

Push in Europe
For Pitching In
To Aid Ukraine

Obstacles to Mustering
Peacekeeping Effort

By MARK LANDLER
and JEANNA SMIALEK

LONDON — Britain and France have promised to muster a “coalition of the willing” to secure a peace agreement between Ukraine and Russia. Now comes the acid test for Europe: How many countries will step up, and does that even matter, given Russia’s rejection of such a coalition as part of any settlement?

Prime Minister Keir Starmer of Britain left those questions unanswered as he bade farewell to fellow leaders after a summit meeting in London on Sunday. He conceded that “not every nation will feel able to contribute,” though he expressed optimism that several would and that this would send a signal to President Trump that Europe was ready to “do the heavy lifting.”

Drawing Mr. Trump back into the process is as important as the mission and scope of a European coalition, analysts say. For the moment, the United States appears determined to strike a deal with President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia over the heads of Europe and Ukraine, and without any security guarantees.

Mr. Starmer presented his coalition of the willing as one of multiple steps that included continued military aid for Ukraine to improve its position on the battlefield, a seat at the table for Kyiv in any peace negotiation and further help with its defensive capabilities after a settlement. That is where the coalition would come in.

In addition to Britain and France, northern European countries like Denmark and the Netherlands seem obvious candidates to take part. Both have been strong financial supporters of Ukraine’s war effort and are NATO members who contributed to other security campaigns, like the one in Afghanistan. Germany is the second-largest contributor of military and other aid to Ukraine, after the United States.

But each country faces political and economic hurdles, such as the need to pass specific parliamentary measures in the Netherlands and the lack of a new government in Germany after recent elections. Denmark’s prime minister, Mette

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Clockwise from top: A Ukrainian drone team in the Donetsk region in 2023; sea drones designed and run by Ukraine’s military intelligence service; and Ukrainians training with land drones last month.

Drones Define a Deadlier Phase of Ukraine’s War

This article is by Marc Santora, Lara Jakes, Andrew E. Kramer, Marco Hernandez and Liubov Sholudko.

When a mortar round exploded on top of their American-made Bradley infantry fighting vehicle, the Ukrainian soldiers inside were shaken but not terribly worried, having been hardened by artillery shelling over three years of war.

But then the small drones started to swarm.

They targeted the weakest points of the armored Bradley with a deadly precision that mor-

Cheap, Easy to Build,
and Inflicting About
70% of Casualties

tar fire doesn’t possess. One of the explosive drones struck the hatch right above where the commander was sitting.

“It tore my arm off,” recounted Jr. Sgt. Taras, the 31-year-old commander who, like others, used his first name in accordance with Ukrainian military protocols.

Scrambling for a tourniquet,

Sergeant Taras saw that the team’s driver had also been hit, his eye blasted from its socket.

The two soldiers survived. But the attack showed how an ever-evolving constellation of drones — largely off-the-shelf technologies that are being turned into killing machines at breakneck speed — made the third year of war in Ukraine deadlier than the first two years combined, according to Western estimates.

Drones, not the big, heavy artillery that the war was once known for, inflict about 70 percent of all Russian and Ukrainian casualties,

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Israel and Hamas on Dual Track,
Considering Both Peace and War

By ADAM RASGON
and IYAD ABUHEWEILA

JERUSALEM — When the cease-fire agreement between Israel and Hamas was announced in January, Israelis and Palestinians burst into simultaneous celebrations, optimistic after 15 months of war.

Now, with the first phase of the deal over and Israel introducing an entirely new proposal that Hamas has already rejected, concern is rising that the fighting that reduced Gaza to rubble, killed tens of thousands of Palestinians and threatened the lives of hostages could resume.

As the cease-fire teeters, both Hamas and Israel are pursuing two paths, one diplomatic and another military.

On the diplomatic front, Hamas is insisting on the implementation of the second phase of the original agreement, which calls for an end to the war, a full Israeli withdrawal from Gaza and the release of more hostages and prisoners.

