times at a town hall last month that Morgan Stanley stood by the five core values displayed prominently in its offices—one of which is a commitment to diversity and inclusion that was added in 2020.

Stepped-up efforts

The bank launched a scholarship program for underrepresented college students in 1993 and hired its first diversity chief the next year. But like most major Wall Street banks, it has faced discrimination allegations as it grew into a global giant. In 2008, it settled a lawsuit alleging it discriminated against Black and Latino financial advisers for \$16 million, while denying the charges, and agreed to spend another \$7.5 million on diversity efforts. A similar lawsuit was filed in 2015; some claims ended in settlements and some are ongoing.

In 2020, Marilyn Booker, the executive hired in 1994 to lead the company's diversity programs, also sued, alleging the bank hadn't done enough to

promote people of color and that it fired her for pushing it to move faster. Morgan Stanley denied the allegations. In the years before the George Floyd protests, other Black employees also raised concerns.

All of those factors contributed to Morgan Stanley's decision to step up its diversity strategy in 2020, according to people familiar with the decision-making. The bank released its first diversity and inclusion report. That June, more than 5,000 attended a virtual discussion led by then-vice chair Tom Nides on the Black experience. In its 2021 report, Morgan Stanley pledged to increase its Black and Hispanic

executives and vice presidents in the U.S. by 50% without specifying a deadline.

The bank also launched its Small Business Academy to advise minority-owned and other companies how to better market their businesses and compete. Some employees said they saw the program as an example of how the bank was serious about diversity issues.

But the new push didn't fix problems that had set in earlier.

Derek Melvin, a Black senior executive who had voiced frustration about the bank's lack of diversity, conceived of hiring new employees into a two-year

Experienced Professionals Program in 2020 as a way to draw more Black professionals into financial services.

Enrollees said the program, which officially began in 2021, helped them pass the license exams needed to work with clients. But some added that they felt out of place once they landed at their desks in fixed income, equities or elsewhere in the firm's institutional securities division, among mostly white employees.

By early 2022, Black recruits discovered their bonuses were at least 40% smaller than the other associates on their teams. The pay gap was even bigger when the next bonuses were distributed in January 2023.

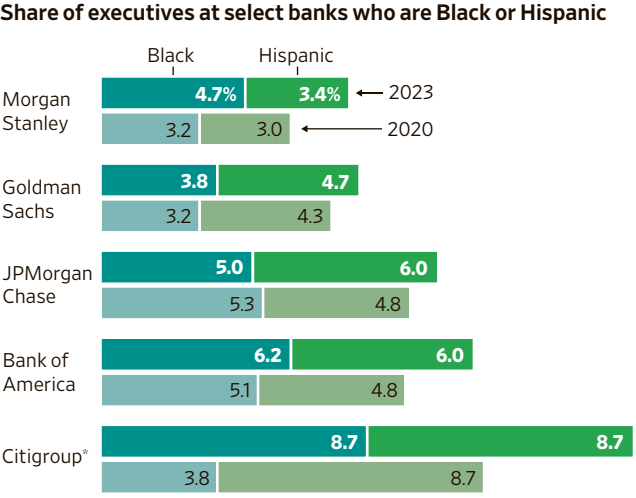
The issue was flagged to Crawley, the chief human resources officer at the time, and a review was launched. In April 2023, human resources told Black employees their base pay would rise, in some cases by tens of thousands of dollars, and bonuses would also be raised. Three employees in the program said their extra bonus payment was around \$50,000 to \$65,000.

Those bonuses were based on the median of all associates in each of the Black employees' divisions. Recruits who had received stellar reviews from their bosses determined that didn't reflect their own work. The bank has paid out at least one settlement over the matter.

The program, which had expanded over the years to include Hispanics and others, is



Former CEO James Gorman began a diversity push in 2020.



Current CEO Ted Pick said the bank stands by its values.

By Allison Pohle

The European Union and United Kingdom are putting in place new travel rules that will affect Americans going abroad.

Some of those rules have been rolled out in recent months, while others have been delayed. The U.S. and U.K. governments also have started testing a new program to speed up international flight connections.

The requirements for travel vary based on the destination. The United Kingdom says U.S. citizens need to get electronic travel authorizations ahead of their flights. The European Union will eventually require Americans to do the same, but the deadline has been pushed back. The U.S. has long made foreign travelers complete authorizations ahead of their trips.

Here is what U.S. citizens need to know ahead of travel across the Atlantic.

Do I need a visa?

No, but travelers are obliged to register before entering certain countries. People headed to the United Kingdom must apply in advance for an electronic travel authorization that is valid for two years.

Those headed to the EU don't need to apply—yet. The travel authorization, known as ETIAS, won't launch until the last quarter of 2026, according to a recent timeline endorsed by the European Union's Home Affairs Ministers during their meeting this month.

Despite cutting their guidance based on weakened domestic bookings, airline executives say demand for international trips this year remains strong. U.S. citizens took more trips to Europe in 2024 than in prior years, with the National Travel and Tourism Office logging 22.2 million departures, an 8.6% increase from the year before.

Arrival

The continent's digital registration system, known as the Entry-Exit System, is now set to launch in October 2025 and roll out over the course of six months.

Travelers who arrive at the border of any of the 29 European countries using the system will have their faces and fingerprints scanned and logged. These countries are the 29 in the Schengen Area, including Italy, Greece and Spain. The U.K. isn't part of the Schengen Area.

This isn't optional. If travelers refuse, they will be denied entry.

Americans headed abroad this October might not have their fingerprints scanned on their initial visit. The phased rollout plan allows countries to slowly deploy biometric functions. After three months, meaning in early 2026, the countries need to have these measures enabled for at least half of their border crossings.



Planning on a European Trip? New Rules Affect Americans

U.K. requires registration, but the EU has delayed it; other changes affect screening, connections



▲ Tourists in front of the Parthenon at the ancient Acropolis in Athens. Americans' travel authorization for the EU, known as ETIAS, won't launch until the last quarter of 2026.

Airport security screening

The screening itself won't change. But the U.S. and U.K. governments started testing a new security program last month that speeds up flight connections.

The program simplifies a common pain point for travelers who often have to factor in large amounts of time for layovers to ensure they can go through security and recheck their bags.

Called One Stop Security, it al-



▲ Travelers at Heathrow International Airport in London. Certain travelers there can connect to international destinations without going through security a second time.

lows certain travelers at London's Heathrow International Airport to connect to international destinations without going through security a second time.

Travelers must be departing from Dallas Fort Worth International Airport or Atlanta's Hartsfield-Jackson International Airport and flying on the following airlines: Delta, Virgin Atlantic, American Airlines or British Airways.

Passengers don't need to opt in

or have any type of prior eligibility and participating is free.

Right now, the program only applies to people who make an international connection through Heathrow. A traveler flying American from Dallas to Heathrow lands at Terminal 3. Rather than go through security again in London to get rescreened, travelers with international connections board a secure shuttle bus to Terminal 5, then go directly on to their gate, says Gary Tomasulo, chief security officer at American. That saves at least 30 minutes on average, he says.

Delta and Virgin Atlantic passengers flying from Atlanta to Heathrow and then connecting onward save between 30 to 40 minutes with this process, a Delta spokeswoman said.

U.S. connections

In the coming months, travelers flying from Heathrow to Atlanta or DFW, and then on to other domestic destinations in the U.S., will be able to skip rescreening and rechecking their bags when

▲ Tourists in Westminster, London. People headed to the United Kingdom must apply in advance for an electronic travel authorization that is valid for two years.

One Stop enters phase two.

This process will affect more travelers, Tomasulo says. Travelers will go through security screening before boarding their flights at Heathrow. When they land in Dallas or Atlanta, Customs and Border Protection agents will process those with connections and allow them to transit to their connecting gates, rather than exit the secure area and go through TSA screening again.

Put simply, travelers won't need to recheck their bags or go through TSA screening upon landing, which is the standard process today.

What else should I know?

Some destinations have set limits on the number of daily visitors.

Venice began charging day-trippers a five-euro fee on 29 peak days last year. This year, people visiting the city between 8:30 a.m. and 4 p.m. on Friday through Sunday between April 18 and July 27 will need to pay. Travelers who book well in advance will pay five euros, while those who book within three days will pay 10 euros.

Digital Savvy Young Fall for Phishing, Too

By Heidi Mitchell

FOMO, or fear of missing out, isn't just a painful feeling—it's also a big phishing vulnerability for young adults on social media.

Two recent studies of Instagram users between the ages of 16 and 29 show that the promise of a social opportunity can be so alluring that it can cause many young people to let down their guard and fall for a phishing scam.

We spoke with the lead author of both studies, Jennifer Klütsch, a Ph.D. candidate and research associate in the work and engineering psychology department at RWTH Aachen University in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany, about her research. Here are edited excerpts of that conversation.

WSJ: What makes young people vulnerable to phishing scams on social media?

KLÜTSCH: Young adults use most social-media services more than any other age group, which makes them good targets. The issue is that frequent social-media use leads to people making quick, in-

stinctive decisions instead of systematically evaluating risks. Rather than scrutinizing a suspicious link, they often simply check if the sender is familiar.

In my study, 82.9% fell for a suspicious link in a message at least once, and particularly for those that appeared to be from a friend or a follower. They interacted without a second thought because they trust the Instagram platform.

Additionally, young adults in particular have an intense fear of missing out on social experiences. One of my studies showed that phishing messages promising social opportunities—like an invite that says, "Check out this private event happening tonight!"—were the most successful. FOMO drives impulsive decision-making, making young adults particularly easy targets for social-engineering attacks.

WSJ: How do scammers set up one of these social-media phishing scams?

KLÜTSCH: Phishing on social media typically happens in three stages. First, scammers send a friend request or "follow" a target. Then,



they send a direct message, often containing a link that promises something appealing. Finally, if the user engages, they might be tricked into entering login credentials or downloading malware.

What's particularly concerning is that some phishing scams involve hacked accounts of real friends or followers. So even if the victim only trusts messages from people they know, they're still at risk.

WSJ: What advice do you have for young adults to protect themselves from phishing scams?

KLÜTSCH: First and foremost, slow down. Social media encourages fast, habitual interactions, but taking an extra moment to think before clicking a link can make a huge difference. Ask yourself: *Why am I receiving this message? Does this look normal?*

Also, don't be afraid to verify messages with your friends. If someone sends you a suspicious link, ask them directly through a different messaging app if they actually sent it.

Lastly, be aware that phishing can happen anywhere—not just in emails. People tend to think phish-

ing is only a problem for older adults with email scams.

WSJ: What should tech companies do to prevent phishing on social media?

KLÜTSCH: Instagram introduced a feature that alerts users about a suspicious link before they leave the app, such as a warning when an account sends a deceptive link. This is a promising technical implementation to prevent phishing because it interrupts the user's habitual response. However, research suggests that warnings or information should be further complemented by simple visual depictions, such as a phishing meter, to facilitate an immediate and quick risk assessment.

WSJ: What about educators and parents? How can they help?

KLÜTSCH: Cybersecurity education should be a priority in schools and universities. The problem is that people assume young adults are "digital natives" who automatically know how to avoid scams.

Parents should also talk to their kids about social-media risks. If parents can explain that anyone can be a target, it might encourage more caution.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: ISABEL INFANTES/REUTERS; FRANK AUGUSTIN/ASSOCIATED PRESS; PETROS GIANNAKOUDIS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Savers and Borrowers Feel the Squeeze

Interest-rate uncertainty leads to worry, as high-yield savings accounts are paying less, while mortgage rates have climbed

By IMANI MOISE

Whether you're trying to save money or need a loan, you're probably feeling squeezed by interest rates.

With President Trump's tariffs suddenly putting recession fears back in play, traders now see a roughly 80% chance the Federal Reserve cuts rates by at least a half percentage point this year. Such cuts would likely pinch savers, but might not flow through to the rates borrowers pay.

Consider what has happened since the Fed began lowering rates last year.

Banks quickly dropped rates on savings accounts, while rates on mortgages and other loans stayed relatively high.

Adding to the stress: The chaos of Trump's first two months in office is making it harder to predict where the economy and rates are headed.

Here's what savers and borrowers should know:

Mortgage rates

Aspiring homeowners may be feeling especially stressed.

Their savings for a down payment are likely earning less than they were a year ago.

Yet to the surprise of many, mortgage rates have climbed.

The average rate on a 30-year mortgage was at 6.65% this past week, up from 6.2% right before the Fed's September rate cut.

Mortgage rates are more closely tied to the 10-year Trea-



sury yield than the Fed's benchmark rate.

And if tariffs and tax cuts under Trump fuel inflation, many investors expect longer-term yields (and mortgage rates) to stay elevated. The latest inflation reading showed price pressures cooling in February, but that report didn't capture the full effects of new tariffs.

"It's unlikely that someone holding out for a lower rate to buy a house will see that happen until the bond market gets more clarity on policy changes," said

Nathan Stovall, director of the financial institutions research at S&P Global Market Intelligence.

Higher mortgage rates have delayed a rebound in home sales. In January, sales of existing homes fell 5% from the previous month. But if you're ready to purchase a home, financial advisers say it's better to pull the trigger and refinance later when rates decline.

Waiting for a sharper drop in rates could mean competing with a rush of buyers, and bidding wars that drive up home prices.

Credit cards

People waiting for relief on their credit-card bills might also be disappointed.

Average credit-card interest rates have declined just slightly to 20.09%, from a record high of 20.79% last year, according to Bankrate.

"We're moving in the right direction on borrowing costs," said Ted Rossman, senior industry analyst at Bankrate.

"But the progress is probably not going to be as fast as many people would like."

Credit-card rates also depend on a mix of factors, including the risk people will default on payments. So if it looks like the economy is slowing or headed for a recession, card issuers might keep rates relatively high to cover potential losses.

If you have a good payment history, you can try calling your bank to negotiate a lower rate. But someone with a \$3,000 balance would only save \$5 per month in interest if his or her rate fell from the current average to 18%.

Rossman suggests people struggling with credit-card debt look for 0% balance-transfer offers or find a reputable nonprofit credit counselor to work with.

Savings accounts

Meanwhile, savers are already feeling the Fed's rate cuts. The highest yielding savings account this past week was paying 4.55%, according to Bankrate.

That is down a full percentage point from before the Fed began cutting rates.

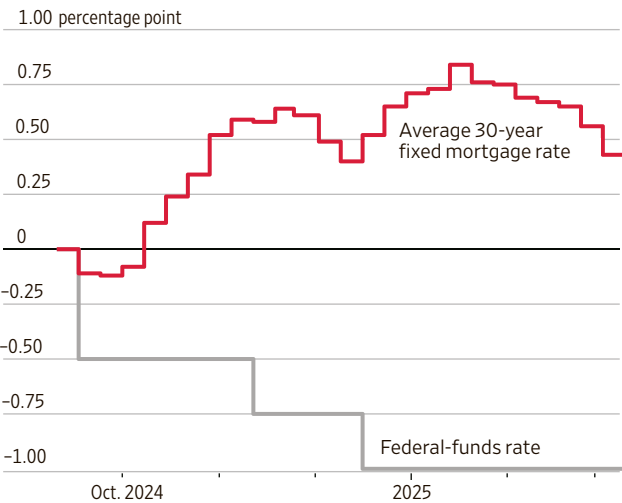
Such accounts at online banks still offer some of the best returns for emergency savings funds.

Yet the majority of Americans keep their money at traditional banks, where the average savings account earns just 0.47%, so people can earn more simply by switching banks.

But if rates continue to fall, such offers will be harder to find.

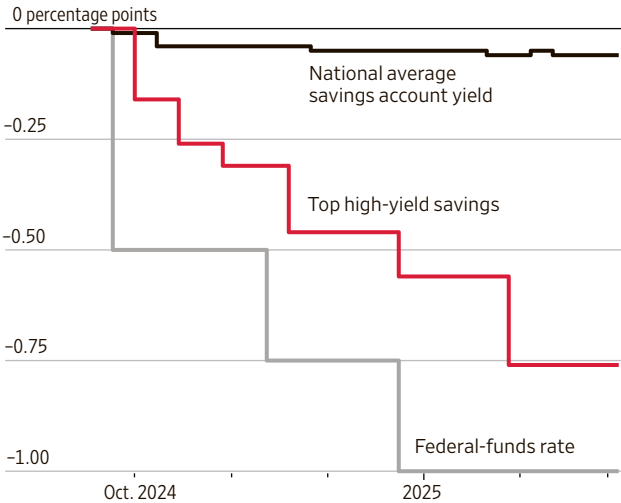
"You're seeing fewer of those banks be out there on the edge," Stovall said.

Change in rates since September*

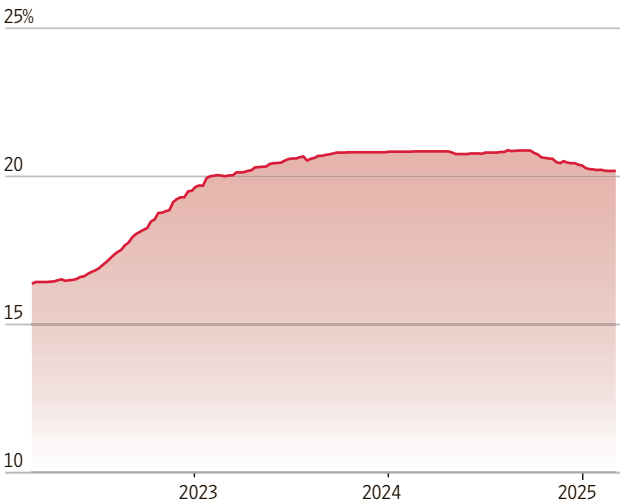


*Data are weekly †National average

Change in savings account yields



Credit-card interest rates†



Sources: Federal Reserve (Federal-funds rate); Freddie Mac (mortgage); Bankrate (savings yields, credit-card interest)

‘Slugging’ Returns to Washington

Continued from Page One

the high tolls charged to ride solo in express lanes. And it's been years since they've been this eager to jump into a stranger's car.

After a pandemic lull, traffic is now worsening by the day thanks to President Trump's call for government employees to return to the office five days a week.

Slugging is an obvious answer. It matches suburban riders who are sick of either sitting in traffic for hours or paying hundreds of dollars a month for express lanes with drivers who need bodies in passenger seats to take advantage of free HOV, or high-occupancy vehicle, carpool lanes. It's a trust exercise of sorts, with riders queuing up in so-called slug lines to hop into unfamiliar cars with the promise they'll be dropped off at a certain corner in or around D.C., sometimes with a return trip in the evening.

It's "the most organized hitchhiking I'd seen in my entire life," said Ryan Baker, 44, a slugger since 2016.

Shannon Augustine, 48, slugs almost daily to her job at Gallaudet University. She said lots are filling up faster, and she suspects it will be worse later this month as more government employees are forced back to the office every day.

Some federal agencies instructed workers to report to the office starting as early as Feb. 24. Others have dates in March. Labor unions are

fighting the directive, arguing it violates collective bargaining agreements guaranteeing the right of many employees to work remotely.

Augustine started slugging over a decade ago from Woodbridge to D.C. She took a break during Covid, but was queuing up again in 2021.

"There's a big difference now in the way people behave," she said.

Slugging has long had its own culture and etiquette. If the driver doesn't talk, you ride in silence. If there is conversation, certain topics are considered off-limits. That includes politics, religion and complaining about the driving. Other rules include not griping about the temperature or radio station.

Augustine has seen regular slugging faux pas in recent months: A driver speeding down the roadway at more than 80 miles an hour; a rider opening a bag of Fritos, filling the car with a scent she can't stand.

Washington's ad hoc carpooling grew out of the 1970s oil crisis, and slugging became ingrained in suburban culture over the following decades. The term's origins are still debated, but one version links the phrase to fake bus tokens, colloquially called slugs.

The D.C., Maryland, Virginia region, or DMV—where hundreds of thousands of workers pour over bridges and highways into the capital each weekday—is a drag for commuters. The INRIX Global 2024 Traffic Scorecard reported that drivers lost 62 hours in congestion on average throughout the year.

Slugging took a hit during the Covid-19 pandemic, but loyal users like Augustine and Baker say it's picking back up.

Baker, who returned to slug lines in January after a several-year break, said he is feeling the effects. Earlier this year, he could roll up to the slug parking lot at 6 a.m. and



easily get a spot right up front. Now, the lot is much fuller.

The surge is still patchy. A recent visit to a fancy new slugging location in Springfield, Va., revealed spottily populated slug lines. The Horner Road lot, a more popular location farther out, is bustling.

It could also be short-lived. While workers are getting called back to offices, the Trump administration has been eliminating many federal jobs and is considering plans to

move others out of D.C.

But for those returning to the slug line or using it for the first time, it's a more streamlined experience. What used to be a scrappy word-of-mouth service where slugs found drivers in the former Bob's Big Boy restaurant parking lot in Springfield is now more formal.

There are WhatsApp groups where drivers send messages that they'll arrive at a certain slug line at a certain time. Last year, the newly built Springfield Garage opened with three designated slug lines, each going to different destinations in D.C. or to the Pentagon.

Keith Foxx loves slugging for personal and professional reasons. He runs an engineering firm where a main client is the D.C. Transportation Department.

A decade ago Foxx reluctantly slugged for the first time. He could hardly believe how fast he zipped into D.C. from Virginia: "I said, 'Holy Crap!' and the rest was history."

He formed two close friendships during those years. "They're in my phone as Amy Slug and John Slug," he said. Instead of joining a slug line, the trio rode together daily.

Since the pandemic, Amy and John have either moved away or retired, Foxx said, so he's back in the slugging pool looking for some new slug besties.

Nowadays, Foxx is a driver. He heads to the slug line at Springfield Garage, rolls down his window, and simply states, "L'Enfant." Two passengers get in.

"I zoom down 395 driving by all the traffic in the single-use lanes," he says. "It's a beautiful thing."

People line up to catch rides to the Pentagon at the Horner Road Commuter Lot in Woodbridge, Va. Slugging has been picking up since the start of the year, and commuters expect it to get busier.

► From left, drivers who choose to go solo in express lanes are required to pay tolls, which vary by traffic conditions and distance, but cars with three or more passengers can avoid the high fees; a sign marks a slug line in the new Springfield, Va., parking lot.



ELENA SCOTT/WSJ, ISTOCK

CORRIE DREBUS/WSJ (3)



BRING ON THE NIGHT

This is our Chromalight display. Unveiled in 2008, it offers optimal and long-lasting legibility in the darkest of surroundings thanks to a luminescent substance developed by Rolex and patented. White under the light of day, it glows blue in darkness and makes it possible to read the time in all lighting conditions. Composed of aluminum, strontium, dysprosium and europium, it has the ability to store

ambient light's energy only to better release it, gradually, whenever it may wane. First obtained in powder form, it is then heated to a very high temperature and mixed with a resin, before being applied manually to the hands and indexes. Its characteristic blue hue is a most reliable ally to repel the reach of darkness. A most precious glow in even the darkest of nights.

WATCHES OF
SWITZERLAND

SOHO
HUDSON YARDS
AMERICAN DREAM
WATCHESOFSWITZERLAND.COM



FOR AN OFFICIAL ROLEX JEWELER VISIT [ROLEX.COM](https://www.rolex.com). ROLEX AND  ARE ® TRADEMARKS.



