cold, high 39. **Tonight**, mainly clear, not as cold, low 32. **Tomorrow**, some

sun, turning cloudy, much milder, high 51. Weather map, Page D8.

\$4.00

VOL. CLXXIV No. 60,447 © 2025 The New York Times Company MONDAY, MARCH 3, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

Sam Runyon, a nurse, visited Cora Perkins in Mingo County, W.Va. Her caseload reflects a rise in chronic disease in the United States.

House by House, She Steels for Grim Battle With Chronic Illness

By ELI SASLOW

Sam Runyon navigated to the house by memory as she reviewed her patient's file, a "problem list" of medications and chronic diseases that went on for several pages. Sam, a 45-year-old nurse, had already seen Cora Perkins survive two types of cancer.

During previous appointments, she had found Cora's arms turning blue from diabetes, or her ankles swollen from congestive heart failure, or her stomach cramping from hunger with no fresh food left in the house. It had been a week since Sam's last visit, and she wondered if anyone had come

Migrant Area,

Once Vibrant,

By LUIS FERRE-SADURNI

corner from Corona Plaza, the

beating heart of one of New York

City's largest Latin American

neighborhoods, fell quiet in the

days after President Trump was

The restaurant's Mexican wait-

ress, who is undocumented, witnessed federal immigration authorities arrest someone a few blocks from the plaza, and now

limits her time outside, afraid that being on the street leaves her more vulnerable to immigration

agents. She dwells on the incident as she stares at empty tables once packed with immigrant families and construction workers.

Across the street, sales have

plummeted at a Colombian bak-

ery. The shop used to take in about

\$1,600 most mornings, but now

makes about \$900. Workers at the

bakery scour WhatsApp groups

for news of immigration raids in

the neighborhood, even as the

messaging app swirls with misin-

And at the Guatemalan restau-

rant at the edge of the plaza, fewer

customers are dining in, with

sales declining by about half. But

Linda Hernandez, 44, said as she

served a baked tamal to one of

four customers in the 20-seat

restaurant in early February, next

to a sign warning people not to

open their doors to immigration

authorities. "No one wants to sit

Continued on Page A16

"Everyone calls for food now,"

takeout orders have picked up.

formation.

inaugurated.

The taco joint just around the

Stilled by Fear

or gone through the front door

She knocked, but nobody answered. She walked across the porch to a hole in the window and called into the house. "Cora, honey? Are you OK?" A light flickered inside. A dog began to bark. Sam pushed open the door and walked into the living room, where she found Cora wrapped under a blan-

"Sam. Thank God you're here," said Cora, 64.

She tried to stand, but she lost her balance and sat back down in

"It looks like you're wobbly this morning," Sam said. "Are you feel-

A Weary Rural Nurse, and a Nation on a Perilous Path

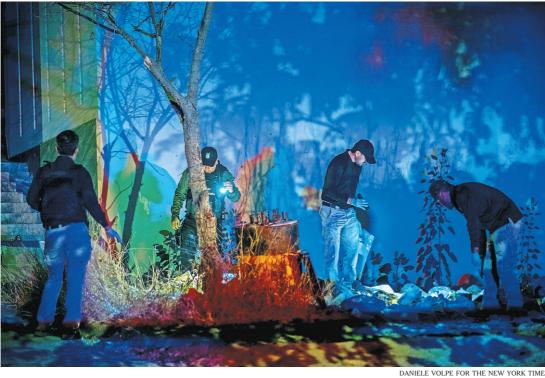
ing really bad or just normal

It was the same question she asked her patients dozens of times each week as she made home visits across West Virginia, traveling from one impending emergency to the next in a country where feeling bad had become the new normal. All 31 patients in her caseload for the Williamson Health and

Wellness Center were under 65 years old, and yet each had at least one of the chronic diseases that had become endemic in the United States over the last two decades: death rates up 25 percent nationally from diabetes, 40 percent from liver disease, 60 percent from kidney disease, 80 percent from hypertension and more than 95 percent from obesity, according to data from the Centers for Disease Control and Preven-

Americans now spend more years living with chronic disease than people in 183 other countries in the World Health Organization

Continued on Page A12



Investigators collecting evidence last month in Sinaloa, the stronghold of a Mexican drug cartel.

Used to Causing Dread, Drug Cartel Now Feels It

By NATALIE KITROEFF and PAULINA VILLEGAS

CULIACÁN, Mexico - One cartel leader says he's trying to figure out how to protect his family in case the American military strikes inside Mexico. Another says he's already gone into hiding, rarely leaving his home. Two young men who produce fentanyl for the cartel say they have shut down all their drug labs.

A barrage of arrests, drug seizures and lab busts by the Mexican authorities in recent months has struck the behemoth Sinaloa Cartel, according to Mexican officials and interviews with six car-

Arrests and Seizures as Mexico and Trump Step Up Pressure

tel operatives, forcing at least some of its leaders to scale back on fentanyl production in Sinaloa state, their stronghold.

The cartels have sown terror across Mexico and caused untold damage in the United States. But here in Culiacán, the state capital. the dynamic seems to be shifting, at least for now. Cartel operatives say they've had to move labs to

other areas of the country or tem-

porarily shut down production. "You can't be calm, you can't even sleep, because you don't know when they'll catch you," said one high-ranking member of the Sinaloa Cartel who, like other cartel operatives, spoke on condition of anonymity for fear of capture.

"The most important thing now is to survive," he added, his hands trembling.

