## The Netw Hork Times Upork Times Upork Times Upork Upor

VOL. CLXXI ... No. 59,488

A new icon in the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv depicts a 17th-century Cossack commander.

The battered Central House of Culture in Irpin, a Kyiv suburb. Every war imperils cultural beritage.

## Culture War. With Bombs And Missiles

Ukraine Identity and Heritage Are at Risk

KYIV, Ukraine — At the thou-sand-year-old Cathedral of St. Sophia here, standing on an easel in front of a towering Baroque golden altar, is a new, freshly

ics that have glinted since the sorption into Poland, its domina tion by the Soviet Union.

No gold. No gemstones. This icon has been painted on three planks of knotty wood: the lanks, I learn, of an ammunition ox recovered from the devastatnox recovered from the devastat-ed Kyiv suburb of Bucha. Out of Bucha's mass graves, in the wake of terrifying Russian atroctities against civilians, something new

against civilians, something new has come to St. Sophia: an image of mourning and resolve, of horror and courage, of a culture that will not give up. Why would a critic go into a war zone? Why should anyone care about a pointing when cruise missiles are overthead? ruise missiles are overhead? ecause "this is a war about ftural identity," said the cura ter Leonid Maruschak - ene e scholars I've met here who make vival of Ukraine's people and land and the survival of its history and ideas. With Russia actively trying to erase Ukraine's national identity, this country's

monuments are not recreation They are battlefields. The true

Every war endangers cultural heritage. Walk through Ryiv or Lviv today, and on every other Continued on Page A7

#### Ukraine's Army Pays Heavy Toll For Small Wins

By CARLOTTA GALL

DONETSK PROVINCE, Ukraine lier. Nearby, the commander of a ishing his lunch of pasta from a tir bowl. As more incoming shells exploded in the fields, his men tool

cover in their businers.

Life on the front lines in the
eastern Donetsk region has soen
little letup in recent weeks.

Ukrainian soldlers serving there
say they live under almost constant Russian artillery and aerial
bombardment. The fields and
bombardment around them are arred and smoldering. Their days and nights are interspersed ith the sharp bangs of outgoing

nition." Grad, meaning hail, is the

miscarriage in the first trimester of her pregnancy. At a large hospi-tal, a doctor performed a surgical procedure often used as a safe and quick method to remove tissue from a failed pregnancy. She awoke from anesthesia to find a card signed by the nurses and a little pink and blue bracelet with a butterfly charm, a gift from

By PAM BELLUCK

Last year, a 35-year-old weman samed Amanda, who lives in the

Dallas-Fort Worth area, had a miscarriage in the first trimester

the hospital to express compassion for her loss. "It was so sweet because it's such a hard thing to go through," Amanda said.

Eight months later, in January, Amanda, who asked to be identi-fied by her first name to protect her privacy, experienced another

Some Women Are Left Bleeding and in Pain by Wary Hospitals

When Miscarriages Collide With Abortion Law

A performance at Closer, one of the clubs that made Kyiv a nightlife capital before the war's curfews

said she went to the same hospi-tal, Bayler Scott & White Medical Center, doubled over in pain and ming as she passed a large

rettage, or D&C, she said the hos

A D&C is the same procedure

Following the reversal of Roe v ing bans or sharp restrictions on abortion. While the laws are technically intended to apply only to abortions, some patients have reported hurdles receiving standard for the loss of desired pregnan-

Amanda said the hospital didn't her home with instructions to re-turn only if she was bleeding so excessively that her blood filled a diaper more than once an hour. Hospital records that Amanda shared with The New York Times noted that her embryo had no car-

Climate Crisis Fades as Worry For U.S. Voters

Inflation and Pandemic Sap Energy to Fight

By JONATHAN WEISMAN and JAZMINE ULLOA

Summers in Maricona Coun Summers in Mericopa Count Ariz., have become at times u berarable, Kyle Hawkinson said o Friday. Smog and haze hung hea ily over Phoenix, and residen were bracing for fire season, who

said. As for voting in November, when the Arizona governor's mansion and one of the state's Senate seats are on the line 'that's going to be a big maybe; e said, adding: "Climate chang is always going to be a problem That's just a given. Honestly, there's only so much our leaders

News on Thursday that even a tripped-down compromise to adress a warming planet appea o be dead was greeted in Wash ocrats, some accusing Senator Joe
Manchin III, Democrat of West
Vegnino, of doorning humen life on
Earth. Representative Pramila
Jayapal, Democrat of Washingson
no thing short of catastrophic."
But an electorate already struggling with inflation, exhausted by
Covid and adjusting to tection
changes like the end to constitutionally protected abortions may

why climate change remains as atic action or for those standi

in the way.
\*People are exhausted by the sioned by the government," said paign director for Greenpea USA, the environmental gro known for its everrilla tactics but

We have to make them see it's not townstrone problem."
The evidence that a climate crisis well underway appears to be received by the control of the control

College poll named climate change as the most important is-sue facing the country, far behind

## BLAME IS SPREAD TO MORE AGENCIES IN UVALDE ATTACK

Bannon

odds at

faces long

short trial

Judge limits former Trump adviser's

contempt defenses

right wing podcaster Stephen K. Bannon promised the contempt of

Congress charges against him would become a "misdemeanor from hell" for the Biden adminis-

tration, but after judicial ruling

against his proposed defense, le-gal experts said his trial set to start Monday could be more of a quick

At a recent hearing that left

At a recent nearing that sett Bannon's legal strategy in tatters, his lawyer David Schoen asked U.S. District Judge Carl J. Nichols,

replied simply: "Agreed."
The exchange was a remarkable comedown for the combative, bombastic Bannon team that live-streamed his declaration, "we're

taking down the Biden regime" as he surrendered to the FRI in late

flouted the House committee probing the Jan. 6 insurrection.