#Dadication



fatherhood.gov

ARTS IN REVIEW



Japanese Breakfast, the indie-rock band led by singer-songwriter Michelle Zauner, is one of many musical projects that has become identified with the “sad girl” archetype. This aesthetic, fueled by social media, is about performing misery and vulnerability for the benefit of a short-form video audience. The soundtrack for youthful oversharing includes introspective and confessional artists like Lana Del Rey, Mitski, Phoebe Bridgers and, yes, Ms. Zauner’s band.

It’s a mode that has been around long enough that it’s starting to undergo some cultural pushback, as all trends ultimately do. And so when Ms. Zauner announced that the fourth Japanese Breakfast album would be called “For Melancholy Brunettes (& Sad Women)” (Dead Oceans), one wondered if she was working in an idiom that had become over-saturated. But the new collection, out Friday, is far richer and more nuanced than the reflexive response to its title might imply. Collaborating with producer Blake Mills (Fiona Apple, Alabama Shakes), she has assembled a highly cinematic collection of stories that consistently delivers in terms of simple musical pleasure.

That the singer is also an excellent writer is by now well established—her 2021 memoir “Crying in H Mart,” about her complicated relationship with her Korean mother, was a critically acclaimed

MUSIC REVIEW | MARK RICHARDSON

A Record’s Rich Texture

Beautifully layered arrangements grace Japanese Breakfast’s new album

bestseller. But the musical settings she chooses for her work grow more sophisticated with each new release. Her roots are in guitar-centered indie rock, but her last LP, 2021’s excellent “Jubilee,” made heavy use of electronics and a more varied emotional palette. On “For Melancholy Brunettes,” Ms. Zauner and Mr. Mills take a baroque turn. The opening “Here Is Someone” twinkles with the sounds of a Wurlitzer organ, celesta, mandolin and the bell-like tones of Indonesian gamelan percussion. She uses the arrangement as a backdrop to meditate on the quotidian nature of romance—“Life is sad but here is someone,” goes a line toward the end.

The first track sets the tone for a record that recalls the formal elegance of a Wes Anderson film, as the play of color and sonic texture puts the listener in a dreamy frame of mind. “Orlando in Love” has chiming acoustic guitar and swooning strings that hint



at the bookish indie pop of bands like Scotland’s Belle and Sebastian. “Honey Water” adds some gurgling guitar distortion to the mix, evoking the sensual noise of Slowdive as Ms. Zauner sings poetically of a love that feels like hunger. The line “insatiable for a nectar drinking til your heart expires” has a writerly flair, yet her phrasing is such that the words

sit alongside the music rather than drawing undue attention.

Most of the songs come across as fiction rather than confessionals. Ms. Zauner’s characters are typically going through something heavy at the moment we find them—whether growing up, falling in or out of love, or growing older and becoming more isolated—and she observes rather than judges. Her narratives are drawn from the mundane, yet they have a cumulative force. “Little Girl” begins with a grim scene of someone urinating in the corner of a hotel room and expands to consider the drama from several perspectives. “Dreaming of a daughter who won’t speak to me / Running for her father coming home,” she sings, looking years down the road from a moment of trauma.

The acoustic ballad “Leda” is one of several songs in which a character’s anguish is entwined with alcohol—“Oh, you always

take it way too far / Is it the bottle or blood? I can’t relate to you at all”—and “Men in Bars” is a country weeper with a pedal-steel guitar that is also a duet with actor Jeff Bridges. It looks odd on paper, but the pairing works beautifully, with Ms. Zauner’s youthful voice contrasting with Mr. Bridges’s weathered bellow on a song that’s partly about moving through dark periods in life but also about endurance.

The efficiency of the LP is something to behold—10 tracks, 32 minutes, not a single weak song. And for all the lush arrangements and beautifully layered production, there’s a sturdiness to these compositions that echoes the work of Jeff Tweedy, one of Ms. Zauner’s mentors. She and the Wilco frontman are mutual admirers—she has acknowledged the importance of his music in her life, and he has covered her songs. The patience and slow-burn effect of “For Melancholy Brunettes (& Sad Women)” has much in common with the elder rocker’s approach, embodying a shared belief that nailing the fundamentals leads to worthwhile art that’ll be around for the long haul.

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

TELEVISION REVIEW | JOHN ANDERSON

From Crosswords to Crime-Solving

The ever-fretful John Taylor (David Mitchell) is the “Elvis of puzzle setters” according to his sister-in-law, Lucy (Anna Maxwell Martin), who is about to ask a big favor. How big? “Pretty big” Lucy tells him over the phone. “It’s going to involve you having to leave the house.” The fact that she won’t disclose what’s going on presents enough of a mystery to get the agoraphobic “Ludwig”—as John is known among U.K. fans of crosswords, acrostics and jumbles—to make the two-hour drive to Cambridge. Also, she’s sent a taxi, which is waiting outside.

Where is he going? Directly into a mess, as well as a sitcom that doesn’t feel like one. The disappearance of his twin brother and police detective, James—whom John will impersonate to great success at the Cambridge Police Authority—threads its way through the entire six-part series. So does a vaguely defined conspiracy that may reach the upper levels of the force. But the situation in this comedy is among the hoariest of conceits: a lookalike faking his way across a terrain with which he is not familiar

A puzzle setter impersonates his twin, a detective, in this comic mystery.

in the least, a setup of the type that usually involves cringey, predictable and implausible predicaments.

And yet it all feels very fresh. And not cringey. Which is largely due to Mr. Mitchell (“Peep Show,” a Britcom with which I am not familiar in the least), an original talent in an original role. He is also an amalgam of worried comic types, including Woody Allen, Peter Sellers and, for old movie buffs, Eric Blore, a flexible-faced mainstay of screwball comedies and Astaire-Rogers musicals. Mr. Mitchell is one of those naturally funny people, and John’s combination of neuroses, bluster and incredulous exasperation with much of what’s gone on while he was hiding in his house (in a collar, tie and sweater, by the way) is consistently hilarious.

Lucy, who has known the Taylor brothers since they were age 6 (“five and three-quarters,” David corrects), is in a fix: Her husband has seemed increasingly troubled by his job of late and has now vanished altogether, leaving behind a curiously constructed goodbye note and no promise of return. James seems to be in danger and, not knowing who



else to trust, Lucy wants John to waltz into police headquarters, rifle through James’s office and find out what he was working on that could cause so much disruption. John’s general reaction is a “What?!” and a grimace, though he’s clearly been in love with Lucy since he was five and three-quarters and will do anything she asks.

To the strains of some seriously adulterated Beethoven (“Ludwig” is a fan), John has no trouble disguising his true identity from any of the

crack investigators around him, and is thus dragged along on a case—which he solves, in a virtuosic display of logic, deductive reasoning and reverse engineering of the crime scene. (Among John’s invented games is “reverse chess,” by which a participant calculates the moves that led to the state of a game already being played.) The se-

ries, created by Mark Brotherhood (“Mount Pleasant”), does not require the viewer to do any math. John’s “colleagues”—among them Russell (Dipo Ola), Alice (Izuka Hoyle), Simon (Gerran Howell, currently of “The Pitt”) and their boss Carol (Dorothy Atkinson)—certainly don’t do any, nor do they, or we, really understand how John arrives at his conclusions. We don’t need to. Plus, John generally delivers his verdict Agatha Christie/“Thin Man” style, explaining the entire crime with all the suspects in one room, squirming.

The entire cast clicks; Ms. Martin, in particular, is a brilliant actor. Over the season, which is undoubtedly the first of many, “Ludwig” sets its murders in an office building, a church, a private (“public”) school, a construction site, a National Trust-type estate and a police station—a sort of democratic dispersion of John’s ad-hoc sleuthing, which contains a refreshing lesson of its own: A different perspective on the world—which for John is one big puzzle waiting to be solved—can be the difference between stalemate and checkmate.

Ludwig Thursday, BritBox

Mr. Anderson is the Journal’s TV critic.

By Andrew Beaton

The quickest way for your NCAA tournament bracket to go bust is by picking a bunch of underdogs—and then watching them lose on the first day, just like they were supposed to. But everyone knows it’s horribly boring to pick all the favorites when there’s sure to be a stunner or two.

There’s a reason they call it March Madness, and the truly maddening part is trying to identify those teams that could genuinely spring a surprise.

The Wall Street Journal’s resident upsetologist is here to help you with that.

John Ezekowitz works in finance but is better known as the expert who predicts NCAA Tournament upsets with astonishing accuracy. Even if you don’t know the difference between the Duke Blue Devils and the Grand Canyon Antelopes, you can look like a genius at the office this week simply by listening to his advice. Over the years, his proprietary model has called for 41 upsets—and 28 of them, or 68.3%, have actually hit.

That’s a remarkable record of correctly picking winners that are supposed to lose. What’s even more impressive is that Ezekowitz doesn’t waste his time with upsets that are upsets in name only.

It isn’t exactly jaw-dropping when a No. 9 seed beats a No. 8. Instead, he zeroes in on the true shocks: the No. 11, 12, 13 or 14 seeds that can magically turn into Cinderellas.

Ezekowitz enters this year’s NCAA tournament with an amusing confession: He hasn’t actually watched much college basketball this year.

Yet that’s also part of his brilliance—eyes can be deceived far more easily than a mathematical

March Madness Upset Expert Likes the Tritons, Rams

The Wall Street Journal’s resident upsetologist has crunched the numbers for the best picks. This year, two teams stand out.



No. 12 seed UC San Diego, led by Aniwaniwa Tait-Jones, plays No. 5 Michigan in the first round.

model.

In fact, if Ezekowitz allowed himself to be swayed by subjective biases, he wouldn’t have called for No. 11 North Carolina State to top-ple No. 6 Texas Tech last year, because his algorithm had been burned by the Wolfpack in the past. Instead, he stuck with his system—and N.C. State danced all the way to the Final Four.

Much of Ezekowitz’s success is based on his finding that the teams most likely to shock the world are the ones that value possessions. His model likes schools

that grab offensive rebounds and limit turnovers, both of which lead to extra shots. It similarly dings opponents that struggle in those categories. Then he bakes in a few other key indicators, like strength of schedule and defensive field goal percentage, *et voilà!*

This year, Ezekowitz’s model calls for two upsets—and also likes some longer shots. Here are those picks and how his numbers compare with the win probability from college basketball statistician Ken Pomeroy and the line at sportsbooks.

No. 12 UC San Diego over No. 5 Michigan

Ezekowitz: 60.5%

Pomeroy: 41%

Michigan favored by 2.5 points

Statistical models rate UC San Diego as the best No. 12 in the field after the Tritons finished the season 30-4. They enter the tournament on a 15-game winning streak—and their style of play makes the Ezekowitz machine light up.

Of the 364 teams in Division I, UCSD has the seventh lowest turnover rate and forces turnovers at

the second highest rate. At the same time, Michigan struggles in those same metrics, with one of the highest turnover percentages around. It’s all a recipe for extra possessions for the Tritons.

No. 11 VCU over No. 6 BYU

Ezekowitz: 55.9%

Pomeroy: 46%

BYU favored by 3.5 points

There are plenty of reasons to like VCU. The Rams have ascended the country before when they reached the Final Four as an 11-seed back in 2011. Their coach, Ryan Odom, was in charge of No. 16 UMBC when it made history and toppled No. 1 Virginia. And they excel at the things that turbocharge upsets.

For one, VCU collects 36.7% of its missed shots as offensive rebounds—one of the highest rates among tournament teams. The Rams are also nightmarish to try to score against: they had the No. 1 effective defensive field goal percentage in the country.

The Long Shots

These aren’t official recommendations, but there are other teams Ezekowitz’s model likes relative to the market.

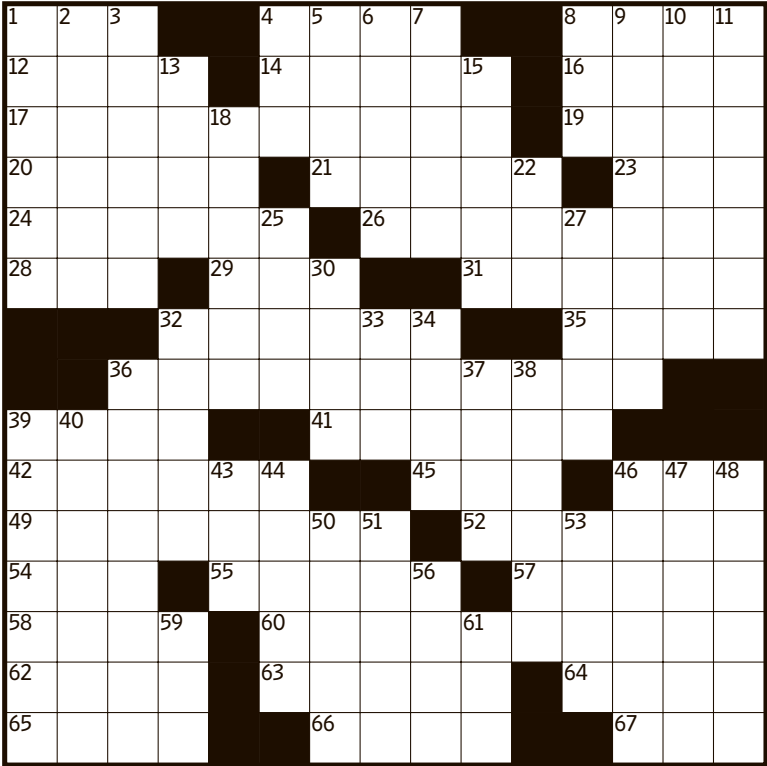
One is in a play-in game. If No. 11 Texas gets past Xavier on Wednesday, he gives the Longhorns a 51.3% of upsetting No. 6 Illinois.

Want an even longer shot? Then consider 14-seeded Troy, one of the few teams that grabs even more rebounds than VCU. That’s why Ezekowitz says they have a 21.3% chance to oust No. 3 Kentucky. He has one last suggestion that’s even spicier than that. No. 15 Bryant might look like a doormat ready to be stomped by No. 2 Michigan State. But the model says Bryant actually has a 10.4% shot to advance.

That would bust everyone’s brackets—except, maybe, yours.

IAN MAULE/GETTY IMAGES

The WSJ Daily Crossword | Edited by Mike Shenk



- 13 Clothes line
- 15 “Grilled,” on a taco truck
- 18 2024 Emmy winner for Outstanding Drama Series
- 22 NBC show since 1999, familiarly
- 25 ___ mitzvah (ceremony for twins)
- 27 FDR or YSL, e.g.
- 30 Gator’s kin
- 32 Particle with a flavor
- 33 Refrain syllable
- 34 Fail to mention
- 36 “Othello” theme
- 37 Co-star of 22-Down
- 38 DVD player error message
- 39 Like Brink’s trucks
- 40 “That’s what they tell me”
- 43 Asner and Harris
- 44 Cathedral of Florence
- 46 Wrinkly fruits
- 47 “Water Music” composer
- 48 “It’s a thumbs down from me”
- 50 Herded
- 51 Common craps roll
- 53 Tiny batteries
- 56 Apple answerer
- 59 Scoreboard figs.
- 61 Airport abbr.

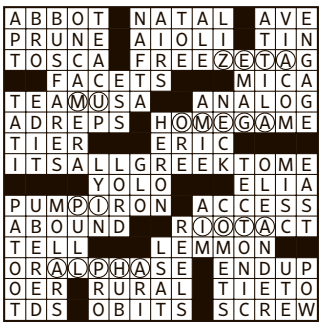
CONCESSIONS | By Laura Oppenheimer

- Across**
- 1 Walker who may be XING
 - 4 “No ifs, ___ or buts”
 - 8 CEO’s underling
 - 12 Cries from fútbol fans
 - 14 Turtle-like creature from the Mario universe
 - 16 Quirks
 - 17 *Jake Gyllenhaal and Rebecca Ferguson in space...act frugally?
 - 19 Dash, say
 - 20 12-time NBA All-Star Thomas
 - 21 Fields of endeavor
 - 23 Dr. for laryngitis and otitis sufferers
 - 24 Group with rackets
 - 26 *Helen Mirren as a retired MI6 assassin... makes short-form videos?
 - 28 Spot for a stud or a bud
 - 29 “Live Well” retailer
 - 31 Family member, endearingly
 - 32 Ten-by-eight-inch writing paper size
 - 35 Bird sacred to Thoth
 - 36 *Pregnant Arnold... makes coins?
 - 39 Yachting, perhaps
 - 41 Island group north of Hispaniola
 - 42 More than giggled
 - 45 Lasso with a whistle
 - 46 Upsilon follower
 - 49 *Sean Penn as an activist city supervisor... has some failures?
 - 52 Pageant prizes
 - 54 “Well, what have we here!”
 - 55 Tender spots
 - 57 Spa amenity
 - 58 Sign on for a second hitch
 - 60 Best part of going to the theater...and a hint to the starred clues
 - 62 Jet stream heading
 - 63 Done openly
 - 64 Spotted
 - 65 Prohibition backers
 - 66 Vance Air Force Base’s Oklahoma location
 - 67 Kwik’s opposite, in ad-speak

Down

- 1 Diplomatic
- 2 Cuthbert of TV’s “24”
- 3 Truculent sort
- 4 Letters before an alias
- 5 Blazing star
- 6 “Cloud Cuckoo Land” author
- 7 Anthony
- 8 Org. that licenses gun dealers
- 9 They’re found in tombs and catacombs
- 10 When Hamlet first appears
- 11 Flies over Africa?

Previous Puzzle’s Solution



The Professional Tennis Players’ Association (PTPA) was co-founded by Novak Djokovic.

Djokovic’s Players Association Files Lawsuit in an Effort to Reshape Tennis

By Joshua Robinson

THE MOST COMMON complaint among professional tennis players has little to do with court surfaces, grunting opponents, or rowdy crowds. Instead, their biggest gripe on tour is, quite simply, how much tennis they have to play.

The schedule, which stretches out over 11 months of the year and sends players charging around the world on a constant hunt for cash and ranking points, has been a source of near-constant discussion for years.

Now a group of players known as the Professional Tennis Players Association, co-founded by Novak Djokovic, is escalating the fight. The PTPA on Tuesday brought legal action against the men’s and women’s professional tours and the International Tennis Federation, alleging that they colluded to engage in anti-competitive behavior and unfairly restricted players’ earnings.

“A cartel of tour organizers and tournament operators have conspired to avoid competition amongst themselves and to shut out outside tournaments, affording

them complete control over the players’ pay and working conditions,” the PTPA said in a suit filed in New York’s Southern District.

The Association of Tennis Professionals, which oversees the men’s circuit, insisted that it works closely with players to let them control their schedules and monetize their careers.

“While ATP has remained focused on delivering reforms that benefit players at multiple levels, the PTPA has consistently chosen division and distraction through misinformation over progress,” the organization said.

The Women’s Tennis Association called the suit “baseless,” while the ITF declined to comment.

Unlike the major North American leagues, which all have powerful players’ unions, the tennis world is highly splintered between the men’s and women’s tours, which are run in parallel, the International Tennis Federation, and the four Grand Slam tournaments. Prize money isn’t standardized and players operate as independent contractors.

And while the ATP and WTA argue that players have a voice for change on vari-

ous councils, many pros have expressed frustration with the lack of action. That’s why, in 2020, Djokovic and the now retired Canadian pro Vasek Pospisil launched the PTPA. The organization didn’t gain much traction initially, but its laundry list of complaints were already echoing throughout the tennis ecosystem.

“I’m one of the more fortunate players and I’ve still had to sleep in my car when traveling to matches early on in my career,” Pospisil said. “Imagine an NFL player being told that he had to sleep in his car at an away game...No other major sport treats its athletes this way.”

The players point to a “grueling” schedule, tournaments getting longer, inconsistent tennis balls, and scheduling that often sees them play into the dead of night at major events.

They are also protesting what they view as opaque disciplinary practices—such as the recent negotiated suspension of world No. 1 Jan-nik Sinner for an antidoping violation—and mandatory participation rules, which they believe lead to a spike in injuries.

FRANK FRANKLIN/USASSOCIATED PRESS

OPINION

Nobody Wants the Covid Truth



BUSINESS WORLD
By Holman W. Jenkins, Jr.

Scientists who, in 1 9 7 8 , quickly concluded the previous year's global flu pandemic originated in a lab leak in China or Russia chose not to advertise their findings. Their overriding priority: protect diplomatic relations with Russia and China.

"A laboratory release was the most likely origin," wrote clinical pathologist Martin Furmanski in a 2014 revisitation of the incident, "but they were

Why Western intel agencies help Putin and Xi keep their darkest secrets.

content not to publicize this."

This column has long highlighted a reasoned disinterest of the U.S. and other Western governments in finding the truth about Covid-19, which would complicate relations with China. Now five years later, the Central Intelligence Agency finally judges a lab leak the likeliest scenario, albeit with "low confidence"—the diplomatically vital caveat. German intelligence apparently concluded as far back as 2020 and with "high confidence" that a lab mishap was responsible. The finding was only leaked this month, followed by frantic CYA activities by German politicians concerned about relations with Beijing.

Voters in Germany and elsewhere might start blaming China for the deaths of their loved ones. The press might accuse China of concocting a bioweapon. Beijing's early statements denying the virus's communicability might look in retrospect like attempts to make sure the rest of the world was infected too.

Of course, Americans and others can't be stopped from speculating. Politicians can't be stopped from making hay of China's role, as Donald Trump has done episodically. It's sufficient for governments strenuously to flag their own agnosticism, to show a certain passivity in pursuing the evidence. Recall what happened when Australia merely sought China's cooperation in investigating Covid's origins. Beijing launched a Trump-style trade war aimed at Australia's key export industries.

In 1999, a string of apartment bombings propelled a little-known Vladimir Putin to Russia's elected presidency. A resolute choice of Western governments was to ignore evidence that these bombings, which killed nearly 300 Russians in their beds, were actually carried out by Mr. Putin's intelligence allies to aid his rise. Mr. Putin had to be somebody Western politicians could be seen doing business with.

In a point I've made more than once, U.S. intelligence exists not only to protect U.S. secrets, and not only to ferret out the secrets of our enemies. It also exists to protect certain secrets *on behalf* of our enemies.

This too involves risks. Mr. Putin's run as president would likely have been short, after



Xi Jinping

all, if he had been rejected by the West as a valid interlocutor. The only exception to the official U.S. silence on the bombings came early in the Trump presidency, apparently as a warning to Mr. Putin to back off from his political meddling amid America's roiling collusion debate.

A U.S. administration wouldn't be any more likely to pursue formal accountability from China for inflicting Covid on the world. By now, it's arguably even unnecessary as the lab leak becomes by osmosis the prevailing theory with a useful undercarriage about the untrustability of governments generally in such circumstances.

Accusing Mr. Xi personally would be the diplomatic equivalent of an unconditional surrender demand, making relations all but impossible until China got a new leader, which may not happen for another decade. With a Taiwan showdown in the offing, both sides are more sensitive than ever to avoid Covid recriminations that could complicate an al-

ready complicated situation, which begs for the lines of communication to be kept open.

Nor has the U.S. has been willing to unleash full information warfare on Mr. Putin. Mr. Putin has returned the favor. He raised no objection after the Kremlin was falsely accused in the Hunter Biden laptop caper. He specifically spoke about the incident in a way designed to help the Biden campaign. Only this year did Mr. Putin compliantly change his tune. Now the 2020 election had been "stolen" from Donald Trump after all.