Israel, though, has made a new proposal for a seven-week extension of the current cease-fire, during which Hamas would be required to release half the remain-

Netanyahu’s New Offer
Rejected as Deal for
Cease-Fire Lapses

ing living hostages as well as the remains of half the deceased ones. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel on Sunday attributed the proposal to the work of President Trump’s Middle East envoy, Steve Witkoff.

For weeks, Israel has been sending signals that it wasn’t interested in moving forward with the second phase of the agreement. While the two sides agreed to it in principle, they never worked out the details and have staked out irreconcilable visions.

Mr. Netanyahu has said repeatedly that Hamas’s government and military wing must be dismantled, a position shared by his right-wing coalition partners in the government. Hamas has suggested it was willing to give up civilian governance of Gaza but has firmly rejected dissolving its military wing, a critical source of its power in the enclave.

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A Firm Grip on Stardom
The film “Anora” and its lead actress, Mikey Madison, above, were big winners at the Academy Awards on Sunday. Page C1.

China’s Silence
In Trade Feud
Conveys Plenty

Beijing Trying to Grasp
What Trump Wants

By ANA SWANSON
and ALEXANDRA STEVENSON

When President Trump threatened tariffs on Canada, Mexico and China in January, saying those countries needed to do more to stop the flow of drugs and migrants into the United States, Canadian and Mexican officials raced to Washington, bearing charts and videos detailing their efforts to toughen their borders.

Canada created a “fentanyl czar” and committed fresh resources to combating organized crime, while Mexico dispatched troops to the border and delivered cartel operatives into U.S. custody. As a result, Mr. Trump paused tariffs on America’s North American neighbors for 30 days.

China never made these kinds of overtures and, in Mr. Trump’s view, did not take any big moves to stop the flow of fentanyl into the United States. So on Feb. 4, Mr. Trump moved forward with imposing a 10 percent tariff on all Chinese imports. Last week, the president said that on March 4 he would add another 10 percent on top of all existing Chinese tariffs.

Mr. Trump is moving quickly to transform the U.S.-China trade relationship. The Chinese are moving much more cautiously and deliberately as they try to assess Mr. Trump and determine what it is he actually wants from China. Some of Mr. Trump’s advisers, including Treasury Secretary Scott Bessent and Secretary of State Marco Rubio, have held calls with their Chinese counterparts. But a call between Mr. Trump and Xi Jinping, China’s leader, has failed to materialize.

The situation underscores the quandary for foreign leaders in dealing with a president as unpredictable and unconventional as Mr. Trump, who is making substantial changes to trade terms with little advance notice or preparation.

The Chinese do not want to initiate a conversation because they do not want to be seen as pleading, and are wary of offering concessions before they understand the parameters of the debate, people familiar with the discussions said. Instead, Chinese officials, academics and others close to the

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25% TARIFFS SET
TO HIT MEXICANS
AND CANADIANS

ANOTHER 10% ON CHINA

U.S. Industries Scramble
as Trump Says Fees
Begin Tuesday

This article is by Ana Swanson, Simon Romero and Ian Austen.

WASHINGTON — President Trump said Monday that sweeping tariffs on Canada and Mexico would go into effect on Tuesday, stating in remarks at the White House that there was no chance for a last-minute deal to avert the levies.

“The tariffs, you know, they’re all set,” Mr. Trump said. “They go into effect tomorrow.”

Mr. Trump has proposed adding a 25 percent fee on all Mexican and Canadian exports coming across those borders and an additional 10 percent for Chinese goods, beginning just after midnight Tuesday, saying those countries have not done enough to stem the flow of drugs and migrants into the United States.

The move will increase the levies that the United States charges on foreign goods to levels not seen at least since the 1940s, and is likely to shatter regional supply chains and raise the cost of products ranging from automobiles to breast pumps and vegetables.