The judge's response was a law-yerly way of urging Bannon to seek a plea deal with the government,

rather than face long odds at a short trial, said Randall Eliason, a George Washington University law professor and former federal

to a trial, but usually if you go to

trial there's some kind of legal or factual dispute that needs to be resolved," Eliason said. "The judge's point is, there aren't really

any here. ... In those instances

file and politically significant, is a legal rarity. Over the past four

lecades - even when Congress SEE BANNON ON AA

on's case, while high pro

guilty plea.

replied simply: "Agreed."

trip through court.

TEXAS PANEL'S REPORT

'Egregious' Decisions and a Lack of Leadership Delayed Action

and EDGAR SANDOVAL

HOUSTON — The first compre sive assessment of the law en ement response to the deadly oand that blame for the failure to lice chief, but also with the scores of state and federal officers who

ool inadequately secured and mired in confusion and bad info

to the school that day. Yet the deci-sion to finally confront the gun man was made by a small group o officers, including specially trained Border Patrol agents and



The findings represented the

The manager of the state of the ities between when the gunnian segan firing inside the classrooms and when the police finally tormed in and ended the May 24 tormed in and ended the May 24 massocre that left 19 students and we teachers dead.

But the report found that a flaw-

his 18th birthday to purchase the

### For Monkeypox Patients, Pain Is Brutal and Care Is Lacking

By SHARON OTTERMAN

Although he was covered with calls, and then five hours in a

than a week. The call never came. He spent the next eight days ne spent une neut cigiri days
alone in his apartimente in what he like intere this inscompetence. It
described as excruciating pain,
trying to find seneone to prescribe him pain medication and a
hard-to-access antiviral drug.

Turberstand that this is new—
but it is urgent, sed blie. Moralmed
to Page A23

As time passed, the disorgani-zation in the public health response disturbed him more and brief Merales to be tested to use montheyper virus earlier this month. And that was just the be-ginning of his wait.

# The Washington Post

## Uvalde report absolves no one

400 OFFICERS FAILED TO LEAD RESPONSE

Unclear if more lives could've been saved

BY ARELIS R. HERNÁNDEZ AND HOLLY BAILEY

on the May 24 mass shooting inside a Uvalde, Tex., elementary school spread blame across ev reement agency respond ing to the attack, faulting local police for mistakes and more

were at the scene that day, includ ing 91 state troopers - none of whom moved to lead the response, the Texas House investi-gative report said. The school district police chief, Pedro "Pete" Arredondo, wrote its active protocol he had set up, the repor

whether lives could have been saved with a swifter response, bu

it left open the possibility.
"The void of leadership could have contributed to the loss of life continued to sporadically fire hi weapon," the 77-page report says. Rather than isolate blame or Arredondo, as Texas Departmen of Public Safety Director Steven C. McCraw had after the shooting the report casts a broader net o lity over "the entirety

SEE UVALUE ON A

## California's new gold rush

Firms seeking to reopen mines and explore again are resisted by environmentalists

BY SCOTT WILSON

here the Sacramento Valley steepens into the Sierra Nevada, Susan Love found a home with big windows and pine-forest views. It was the house she shared appily with her husband before his death.
The surroundings, though, are changing.

A long-dormant gold mine within view of her front garden is showing signs of life. Once the second-highest-producing gold mine in the nation, the Idaho-Maryland Mine is again in the sights of prospectors, this time a Nevada-based company proposing to reopen it in this place born more than a century and a

half ago in a rush of gold. half ago in a rush of gold.

There is still a lot of gold in these hills and a lot of money at stake. But across California, a strong environmental ethos and, in many sharply at odds with the



ABOVE: Members of the Nevada County co ireds of responders from

## In Somalia, the deadly power of a resurgent al-Shabab

BY SUBARSAN RAGHAVAN

n the predawn hours, the militants of al-Shabab attacked the peacekeepers' base from every direction with lethal

Suicide bombers detonated three cars filled with explosives. Islamist fighters then pounded the facility with heavy gun-fire and rocket-propelled grenades, killing several dozen African Union peacekeepers from Burundi. Footage posted on social media showed bodies in military uniforms scattered around the base.

"The Burundians were caught unaware," said Sadaq Mokhtar Abdulle, a Somal arliament member representing the village of El Baraf, where the base was located. y were killed in cold blood. And the

The May 2 assault claimed more than 50 lives, according to local officials and Western security personnel in Somalia, making it the deadliest strike on the U.S.-backed peacekeeping mission here in six years. Its



"We are not afraid of al-Shabah," said Somali Lt. Col. Ahmed Abduliahi Nuur, who

## Covid vaccines for kids are hard to find in Fla.

Many parents blame DeSantis for refusing to preorder, distribute them

BY LORI ROZSA

WEST PALM BEACH, FLA. infants and young children were authorized for the first time last month, Florida Gov. Ron DeSan tis warned parents against the "baby jabs," saying regulators had done insufficient testing and

Still, he said he wouldn't stand to choose," he assured them.

struggling to find places to vacci-nate their children, and they blame DeSantis — noting he was the only governor to refuse to preorder the vaccines, and to prohibit county health departministering the shots. Waitlists at pediatricians' offices stretch for weeks. Doctors' offices that have managed to get doses are fielding calls from parents hun-dreds of miles away. Families debate road trips to neigh states in the hope of finding shot for their kids.
"We heard that [the vaccine

was coming, and we were super excited. We saw a chance for some normalcy," said Tamps mom Ashley Comegys, whose I year-old and 4-year-old sons are