So don't underestimate the incumbents-protection club, especially when Western politicians deal with the likes of Messrs. Putin and Xi. They hold their jobs for life. Their countries possess means to do vast damage to U.S. interests.

Mr. Trump mainly differs by signaling an undervaluation of hypocrisy in such matters. In the Ukraine war, he clearly thinks he can deal with Mr. Putin more successfully than his predecessors did, on the basis of his more naked cynicism.

Mr. Trump seems intent on doing business with China's Mr. Xi on the same basis. His occasional rhetorical attacks on Beijing over Covid, prominent at the end of his first term, linger in memory. They remain as a form of leverage, though how much leverage they're really worth in our increasingly hard-power moment is a question. My guess: not much. Only one form of leverage really recommends itself now in the world of trouble America faces: rearm, rearm, rearm.

Gutting VOA Is a Win for China and Iran



POLITICS & IDEAS
By William A. Galston

After a tense cabinet meeting this month during which Secretary of State Marco Rubio and other department heads criticized Elon Musk's sweeping dismissals of federal workers, President Trump told Mr. Musk to use a "scalpel" rather than a "hatchet" when recommending future job cuts.

Last Friday, employing his own definition of "scalpel," Mr. Trump gutted seven government entities, including the U.S. Agency for Global Media, which presides over Voice of America and other international broadcasters. Meantime, Mr. Musk's Department of Government Efficiency imposed a month-long funding freeze on VOA. On Saturday nearly all VOA journalists were placed on administrative leave with pay, as was its director.

Mr. Musk signaled his interest in shutting down VOA in February, when he tweeted an attack on it and Radio Free Europe—organizations established to emphasize democratic values in countries where free press is threatened. In a play on Radio Free Europe's name, he tweeted:

"Europe is free now (not counting stifling bureaucracy). Hello??" Does Mr. Musk think that Russia, to which Radio Free Europe broadcasts 24 hours each day, is free? He then broadened his attack: "Nobody listens to them anymore," he charged. "It's just radical left crazy people talking to themselves while torching \$1B/year of US taxpayer money."

Mr. Musk doesn't know what he's talking about. Voice of America has an annual budget of about \$270 million, and it reaches a weekly audience of about 360 million around the world. In Africa, its audience has expanded from 78 million to almost 94 million in the past two years. Eliminating VOA's Africa division would surrender the battle of ideas to Chinese and Russian propaganda outlets vying for influence in a region whose population is projected to double in the next 25 years.

VOA is one of the few fact-based news sources reaching China. In moments of crisis, such as the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre, millions of Chinese have relied on VOA for the truthful accounts they can't find in their own country's media. VOA also works to counter the incessant disinformation war that China is waging against the U.S. No wonder state-run Chinese me-

dia celebrated the announcement that VOA's journalists would no longer be permitted to do their jobs.

Similarly, Iranian media and Ayatollah Ali Khamenei's chief advisers gloated over the news that the Trump administration was gutting VOA, effectively suspending its broadcasts into Iran. Despite

Trump sees the power of media, but he has a blind spot about international affairs.

the Iranian government's efforts to block these broadcasts, the Iranian audience for them has expanded dramatically in recent years. VOA's Persian website had 223 million visits last year. Mr. Trump's March 4 address to Congress got 1.3 million video views in Iran through VOA.

China spends more than 10 times as much on international media activities as VOA spends. Mike Waltz, Mr. Trump's national security adviser, has long advocated a hard-line stance toward Beijing. What would he think of America's surrender in the information war with China? And what view does Elbridge Colby, Mr. Trump's nominee

to serve as undersecretary of defense for policy, take? Mr. Colby has written that "the top external threat to America is China—by far."

VOA has made mistakes, as has every media organization, and reasonable reforms are long overdue. A scalpel-rather-than-hatchet strategy could trim the U.S. Agency for Global Media's bureaucracy, eliminate the overlap between VOA and the regional broadcasters such as Radio Free Europe, and improve editorial oversight.

An effective media campaign helped Mr. Trump return to office. He should understand the power of persuasion to shape public opinion that promotes his goals. But when it comes to international affairs, he seems to have a blind spot. Mr. Trump apparently believes in using a combination of carrots and sticks to change the policies of other countries' leaders but not in using targeted information to shape public attitudes overseas.

Public opinion matters, which is why autocrats work so hard to manipulate it. If their citizens have no access to alternative views, autocrats are more likely to succeed—with less effort and cost. The U.S. shouldn't play into their hands. We should mend, not end, the Voice of America.

Trump Bills of Attainder Target Law Firms

By James Huffman

President Trump's executive orders penalizing three law firms—Covington & Burling, Perkins Coie and Paul Weiss—threaten the constitutional structure that the Framers envisioned. Though the orders deal with the executive branch—including removing employees' security clearances, barring access to government buildings, and imposing unique limits on federal contracts—they constitute a shocking expansion of White House power.

In a remarkable opinion rendered barely 24 hours after Perkins petitioned the court, Judge Beryl A. Howell granted a temporary restraining order against parts of the executive order. She found Perkins suffered irreparable harm from the president's order and that the law firm would likely prevail on several of its claims. The most important objection was one Judge Howell astutely raised, although Perkins hadn't: The order constitutes a bill of

attainder, which is explicitly prohibited by the Constitution. All three orders likely do.

A bill of attainder is a law that imposes punishment without trial on specific people retroactively. The order cites no law that Perkins violated but instead critiques activity that the administration alleges

His executive orders test a constitutional limit on government's power of punishment.

took place, running back to the 2016 presidential campaign. Like a bill of attainder, the order appropriates from the judiciary the constitutional power to determine guilt and impose punishment.

The framers explicitly prohibited bills of attainder because they saw that such judicial powers, if in the hands of legislators or the executive, were frequently abused.

As Theodore Plucknett explained in "A Concise History of the Common Law," bills of attainder were common from Parliament or the British king for "reasons of state and political expediency" and "mere vindictiveness."

Though Mr. Trump's executive order against Perkins purports to protect national security, it looks like vindictiveness, plain and simple. Judge Howell observed that the order's language "makes clear" that it "is a means of retaliating" against the firm. Mr. Trump "targeted" Perkins because it accepted "clients who are the president's political opponents or who the president does not like." The government's unwavering defense of the order, Judge Howell said, "sends little chills down my spine."

The Trump administration argues that because the Constitution's prohibition against bills of attainder appears in Article I, which sets forth Congress's powers, it applies only to lawmakers and not the president, whose powers come

from Article II. Judge Howell disagreed. Pointing out that the framers didn't anticipate Washington's present-day reliance on executive orders which have the force of law, she could conceive of no reason that the prohibition would apply only to acts of Congress. If anything, the administration's argument implies that it is swallowing up legislative as well as judicial powers.

Perkins Coie will likely prevail on due process or free-speech grounds, but what Mr. Trump has done is worse than limiting either of those constitutional rights. A presidential bill of attainder places the powers of all three governmental branches in the hands of one man. As James Madison wrote in Federalist No. 47: "The accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive, and judiciary, in the same hands . . . may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny."

Mr. Huffman is a professor and dean emeritus at Lewis & Clark Law School.

BOOKSHELF | By Edward Chancellor

A Failure Of Oversight

Meltdown

By Duncan Mavin
Pegasus, 336 pages, \$29.95

Switzerland's two global banks suffered very different fates as a result of the 2008-09 financial crisis. While UBS was forced to go cap in hand to the Swiss government for a bailout, its rival Credit Suisse deftly sidestepped the subprime debacle. Nearly 15 years later, however, Credit Suisse would find itself on the brink, its reputation sunk so low that it could be brought down by a single tweet.

In "Meltdown," Duncan Mavin, a financial journalist who has worked for a number of newspapers (including this one), chronicles Credit Suisse's decline. The root of the problem, in Mr. Mavin's view, is that Credit Suisse was a hybrid organization: a secretive, apparently staid Zurich-based private bank attached to a "high octane" global investment firm formed from the acquisitions of First Boston (in 1988) and Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette (in 2000).

Credit Suisse's investment-banking arm gained a reputation for being smart, innovative—especially in the field of derivatives—and client centric, but it never overcame the cultural differences between Zurich and New York. John Mack, previously the president of Morgan Stanley, came to Credit Suisse in 2001 to run its Wall Street operations. But he refused to learn German, the language of the bank's board; he also reportedly clashed with members of the board on numerous occasions. Three years later, he was pushed out.

Foreign banks have always struggled to establish themselves on Wall Street. Credit Suisse was no different. A 2022 internal report revealed that the bank had a headcount and expenses similar to those of Goldman Sachs while generating a fifth of Goldman's per capita revenue. In the 10 years leading up to its collapse in 2023, Mr. Mavin writes, Credit Suisse produced cumulative losses of more than \$2 billion but paid out around \$35 billion in bonuses.

Mr. Mavin quotes Allen Wheat, one of Mr. Mack's predecessors at Credit Suisse, who said that managing the business required "a balance between control—knowing exactly what's going on—and innovation and new thought." At Credit Suisse this balance was never achieved. In fact, not knowing what was going on became the hallmark of management during the bank's final years before its collapse, as it became embroiled in a number of allegations of wrongdoing: money-laundering for Bulgarian drug smugglers, evading U.S. financial sanctions (on Iran, Myanmar and Cuba), assisting American and German citizens in evading taxes.

In the early 2010s, bankers at Credit Suisse's London office arranged for representatives of the Mozambique government to borrow \$500 million. The money was supposed to be used to purchase a fleet of tuna-fishing boats, but much of it was frittered on bribes and kickbacks, some intended for Credit Suisse bankers. In Zurich, the company's chairman claimed he had no means of knowing about misdeeds at the bank's London office—suggesting both weak oversight and a failure to instill a culture of rectitude across the firm.

One of the bank's most high-profile cases involved a Credit Suisse private banker who was found to have "misappropriated" the funds of Bidzina Ivanishvili, a billionaire and former prime minister of Georgia. In 2022 a Bermudan court found that the bank had turned a "blind eye" to this rogue behavior; Mr. Ivanishvili was awarded more than \$600 million in damages.

From 2010 onward, Credit Suisse was fined, in aggregate, more than \$15 billion by various governments.

In the years before the collapse of Credit Suisse, not knowing what was going on became the hallmark of the bank's management.

It also burned through a succession of chief executives. Tidjane Thiam was offered the top job in 2015. It was a curious appointment. The French and Ivorian national had recently been the boss of a large British insurance and asset-management company but had no investment-banking experience. Mr. Thiam quickly set about restructuring Credit Suisse's operations and setting aggressive revenue targets. This pushed divisional heads to take on more risk. Yet, according to Mr. Mavin, Credit Suisse's risk controls were weakening.

Mr. Thiam's tenure ended with "Spygate," which began in September 2019 when it was revealed that a former Credit Suisse executive, who had fallen out with Mr. Thiam and had recently taken a job at rival UBS, was being followed by private detectives. The surveillance, according to Mr. Mavin, was arranged by a consultant who "worked for Credit Suisse's chief operating officer," one of Mr. Thiam's "closest lieutenants." Mr. Thiam denied any foreknowledge of the operation, but reports of other spying incidents soon emerged. The chief executive lost the support of the board and stepped down in February 2020.

The following year two of Credit Suisse's clients failed in spectacular fashion. In March 2021 the supply-chain financing firm Greensill Capital declared insolvency, followed by the collapse of the hedge fund Archegos Capital. Credit Suisse quickly recovered \$50 million of its \$140 million loan to Greensill, but Archegos would end up costing the bank \$5.5 billion. Perhaps even more damaging was the prospect of extended litigation and the hit to the bank's reputation for managing the risk on their loans. "The wealthiest investors needed to see that Credit Suisse could be trusted with their money," Mr. Mavin writes. "Scandal after scandal proved that they couldn't."

In January 2022 the bank's new chairman, António Horta-Osório, was forced out for having publicly broken Covid-19 quarantine rules. In the months leading up to the denouement, all of Credit Suisse's C-suite executives were recent arrivals, unprepared for the coming crisis.

In early October 2022 the global bond markets were jumpy after recent interest-rate hikes. It was at this moment that an Australian financial journalist tweeted that a "credible source tells me a major international bank is on the brink." The internet trolls needed no name. Credit Suisse may not have run out of capital, but its credit was shot. Clients started withdrawing funds. Regulators started circling. In March 2023, UBS was brought in by the Swiss authorities to take over its stricken rival. "Meltdown" doesn't contain much new information about Credit Suisse's downfall, but it is comprehensive and clearly written. Mr. Mavin suggests that the bank was brought down by greed, but envy played at least as large a role. By striving too hard to keep up with the top players on Wall Street, the Swiss lost everything.

Mr. Chancellor is the author, most recently, of "The Price of Time: The Real Story of Interest."

OPINION

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Putin Rejects the Trump Cease-Fire

President Trump and Vladimir Putin talked on the phone on Tuesday, and neither side is divulging many details of their chat. But strip away the diplomatic pieties and the main result is that Mr. Putin didn't agree to Mr. Trump's 30-day cease-fire, while Ukraine's Volodymyr Zelensky did. Have we figured out yet who's the real obstacle to peace?

"Both leaders agreed this conflict needs to end with a lasting peace," the White House readout of the call said. Mr. Putin made minor concessions, including a breather from targeting Ukraine's energy infrastructure. The White House also claimed progress on deconfliction in the Black Sea. The statement ended with overtures to "potential cooperation" in the Middle East and "an improved bilateral relationship."

Yet it's clear the Kremlin is demanding major concessions even for a short-term cease-fire, much less for a broader peace deal. The Russian readout repeated its demand for a "complete cessation of foreign military aid" and intelligence sharing for Ukraine. Mr. Putin also wants Ukraine cut out of the talks and deal only with the President—oh, and sanctions relief.

These are terms Ukraine can't accept, except at the end of a bludgeon. A peace deal that disarms Ukraine won't produce a long peace that lets Mr. Trump focus on his priorities. Mr. Putin has been insisting on swallowing entire provinces in Ukraine, including territory his troops aren't even occupying today.

It's a good sign Mr. Trump didn't concede to Mr. Putin's demands in this call, but the Russian dictator will play rough. He knows he can sustain more losses on the battlefield and that Mr. Trump has promised voters he'll deliver peace. Mr. Putin is unlikely to budge from his core demands unless the President and Europe are will-

ing to turn the screws on him with tougher sanctions and arming Ukraine to the hilt. Mr. Putin is betting Mr. Trump won't do that, and based on the mood music so far from this Administration, it isn't a bad bet.

GOP Sen. Lindsey Graham said over the weekend that he'd advise the President to "go back to maximum pressure" if Mr. Putin declined to accept the cease-fire on the same terms as Ukraine, and he said he has legislation in the works that "would crush the Russian economy."

The larger worry is that Mr. Trump is struggling to see Mr. Putin for the aggressor he is—one that previous Presidents have failed to tame via talks. The White House even heralded the possibility of working with Russia in the Middle East, where Mr. Putin has spent a decade as a force for instability.

Mr. Trump is bombing Yemen's Houthi terrorists, who have held global shipping hostage and shot at U.S. Navy ships with impunity. And who has helped hand the Houthis the intel to target ships? Russia. Ditto for providing trainer aircraft to Iran in return for drones.

Mr. Trump's legacy would be permanently damaged by an outcome that the world perceives as a victory for Mr. Putin. U.S. public opinion isn't sold on Mr. Trump's bent, with more than 75% of Americans saying in a survey this month they're concerned that Mr. Putin wouldn't honor a peace deal, including 69% of Republicans.

For all the noise of negotiations, what matters are the terms of a peace deal. Mr. Trump might want to keep a note card reminding him that roughly seven in 10 Americans wanted out of Afghanistan in 2021. President Biden thought he'd be a hero for wrapping up that war. We know how that turned out.

The Russian wants much bigger concessions that would cripple Ukraine.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Trump Can't Channel Eisenhower in Ukraine

In "Trump in Ukraine: Chamberlain or Eisenhower?" (op-ed, March 10), Paul Wolfowitz presents a false choice in how President Trump could end the war in Ukraine. Poor Neville Chamberlain's association with appeasement ignores the reality of Britain in 1938. World War I had sapped the nation of a generation. Much of Chamberlain's cabinet had served in and was wounded by the conflict. The cantankerous Winston Churchill resisted, but an overwhelming share of the British people and government refused to risk war and another catastrophe. Today, by contrast, a majority of Americans favor supporting Ukraine.

As for Eisenhower: By early 1953 Stalin had died, and Operation Killer had eviscerated the Chinese Army. The U.S. had total nuclear superiority over a weak U.S.S.R. Eisenhower had all the cards to force a truce. How or if he threatened Beijing with nuclear weapons is still unclear.

Today couldn't be more different. Any president is constrained by Russian military power, geographic advantage and the threat of escalation.

But what happens if Mr. Wolfowitz's recommendation stumbles and neither the U.S. nor Europe provides the sinews of war for Ukraine or troops on the ground? U.S. investment

in Ukraine alone won't deter or curb Vladimir Putin's appetite. On the current course, "peace in our time" will come at the expense of Ukraine. And then what? Winston, where are you?

HARLAN ULLMAN
Atlantic Council
Washington

Mr. Wolfowitz is correct to hope that Mr. Trump will follow the example of Eisenhower (effective diplomacy backed by credible force) rather than the example of Chamberlain (believing in worthless paper agreements). If Mr. Trump follows the Chamberlain example and Mr. Putin is permitted to be victorious in his brutal aggression, it would only be fair that Mr. Trump replace the Briton as the symbol of misguided appeasement that leads to more aggression.

Chamberlain can at least be forgiven for having lived through World War I and not knowing how brutal Hitler and Nazi Germany would become. Mr. Trump knows full well how barbaric Mr. Putin is. The American president shouldn't forget that, as in earlier ages, other bad actors will be watching his actions to see if they can pursue their aggressive policies.

EDWARD MEGARGEY
Princeton, N.J.

The Masked Protesters Get Their Just Deserts

Prof. Philip Hamburger correctly assesses the need to reconcile a protester's First Amendment right to protest freely with a college student's rights to pursue her studies and the college's obligation under Title VI to provide a safe environment for its students ("What Trump Meant by 'Illegal Protests,'" op-ed, March 10).

The analysis for many challenges to speech-related issues turns on whether the restriction on the speech or conduct at issue is a neutral time, place and manner regulation. The Supreme Court has held that anonymous speech is protected under the First Amendment and that governmental action that might have the effect of curtailing speech or the freedom to associate is subject to the "closest scrutiny." This applies to speech and associational rights that pertain to subjects as broad as political, economic, religious or cultural matters.

On behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union, I have litigated the rights of Ku Klux Klan members to

march in a public town square with their hooded masks, vindicating their First Amendment rights over the town's antimasking ordinance. But the conduct at issue today, engaged in by pro-intifada supporters of Hamas, an outlawed foreign terrorist organization, has frequently crossed the line from protected viewpoint speech to threats and acts of violence—with masks worn to prevent punitive responses.

A college campus is intended to be a leading forum for free speech, but it must never be allowed to be a safe haven for violence-preaching, hate-mongering bigots intent on intimidating or physically harming students who have come to learn. College administrators have a legal obligation to protect their students, and they must be able to identify those who come onto their campuses and who pose a clear and present danger to their students. Mr. Hamburger has captured that balance.

DAVID I. SCHOEN
Montgomery, Ala.

A Costly Recipe for Tax Reform on Capitol Hill

Your editorial "A Baseline for Tax Reform Success" (March 14) encourages Congress to use magic math to extend tax giveaways for millionaires and billionaires, pretending it will add zero dollars to the deficit. Yet Republican and centrist budget experts have been calling the tactic of using the "current policy baseline" what it is: a gimmick.

George Callas, former senior tax counsel to House Speaker Paul Ryan, has made clear that "if Congress makes the expiring TCJA provisions permanent without additional offsets, the Treasury Department will have to borrow an additional \$4.5 trillion over the next 10 years." Marc Goldwein, of the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, has likewise said that "this would be the biggest and maybe most economically costly gimmick in American history." Former Republican Majority Leader Eric Cantor evidently agrees, contending in a re-

cent CNBC interview that Republicans can't "hide this from being a real issue." Congressional Republicans need to realize tax giveaways cost money. Refusing to measure something doesn't mean it goes away.

SEN. JEFF MERKLEY (D., ORE.)
Portland, Ore.

Sen. Merkley is ranking member of the Senate Budget Committee.

Explaining the Autism Surge

Allysia Finley's column "What's Behind the Rise in Autism Diagnoses" (Life Science, March 10) leaves out what may be the biggest culprit: the 2013 inclusion of Asperger syndrome in an "autism spectrum" in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) version 5.

The psychiatrists preparing DSM-5 asked neurologists to comment as it was being developed. I cautioned that Asperger syndrome seemed to be more related to ADHD than autism. One reason was the substantial similarity of findings in both. But more intriguingly, in some large family pedigrees in which the biomarker of resistance to the local anesthetic lidocaine was found in affected people, it seemed almost random which term—ADHD or Asperger syndrome—was assigned.

I was ignored, and with the release of the DSM-5, Asperger syndrome appears to have become the most common of the hundreds of known conditions associated with autism.

MICHAEL SEGAL, M.D., PH.D.
Chestnut Hill, Mass.

Pepper ... And Salt

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL



"We need to talk about something that won't need me to look it up on my phone."

Trump Says He's a Victim of Debanking

As if Republicans weren't already fired up about "debanking," President Trump is now saying he was a victim of it. The Trump Organization sued Capital One this month, claiming the bank closed hundreds of its corporate accounts in 2021, without citing any explicit reason. According to the lawsuit, Capital One gave notice of its decision two months after the Jan. 6 riot at the U.S. Capitol, the trough of Mr. Trump's reputation.

"Capital One has not and does not close customer accounts for political reasons," the bank told the press. What will the legal discovery process show about the bank's motives for cutting ties with Mr. Trump? On one hand, the timing is certainly curious. Early 2021 featured news reports about prosecutors poking into the Trump Organization's finances, and Mr. Trump has a history of filing lawsuits for political reasons, such as his case against CBS.

But Mr. Trump is right that debanking happens. His lawsuit recounts the infamous history of Operation Choke Point, in which the Obama Administration pressured banks to close the accounts of gun dealers and payday lenders. Mr. Trump ended that program as President, but he claims similar practices picked up again once Joe Biden took office.

The acting chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. (FDIC), Travis Hill, last month released correspondence with 24 banks that were sent letters from Mr. Biden's regulators urging them not to get involved with cryptocurrency

businesses. The crypto industry can be a Wild West, but Mr. Hill says the FDIC responded to banks with repeated requests for more information and even months of silence, sending a message "that it would be extraordinarily difficult—if not impossible—to move forward."

All of this has piqued the interest of Congressional Republicans. Sen. Tim Scott has introduced a bill that would bar regulators from using "reputational risk" as a factor in bank supervision. The Federal Reserve defines reputational risk as "the potential that negative publicity regarding an institution's business practices, whether true or not, will cause a decline in the customer base, costly litigation, or revenue reductions."

That kind of vague standard lets regulators treat legal businesses or industries that happen to be unpopular in some places as too "risky" for banks to keep as clients, even if they aren't risky in a financial sense. That's what happened in Operation Choke Point. Other federal rules already require banks to account for any exposure from clients who might break the law or violate industry ethics standards.