The tariffs are also expected to further deteriorate the U.S. relationship with its two closest neighbors, whose economies are stitched together across North America. Leaders from Canada and Mexico have been scrambling to convince Mr. Trump to change his mind by devoting more resources to policing the border.

Canada, Mexico and China account for more than 40 percent of U.S. imports, and economists have said that stiff tariffs could send the Canadian and Mexican economies into a recession.

Mr. Trump’s announcement sent stock markets tumbling, with the S&P 500 falling 1.8 percent, its worst one-day drop so far this year.

“So much for tariffs being just bluster and a bargaining tool,” said Eswar Prasad, a professor of trade policy at Cornell University. “U.S. trading partners are clearly

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Alarm That Kennedy’s Stance
On Measles Sounds Too Feeble

By TEDDY ROSENBLUTH

In a first test of the Trump administration’s ability to respond to an infectious disease emergency, its top health official has shied from one of the government’s most important tools, experts said on Sunday: loudly and directly encouraging parents to have their children vaccinated.

Robert F. Kennedy Jr., the health secretary, was widely criticized as minimizing the measles outbreak in West Texas at a cabinet meeting on Wednesday. In a social media post on Friday, he took a new tack, saying that the outbreak was a “top priority” for his department, Health and Human Services.

He noted various ways in which the department is aiding Texas, among them by funding the state’s immunization program and updating advice that doctors give children vitamin A.

But on neither occasion did Mr. Kennedy himself advise Americans to make sure their children got the shots. On Sunday night, he edged closer in an opinion piece for Fox News.

Mr. Kennedy acknowledged that vaccines “protect individual

Outbreak Is Met With
No Explicit Directive
to Be Vaccinated

children from measles” and urged parents to talk with their doctors “to understand their options to get the MMR vaccine.”

“The decision to vaccinate is a personal one,” he added.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, part of H.H.S., did not send its first substantive notice about the outbreak until Thursday, almost a month after the first cases in Texas were reported.

“They’ve been shouting with a whisper,” said Dr. Michael Osterholm, an epidemiologist at the University of Minnesota and a former health department official.

“I fear that their hands have been tied,” he added.

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BEING SAFE With outbreaks spreading, it’s wise to check your vaccination status. PAGE D6

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When Vesuvius Blew Its Top
Almost 2,000 years on, scholars still don’t agree on the day the destruction of Pompeii began. PAGE D3

A Key to the Ocean Food Web
Scientists are studying how plankton support life on Earth. Below, zooplankton under a microscope. PAGE D8



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Error-Filled Quest to Cut
For the second time in a week, Elon Musk’s government overhaul effort updated its “wall of receipts,” removing mistakes inflating its success. PAGE A16

Meet the Trans Troops
Transgender service members say their military experience has looked nothing like the portrayal of them by the Trump administration. PAGE A18

A Blue Ghost on the Moon
A robotic lander from a Texas start-up set down on the moon’s surface, becoming the second privately built spacecraft to make a soft landing there. PAGE A20

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A Shift on Cyberoperations
Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth has ordered a halt to offensive cyberoperations against Russia, apparently part of an effort to ease peace talks. PAGE A10

Vast Military in Disarray
Congo’s army, long known for corruption and abuse, is struggling against the much smaller M23 militia. PAGE A4

Oldest Holocaust Survivor
Rose Gironé, 113, was forced into a Jewish ghetto in Shanghai. But she’d often say, “Aren’t we lucky?” PAGE B11

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Surprised to Be Staying
Ryan Helsley, a closer who’s a free agent after this season, hasn’t been part of the Cardinals’ cost-cutting. PAGE B8

Performing With Heavy Hearts
Many stars came out for a benefit to honor young figure skaters who died in a midair collision on Jan. 29. PAGE B6



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Not a Coder? A.I. Can Help.
A New York Times columnist explains how he has been creating his own software tools. The Shift. PAGE B1

Government Bond Yields Fall
Investors’ gloom about economic growth appears to be driving down the 10-year Treasury yield. PAGE B1

Julian Brave NoiseCat PAGE A23