Worries about debanking, particularly when it's quietly pushed by the government, shouldn't be a partisan issue. Republicans led the charge against Operation Choke Point. But progressives might thank Mr. Trump later if he enacts reforms to protect all people and companies from having their bank accounts shut down for spurious reasons.

Roberts Speaks Up for the Judiciary

Democrats in the Biden years tried to politicize the judiciary, even proposing legislation to pack the Supreme Court.

Now Republicans are getting into this disreputable racket, calling for the impeachment of judges who rule against President Trump. On Tuesday Chief Justice John Roberts rightly rejected such calls.

The Trump wing of the GOP is upset that Democrats are doing what Republicans did in the Biden era by challenging policies in court. This is now the American way, for better or worse. Recall the successful lawsuits to stop President Biden's lawless student-loan forgiveness, among other transgressions.

Now progressives are turning to the courts to stop Mr. Trump's actions, and sometimes they are winning. This infuriates Mr. Trump's supporters, who go directly from criticizing the rulings to impeaching the judges.

Mr. Trump, as usual, piled on. On Tuesday he assailed federal Judge James Boasberg, who issued a temporary restraining order Saturday to block the Administration from deporting Venezuelans it identified as members of the Tren de Aragua gang.

"This Radical Left Lunatic of a Judge, a troublemaker and agitator who was sadly appointed by Barack Hussein Obama, was not elected President - He didn't WIN the popular VOTE (by a lot!), he... should be IMPEACHED!!!" Mr. Trump posted on Truth Social.

The Chief Justice issued a statement of his own in defense of the judiciary. "For more than two centuries, it has been established that impeachment is not an appropriate response to disagreement concerning a judicial decision," the Chief said. "The normal appellate review process exists for that purpose." The Supreme Court's press spokesman tells us the Chief's statement was in response to press inquiries

and it made no mention of Mr. Trump.

But his statement is important because it points to the appeals process available if lower-court judges rule against the Trump Administration. Republicans have a point that left-wing plaintiffs are hunting for judges favorable to their views. In Mr. Trump's first term that's how

judges stopped his travel ban—for a time. But the case made its way to the Supreme Court, which ruled that his ban was a proper exercise of executive power.

The impeachment of judges has been rare and is typically pursued only amid evidence of corruption. If impeachment is the remedy for every adverse judicial ruling, we wouldn't have a judiciary left.

Mr. Trump's line that Judge Boasberg didn't win an election is especially misguided. Under the Constitution the judiciary is a co-equal branch of government. Federal judges don't run for office, but they have lifetime tenure so they can maintain their independence from the political passions of the day.

Mr. Trump is giving the constitutional separation of powers another stress test as he pushes the boundaries of executive power. The Supreme Court prefers to stay above the fray until cases rise up the appellate chain, but in these fraught days it may need to act on its emergency docket when lower-courts clearly exceed their authority. That's one reason we thought the four dissenting Justices were right recently in upbraiding the majority for not hearing an emergency appeal of a lower-court command that Mr. Trump had to spend \$2 billion in USAID funds forthwith.

Mr. Trump will win some cases and lose others on the legal merits in the next four years, as he did in the first term. The best defense against losing is to act within the law.

The Chief Justice rejects Republican calls to impeach judges.

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.

WORLD NEWS



Hong Kong's CK Hutchison has agreed to sell its majority stake in two Panama Canal ports to a group led by the U.S.'s BlackRock.

Panama Port Deal Irks Xi

Chinese leader has few tools to block Hong Kong firm's sale to U.S.-led group

Chinese leader Xi Jinping is angry about a Hong Kong company's plan to sell Panama Canal ports to a U.S.-led group, in part because the company didn't seek Beijing's

By Lingling Wei, Rebecca Feng and Raffaele Huang

approval in advance, said people familiar with the matter. The Xi leadership originally had planned to use the Panama port issue as a bargaining chip in negotiations with the Trump administration, people close to Beijing's decision-making said. President Trump, who in the

first minutes of his administration called for the U.S. to reassert control over the canal, celebrated the deal as a victory over Chinese interests in America's backyard, turning Panama into a symbol of the U.S.-China battle for global influence. Xi's unhappiness suggests he, too, sees the canal that way and doesn't like to be painted as the loser. His government republished a commentary last week describing the agreement as a betrayal of the Chinese people. Under the deal, announced March 4, CK Hutchison, a conglomerate controlled by the family of 96-year-old Hong Kong billionaire Li Ka-shing, would sell global port assets to investors led by U.S. asset manager BlackRock for \$22.8 billion. Among those assets are majority ownership and operational control of two ports in Panama, one at each

end of the Panama Canal. In Beijing, several Chinese authorities, including the State Administration for Market Regulation and the Ministry of Commerce have been told to study the deal with the aim of reviewing what Beijing can do to hinder it, said a person familiar with the matter. Bloomberg earlier reported the review. Despite Beijing's unhappiness, it doesn't have a simple way to halt the deal. The assets to be sold are all outside mainland China and Hong Kong, and the parties to the transaction have expressed confidence it can be completed. The deal puts Xi in a tricky position. On one hand, Beijing has had to make clear its anger over the Hong Kong company's move, which came without advance notice, to protect Xi's strongman image, said the people close to decision-making. On the other, they said,

Beijing is aware that any significant effort to torpedo the deal risks escalating tensions with the Trump administration. China has been relatively restrained in its retaliation against Trump's new tariffs on China, suggesting its desire to keep tensions under control. Last week, a vice minister of a Communist Party agency traditionally charged with building ties with other Communist states led a delegation to Panama aimed at deepening relations, the official Xinhua News Agency reported. "Beijing knows it isn't in a strong position right now, so it sent a low-level delegation to Panama," one of the people said. The \$22.8 billion deal isn't yet final. The companies have said they hope to sign definitive documents by April 2, after which various regulators would need to give consent.

Taiwan Says U.S. Is Key To Fending Off Beijing

By JOYU WANG

TAIPEI—Taiwan's military planners said U.S. support is essential to the security of the island, signaling to Washington the desire for a stable relationship as anxieties simmer in Taipei about whether President Trump would send help to defend against a Chinese attack. Taiwan's Defense Ministry, in a security road map for the next four years, emphasized the usefulness of U.S. support in areas including intelligence, reconnaissance, and ensuring the ability to carry out long-range precision strikes—as well as Taiwan's longtime reliance on purchases of American-made military hardware. "The U.S. is a crucial strate-

gic partner, working closely with us on military cooperation and helping to boost our self-defense capabilities," the ministry said in the report, the Quadrennial Defense Review, which is issued in the first year of every new presidential administration to outline policy direction. The report was the first in which the ministry devoted an entire section to Taiwan's relationship with the U.S. military. In 2021, U.S. exchanges were mentioned for the first time, with only a single bullet point. The ministry's broader military planning outline suggested that Taiwan's strategy of trying to deter China on several levels hasn't changed, but that Chinese capabilities—including gains in cyberwarfare and drone warfare—have shifted. China claims the island as its own territory and hasn't ruled out the use of force to seize control. It carries out regular military exercises in the waters and airspace around the

island in a long-running pressure campaign. In Chinese drills on Monday, Beijing deployed at least 54 warplanes and attack drones and nine naval vessels near Taiwan, the island's Defense Ministry said. Taiwan envisions Chinese assaults on the island to potentially come by land, sea, air and space, as well as through cyberattacks, among others. China could launch a rapid invasion or blockade Taiwan to try to pressure it into submission, according to the report. Taiwan still looks to the U.S. to deter China from going that far, and stepping in if needed. The new material on the U.S. in the report could mean "exchanges with the U.S. is an essential area we're going to keep strengthening in the future," said Lin Ying-yu, a defense expert who teaches at Tamkang University in Taiwan. "The QDR is not just for the Taiwanese people, it's also meant to be read by the outside world about how much the Taiwan-U.S. cooperation is deepening," Lin said. Statements by Trump critical of Taiwan and by people close to him, including Elon Musk, who has suggested in the past that Taiwan should surrender its sovereignty to China, have increased uncertainty about what the U.S. would do in the event of a Chinese attack. While the U.S. doesn't have a formal relationship with Taiwan, it is the island's most important military backer. A spokesman for China's Taiwan Affairs Office issued a statement late Monday condemning recent remarks by Taiwan President Lai Ching-te, who last week called Beijing a "foreign adversary."

China claims the island and hasn't ruled out the use of force to seize control.

Canada's Fentanyl Chief Intensifies Fight Against Drug

By RYAN DUBÉ

OTTAWA—As Canada's new fentanyl czar, Kevin Brosseau is tasked with stopping a problem that many people here say has been wildly overblown by President Trump. The former top Canadian law-enforcement official says he wants to stop the opioid's flow, not only to address U.S. concerns, but also to end a deadly domestic scourge. "Getting the number to zero is in fact a goal," Brosseau said while visiting a busy Ontario border crossing during his first day on the job last month. "If it's 1 pound, 10 pounds, we all know the amount of deaths that could possibly represent." Brosseau must strike a delicate balance. He wants to show the U.S. that Canada is strengthening security along their immense border after Trump hit Canada with tariffs because of what he calls a "massive" flow of fentanyl entering the U.S. from the north. But most Canadians see Trump's claim as a smokescreen to justify a trade war against a longtime U.S. ally he repeatedly has talked about annexing through "economic force."

U.S. Border Patrol seizures of fentanyl at the Canadian border last year were equivalent to just 0.2% of the 21,000 pounds seized at the southern border with Mexico, by far the main source of fentanyl. During the first two months of this year, the amount of fentanyl confiscated at the Canadian border weighed about as much as a can of soup. "This is a manufactured crisis at the border in terms of alleged flows of fentanyl," said Wesley Wark, a Canadian security expert who has served on an advisory council to the prime minister. "Canadian officials are doing their best to display the fact that Canada takes border security seriously." Brosseau, a Harvard-educated former national-security and intelligence adviser to the prime minister, is now charged with overseeing Canada's efforts to dismantle the fentanyl trade. He will coordinate the work of Canadian law-enforcement agencies, prosecutors and other government agencies responsible for regulating precursor chemicals used to make the opioid. Critically, he also is Canada's point of contact on fentanyl for the U.S. as officials here hope to ward off



Canada's fentanyl czar Kevin Brosseau, right, is seen with a Canada Border Services Agency narcotics-detection dog.

an escalating trade war. While Canada says the drug flow into the U.S. doesn't represent an emergency, security experts hope Brosseau's position could push Canada to give more attention and resources to its own domestic opioid crisis. Nearly 50,000 Canadians have died of opioid overdose since 2016, health officials say, as fentanyl has ravaged cities such as Vancouver, British Columbia, which has some of the highest overdose rates in North America.

"Fentanyl is a significant issue in terms of deaths and not a significant issue in terms of exportation to the United States," said Bob Paulson, former commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the national police force known as the Mounties. He described Brosseau as a "decisive leader" with outstanding interpersonal skills that allows him to bring people together to achieve results. "He's not interested in playing the role (of fentanyl czar).

He's interested in accomplishing the mission." Cheyenne Johnson, executive director of the Vancouver-based British Columbia Centre on Substance Use, said she would like to see Brosseau not only strengthen law enforcement but also address demand for opioids by treating addiction. In 2016, British Columbia declared a public-health emergency because of the rise of overdose deaths. "Not a lot of progress has been made," she said. "The focus really needs to be on developing treatment and harm-reduction solutions." Ray Donovan, the former chief of operations at the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, said it would be a mistake for Canada to interpret the Trump administration's border concerns as simply a false justification for implementing tariffs. He said the amount of fentanyl entering the U.S. from Canada is likely higher than the U.S. Border Patrol figures suggest. "It is not purely a trade issue, it is a border-security issue," he said. Recent raids of so-called fentanyl superlabs underscore the expansion of fentanyl production and growth of organized

crime in Canada, Donovan said. In October, Canadian police busted a fentanyl "superlab" in British Columbia and seized hundreds of pounds of fentanyl and methamphetamine. The lab had enough chemicals to produce 95 million lethal fentanyl doses, police said. "That's a scary sign of a growing problem," said Donovan, who recommended Brosseau travel to Mexico to better understand the role of cartels in Canada. Canada has followed the U.S. in listing Mexican cartels as terrorist organizations, while working with the U.S. to create a "Joint Strike Force" to fight organized crime, drug trafficking and money laundering. Canadian authorities are worried about the growing presence of cartels in Canada, said Public Safety Minister, David McGuinty, who is in charge of Canada's border patrol and the Mounties. "We have an incredibly close relationship with U.S. law enforcement," he said. Canada pledged to invest \$900 million over six years to improve border security. The government also is speeding up efforts to better monitor and control the precursor chemicals that come into Canada, mostly from China.

CANADA
Inflation Reaches Eight-Month High
Canada's consumer-price index in February was up 2.6% from a year earlier, Statistics Canada said on Tuesday, the largest increase in eight months—snapping a run of six months at or below the Bank of Canada's 2% goal. That offers central bank policymakers another reason for interest-rate caution as the country faces a bruising trade war with the U.S. Core inflation, which excludes food and energy costs, and the central bank's preferred inflation measures also picked up. A two-month federal tax break on some purchases ended in mid-February. With the tax break stripped out, the February index was up 3% a pace last seen in late 2023. Monthly inflation hit an almost three-year high of 1.1%, far above forecasts
—Robb M. Stewart

OBITUARY
Battle of Britain's Last Pilot Was 105
The last surviving pilot of the Battle of Britain has died. John "Paddy" Hemingway, an Irish national who enlisted in the Royal Air Force before the war began, was 105. Hemingway was just 20 when he became one of a few thousand RAF pilots who took to the skies in the summer and autumn of 1940 to fight off wave after wave of Nazi aircraft seeking to pound Britain into submission. That August, with the battle's outcome still in doubt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill famously declared, "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few." Hemingway, who was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for gallantry, remained in the RAF after the war and retired in 1969.
—Associated Press

PERU
President Declares State of Emergency
President Dina Boluarte declared a state of emergency in the capital, Lima, Monday and ordered the deployment of soldiers to help police address a surge of violence, amid outcry a day after the killing of a popular singer. The government said the state of emergency will last 30 days and restrict rights including the freedom of assembly and movement. Police and the army will be able to detain people without a judicial order. Peru has seen an increase of killings, violent extortion and attacks on public places in recent months. But outrage crested after the killing on Sunday of Paul Flores, the 39-year-old lead singer of the band Armonia 10, who was shot and killed on Sunday in an attack on the bus carrying the band after a concert in Lima.
—Associated Press

WORLD WATCH



DOG'S BEST FRIEND: Members of the Civil Guard Special Underwater Activities Group carried out a rescue in Spain's Málaga province on Tuesday, after overnight rains overflowed two rivers.

BUSINESS & FINANCE

© 2025 Dow Jones & Company. All Rights Reserved.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Wednesday, March 19, 2025 | B1

S&P 5614.66 ▼ 1.07% S&P FIN ▼ 0.13% S&P IT ▼ 1.65% DJ TRANS ▼ 0.94% WSJ\$IDX ▼ 0.05% 2-YR. TREAS. yield 4.039% NIKKEI (Midday) 38107.27 ▲ 0.69% See more at WSJ.com/Markets

P&G Overtakes Old Rival Unilever

Tide maker pulls ahead by pushing its largest everyday household brands

By NATASHA KHAN
AND SHARON TERLEP

For nearly a century, two companies behind some of the biggest household brands have been locked in a battle for cabinet space in homes across the world.

After a stretch as the laggard in the early 2010s, **Procter & Gamble** has overtaken **Unilever** with a strategy so simple that many doubted it:

‘We measure progress in fiscal years, not quarters,’ P&G’s CEO says.

doubling down on its biggest everyday brands and improving their efficacy.

P&G, which gave up on the food business more than a decade ago, is booking record profit on its Tide detergent,

Pampers diapers and bathroom staples such Old Spice and Pantene. Its share price has more than doubled over the past 10 years.

Shares of Unilever are up about 40% over the same period. The European giant makes Axe deodorant and Dove soap but still relies on food products and unpredictable emerging markets. It recently ousted its chief executive, saying it wanted to speed up its turnaround strategy.

P&G has carved out the strongest position among its competitors to weather what is shaping up to be a turbulent year. In the U.S., the largest market for both companies,

consumer confidence is nosediving. President Trump is waging a trade war against some of America’s biggest trading partners, stocks have been plunging and many people fear the U.S. economy could be tipping into a recession.

“Growth won’t always come in a straight line. We measure progress in fiscal years, not quarters,” Jon Moeller, P&G’s chief executive, said in November at the company’s investor day. “Our results show this is a strategy that will serve us well in good times and bad.”

Not long ago, P&G was in a sales slump, and an activist investor was pushing the company to be more like its Euro-

pean rival. Now the same activist is prodding Unilever to be more like P&G and slim down.

Fernando Fernandez, Unilever’s newly installed CEO, said last week that there are about one bil-

lion euros, the equivalent of roughly \$1.09 billion, of local brands in its European foods division that “don’t fit well” with the company’s portfolio and an additional €500 million worth of products in smaller markets that the company can’t scale.

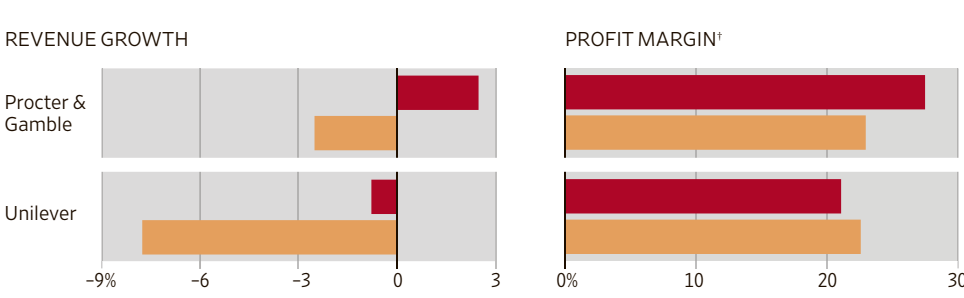
“My intention is to act on all of these, probably at a faster pace,” Fernandez said.

A decade ago, P&G had lost touch with the American consumer. It was also losing ground in China, its second-biggest market. U.S.-based rivals, **Colgate-Palmolive** and **Huggies** maker **Kimberly-Clark**, were moving more nimbly and stealing custom-



P&G is booking record profit on staples like Tide. Unilever relies on food brands like Hellman’s.

Procter & Gamble’s vs. Unilever



*Procter & Gamble’s fiscal year ends in June. *Earnings before interest, taxes, depreciation and amortization as a percentage of revenue
Source: FactSet

ers.P&G’s Gillette razor brand was under assault. A pair of upstart online razor sellers, the Dollar Shave Club and Harry’s, were using cheap blades and pithy, low-budget ad campaigns to steal customers turned off by high prices on evermore sophisticated Gillette blades. Unilever in 2016 bought Dollar Shave Club for \$1 billion, part of a string of acquisitions.

Nelson Peltz’s Trian Fund

Management scooped up some \$3 billion in P&G shares by 2017 and launched a fight for a seat on the company’s board. Peltz said P&G was hopelessly mired in the past. He said the company should acquire smaller, niche brands and bring in talent from the outside. He also wanted a corporate reorganization that would see the company split into three independent business units.

He held up Unilever as an example of a more successful rival, pointing out that the company was delivering high operating margins despite businesses geared to less-profitable products.

P&G executives argued the future lay in the same fundamentals that had guided the company for 180 years: trusted brands such as Tide and Gil-

Please turn to page B2

Dick’s Sporting Goods Goes Big in New Format

By KATE KING

Dick’s Sporting Goods Executive Chairman Ed Stack scanned his chain’s newest concept, a megastore in Victor, N.Y., called House of Sport. It offered more than the usual tennis rackets and football jerseys for sale. The store boasted a rock-climbing wall in one corner, golf simulators in another and an outdoor running track and turf field.

The cavernous space was already twice the size of a traditional Dick’s.

But as he walked around, Stack realized some of the apparel and equipment displays were too crowded, the aisles too narrow. He wanted more room to test emerging brands.

The store needed to be even bigger.

Please turn to page B6



A climbing wall at House of Sport in Johnson City, N.Y.

◆ Property Report.....B6

Nasdaq to Make Texas A Second Home Base

By CORRIE DRIEBUSCH

Nasdaq, long associated with its prime Times Square location, said Tuesday it will open its first regional headquarters in Dallas. It is the latest push by a New York institution into Texas, which is trying to unseat the Northeast as the epicenter of U.S. business.

The stock exchange operator is establishing a regional headquarters later this year in Dallas, the seat of so-called Y’all Street, serving Texas and the entire Southeast. The focus of the office won’t be solely on winning listings, often viewed as the prestige business of a stock exchange. It will also house part of Nasdaq’s technology and financial-crime-management businesses, which help Nasdaq clients detect fraud and money laundering.

Nasdaq was founded in 1971 and established stature during the tech boom of the late 1990s and early 2000s. Though Silicon Valley is a thriving pipeline for its listing business, the exchange never opened a headquarters in California. The company does have an office and events space in San Francisco.

Nasdaq has more than 200

listed companies based in Texas, where it has had a physical presence since 2013. The regional office will expand the company’s footprint in the state.

Making a big investment in the Lone Star state is becoming a trend among financial institutions.

Earlier this year, the startup Texas Stock Exchange filed paperwork in hopes of gaining regulatory approval to start trading and listing companies next year. The New York Stock Exchange said in February that it will launch an electronic exchange in the state.

Last year, the state established the Texas Business Courts, specializing in corporate matters, as an alternative to the Delaware Court of Chancery system. And earlier this year, legislators in the Texas Senate proposed bills to entice companies to reincorporate in the state.

President Trump’s “first buddy” Elon Musk is a proponent of Texas. He has moved much of his business empire there and encouraged others to do so as well. Mark Zuckerberg’s Meta may move its incorporation there from Delaware, which would mark a new feather in Texas’ Stetson.

More than 200 Nasdaq-listed companies are based in the state.

Nvidia CEO Urges 100-Fold Jump in AI Firepower

By STEVEN ROSENBUHS
AND ISABELLE BOUSQUETTE

Nvidia Chief Executive Jensen Huang tried to quell investor concerns about the artificial-intelligence boom Tuesday at an event he dubbed “the Super Bowl of AI.”

The world will need 100 times as much computing power for advanced AI than it considered necessary a year ago, he said at a conference that has grown from a sleepy chip developer gathering in Silicon Valley into a rock-concert-like event that filled a hockey arena.

AI expansions into models that can “reason” and act as “agents” to carry out tasks for humans will require far greater computational firepower, which comes from the kinds of chips that Nvidia manufactures.

“This last year, this is where almost the entire world got it wrong,” he said. Nvidia shares have been volatile since the release of DeepSeek in January, a model released by a Chinese startup that said it had built sophisticated AI models that required fewer of Nvidia’s chips. That led some investors to question whether future AI systems will need fewer Nvidia chips for training and day-to-day operations.

Reasoning models spend more time “thinking” about a problem before delivering an answer. They break each prompt down into steps, a process that is best used for complex problems, according to companies building those models. They might generate so much data that computing speeds will need to increase to process the data quickly for users. Users won’t want to wait 10 times longer to get an answer that relies on 10 times more data, he said.

Huang also spent time hyping AI agents, which are designed to complete tasks—such as booking a flight or making a dinner reservation—for humans. Agents, which often rely on reasoning models, require a lot more computational power, which means sustained or even higher demand for Nvidia’s chips.

INSIDE



TECHNOLOGY

BYD shares climb after the Chinese EV maker unveils new charging technology. **B4**

BUSINESS NEWS

Taco Bell owner teams with Nvidia to offer AI-driven services in its restaurants. **B5**

Interlake
MECALUX

MAXIMIZE
**WAREHOUSE
PRODUCTIVITY
WITH AUTOMATION**

interlakemecalux.com | (877) 632-2589



BUSINESS & FINANCE

Theft Ring
Relied on
Bribes

Continued from page B1
they say was an international crime ring that targeted FedEx deliveries nationwide.

Porch thefts aren't new, but they have become increasingly sophisticated. There was a spree last year—captured on doorbell cameras—where thieves stole iPhones just moments after they were dropped on front steps. They knew when the packages were coming and what was inside.

The Wyckoff Wireless case reveals how authorities say they did it: by harnessing technology and old-fashioned bribery.

The group created software to scrape FedEx tracking numbers and bribed AT&T store employees to get order details and delivery addresses, according to a criminal complaint filed in New Jersey. The group then sent thieves to pick off the packages and bring them back to destinations like the Brooklyn shop.

The software was created by Demetrio Reyes Martinez, who is known online as "CookieNerd," according to the complaint. The 37-year-old wrote code to get around FedEx limits on delivery-data requests and sold it via Telegram

with instructions on how to run the program, prosecutors said.

Reyes Martinez, a citizen and resident in the Dominican Republic, is still in the Caribbean nation, according to the U.S. Attorney's Office in New Jersey, which declined to provide further information on his status. He couldn't be reached for comment, and it couldn't be determined if he has retained a lawyer.

An AT&T store employee in Paterson, N.J., Alejandro Then Castillo, used his employment credentials to track hundreds of shipments that were subsequently reported stolen in transit, prosecutors said. He took photos of customers' names, addresses and tracking numbers and shared them with the criminal group, according to the complaint.

He also worked with another store employee in Fort Lee, N.J., and recruited other employees at the cellular carrier, prosecutors said. Law-enforcement officials believe Then Castillo was receiving \$2,000 to \$2,500 if he recruited other employees.

Mark Bailey, an attorney for Then Castillo, didn't respond to requests for comment.

The crime ring included dispatchers who managed runners, providing them with delivery addresses and instructions to steal the packages when a FedEx truck showed up. Runners traveled around the coun-

try to steal devices including Samsung phones, Apple watches and AirTags.

When the group operated further west, such as Colorado and Oklahoma, the runners shipped stolen devices in bulk back to Wyckoff Wireless. The stolen devices were then shipped overseas for sale and activation abroad, according to the complaint.

The owner of the Wyckoff Wireless store, Joel Suriel, 31, nicknamed "La Melma," was one of the individuals charged with conspiracy to transport and receive stolen property. In 2018, Suriel pleaded guilty to wire-fraud conspiracy in a scheme where stolen customer identities were used to acquire cellphones from AT&T.

Suriel had been on supervised release, according to the complaint. He is currently in police custody, said Peter Katz, a lawyer who represented Suriel in recent bail proceedings. Katz said Suriel is no longer his client, and a new lawyer for Suriel couldn't be identified.

FedEx and AT&T said they cooperated with the investigation, which involved the Department of Homeland Security, the FBI, local police departments, and a prosecutor's office in the Dominican Republic specializing in high-tech crimes. The complaint said other delivery companies and wireless providers were also targeted.

"With bad actors growing increasingly sophisticated, the shipping industry has been proactively

working with law enforcement to address the rise of porch piracy," said a FedEx spokeswoman, adding that the company adapts its processes to protect drivers and packages. On one occasion in October, two of the runners entered a FedEx store in Illinois to deliver a package and declared its contents as "baby clothes." FedEx security later inspected the box, found stolen iPhones and seized them. The following day when the package arrived empty, one of the men complained to FedEx customer service that his iPhones had been stolen, according to the complaint.

An AT&T spokesman said that the company regularly updates its processes and employee training based on evolving criminal tactics and that it offers options for its customers to control how their shipments are secured.

"We've seen a significant reduction in these incidents as we have worked with delivery companies and law enforcement to combat them," the spokesman said.

In February, law-enforcement officials raided the Wyckoff Wireless store, closing off the street and bringing sniffer dogs to search the premises. Neighbors said the police searched the walls and ceiling and walked out with large boxes. The store has been closed since.

Procter
Overtakes
Unilever

Continued from page B1
lette that can dominate their category.

Peltz's presence on the board, executives later acknowledged, forced P&G to more quickly disentangle an organizational structure referred to internally as "the thicket," where muddled reporting lines left executives with too little authority or accountability. The company joined peers in snapping up a few hot startup brands like Native body care and Tula skin care.

P&G's leaders bemused analysts with their frequent use of the words "irresistible superiority"—a catchall term for a strategy to lure customers with new packaging, improved product formulations and market-



Procter & Gamble's factory in Tabler Station, W.Va.

ing, and competitive pricing. But the strategy worked.

P&G invested in making its Cascade dishwasher pods, Bounty paper towels and Tide laundry detergent perform better. When Covid hit in 2020, consumers gravitated to familiar brands. P&G notched its biggest sales increase in decades, riding demand for household goods as cleaning-obsessed consumers stayed home.

Unilever has a vast, global footprint. It sells dish detergent and toothpaste but gets about a third of its annual revenue from food and ice cream. More than half of the business comes from emerging markets.

Peltz took a position on the Unilever board in 2022 and pushed for changes, many following the P&G playbook. He said the company should improve its supply-chain discipline and focus on 30 "Power

Brands" that represented more than 70% of its sales.

Not long after, Unilever added a new phrase to its lexicon: the goal of delivering "unmissable brand superiority" to consumers.

"I am not happy with our overall competitiveness," Hein Schumacher, Unilever's then-CEO said in 2023, months after he took the job. "Our efforts are being spread too thinly."

Schumacher unveiled plans to simplify the company by spinning off its ice-cream business, which sells the Magnum and Ben & Jerry's brands.

Unilever in February named Fernandez, its chief financial officer, as its next CEO. His mandate: faster and better delivery of the company's existing turnaround plan.

The company has been focused on introducing fewer, bigger innovations and shifting its portfolio toward higher-price products—for example, shedding North America rights to the mainstream shampoo brand Suave and picking up high-end haircare brand K18.



Trade US Stocks and ETFs,
Index Futures and Options,
and Bonds Around the Clock

React immediately to market-moving news and trade over 10,000 US Stocks and ETFs, US Equity Index futures and options, US Treasuries, global corporate bonds, European government bonds and UK gilts when it's convenient for you.

The best-informed investors choose Interactive Brokers

Interactive
Brokers

ibkr.com/otclock



Member - NYSE, FINRA, SIPC – Any discussion or mention of a stock or ETF is not to be construed as recommendation, promotion or solicitation. All investors should review and consider associated investment risks, charges and expenses of the investment company or fund prior to investing. Before acting on this material, you should consider whether it is suitable for your particular circumstances and as necessary, seek professional advice. Options involve risk. For more info see ibkr.com/occ

02-IB25-1726CH1717

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.

A

Alamtri Resources
Indonesia.....B5
Alphabet.....B4
Amazon.....B6
American Airlines.....A9
Apple.....B2,B12
AT&T.....B2
Autodesk.....B5

B

Bass Pro Shops.....B6
Burlington Stores.....B6
BYD.....B4

C

CK Hutchison.....A16
Cohen Circle Acquisition Corp. I.....B11
Colgate-Palmolive.....B1
Corning.....B3

CVS Health.....B6

D

Deel.....B3
Delta.....A9
Deutsche Bank.....B6
Dick's Sporting Goods.....B1

E

EMR Capital.....B5

F

FedEx.....B2

J

JPMorgan Chase.....B6

M

Macy's.....B6
McDonald's.....B5
Mitsui.....B5

Morgan Stanley.....A1

N

NatWest Group.....B6
New Hope.....B5

Nvidia.....B1,B5,B11

P

PepsiCo.....B12
Procter & Gamble.....B1

S

Sarepta Therapeutics.....B12
Siemens.....B3
Starboard.....B5

T

Tesla.....B4

U

Unilever.....B1

V

Veon.....B11
Volkswagen.....B4

X

Xiaomi.....B4
XPeng.....B4
Yum Brands.....B5

INDEX TO PEOPLE

A

Abrahams, Brian.....B12

B-D

Bailey, Mark.....B2
Bishop, Rob.....B5
Carlesi, Francesca.....B6
De L  al, David.....B12

F-G

Fernandez, Fernando.....B1
Gutman, Simeon.....B6

H

Hobart, Lauren.....B6
Hongdi, Gu.....B4
Huang, Jensen.....B1B11

J

Jerome Powell.....A1

K

Katz, Peter.....B2

L-M

Lee, Edison.....B12
Moeller, Jon.....B1
Musk, Elon.....B1

O

O'Brien, Keith.....B3

P

Park, Joe.....B5

R

Rappaport, Assof.....B4

Reyes Martinez, Demetrio B2

S

Schumacher, Hein.....B2
Shah, Seema.....B11
Stack, Ed.....B1
Sun, Andrew.....B5
Suriel, Joel.....B2

W-Z

Weeks, Wendall.....B3
Woodring, Erik.....B12
Zuckerberg, Mark.....B1

Siemens to Cut Jobs In Automation, EV

German company says measures are due to changes in market conditions

By MICHAEL SUSIN

Siemens said it will cut more than 6,000 jobs in its automation and electric-vehicle charging businesses as part of its plans to boost competitiveness.

The German industrial con-

glomerate on Tuesday said the measures will affect around 5,600 jobs worldwide in the automation segment and around 450 jobs globally in its electric-vehicle charging business.

In Germany, 2,600 jobs in the automation business will be affected, and 250 in the electric vehicle charging segment.

The company added that the layoffs will be implemented by the end of fiscal 2025.

Siemens said the adjust-

ments are due to changes in market conditions. Muted demand, particularly in the key markets of China and Germany, coupled with increased competition have “considerably reduced orders and revenue in the industrial automation business.”

The company employs 312,000 people worldwide, according to its website, and around 86,000 people currently work in Germany, a business location which Siemens said it is strongly com-



Siemens is facing rising competition and muted demand for orders. A Siemens plant in Germany.

mitted to.

The company added that the reduction plans are aimed at strengthening its competi-

tiveness and enabling investments in growth markets. It added that the electric vehicle charging market is currently

facing strong price pressures and limited growth potential for low-power charging stations.

Payroll Worker Accused of Corporate Spying

By ROLFE WINKLER

Keith O’Brien used to appear on payroll-focused podcasts, discussing obscure aspects of payment technology in a halting Irish accent. He volunteered as an industry mentor and described himself as a “career-focused family man.”

Last Friday O’Brien found himself cornered in a Dublin office bathroom, accused by his employer of being a corporate spy.

Business-software startup **Rippling** alleged in a complaint filed Monday in California that one of its employees stole trade secrets for its rival, **Deel**, as part of a spying operation that began in November.

O’Brien wasn’t named in Rippling’s initial complaint, but was identified in a legal filing in Ireland and is scheduled to appear in court there Wednesday.

The company alleges that

O’Brien, a global payroll-compliance manager, fed stolen customer and employee information to Deel, as well as internal messages that the competitor passed to a reporter. Rippling claims that it set a “honeypot” trap that proved Deel’s top executives directed their inside man.

“We deny all legal wrongdoing and look forward to asserting our counter-claims,” a Deel spokeswoman said. O’Brien didn’t respond to requests for comment.

Startups fight aggressively to get their businesses off the ground and to fend off rivals, sometimes resorting to extreme tactics.

Last week, another startup, Flexport, accused a rival of stealing its own trade secrets to set up its business.

The case involving O’Brien alleges that global payroll-services company Deel went to great lengths to steal Rip-



Startup Rippling alleged that Keith O’Brien stole trade secrets for its rival, Deel.

pling’s corporate information with his help. The companies are each valued at more than \$10 billion, according to data provider PitchBook.

O’Brien joined Rippling nearly two years ago after holding eight payroll-management and consulting gigs in as many years, according to his LinkedIn profile.

The profile disappeared after The Wall Street Journal contacted O’Brien for comment.

Corning Bumps Up Long-Term Targets

By DEAN SEAL

Corning gave its first-quarter guidance and long-term financial targets a boost as it makes progress on its so-called “Springboard” plan to add billions of dollars in sales in the coming years.

The maker of specialty glass for TV screens and smartphones said Tuesday that it now expects core sales to exceed its previous \$3.6 billion target for the first quarter, and for earnings to come in toward the high end of its outlook for 48 cents to 52 cents a share.

Corning also said it now expects its Springboard plan, introduced a year ago, to add more than \$4 billion in annualized sales by the end of 2026 instead of \$3 billion.

“Overall, we’re making great progress on Springboard across the company,” Chief Executive Wendell Weeks said.

Bold Names

WSJ

Meet the Minds Shaping Business

Meet the leaders of the bold-named companies featured in the pages of The Wall Street Journal. In a new WSJ podcast, columnists Christopher Mims and Tim Higgins sit down with CEOs and other leaders to unpack the big industry shifts—and offer insights into the decisions being made in the C-suite and beyond. Tune in for compelling conversations with some of the biggest names in business.

Listen wherever you get your podcasts.

LISTEN NOW



THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

1920s Style for a 1920s Price

It was a warm summer afternoon and my wife and I were mingling with the best of them. The occasion was a 1920s-themed party, and everyone was dressed to the nines. Parked on the manse’s circular driveway was a beautiful classic convertible. Never ones to miss an opportunity, we climbed into the car’s long front seat. Among the many opulent features on display was a series of dashboard dials that accentuated the car’s lavish aura. One of those dials inspired our 1920s Retrograde Watch.

What does retrograde mean? Instead of displaying the hands rotating on an axis like most watches, the hands sweep in a semicircle, then return to their starting point and begin all over again.

Retrograde watches by the big brands can set you back thousands; but because we’ve designed the 1920s Retrograde Watch in-house, we can offer it to you for just \$99!

This watch is so wildly popular with our customers that we’re actually concerned about running out; we only have 937 729 left for this ad!

Stauer Impossible Price ONLY \$99

Watch Specifications:

- Precision movement
- Stainless steel case, caseback and crown
- Retrograde hour and minute indicators
- Water-resistant to 5 ATM
- Brown genuine leather band
- Fits wrists up to 8”

1920s Retrograde Watch
\$399- \$99* + S&P **Save \$300**

**Special price only for customers using the offer code.*

1-800-333-2045
Your Insider Offer Code: RGW330-01

Stauer, 14091 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. RGW330-01, Burnsville, MN 55337 | www.stauer.com

Stauer | AFFORD THE EXTRAORDINARY®

“[A] unique and beautiful timepiece.”
— Carlos C., Los Banos, CA

TECHNOLOGY

WSJ.com/Tech

How Wiz Deal Set a Record

Group of ex-Israeli officers stands to make billions from Google purchase

By Lauren Thomas
and Berber Jin

When Google’s talks to buy cybersecurity company Wiz fell apart last summer, the startup’s founder told staff he was aiming for an initial public offering. Less than a year later, the company set the largest cybersecurity deal ever.

Wiz struck a \$32 billion deal to sell the company to Google parent **Alphabet** on Tuesday, reviving a marriage that could bolster the tech giant’s cyber muscle. The highly competitive business of selling cloud services has grown in complexity—particularly as generative artificial-intelligence advances—prompting companies like Google to beef up security to defend against hacks and other threats.

Assaf Rappaport and his co-founders stand to make more than \$3 billion each from the sale, according to people familiar with the matter. It is the biggest sale for a private venture-backed company on record, displacing **Meta Platforms’** \$19 billion acquisition of WhatsApp in 2014.

They are among the alumni of Unit 8200, part of the Israel Defense Forces known for its cybersecurity savvy and intensity. Former Unit 8200 members have been able to attract clients and investment money from Silicon Valley in spades, and the Wiz team is now among the ranks of unit veterans that founded highly valued cybersecurity companies, such as Palo Alto Networks and Fireblocks.

Rappaport, a 41-year-old Tel Aviv native, often dons a hoodie with Wiz’s logo on it, in keeping with the tech aesthetic, or a white T-shirt, joggers and sneakers. His shoes, from the luxury Italian brand



Wiz founders from left: Yinon Costica, Assaf Rappaport, Ami Luttwak and Roy Reznik.

Golden Goose, typically cost more than \$500.

He often brought his border collie Mika, dubbed Wiz’s chief dog officer, to work at the company’s offices in New York and Tel Aviv and encouraged other employees to bring their dogs as well. Mika, who died late last year, had her own LinkedIn page.

After the talks between Google and Wiz fizzled last summer, Wiz started talking to bankers again in the fall about a fresh deal. A paucity of initial public offerings this year prompted Rappaport and co-founders Ami Luttwak, Yinon Costica and Roy Reznik to explore deal conversations with several other parties, according to people familiar with the matter.

None was willing to pay up as much as Google. The companies were ultimately able to improve the terms of the deal—including a more than \$3 billion termination fee for Wiz, should the agreement fall apart—and gain confidence that the Google transaction could overcome regulatory

hurdles, the people familiar with the deal said.

Google views the Wiz deal as something that is in the best interest of America’s national security. “The increased role of AI, and adoption of cloud services, have dramatically changed the security landscape for customers,” the companies said Tuesday.

The acquisition is likely to test the Trump administration’s antitrust appetite, but if it clears, Wiz’s security features could help Google attract more cloud customers. Competition is stiff, particularly as generative AI fuels corporate America’s need for computing power.

The all-cash deal would be Google’s largest ever. Google has beefed up its cybersecurity muscle through acquisitions in recent years, buying Mandiant for \$5.4 billion in 2022.

The four co-founders met while working together in the IDF unit, where advanced cybersecurity meets cyberwarfare. The quartet sold their first venture, cloud cybersecurity company Adallom, to **Microsoft** in 2015. Rappaport

said in an interview last year with one of Wiz’s board members that he knew their second would be a roller coaster.

Wiz was initially called Beyond Networks and focused on network security. Rappaport and his co-founders pivoted to software that offers customers more cyber protection than their tech-giant cloud providers might. It is backed by prominent Silicon Valley venture capitalists, including Sequoia Capital, Andreessen Horowitz, Index Ventures, Advent and Greenoaks.

“They took a bold approach,” said Gili Raanan, Wiz board chair and founder of the VC firm Cyberstarts. Their technology could identify vulnerabilities and issues “faster and more effectively than anything else on the market,” he said. Today, Wiz’s customers include several Fortune 100 customers.

The startup’s valuation swelled to \$16 billion in an employee tender offer in late 2024, The Wall Street Journal reported.

Xiaomi’s Profit Soars 90% as Sales Hit Record

By Jiahui Huang

Xiaomi’s net profit nearly doubled in the fourth quarter on record revenue, thanks to the strong performance across its business segments.

The Beijing-based maker of smartphones and electronics said Tuesday that fourth-quarter net profit rose 90% from a year earlier to 9 billion yuan, equivalent to \$1.24 billion.

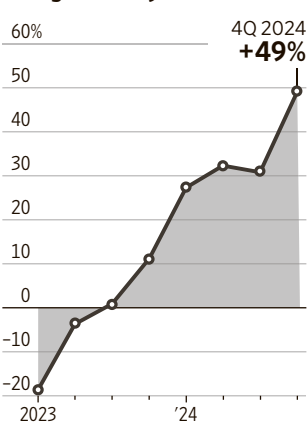
After adjusting for share-based compensation and other items, quarterly profit was 8.32 billion yuan, up nearly 70% from a year earlier.

Revenue jumped 49% to 109.01 billion yuan, topping 100 billion yuan for the first time. Sales from its smartphone business, which remained the biggest revenue driver, rose 16% to 51.3 billion yuan on higher smartphone shipments and selling prices, the company said.

For the full year, Xiaomi’s net profit increased 35% to 23.58 billion yuan as revenue climbed 35% to a record 365.91 billion yuan, supported by revenue from its Internet-of-Things and lifestyle products segment. Revenue from the segment rose 30% to 104.1 billion yuan in 2024, thanks to higher sales of large home appliances, tablets, wearables and certain lifestyle products.

The company’s electric-vehicle business reported annual revenue of 32.1 billion yuan, with the gross profit margin for the segment, which includes other new initiatives, reaching 18.5%. The average

Xiaomi quarterly revenue, change from a year earlier



selling price of its EV was 234,479 yuan last year.

Xiaomi had a strong 2024 thanks to the continued sales momentum in its smartphone and Internet-of-Things segments. Its rapidly growing EV division has lifted sentiment on the company’s growth prospects, driving the stock’s 53% gain in the fourth quarter and nearly 70% rise so far this year.

Some analysts have said they expect the company’s auto business, which has been delivering robust sales growth and strong margin expansion, to turn a profit in 2025.

The company last month launched its new luxury electric vehicle, the SU7 Ultra sedan, with a lower-than-expected price tag. Earlier Tuesday, it raised its 2025 car delivery target to 350,000 units from 300,000 units previously.

70%
Xiaomi’s stock has risen nearly this much in the year to date

BYD Climbs After EV Maker Unveils New Charging Tech

By Jiahui Huang

BYD’s shares rose in Hong Kong after the Chinese electric-vehicle company unveiled its new fast-charging technology and announced an employee share incentive plan.

Shares rose as much as 6% to a record 408.80 Hong Kong dollars, equivalent to \$52.61, early Tuesday before paring gains to 4.1%.

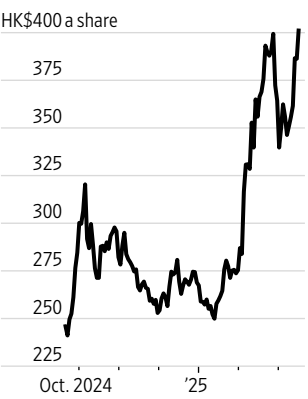
BYD’s Shenzhen-listed shares climbed 1.1%.

BYD unveiled its new charging technology, which it said is capable of providing 400 kilometers, or nearly 250 miles, of range in five minutes of charging time.

That means users can charge their EVs as quickly as it takes conventional cars to refuel, BYD said.

The charging system will be available on the company’s

BYD’s Hong Kong-listed stock performance



Note: HK\$100 = \$12.87
Source: FactSet

new Han L sedan and Tang L sport-utility vehicle models, which will go on sale next month, BYD said.

BYD has sparked a race in autonomous-driving technol-

ogy among Chinese EV makers after saying last month that it would deploy its “God’s Eye” driver-assistance system in its mass-market models.

BYD remained the top EV seller in China with total deliveries of 318,233 units for February.

Meanwhile, rival **Tesla** has seen its market share erode in China, the world’s largest EV market, with its February sales sliding 49% from the prior year to 30,688 units.

BYD also said late Monday that it would issue to employees up to 10% of its total share capital this year, with the number of shares held by a single employee via the plan not exceeding 1% of its outstanding share capital.

BYD is expected to report fourth-quarter earnings next Monday.

XPeng Guides for Surging Revenue, Volumes as Quarterly Loss Narrows

By Jiahui Huang

XPeng projected revenue would more than double in the first quarter after reporting robust fourth-quarter results.

The Chinese electric-vehicle maker said Tuesday that its net loss was 1.33 billion yuan, equivalent to \$183.9 million, narrowing slightly from 1.35 billion yuan a year earlier. That was better than the loss of 1.45 billion yuan estimated by analysts in a Visible Alpha poll.

Revenue rose 23% to 16.11 billion yuan, broadly in line with analysts’ estimate of 16.13 billion yuan, thanks to strong vehicle sales, the company said. Its gross margin improved sharply to 14.4% in the fourth quarter from 6.2% a year ago, though it was lower than the record 15.3% in the third quarter.

The results are a reflection of the solid demand Chinese EV makers enjoyed in the final

quarter of 2024, which was supported by government incentives for consumers to trade in old cars to purchase new ones.

For its part, XPeng has noted robust sales of the Mona M03, a fully electric car aimed at the mass market, and the P7+, a battery EV featuring an advanced driver-assistance system.

The EV maker forecast first-quarter deliveries would be more than quadruple to 91,000 to 93,000 vehicles and revenue would soar to between 15 billion yuan and 15.7 billion yuan.

“In 2025, with the launch of more-attractive new products, we are confident in maintaining our investment in R&D while continuing to enhance profitability and free cash flow,” Vice Chairman Hongdi Gu said.

For the full year, XPeng managed to scale up deliveries while maintaining its leading

position in autonomous-driving technology and diversifying its revenue through its **Volkswagen** partnership.

As a result, the automaker narrowed its annual net loss to 5.79 billion yuan from 10.38 billion yuan.

Its revenue grew 33% to 40.87 billion yuan last year, driven by a near-doubling in revenue from its services segment, which includes revenue from its technical collaboration with Volkswagen.

The company’s gross margin was 14.3% for the year, a sharp improvement from 1.5% in 2023, driven by cost reduction, XPeng said.

Last week, the Guangzhou, China-based company launched new, cheaper versions of the G6 and G9 SUVs, both equipped with its latest fast-charging functions and autonomous-driving features, as competition heats up in the country over AI-powered driving technology.

The sooner you recognize the signs of autism, the sooner you can help.

ScreenforAutism.org



BUSINESS & FINANCE

AI Will Take Your Order at Taco Bell

Owner Yum Brands teams with Nvidia to build AI-driven services at outlets

By Isabelle Bousquette

Yum Brands, owner of Taco Bell, Pizza Hut, KFC and Habit Burger & Grill, said it is partnering with **Nvidia** to build a range of new AI-driven services in its restaurants. The first such service—AI-powered voice-ordering at the drive-through lane and on the phone—was built by Yum’s developers using tools and development frameworks from Nvidia, and will begin rolling out at 500 restaurants across the portfolio in the second quarter of this year.

The ultimate goal is to move all orders through digital channels instead of human order-takers, an effort Yum says will boost sales. Yum will also use AI to enhance a number of the company’s internal operations.

Other planned changes include the use of computer vision to spot fumbled orders and AI that filters internet chatter on the restaurants for useful feedback for their managers, all of which Nvidia software will be deeply involved in helping build.

Terms of the deal weren’t disclosed.

Yum and other quick-service-restaurant chains, like **McDonald’s**, have been leaning into more digital experiments for efficiency gains and improved customer satisfaction as inflation squeezes low-income diners. In some cases, the results have been mixed.

Chief Digital and Technology Officer Joe Park said Yum’s decision to use Nvidia tools to build in-house, rather than rely on third-party vendors with prepackaged apps, was a pivot in strategy for the fast-food giant, which operates over 61,000 restaurants.

“We want to own the intel-



AI-powered voice-ordering at the drive-through lane and on the phone will begin rolling out at 500 restaurants. A Taco Bell, above.

lectual property. We want to own the technology,” Park said. “That’s a shift in our strategy as we think about AI.”

Its recently announced “Byte by Yum” proprietary platform will house the new apps, said Park, who is also president of the platform. Third-party vendors, however, will always have a role in certain areas, the company said.

Andrew Sun, Nvidia’s director of AI business development for retail, said the partnership was unique for Nvidia partly because of Yum’s advanced in-house tech talent. The Yum team was primed to take advantage of Nvidia tools and application frameworks like its NIM microservices.

Yum’s 2,000 technologists will use Nvidia software to

build apps that leverage open-source models and take full advantage of the computing power of Nvidia’s GPUs. Nvidia will also provide guidance and advice.

Building in-house with Nvidia helped bring the cost down, Park said, since the AI chip giant helped Yum maximize every bit of compute on Nvidia GPUs. As a result, the apps scale better and seamlessly fit into Yum’s tech stack, he added.

Voice-ordering has been a priority for the chain for some time as it works to receive 100% of its orders through digital channels rather than through humans.

Currently that number is above 50%, including orders that come through its app or

online, up from 19% in 2019.

Consumers end up spending more when they buy via digital channels, Park maintains, because the restaurant can upsell, personalize and entice eaters through notifications. And that is critical as the fast-food industry faces a pullback amid inflation concerns and churning economic policy.

“We love everything about digital sales,” Park said. “The more we can create channels, whether it’s voice-ordering, whether it’s going to be tied to our kiosks, whether it’s going to be tied to investments in AI to help encourage customers to go to our mobile app. I think all of these things add up to helping in these economic environments.”

But in-restaurant workers

won’t disappear, Park said. Instead, they will focus more on customer service, for instance, helping people with orders.

Yum is also looking to enhance its proprietary mobile app, used by restaurant managers at more than 20,000 restaurants to track and manage operations. Yum is building a feature that ingests online customer reviews and turns them into proactive suggestions.

Improving order accuracy is also an area where Nvidia will lend value, Park said.

Yum is currently evaluating whether existing CCTV cameras can provide images sharp enough for computer vision to determine whether the food received is what was ordered or whether it’s missing any ingredients.

Starboard To Launch Proxy Fight At Autodesk

By Lauren Thomas

Activist investor **Starboard Value** is preparing to wage a proxy fight at the design-software maker **Autodesk**, according to people familiar with the matter.

Starboard has a more than \$500 million stake in Autodesk and intends to nominate a minority slate of director candidates ahead of the tech company’s annual meeting, the people said.

Starboard believes Autodesk has been underperforming the software and broader market in recent years, the people added.

The Wall Street Journal reported last summer that Starboard had taken a stake in Autodesk and was pushing for margin improvements and board changes, among other things.

Starboard later said it wanted the company’s board to reassess Chief Executive Officer Andrew Anagnost, who has helmed the business since mid-2017.

Autodesk, which provides engineering, 3D-design and entertainment software and services, has made some changes since.

This year, the company said it would eliminate about 9% of its workforce, or about 1,350 employees, as part of a global restructuring plan.

The company named two new directors in December and has announced other directors won’t stand for election this year.

Autodesk shares have fallen steeply since touching a record high in August 2021.

The stock is down about 12% so far this year, as of Tuesday, giving Autodesk a market value of around \$55 billion.



Nvidia CEO Jensen Huang unveiled a new line of even more powerful chips called Rubin that are expected to be available in the second half of 2026.

Nvidia CEO Urges More Power for AI

Continued from page B1
Huang said. “The amount of computation needed is easily 100 times more than we thought we needed at this time last year,” Huang said, reiterating a point he has made in recent months.

He unveiled a new line of even more powerful chips called Rubin that are expected to be available in the second half of 2026. The AI superchip, named after the astronomer who discovered dark matter, is set to have more than three times the computing capabilities of the Ultra chips. An Ultra version of the Rubin will offer 14 times the performance of the Blackwell, he said.

The Rubin will need to be a monster hit to meet sky-high investor expectations for the chip maker. Analysts expect this series of Nvidia’s chips to generate nearly \$40 billion in

revenue in their first year of sales and more than \$95 billion in their second year, according to consensus estimates from Visible Alpha. That is more than the annual revenue of nearly three-quarters of companies on the S&P 500.

Nvidia shares fell 3.4% after the presentation concluded, slightly more than the tech-heavy Nasdaq Composite, where there was a broad tech selloff along with declines in the S&P 500 after turmoil returned in the Middle East.

The company also announced a partnership with **General Motors** to help provide underlying technology for its autonomous driving fleet, as well as a partnership with **Disney** and Google’s DeepMind called “Newton” that can simulate physical systems.

“The time has come for robots,” Huang said, noting there is a growing shortage of human labor. This is an area where Nvidia can build on its legacy as a gaming company,

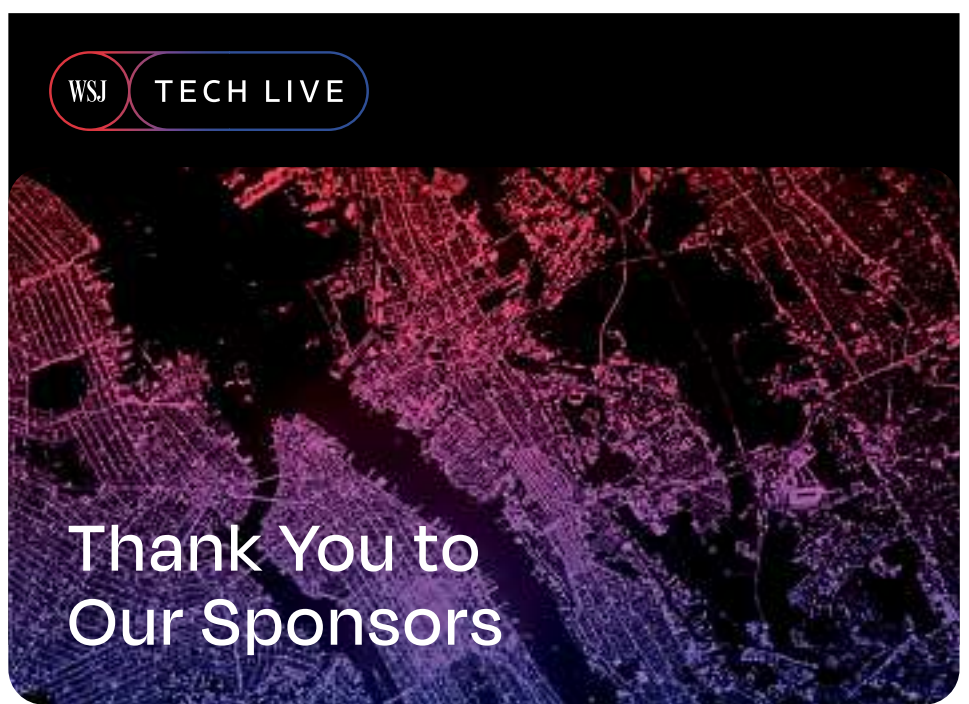
which demanded it create virtual worlds in which objects and people behaved as they would in the real world.

With a “slow-thinking” capability, Nvidia’s physical AI can help robots perceive and reason about their environment, and fast-thinking capability allows it to take actions.

“Everyone, pay attention. This could very well be the largest industry of all,” Huang said.

Before the keynote began, Huang took the stage in his trademark leather jacket and spent time ramping up the crowd, which had helped push up San Jose, Calif., hotel prices up to \$2,500 a night as the city was festooned in Nvidia colors. Restaurants and coffee shops will earn their entire month’s rent over the course of a few days, San Jose Mayor Matt Mahan said. Hosting the event will be a test for how the area handles the Super Bowl and World Cup next year.

The Rubin will need to be a monster hit to meet sky-high expectations.

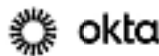


The Wall Street Journal would like to thank the sponsors of the 2025 Tech Live: Cybersecurity event for their generous support.

Presenting Sponsors



Contributing Sponsor



WSJ.com/cyberforum

Dick's Tries Larger Format

Continued from page B1

That was four years ago. Since then, the company has opened larger stores to create the kind of experience that will draw in more customers and get them to stay longer. House of Sport stores now average between 120,000 and 140,000 square feet, or as much as 40% larger than the new concept's first locations.

Dick's appetite for big-box space runs counter to most retailers' thinking that stores need to be smaller. Chains from **Macy's to Burlington and CVS** are rolling out smaller locations to reduce real-estate costs and get closer to customers who are increasingly shopping in busy, open-air shopping centers.

"The biggest risk is you're adding floor space, you're adding operational costs," said Simeon Gutman, a Morgan Stanley analyst. "You don't know what the world will look like three to five years from now."

Dick's large-format stores also cost about \$15.5 million more to build than its new smaller ones, but the company says they are worth it. House of Sport stores, including e-commerce sales, generate about \$35 million in their first year of operation, compared with \$14 million at Dick's new smaller locations.

Stack, whose father founded the sporting-goods chain in Binghamton, N.Y., 77 years ago, developed the House of Sport concept to withstand competition from other retailers and adapt to evolving shopping habits. He wanted to avoid the fates of companies such as Sears and Kmart, which were once the nation's top retailers before fading into obscurity.

"The thing that scares us the most is you wake up one day and you're a tired old chain," he said.

In Johnson City, N.Y., Dick's tore a defunct Macy's down to the studs, raised the ceiling to let in more light and cut through concrete to give the two-level store a more open, stadium-style feel.

House of Sport opened there in 2023, and on a recent Sunday afternoon the store's aisles and attractions were busy with "athletes," as Dick's calls its customers.

In the sprawling footwear department a young woman

tested out a pair of Nikes by jogging briskly down the center of the store. Downstairs, shoppers tapped balls on the putting green as hushed golf commentary played over the loudspeakers. And in the batting cage, 11-year-old Trey Mazzone was wearing a Juan Soto jersey and swinging at pitches.

"We do come down quite a bit in winter to get ready for baseball," said Trey's father, Bruce Mazzone. The family, which lives an hour away, waited half an hour for Trey's turn in the cage and spent the time buying new cleats for him and a softball bat for his sister.

"We'll be lucky if we get out of here under 300 bucks today," Mazzone said.

In addition to walk-in customers, Dick's House of Sport also attracts business from schools and sports leagues, which use its turf field and ice-skating rink for gym classes, tournaments and other events. Its rock-climbing wall can be rented for birthday parties.

Dick's isn't the only sporting-goods store selling experiences. Bass Pro Shops has aquariums, archery and shooting ranges inside many of its stores, and even runs a 103-room hotel inside its Memphis, Tenn., megastore. **Scheels**, a sporting-goods chain with several dozen locations, is famous for operating Ferris wheels inside its stores.

Gutman said the House of Sport stores are successful because Dick's is the dominant seller of a type of retail—sporting goods—that is unlikely to go out of fashion. Baseball bats, sneakers and golf putters also are purchases that customers often want to try out in person and seek expertise from salespeople.

"I feel really confident that these investments will pay for themselves," he said.

Dick's is plowing ahead with its big investment even as concerns mount that consumer spending will slow significantly this year. Retail sales grew in February but at a slower rate than economists had predicted.

Monday's report by the Commerce Department said that sales in the category that includes sporting-goods stores fell 3% from one year earlier.

So far, customers are still spending at Dick's, which recorded the largest sales quarter in company history during the 13-week period that ended Feb. 1. But the company expects slower sales gains in 2025 due to geopolitical and macroeconomic uncertainty, Chief Executive Lauren Hobart told investors earlier this month.

Because of their size, House of Sport locations have primar-



BEN CLETON FOR WSJ (3)

Dick's Sporting Goods' House of Sport megastore in Johnson City, N.Y., which features amenities including a batting cage and putting green, opened in 2023. The store is in a former Macy's location that Dick's rebuilt to have a more open, stadium-style feel for its customers, which it calls 'athletes.'

ily opened in suburban areas, often in former department stores attached to malls.

The company usually selects places where it already has a successful traditional store, which it then expands into a House of Sport or closes in favor of opening its new concept nearby.

Dick's has opened 21 House of Sport locations since 2021. It plans to add dozens more over the next 10 years, with House of Sport stores eventually comprising more than one-quarter of the company's total fleet, Stack said.

Is that big enough? Time will tell. Stack is already looking at one of the busiest sections of House of Sport stores, the House of Cleats display where shoppers browse from hundreds of different styles and color combinations.

"We could probably run this selection out a little bit, give people a little more room to shop," Stack said.



BUSINESS NEWS

Revolut Sees U.K. Banking License Paving Way for Growth, IPO

By Elena Vardon

LONDON—Revolut's bid to become a fully operational bank in the U.K. is a crucial step in its global expansion and eventual initial public offering plans, its U.K. chief executive said.

Founded in 2015, Revolut runs an app that lets users make payments, trade assets and hold money. The fintech company competes with traditional banks for retail and business customers and was valued at \$45 billion in an oversubscribed secondary share sale last November. This sets a floor for its valuation ahead of any IPO and puts it on par with the likes of

NatWest and Deutsche Bank. Revolut's ambitions go further, its U.K. head, Francesca Carlesi, said in an interview. The company strives to be like **Amazon.com**, a global app available everywhere, but for global financial services, she added.

The U.K.—Revolut's main market with one-fifth of its more than 50 million customers—is key to those aspirations. After a three-year wait, it was granted a restricted banking licence by British regulators last July. Revolut UK is now in a phase of building and testing out its operations with a small pool of customers, Carlesi said, a common step for new entrants that usually

lasts up to 12 months.

The "big bang" will happen when the regulator gives it the green light to transfer all of its users to the new banking entity around this summer, she added. Revolut UK will then be able to broaden its product offering into traditional banking services such as loans, overdrafts and eventually mortgages.

"My main strategic focus is making Revolut the primary bank for everybody in the U.K.," Carlesi said, acknowl-

eding that for now customers need to use other banks since Revolut can't yet satisfy all their financial needs.

The timing of a listing depends on its progress building out its banking operations and regulatory compliance. Revolut already has a European banking license and is present in dozens of countries. A 2026 IPO is widely expected by industry insiders, according to media reports, though the company hasn't confirmed any

firm plans.

Going public isn't about raising capital but rather a step toward becoming a global financial player. Carlesi said the company is well-capitalized and not under pressure from investors to list. "We can prepare for this properly and pick the right moment," she added. Beyond the U.K., Revolut sees a major opportunity in the U.S., where it operates through a partnership with Missouri-based Lead Bank and has more than one million customers. Though its brand recognition remains low despite its presence since 2020, Carlesi expects that to change in the next few years.

The U.S. lags behind Europe

in financial-services innovation, she said, citing the continued use of paper checks and branch-based banking. There hasn't been a successful digital bank yet and there are fewer competitors, though she is keeping an eye on **JPMorgan Chase's** digital push. The competitive landscape leaves an opening if Revolut finds the right entry point, the executive said.

The company wants to focus on the U.K. and secure a few more banking licenses worldwide as a springboard to accelerate U.S. growth. That way, "by the time we do IPO, we are already a global financial company grounded in regulation," Carlesi said.

Mutual Funds

Top 250 mutual-funds listings for Nasdaq-published share classes by net assets.				Fund				Fund				Fund				Fund				Fund				
e-X-distribution, f-Previous day's quotation, g-Footnotes x and s apply, J-Footnotes e and s apply, k-Recalculated by LSEIG, using updated data, p-Distribution costs apply, 12b-1, r-Redemption charge may apply, s-Stock split or dividend, t-Footnotes p and r apply, v-Footnotes x and s apply, x-X-dividend, y-Footnotes x, e and s apply, NA-Not available due to incomplete price performance or cost data, NE-Not released by LSEIG, data under review, NN-Fund not tracked, NS-Fund didn't exist at start of period.				Fund				Fund				Fund				Fund				Fund				
Fund	NAV	Chg	% Ret	Net YTD	Fund	NAV	Chg	% Ret	Net YTD	Fund	NAV	Chg	% Ret	Net YTD	Fund	NAV	Chg	% Ret	Net YTD	Fund	NAV	Chg	% Ret	Net YTD
AB Funds	11.16	...	0.8	Artisan Funds	50.82	-0.24	8.1	LGCo	37.32	-0.40	-4.3	PutLargCap	35.06	-0.13	2.1	MuHyAdml	10.59	...	0.2	TgtRe2060	51.58	-0.29	0.6	...
AB Funds - ADV	56.06	-0.28	2.0	Baird Funds	7.07	...	1.0	US CoreEq2	41.45	-0.39	-4.2	PutLargCap	35.06	-0.13	2.1	MuHyAdml	10.59	...	0.2	TgtRet2055	55.97	-0.31	0.6	...
AggBdInst	9.82	+0.01	2.4	BaldFunds	10.17	+0.01	2.2	US Small	45.51	-0.31	-7.0	Swab Funds	120.25	-1.31	NA	MuLAdml	10.75	+0.01	...	TgtRetInc	13.27	-0.02	1.3	...
CorBdInst	10.17	+0.01	2.2	BlackRock Funds I	9.52	+0.01	1.3	US SmCpVal	44.90	-0.15	-7.4	S&P Sel	94.45	-1.03	NA	MuLAdml	10.75	+0.01	...	Welltn	41.98	-0.26	-2.0	...
Ultra	83.34	-1.44	-10.7	BlackRock Funds II	7.07	-0.01	1.0	US TgdVal	32.15	-0.12	-6.5	TSM Sel r	94.45	-1.03	NA	MuShtAdml	15.80	...	0.9	Wndsrll	44.05	-0.20	-0.5	...
American Funds CI A	56.06	-0.28	2.0	BlackRock Funds III	7.07	-0.01	1.0	USLgVa	50.10	-0.05	1.6	StratAdCorInFnd	NA	...	NA	PrmcAdml r	167.84	-1.29	0.9	VANGUARD INDEX FDS	...	...	...	...
AmcpA	40.44	-0.64	-5.3	BlackRock Funds Inst	7.07	-0.01	1.0	Dodge & Cox	107.06	+0.06	5.3	StratAdFidCoreS	9.13	+0.01	2.4	RealEstAdml	129.26	-0.64	2.3	ExtndInstPI	328.62	-3.97	-7.6	...
AMutIA	56.06	-0.28	2.0	BlackRock Funds Inst	7.07	-0.01	1.0	Balanc	12.69	+0.02	2.5	StratAdFidUS	16.65	-0.17	-4.0	SmGthAdml	107.68	-0.96	-6.5	IdxlntI	20.62	...	8.8	...
BaIA	34.25	-0.20	0.1	BlackRock Funds Inst	7.07	-0.01	1.0	Income	56.85	+0.18	13.9	StratAdIntFnd	NA	...	NA	SmGthAdml	107.68	-0.96	-6.5	MdCpGrAdml	105.37	-1.31	-3.6	...
BondA	11.30	+0.01	2.3	BlackRock Funds Inst	7.07	-0.01	1.0	Intl Stk	266.87	-0.32	3.8	StratAdIntFnd	NA	...	NA	STBndAdml	10.20	...	1.4	MdCpVAdml	83.49	-0.30	-0.4	...
CapIBIA	72.41	-0.07	5.7	BlackRock Funds Inst	7.07	-0.01	1.0	Stock	266.87	-0.32	3.8	StratAdIntFnd	NA	...	NA	STBndAdml	10.20	...	1.4	SmValAdml	81.11	-0.44	-4.8	...
CapVGrA	64.63	-0.31	2.0	BlackRock Funds Inst	7.07	-0.01	1.0	DoubleLine Funds	20.22	-0.33	-3.4	StratAdIntFnd	NA	...	NA	STBndAdml	10.20	...	1.4	TotBdAdml	9.50	+0.01	2.3	...
EupacA	57.55	...	7.1	BlackRock Funds Inst	7.07	-0.01	1.0	Edgewood Growth Inst	20.22	-0.33	-3.4	StratAdIntFnd	NA	...	NA	STBndAdml	10.20	...	1.4	TotBdAdml	9.50	+0.01	2.3	...
FdlvIA	78.94	-0.91	-2.6	BlackRock Funds Inst	7.07	-0.01	1.0	Federated Hermes Int	20.22	-0.33	-3.4	StratAdIntFnd	NA	...	NA	STBndAdml	10.20	...	1.4	TotBdAdml	9.50	+0.01	2.3	...
GwthIA	70.31	-1.17	-5.6	BlackRock Funds Inst	7.07	-0.01	1.0	TrlRtnBdI	9.45	...	2.0	StratAdIntFnd	NA	...	NA	STBndAdml	10.20	...	1.4	TotBdAdml	9.50	+0.01	2.3	...
HI TrA	9.77	...	1.4	BlackRock Funds Inst	7.07	-0.01	1.0	Fidelity	50.10	-0.05	1.6	StratAdIntFnd	NA	...	NA	STBndAdml	10.20	...	1.4	TotBdAdml	9.50	+0.01	2.3	...
ICAA	56.27	-0.67	-2.2	BlackRock Funds Inst	7.07	-0.01	1.0	Fidelity	50.10	-0.05	1.6	StratAdIntFnd	NA	...	NA	STBndAdml	10.20	...	1.4	TotBdAdml	9.50	+0.01	2.3	...
IncoA	25.42	-0.02	4.8	BlackRock Funds Inst	7.07	-0.01	1.0	Fidelity	50.10	-0.05	1.6	StratAdIntFnd	NA	...	NA	STBndAdml	10.20	...	1.4	TotBdAdml	9.50	+0.01	2.3	...
N PerA	62.11	-0.54	...	BlackRock Funds Inst	7.07	-0.01	1.0	Fidelity	50.10	-0.05	1.6	StratAdIntFnd	NA	...	NA	STBndAdml	10.20	...	1.4	TotBdAdml	9.50	+0.01	2.3	...
NecoA	59.02	-0.85	-3.5	BlackRock Funds Inst	7.07	-0.01	1.0	Fidelity	50.10	-0.05	1.6	StratAdIntFnd	NA	...	NA	STBndAdml	10.20	...	1.4	TotBdAdml	9.50	+0.01	2.3	...
NWVrldA	80.37	-0.21	4.3	BlackRock Funds Inst	7.07	-0.01	1.0	Fidelity	50.10	-0.05	1.6	StratAdIntFnd	NA	...	NA	STBndAdml	10.20	...	1.4	TotBdAdml	9.50	+0.01	2.3	...
SmCpA	64.58	-0.36	-4.2	BlackRock Funds Inst	7.07	-0.01	1.0	Fidelity	50.10	-0.05	1.6	StratAdIntFnd	NA	...	NA	STBndAdml	10.20	...	1.4	TotBdAdml	9.50	+0.01	2.3	...
TxEkA	12.33	...	0.1	BlackRock Funds Inst	7.07	-0.01	1.0	Fidelity	50.10	-0.05	1.6	StratAdIntFnd	NA	...	NA	STBndAdml	10.20	...	1.4	TotBdAdml	9.50	+0.01	2.3	...
WshA	61.47	-0.47	0.2	BlackRock Funds Inst	7.07	-0.01	1.0	Fidelity	50.10	-0.05	1.6	StratAdIntFnd	NA	...	NA	STBndAdml	10.20	...	1.4	TotBdAdml	9.50	+0.01	2.3	...

COMMODITIES

wsj.com/market-data/commodities

Futures Contracts

Metal & Petroleum Futures						
	Contract					
	Open	High	hi lo	Low	Settle	Open interest
Copper-High (CMX) -25,000 lbs.; \$ per lb.						
March	4.9490	4.9940	▲	4.9440	4.9930	0.0595 2,309
May	4.9790	5.0250	▲	4.9560	5.0165	0.0575 131,129
Gold (CMX) -100 troy oz.; \$ per troy oz.						
March	3006.40	3039.20	▲	3004.40	3035.10	35.10 917
April	3009.40	3047.50	▲	3008.20	3040.80	34.70 257,376
May	3024.00	3059.00	▲	3022.60	3054.30	34.50 1,001
June	3036.90	3075.10	▲	3036.00	3068.90	34.80 213,742
July	3050.90	3086.00	▲	3050.90	3081.50	35.00 16
Aug	3062.20	3099.90	▲	3059.40	3094.20	35.20 33,749
Palladium (NYM) -50 troy oz.; \$ per troy oz.						
March	959.00	980.00		959.00	966.20	2.60 8
June	972.50	988.00		966.50	977.20	2.50 19,415
Platinum (NYM) -50 troy oz.; \$ per troy oz.						
March	976.50	976.50		976.40	1020.50	-3.00 14
April	1024.80	1036.30		1018.80	1023.40	-3.10 43,708
Silver (CMX) -5,000 troy oz.; \$ per troy oz.						
March	34.500	34.525		34.405	34.579	0.505 1,903
May	34.380	35.000	▲	34.325	34.818	0.510 127,059
Crude Oil, Light Sweet (NYM) -1,000 bbls.; \$ per bbl.						
April	67.40	68.72		66.56	66.90	-0.68 76,831
May	67.28	68.50		66.44	66.75	-0.62 312,421
June	66.91	68.13		66.19	66.48	-0.55 197,273
July	66.46	67.69		65.85	66.13	-0.50 116,921
Sept	65.58	66.73		65.02	65.30	-0.42 118,583
Dec	64.59	65.65		64.07	64.34	-0.36 168,914
NY Harbor ULSD (NYM) -42,000 gal.; \$ per gal.						
April	2.2003	2.2355		2.1767	2.1945	-0.093 53,624
May	2.1664	2.1970		2.1435	2.1571	-0.091 82,074
Gasoline-NY RBOB (NYM) -42,000 gal.; \$ per gal.						
April	2.1786	2.2068		2.1568	2.1684	-0.128 69,021
May	2.1812	2.2077		2.1604	2.1716	-0.104 123,135

	Open	High	Contract	Low	Settle	Chg	Open interest
Natural Gas (NYM) -10,000 MMBtu.; \$ per MMBtu.							
April	4.003	4.128		3.970	4.052	.034	98,276
May	4.073	4.185		4.041	4.109	.023	267,653
July	4.471	4.557		4.429	4.477	.010	96,462
Sept	4.504	4.582		4.457	4.506	.010	116,495
Oct	4.540	4.617		4.495	4.541	.004	123,882
Jan'26	5.471	5.556		5.403	5.474	.012	127,793
Agriculture Futures							
Corn (CBT) -5,000 bu.; cents per bu.							
May	461.00	462.50		455.25	458.75	-2.25	684,690
July	469.75	471.50		464.50	468.00	-2.00	454,484
Oats (CBT) -5,000 bu.; cents per bu.							
May	369.50	370.75		364.50	366.00	-3.00	2,243
July	367.75	369.00		365.00	366.25	-2.25	569
Soybeans (CBT) -5,000 bu.; cents per bu.							
May	1015.00	1021.75		1011.25	1012.75	-2.75	373,220
July	1029.00	1035.50		1025.25	1026.50	-2.75	203,350
Soybean Meal (CBT) -100 tons; \$ per ton							
May	304.30	304.70		299.50	299.90	-4.40	246,074
July	311.30	312.00		307.60	308.10	-3.50	152,090
Soybean Oil (CBT) -60,000 lbs.; \$ per lb.							
May	42.09	42.88		42.01	42.54	.44	240,790
July	42.50	43.30		42.44	42.98	.46	152,143
Rough Rice (CBT) -2,000 cwt.; \$ per cwt.							
May	13.53	13.57		13.33	13.53	.05	10,878
July	13.76	13.82		13.59	13.80	.08	703
Wheat (CBT) -5,000 bu.; cents per bu.							
May	568.75	574.75		563.50	565.00	-3.50	219,794
July	585.00	591.00		580.50	582.00	-3.00	114,382
Wheat (KC) -5,000 bu.; cents per bu.							
May	605.00	617.00		604.00	606.25	.75	127,241
July	616.50	628.75		616.50	619.00	1.25	68,313
Cattle-Feeder (CME) -50,000 lbs.; cents per lb.							
March	285.050	285.350	▲	284.075	284.975	.350	5,303

	Open	High	Contract	Low	Settle	Chg	Open interest
May	285.550	286.550	▲	284.150	285.250	-.050	31,144
Cattle-Live (CME) -40,000 lbs.; cents per lb.							
April	205.000	205.525		204.225	205.375	.350	78,877
June	201.000	201.500		199.975	201.000	-.075	135,154
Hogs-Lean (CME) -40,000 lbs.; cents per lb.							
April	87.950	88.200		86.325	87.600	-.475	43,293
June	99.175	99.325		96.025	97.350	-.1775	83,482
Lumber (CME) -27,500 bd. ft. \$ per 1,000 bd. ft.							
May	666.00	666.50		653.00	658.50	-5.50	5,339
July	679.00	682.00		669.00	676.00	-5.00	1,551
Milk (CME) -200,000 lbs.; cents per lb.							
March	18.44	18.50		18.44	18.46	.01	4,372
April	17.18	17.27	▼	16.93	16.96	-.20	5,685
Cocoa (ICE-US) -10 metric tons; \$ per ton.							
May	7,837	8,212		7,784	8,021	194	42,462
July	7,854	8,224		7,803	8,045	193	25,379
Coffee (ICE-US) -37,500 lbs.; cents per lb.							
March	386.00	391.95		383.70	387.15	-2.20	62
May	383.00	387.95		379.70	383.80	.40	75,292
Sugar-World (ICE-US) -112,000 lbs.; cents per lb.							
May	19.90	20.09	▲	19.63	19.99	.02	323,458
July	19.53	19.72	▲	19.25	19.65	.08	199,870
Sugar-Domestic (ICE-US) -112,000 lbs.; cents per lb.							
May	38.00	38.00		38.00	38.00	.50	1,087
July	38.72	38.75	▲	38.30	38.39	1.00	1,460
Cotton (ICE-US) -50,000 lbs.; cents per lb.							
May	66.90	67.08		66.35	66.47	-.51	128,987
July	68.22	68.34		67.62	67.88	-.36	71,975
Orange Juice (ICE-US) -15,000 lbs.; cents per lb.							
May	259.25	260.25	▼	243.90	243.90	-15.00	6,769
July	251.25	253.50	▼	242.90	242.90	-15.00	1,575

Interest Rate Futures						
Ultra Treasury Bonds (CBT) - \$100,000; pts 32nds of 100%						
March	122-270	123-060		121-280	123-030	14.0 2,326
June	122-190	123-040		121-210	122-290	13.0 1,777,845
Treasury Bonds (CBT) - \$100,000; pts 32nds of 100%						
March	116-200	117-210		116-210	117-170	9.0 83,034
June	117-000	117-140		116-100	117-080	9.0 1,776,997
Treasury Notes (CBT) - \$100,000; pts 32nds of 100%						
March	110-210	110-275		110-140	110-250	6.0 4,071
June	110-200	110-290		110-140	110-255	6.0 4,807,070
5 Yr. Treasury Notes (CBT) - \$100,000; pts 32nds of 100%						
March	107-170	107-197		107-122	107-180	4.0 26,450
June	107-200	107-257		107-167	107-232	4.0 6,287,813
2 Yr. Treasury Notes (CBT) - \$200,000; pts 32nds of 100%						
March	103-076	103-086		103-065	103-078	1.5 363
June	103-112	103-129		103-104	103-118	.8 3,818,608
30 Day Federal Funds (CBT) - \$5,000,000; 100 - daily avg.						
March	95.6700	95.6725	▼	95.6700	95.6700	-0.0025 282,212
April	95.6700	95.6750	▼	95.6700	95.6700	-0.0050 530,344
Three-Month SOFR (CME) - \$1,000,000; 100 - daily avg.						
Dec	95.6325	95.6350		95.6325	95.6325	1,065,122

Borrowing Benchmarks | wsj.com/market-data/bonds/benchmarks

Money Rates

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			
	Feb. index	Chg From (%)	
	level	Jan. '25	Feb. '24
U.S. consumer price index			
All items	319.082	0.44	2.8
Core	325.252	0.44	3.1
International rates			
	Latest	Week ago	-52-Week-High Low
Prime rates			
U.S.	7.50	7.50	8.50 7.50
Canada	5.20	5.20	7.20 5.20
Japan	1.625	1.625	1.625 1.475
Policy Rates			
Euro zone	2.65	2.90	4.50 2.65
Switzerland	1.00	1.00	2.25 1.00

Notes on data:
U.S. prime rate is the base rate on corporate loans posted by at least 70% of the 10 largest U.S. banks, and is effective December 19, 2024. **Other prime rates** aren't directly comparable; lending practices vary widely by location. **Discount rate** is effective December 19, 2024. **Secured Overnight Financing Rate** is as of March 17, 2025. **DTCC GCF Repo Index** is Depository Trust & Clearing Corp.'s weighted average for overnight trades in applicable CUSIPs. Value traded is in billions of U.S. dollars. **Federal-funds rates** are Tullett Prebon rates as of 5:30 p.m. ET.

Sources: Federal Reserve; Bureau of Labor Statistics; DTCC; FactSet; Tullett Prebon Information, Ltd.

New Highs and Lows

Stock	Sym	52-Wk %	Hi/Lo	Chg	Stock	Sym	52-Wk %	Hi/Lo	Chg
The following explanations apply to the New York Stock Exchange, NYSE Arca, NYSE American and Nasdaq Stock Market stocks that hit a new 52-week intraday high or low in the latest session. % CHG : Daily percentage change from the previous trading session.									

Tuesday, March 18, 2025														
Stock	52-WK %				Stock	52-WK %				Stock	52-WK %			
	Sym	Hi/Lo	%	Chg		Sym	Hi/Lo	%	Chg		Sym	Hi/Lo	%	Chg
Highs														
Alcoa	AA	25.78	0.4		Alcoa	AA	25.78	0.4		Banco Santander	BSAN	7.16	3.88	
	AA	25.78	0.4		Align	ALHC	17.24	4.0		BancoRoofing	BRK	122.22	1.66	
Align	ALHC	17.24	4.0		Align	ALHC	84.99	0.2		BerkHathway A	BRKA	792.39	-0.22	
AngloGoldAshanti	AU	34.75	3.6		AngloGoldAshanti	AU	34.75	3.6		BerkHathway B	BRKB	528.38	0.01	
Arista	ANET	17.63	0.1		Arista	ANET	17.63	0.1		BrigHouse	BSH	5.67	6.73	
Avaya	AVYA	1.98	-2.6		Avaya	AVYA	1.98	-2.6		Cisco	C	26.66	1.31	
Avaya	AVYA	14.84	0.1		Avaya	AVYA	14.84	0.1		C2E2E Transpor	MOEIR	4.32	32.88	
Avaya	AVYA	26.35	0.3		Avaya	AVYA	26.35	0.3		Cencora	CCR	265.44	0.42	
Banco	BSAN	7.16	3.88		Banco	BSAN	28.63	-2.2		ChenCordeAcqphil	CCRU	13.26	4.49	

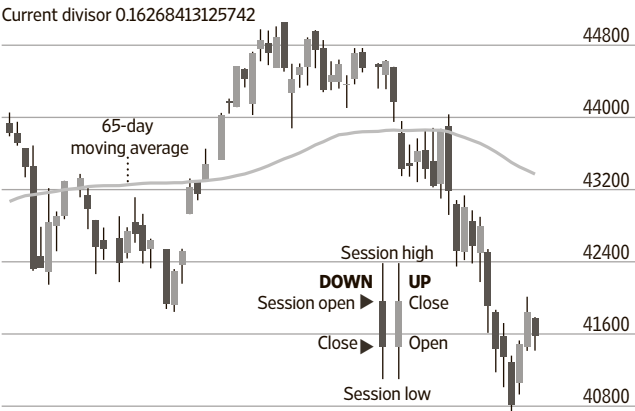
MARKETS DIGEST

EQUITIES

Dow Jones Industrial Average

41581.31 ▼260.32, or 0.62%
High, low, open and close for each trading day of the past three months.

Trailing P/E ratio	24.91	27.21
P/E estimate *	18.85	18.76
Dividend yield	1.96	1.84
All-time high	45014.04, 12/04/24	



Current divisor 0.16268413125742
Bars measure the point change from session's open
Dec. Jan. Feb. Mar.

*Weekly P/E data based on as-reported earnings from Birinyi Associates Inc.; †Based on Nasdaq-100 Index

Major U.S. Stock-Market Indexes

	High	Low	Latest Close	Net chg	% chg	High	52-Week Low	% chg	YTD	% chg 3-yr. ann.
Dow Jones										
Industrial Average	41787.25	41415.43	41581.31	-260.32	-0.62	45014.04	37735.11	6.3	-2.3	6.2
Transportation Avg	14753.58	14538.45	14619.60	-138.25	-0.94	17754.38	14397.68	-5.9	-8.0	-3.9
Utility Average	1014.31	1007.31	1013.50	-3.36	-0.33	1079.88	835.53	17.9	3.1	1.0
Total Stock Market	55879.60	55332.27	55503.78	-606.91	-1.08	61024.05	49376.46	7.8	-5.0	7.0
Barron's 400	1198.81	1189.50	1193.81	-9.28	-0.77	1356.99	1092.05	5.2	-4.6	5.0

Nasdaq Stock Market										
Nasdaq Composite	17682.92	17431.67	17504.12	-304.55	-1.71	20173.89	15282.01	8.3	-9.4	8.0
Nasdaq-100	19676.05	19397.07	19483.36	-328.88	-1.66	22175.60	17037.65	8.0	-7.3	10.6

S&P										
500 Index	5654.53	5597.76	5614.66	-60.46	-1.07	6144.15	4967.23	8.4	-4.5	8.0
MidCap 400	2959.38	2937.11	2946.61	-23.26	-0.78	3390.26	2825.94	0.2	-5.6	2.9
SmallCap 600	1289.44	1279.19	1284.15	-9.73	-0.75	1544.66	1241.62	-0.6	-8.8	-1.4

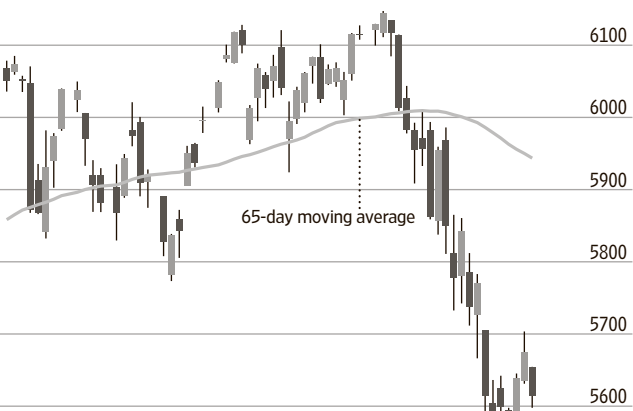
Other Indexes										
Russell 2000	2060.97	2043.87	2049.94	-18.40	-0.89	2442.03	1942.96	0.7	-8.1	-0.6
NYSE Composite	19495.67	19348.40	19421.58	-73.13	-0.38	20272.04	17388.09	8.0	1.7	5.3
Value Line	581.26	574.65	576.84	-4.42	-0.76	656.04	560.48	-3.1	-5.6	-3.3
NYSE Arca Biotech	5938.93	5821.50	5826.14	-112.79	-1.90	6318.63	4861.76	11.0	1.4	4.6
NYSE Arca Pharma	1013.91	1004.84	1010.18	1.20	0.12	1140.17	912.71	-0.3	8.1	6.7
KBW Bank	121.38	120.22	121.04	0.13	0.11	140.59	96.78	22.6	-5.0	-2.3
PHLX ^S Gold/Silver	177.89	174.92	175.19	1.09	0.63	175.74	116.83	50.0	27.7	4.0
PHLX ^S Oil Service	66.26	65.20	65.84	-0.05	-0.07	95.25	62.70	-26.4	-9.3	-4.6
PHLX ^S Semiconductor	4628.65	4562.04	4589.03	-74.94	-1.61	5904.54	4306.87	-2.6	-7.8	10.2
Cboe Volatility	22.57	20.41	21.70	1.19	5.80	38.57	11.86	57.0	25.1	-3.1

^SNasdaq PHLX Sources: FactSet; Dow Jones Market Data

S&P 500 Index

5614.66 ▼60.46, or 1.07%
High, low, open and close for each trading day of the past three months.

Trailing P/E ratio *	22.32	23.83
P/E estimate *	20.48	21.35
Dividend yield *	1.38	1.44
All-time high	6144.15, 02/19/25	

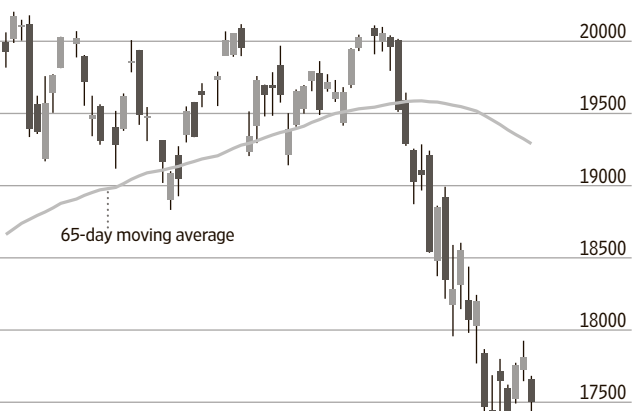


Dec. Jan. Feb. Mar.

Nasdaq Composite Index

17504.12 ▼304.55, or 1.71%
High, low, open and close for each trading day of the past three months.

Trailing P/E ratio *	28.57	30.65
P/E estimate *	24.47	28.65
Dividend yield *	0.82	0.82
All-time high	20173.89, 12/16/24	



Dec. Jan. Feb. Mar.

Late Trading

Most-active and biggest movers among NYSE, NYSE Arca, NYSE Amer. and Nasdaq issues from 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. ET as reported by electronic trading services, securities dealers and regional exchanges. Minimum share price of \$2 and minimum after-hours volume of 50,000 shares.

Most-active issues in late trading

Company	Symbol	Volume (000)	Last	Net chg	After-Hours % chg	High	Low
SPDR S&P 500 ETF Trust	SPY	16,431.4	561.00	-0.02	-0.004	581.72	524.47
iShares Core S&P 500 ETF	IVV	13,941.9	562.46	0.53	0.09	562.52	561.51
NVIDIA	NVDA	13,212.7	114.83	-0.60	-0.52	122.80	107.71
Intel	INTC	8,342.1	25.90	-0.03	-0.10	26.25	25.86
Alphabet Cl A	GOOGL	6,323.5	160.61	-0.06	-0.04	163.59	160.35
Micron Technology	MU	4,931.9	101.68	-0.04	-0.04	101.98	101.35
PG&E	PCG	4,546.7	17.20	...	unch.	17.20	17.15
Medtronic	MDT	4,267.7	92.23	0.02	0.02	93.19	92.00

Percentage gainers...

CARGO Therapeutics	CRGX	795.4	4.50	0.70	18.44	4.70	3.00
StoneCo Cl A	STNE	934.2	10.93	1.08	10.96	10.97	9.77
Spire Global	SPIR	79.6	9.24	0.72	8.45	10.74	8.52
Enhabit	EHAB	73.5	9.79	0.50	5.38	9.79	9.29
Klaviyo	KVYO	518.2	33.76	1.60	4.98	33.76	32.15

...And losers

FST	KBSX	2,448.2	4.39	-1.10	-20.04	5.98	4.13
HealthEquity	HOY	163.1	89.62	-12.05	-11.85	102.00	88.20
Abcsi	ABSI	225.0	2.90	-0.18	-5.86	3.10	2.77
Roivant Sciences	ROIV	74.7	10.12	-0.59	-5.51	10.96	10.12
Crescent Energy	CRGY	813.9	10.79	-0.41	-3.63	11.20	10.79

Trading Diary

Volume, Advancers, Decliners

	NYSE	NYSE Amer.
Total volume*	1,048,965,329	15,388,560
Adv. volume*	429,859,737	6,142,242
Decl. volume*	593,870,905	8,202,414
Issues traded	2,834	291
Advances	996	111
Declines	1,752	168
Unchanged	86	12
New highs	47	6
New lows	37	1
Closing Arms [†]	0.76	1.26
Block trades [†]	5,024	143

Total volume* 6,450,539,925 277,527,987
Adv. volume* 2,312,236,383 91,743,908
Decl. volume* 4,069,895,261 184,983,442

Issues traded	4,498	2,144
Advances	1,488	614
Declines	2,855	1,496
Unchanged	155	34
New highs	62	91
New lows	158	19
Closing Arms [†]	0.92	0.64
Block trades [†]	39,367	1,209

*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

Region/Country	Index	Close	Net chg	Latest % chg	YTD % chg
World	MSCI ACWI	839.53	-3.97	-0.47	-0.2
	MSCI ACWI ex-USA	354.62	2.34	0.66	-8.8
	MSCI World	3672.57	-24.64	-0.67	-1.0
	MSCI Emerging Markets	1145.17	13.73	1.21	6.5
Americas	MSCI AC Americas	2115.61	-22.82	-1.07	-4.4
Canada	S&P/TSX Comp	24706.07	-79.04	-0.32	-0.1
Latin Amer.	MSCI EM Latin America	2131.50	4.49	0.21	15.1
Brazil	Bovespa	131474.73	640.77	0.49	9.3
Chile	S&P IPSA	4068.37	-8.69	-0.21	12.6
Mexico	S&P/BMV IPC	52773.32	289.04	0.55	6.6
EMEA	STOXX Europe 600	554.30	3.36	0.61	9.2
Eurozone	Euro STOXX	567.63	4.62	0.82	12.4
Belgium	Bel-20	4500.10	22.15	0.49	5.5
Denmark	OMX Copenhagen 20	1974.59	13.05	0.67	-6.1
France	CAC 40	8114.57	40.59	0.50	9.9
Germany	DAX	23380.70	226.13	0.98	17.4
Israel	Tel Aviv	2517.45	-12.92	-0.51	5.1
Italy	FTSE MIB	39533.71	511.31	1.31	15.6
Netherlands	AEX	913.97	0.02	0.002	4.0
Norway	Oslo Bors All-Share	1756.79	10.01	0.57	6.8
South Africa	FTSE/JSE All-Share	88893.11	368.01	0.42	5.7
Spain	IBEX 35	13354.70	207.50	1.58	15.2
Sweden	OMX Stockholm	1008.95	1.01	0.10	5.7
Switzerland	Swiss Market	13062.11	3.99	0.03	12.6
Turkey	BIST 100	10802.23	-59.91	-0.55	9.9
U.K.	FTSE 100	8705.23	24.94	0.29	6.5
U.K.	FTSE 250	20097.77	69.86	0.35	-2.5
Asia-Pacific	MSCI AC Asia Pacific	189.78	1.94	1.03	4.5
Australia	S&P/ASX 200	7860.40	6.34	0.08	-3.7
China	Shanghai Composite	3429.76	3.63	0.11	2.3
Hong Kong	Hang Seng	24740.57	595.00	2.46	23.3
India	BSE Sensex	75301.26	1131.31	1.53	-3.6
Japan	NIKKEI 225	37845.42	448.90	1.20	-5.1
Singapore	Straits Times	3894.97	35.61	0.92	2.8
South Korea	KOSPI	2612.34	1.65	0.06	8.9
Taiwan	TAIEX	22271.67	153.04	0.69	-3.3
Thailand	SET	1176.17	5.97	0.51	-16.0

Sources: FactSet; Dow Jones Market Data

Percentage Gainers...

Company	Symbol	Close	Net chg	% chg	High	Low	% chg
Aditxt	ADTX	7.50	3.13	71.62	54500.00	4.11	-99.9
Regencell Bioscience	RGC	31.60	13.10	70.81	32.44	3.03	680.2
Leishen Energy Holding	LSE	7.77	2.19	39.25	13.83	3.76	...
Blue Hat Interactive	BHAT	3.41	0.88	34.78	145.00	2.02	-96.7
Park Ha Biological Tech	PHH	10.60	2.71	34.35	10.98	3.70	...
Reading Intl B	RDIB	9.90	2.37	31.47	21.34	5.78	-35.2
Heidmar Maritime Hldg	HMR	3.46	0.76	28.15	10.04	1.45	...
Tonix Pharmaceuticals	TNXP	20.53	4.25	26.11	1193.28	6.76	-98.2
Brazil Potash	GRO	3.35	0.68	25.47	15.00	2.18	...
USA Rare Earth	USAR	17.35	3.22	22.79	20.00	9.24	65.9
OneConstruction Group	ONEG	2.59	0.48	22.75	4.05	1.96	...
UP Fintech Holding ADR	TIGR	9.69	1.72	21.58	14.48	3.10	116.8
Eason Technology ADR	DXF	8.87	1.41	18.90	73.75	0.14	-77.9
Nanobiotix ADR	NBTX	3.97	0.62	18.51	7.51	2.76	-36.1
FinVolution Group ADR	FINV	10.72	1.60	17.54	11.08	4.45	121.0

Most Active Stocks

Company	Symbol	Volume (000)	%chg from 65-day avg	Latest Session Close	% chg	52-Week High	Low
Syros Pharmaceuticals	SYRS	397,816	2406.4	0.13	49.18	6.93	0.07
NVIDIA	NVDA	297,098	11.6	115.43	-3.43	153.13	75.61
Lucid Group	LCID	179,800	92.2	2.35	8.80	4.43	1.93
Direxion TSLA Bull 2X	TSLL	176,793	87.6	7.47	-10.43	41.50	4.94
Snow Lake Resources	LITM	174,673	350.2	0.55	31.52	1.88	0.15
D-Wave Quantum	QWTS	152,666	71.7	10.80	-3.40	11.95	0.75
Intel	INTC	129,025	36.0	25.92	0.90	45.41	18.51
Tesla	TSLA	109,452	20.2	225.31	-5.34	488.54	138.80
Ford Motor	F	102,650	21.5	9.95	0.30	14.85	9.06
Direxion S&P 500 Bear 3X	SPXS	94,101	28.3	7.21	3.30	10.45	5.55

BIGGEST 1,000 STOCKS

How to Read the Stock Tables

The following explanations apply to NYSE, NYSE Arca, NYSE American and Nasdaq Stock Market listed securities. Prices are consolidated from trades reported by various market centers, including securities exchanges, FINRA, and communications networks and other broker-dealers. The list comprises the 1,000 largest companies based on market capitalization.

Underlined quotations are those stocks with large changes in volume compared with the issue's average trading volume.

Boldfaced quotations highlight those issues whose price changed by 5% or more if their previous closing price was \$2 or higher.

Footnotes:
+New 52-week high; -New 52-week low; **dd**-Indicates loss in the most recent four quarters.

Stock tables reflect composite regular trading as of 4 p.m. ET and changes in the official closing prices from 4 p.m. ET the previous day.

Tuesday, March 18, 2025																											
Stock		Sym Close		Net Chg		Stock		Sym Close		Net Chg		Stock		Sym Close		Net Chg		Stock		Sym Close		Net Chg					
A B C																											
AECOM	ACM	95.37	-0.22	BankAmerica	BAC	41.65	0.21	Comcast A	CMCSA	36.01	0.26	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast B	CMCSB	61.86	0.03				
AES	AES	12.92	-0.13	BankMontreal	BMO	97.68	-0.34	Comcast B	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast C	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
Aflac	AFL	107.36	-1.04	BankNY Mellon	BK	82.64	0.22	Comcast C	CMCSA	36.01	0.26	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast D	CMCSB	61.86	0.03				
AGNC Inv	AGNC	10.39	0.04	BarclaysScotiabank	BSC	16.06	0.45	Comcast D	CMCSA	36.01	0.26	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast E	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AlamosGold	AG	25.84	0.01	BarrickGold	BGS	19.33	0.15	Comcast E	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast F	CMCSB	61.86	0.03				
Albermarle	ALB	78.50	-0.84	BaxterInternational	BAX	34.51	-0.34	Comcast F	CMCSA	36.01	0.26	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast G	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
Albertsons	ACI	22.02	0.09	BeckmanDix	BDX	232.12	4.29	Comcast G	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast H	CMCSB	61.86	0.03				
Alcoa	AA	39.97	-0.82	BellGene	ONE	261.38	-0.92	Comcast H	CMCSA	36.01	0.26	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast I	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AlexandriaReal	ARE	98.39	-1.13	BellRising	BRBR	68.41	-0.82	Comcast I	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast J	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
Alibaba	BABA	142.74	-4.83	BentleySystems	BSY	41.94	-0.49	Comcast J	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast K	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AlignTech	ALGN	164.53	-5.06	BerkHathaway	BKH	723.14	-127.01	Comcast K	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast L	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
Allergan	ALG	127.98	0.61	BerkHathaway	BKRA	52.14	0.13	Comcast L	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast M	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AlliantEnergy	ALL	63.35	-0.18	BerryGlobal	BERY	71.09	0.55	Comcast M	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast N	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AllisonTransm	ALIS	97.55	0.25	BestBuy	BBY	73.13	-0.64	Comcast N	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast O	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
Altiltate	ALT	205.34	-4.76	BillBili	BLI	21.60	-0.68	Comcast O	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast P	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AllyFinancial	ALLY	24.70	0.25	Bio-Techne	TECH	62.83	0.25	Comcast P	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast Q	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AllyanPharm	ALNY	244.30	-8.81	Biogen	BIO	143.09	-0.45	Comcast Q	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast R	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
Alphabet A	GOOG	160.67	-3.62	BioMarinPharm	BMRN	71.52	-0.03	Comcast R	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast S	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
Alphabet C	GOOGL	160.67	-3.62	BioNTech	BLTX	89.36	-1.90	Comcast S	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast T	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AltairEng	ALT	111.44	0.02	Bristow	BRK	95.62	0.62	Comcast T	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast U	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
Altira	AMN	58.34	-0.56	Blackstone	BSX	146.19	-1.59	Comcast U	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast V	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
Amazon.com	AMZN	232.82	-2.92	Block	XYZ	99.65	1.00	Comcast V	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast W	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
Ambev	AMBEV	9.85	0.03	BlueNovaCapital	OWN	19.83	-0.05	Comcast W	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast X	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
Amcor	AMC	9.92	0.08	Boeing	BA	161.57	-0.28	Comcast X	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast Y	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
Amcords	AMC	9.92	0.08	Booking	BKNG	44.51	-91.88	Comcast Y	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast Z	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerSports	ASE	28.30	-0.20	BouziAllen	BAL	116.52	1.18	Comcast Z	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AA	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
Ameren	AEE	99.85	-0.88	BostonMys	BSM	99.20	-0.09	Comcast AA	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AB	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmericanMovi	AMV	14.33	-0.15	BristisAmToB	BTI	41.26	-0.58	Comcast AB	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AC	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AEP	AEP	105.99	0.93	BrimmoPart	BRP	26.05	0.10	Comcast AC	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AD	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmericanExpre	AXP	262.72	-1.66	Broadcom	AVGO	186.67	-5.83	Comcast AD	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AE	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmericanFin	AFM	137.44	-1.26	BrookfieldFin	BFI	23.13	-0.24	Comcast AE	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AF	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmHomeRes	AHM	65.15	-0.15	BrookfieldAsset	BAM	48.48	0.54	Comcast AF	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AG	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AIG	AIG	84.04	0.14	Brookfield	BRO	52.16	0.38	Comcast AG	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AH	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrookfieldInt	BRN	28.62	-0.28	Comcast AH	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AI	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrookfieldReal	BRT	27.22	0.28	Comcast AI	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AJ	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrookfieldW	BWC	28.62	-0.28	Comcast AJ	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AK	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast AK	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AL	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast AL	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AM	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast AM	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AN	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast AN	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AO	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast AO	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AP	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast AP	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AQ	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast AQ	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AR	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast AR	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AS	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast AS	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AT	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast AT	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AU	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast AU	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AV	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast AV	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AW	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast AW	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AX	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast AX	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AY	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast AY	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast AZ	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast AZ	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast BA	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast BA	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast BB	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast BB	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast BC	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast BC	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast BD	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast BD	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast BE	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast BE	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast BF	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB	119.19	-0.99	Comcast BF	CMCSB	61.86	0.03	ConiferSystems	FIX	239.30	-7.05	BankKey	KEY	82.64	0.22	Comcast BG	CMCSA	36.01	0.26				
AmerWaterWtr	AWW	214.87	-2.18	BrownForman	BFB																						

HEARD_{ON THE} STREET

FINANCIAL ANALYSIS & COMMENTARY

Apple Could Stay in AI Penalty Box

Hype propelled stock’s valuation during a weak iPhone cycle, making news of Siri delay extra costly

Apple could really use some of Steve Jobs’s famous reality distortion field right about now.

For the world’s most-valuable company, a couple of pieces of reality have been clear for a while: Its current iPhone cycle is weak, with revenue from that product line up only 1.6% from a year earlier in the last six months of 2024. And despite weakness in the business that accounts for more than half of the company’s revenue, Apple’s stock has been a star—outperforming most of its megacap tech peers over the past 12 months and until recently carrying a valuation premium to all of them.

But that premium has taken a hit over the past week following reports that Apple is delaying the rollout of significant artificial-intelligence enhancements to its Siri voice assistant. This “more personalized Siri” would have access to on-device data across multiple apps and would thus be key to delivering a truly AI iPhone. These features were widely expected to be included in the new iOS update to be unveiled at the company’s Worldwide Developers Conference in June, especially since Apple previewed some of them at last year’s conference.

But in a statement on March 7, an Apple representative said “it’s going to take us longer than we thought to deliver on these features,” adding the company expects to roll them out “in the coming year.” That leaves open the possibility that the AI-enhanced Siri upgrade might not come out until early 2026.

That admission curbed expectations of a major AI boost for the new iPhones launching this fall. “The delayed rollout of a more-advanced Siri means Apple will have fewer features to accelerate iPhone upgrade rates in FY26,” Morgan Stanley analyst Erik Woodring wrote in a report last week, referring to the fiscal year that ends in September of next year. That finally took some wind out of the stock; Apple’s shares slid nearly 11% last week in the worst weekly drop the stock has seen



Apple’s valuation premium has taken a hit after reports of the company is delaying in Siri’s AI enhancements.

since late 2022, according to FactSet data. That is also far worse than other megacap tech stocks fared in last week’s tariff-induced selloff.

The funk may linger for a while. Apple typically says little about its products and software until it is ready to release them, and the company often saves its major software announcements for its June conference. Without an AI boost, this year’s iPhone lineup may need some other sort of enhancement to ignite sales. That is possible, as the company is reportedly planning a thinner design for this year’s models. But that won’t be evident until its annual iPhone unveiling that typically happens in early September.

The news flow before then may not help much either. According to a report by Bloomberg on Friday, the Apple executive overseeing Siri delivered some rather stark

Apple’s share price as a multiple of forward earnings, past 12 months



comments to his team in an all-hands meeting, calling the delays embarrassing. Apple was already contending with a perception that

it is playing catch-up in AI; Jefferies analyst Edison Lee downgraded the stock to a sell rating in January, citing in part its weak AI offerings. “Even if iPhone has new form factors in the next two years (slim for iPhone 17 and possibly a foldable 18), volume growth will likely be slower if AI takes longer to materialize,” he wrote.

The recent selloff has brought Apple’s share price to a multiple of a little under 28 times this year’s projected earnings. That is about even with its five-year average and more in line with megacap tech peers, which could limit fallout for the stock from here.

But with its AI story still a work in progress and a device business facing the prospect of damaging tariffs, Apple may also have a hard time convincing investors that now is the time to buy in.

—Dan Gallagher

Sarepta Tanks After Patient Death

Worry builds over company’s gene therapy

Shares of **Sarepta Therapeutics** have struggled for the past year due to concerns about the commercial potential of its gene therapy and broader pipeline. Safety hadn’t been a major worry for investors—particularly because the treatment, Elevidys, is for patients already facing a significant threat to their lives: Duchenne muscular dystrophy, a rare genetic disorder.

Yet on Tuesday, Sarepta shares sank 27% after the company reported the death of a young man from acute liver failure following treatment with its gene therapy.

The news was heartbreaking, but not a complete surprise. Liver damage is a known risk of Elevidys and similar gene therapies, and is listed as a possible side effect in the drug’s safety information.

The company noted the patient had a recent infection that the treating physician identified as a possible contributing factor.

Nonetheless, this “could give some physicians further pause when considering whether to start a patient on Elevidys, especially given perceptions of relatively modest clinical benefits,” said Brian Abrahams, an analyst at RBC Capital Markets.

The company said this was the first reported death from liver failure among the more than 800 patients treated in trials or as a prescribed therapy so far. That suggests relatively low chances of fatal complications for those already facing a deadly disease.

With few alternative treatments available, the stock’s sharp decline may be an overreaction, Abrahams said.

Still, this is a serious setback for Sarepta—and for Duchenne patients.

—David Wainer

BUSINESS NEWS

Carr’s Hill Partners Banks Fund To Back Industrial-Services Firms

By LUIS GARCIA

Industrial-focused private-equity firm Carr’s Hill Partners raised \$210 million for its first commingled fund to back services providers in markets across the Gulf Coast, following years of investing on a deal-by-deal basis.

The New Orleans-based firm wrapped up Carr’s Hill Fund I above a \$175 million target and attracted 26 backers, including 12 institutional investors, said Managing Partner David de Lauréal. The firm said it took about nine months to raise the fund.

Carr’s Hill, which de Lauréal founded in 2019, has invested more than \$100 million across four businesses after separately raising capital for each deal, a strategy that enabled the firm to build a record before taking on the time-consuming task of marketing a commingled investment fund to institutional investors.

Businesses backed by the firm included marine-services company Matthews Brothers Dredging in Pass Christian, Miss., and Axis Industries, a La Porte, Texas-based provider of services including scaffolding, fireproofing and coating for customers such as petrochemical plants and power utilities.

The firm invested in waste-hauling company Arrow Waste and compliance-services provider Smart Safety Group, both in Atlanta. Under Carr’s Hill ownership, the four businesses have made a total of nine add-on acquisitions.

“We were able to source investments early on and took advantage of the fact that we didn’t have to undertake a



The firm invested more than \$100 million across four businesses, including Matthews Brothers Dredging in Pass Christian, Miss., after separately raising capital for each deal.

multimonth, potentially multi-year fundraising,” de Lauréal said. “It allowed us to go get those deals done and build a track record and the team within our specific strategy.”

Carr’s Hill focuses on family- or founder-owned businesses that cater to industrial and infrastructure operations and seeks to take advantage of its familiarity with the Gulf region, de Lauréal said. He added it’s easier to expand such businesses compared with those previously owned by larger companies or another private-equity firm. The firm typically looks to back operations with \$5 million to \$15 million in earnings before interest, taxes, depreciation and amortization.

These smaller companies owned by family or founders “frequently provide a great opportunity to professionalize

and invest in many areas of the business—whether equipment, people, systems and processes—to accelerate growth,” he said. “If you buy from another sponsor or a strategic investor, they will probably have already implemented a lot of that growth opportunity.”

The firm benefited from the Gulf region’s rapid growth over the past decade, fueled by a boom in construction of petrochemical plants and terminals to export liquefied natural gas, de Lauréal said. But Carr’s Hill avoids investing in businesses that are too reliant on such trends, concentrating instead on providers of basic services likely to be needed even during economic downturns, he said.

“It’s finding really interesting pockets in the economy down here that are not beholden to or predicated on

some more short-term or cyclical uplift,” he said. “We would struggle to own a business that relied on another LNG plant being built.”

Carr’s Hill is wrapping up its first fund as investors concentrate on larger sponsors, adding to the difficulties of raising first-time funds. Virtually all, or 98%, of the \$401 billion that buyout funds raised worldwide last year went to experienced fund managers, according to consulting firm Bain & Co. Starting with making deals as an independent sponsor, as Carr’s Hill did, has grown popular as a precursor strategy for firms that plan to raise debut funds.

De Lauréal said Carr’s Hill could have raised more money for its new fund but decided that a larger vehicle would foster risks of straying from its strategy.

Investor Group Scores Huge Return in Poppi

By MARIA ARMENTAL

The \$1.95 billion sale of prebiotic soda brand Poppi to soft drink and snack foods giant **PepsiCo** will pay off in a big way for a group of consumer-packaged-goods investors.

The Angel Group—a syndicate of sector operators, investors and consultants—scored a return of 88 times the \$105,000 it invested in Poppi in 2020 at a \$22 million valuation, said founding member Adam Spriggs.

The deal marks the second home-run exit of an early Angel Group investment to PepsiCo, Spriggs said. The group notched a 110-fold return on invested capital by exiting its investment in tortilla-chip maker Siete Foods through the company’s sale to PepsiCo for \$1.2 billion, Spriggs said.

The Poppi deal includes an earnout provision, so PepsiCo may pay more if Poppi hits certain performance milestones within a specified period after the deal closes.

“These deals are showing that if you invest early enough, like we do at the Angel Group, there can be really, really lucrative returns,” Spriggs said.

He and two other group members are raising a \$30 million venture-capital fund that targets early stage investments totaling a quarter of the fund, with checks ranging from \$250,000 to \$500,000. Later investments from the vehicle are expected to draw as much as \$1 million to \$1.25

million, Spriggs said.

Poppi founders Allison Ellsworth and Stephen Ellsworth created the soda in their kitchen. Later they appeared on the “Shark Tank” television show and secured backing from Rohan Oza, a co-founder and managing partner at CAVU Consumer Partners and a guest judge during that episode of the show.

Later investors included growth-equity firms such as Constellation Capital in New York and Access Capital in Dallas as well as celebrities, including singers Post Malone and Billie Eilish, actress Olivia Munn and entrepreneur and reality star Kylie Jenner.

Sales of sugary sodas have gone flat as consumers opt for drinks claiming to support digestive health, such as prebiotics like Poppi. Sodas such as Poppi and competitor Olipop contain dietary fibers that feed bacteria already living in our systems, while probiotics put new microbes in the gut.

Spriggs, who had invested \$25,000 in Poppi with his wife, Alex Ruman, almost five years ago said the timing of the sale to PepsiCo was ideal.

“There’s this kind of new tidal wave of M&A activity happening in CPG, and especially within beverage,” he said, citing recent consumer packaged goods deals including the sale of flavored seltzer maker Spindrift Beverage to private-equity firm Gryphon Investors.

—Denny Jacob contributed to this article.