The government crackdown on organized crime intensified after the Trump administration threatened retribution unless Mexico halted the supply of fentanyl into the United States, vowing high

Continued on Page A8

Israel Halts Aid For Gaza to Try To Revise Deal

Proposing to Accelerate Release of Hostages

By ISABEL KERSHNER

JERUSALEM - Israel announced on Sunday that it was immediately halting the entry of all goods and humanitarian assistance into Gaza, trying to force Hamas into accepting a temporary extension of the cease-fire in the

The move disrupts the existing, agreed-upon framework for negotiating a permanent end to the war and puts the fate of the hostages into uncharted territory. The draconian halt on goods and aid, including fuel, is also likely to worsen conditions for the roughly two million inhabitants of Gaza after the 15-month war left much of the coastal enclave in ruins.

The initial six-week phase of the original deal between Israel and Hamas expired on Saturday. Though it was punctured by setbacks and mutual accusations of violations, it ultimately saw a temporary cessation in the fighting and the exchange of 25 living Israeli hostages and the remains of eight dead ones for about 1,500 Palestinian prisoners and detainees. That deal also allowed for a significant increase of aid into

The next phase of the agreement called for a full withdrawal of Israeli troops from Gaza and a commitment to a permanent cease-fire in return for the release of all the remaining living hostages in Gaza, who are being held in inhumane conditions, according to reports from hostages who have been freed.

Instead, hours before it announced the aid stoppage, Israel proposed a seven-week extension of the temporary cease-fire, during which Hamas would have to release half the remaining living hostages as well as the remains of half the deceased ones. Upon conclusion of that extension, if agreement on a permanent cease-fire occurred, all the remaining hostages would have to be released, the office of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said.

"Israel will not allow a ceasefire without the release of our hostages," Mr. Netanyahu's office said in a statement on Sunday. "If Hamas continues its refusal, there will be further consequences," it added.

Hamas immediately rejected the Israeli conditions, issuing a statement on Sunday describing the halt in aid as "cheap blackmail" and "a blatant upending of the agreement." Israel attributed the new pro-

Continued on Page A9

EUROPEANS SEEK PATHWAY TO MEND **U.S.-UKRAINE RIFT**

EMBRACE OF ZELENSKY

To Bring Trump Back, Starmer Urges Allies to Shoulder More

By MARK LANDLER and STEPHEN CASTLE

LONDON — European leaders raced on Sunday to salvage Ukraine's ruptured relationship with the United States, with Britain and France assembling a "coalition of the willing" to develop a plan for ending Ukraine's war with Russia. They hope this effort will win the backing of a skeptical President Trump.

Gathering in London at the invitation of Prime Minister Keir Starmer of Britain, the leaders vowed to bolster support for President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine after his bitter clash with Mr. Trump last week. But several also expressed hope that the two could repair their breach, underscoring Europe's reluctance to



Volodymyr Zelensky, Keir Starmer and Emmanuel Macron in London on Sunday.

cast off a trans-Atlantic alliance that has kept the peace for 80

"We are at a crossroads in history," Mr. Starmer said after the meeting. "Europe must do the heavy lifting," he declared, but added, "To support peace, and to succeed, this effort must have strong U.S. backing."

Mr. Starmer said he believed that despite Mr. Trump's anger toward Mr. Zelensky in the Oval Ofnce on Friday, Mr. Trump was committed to a lasting peace agreement between Ukraine and Russia. He said Britain and France, working with other European countries, would develop their own plan with Mr. Zelensky.

Details of the plan were sketchy, but Mr. Starmer suggested that Continued on Page A6

As Musk Claims Power in U.S., His Mother Is a Hit Overseas

By MARA HVISTENDAHL and JOY DONG

In the past six months, Maye Musk, the mother of Elon Musk, has been to China, Kazakhstan and the United Arab Emirates, visits that come as foreign leaders are jockeying for influence over the Trump administration.

Ms. Musk, 76, has for years traveled the world to model, speak and promote her memoir. But lately she seems to be even more in demand, especially outside the United States. And her celebrity has taken on greater significance now that Mr. Musk has considerable influence over how billions of dollars in military spending and foreign aid will get paid out.

In late 2024, she visited China at least four times to endorse or model for seven brands there, including makeup products, down jackets and massage devices. Her visits were promoted by state media outlets, which in the past have

quoted her calling for improved ties between the United States and China.

In October, three weeks before the U.S. presidential election, she headlined a forum on women in Kazakhstan, where she spoke about her son's success, according to Kazinform, a state news agency

And in January, the week before Donald J. Trump's second inauguration, she was in Dubai, speaking at a government conference on influencers with the former Fox News personality Tucker Carlson. Her talk was titled, "How I Raised Three Amazing Children, Including the Richest Man in the World," according to the state-run Emirates News Agency.

All of these trips were taken after Mr. Musk became a staunch supporter of Mr. Trump's cam-

Continued on Page A10



NATIONAL A11-17

Coast-to-Coast Support

From Maine to California, protesters turned out at 145 national park sites to protest job cuts. PAGE A14

Texas Measles Outbreak

Vaccine hesitancy has been rising for years in the U.S. One rural county is confronting the consequences. PAGE All OBITUARIES A20, B6

Longtime Civil Rights Stalwart

Hazel N. Dukes, 92, was president of the national N.A.A.C.P. in the early 1990s and headed the organization's New York branch since 1977.

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

U.S. Deportees Inspire Lawsuit

Lawyers accused Panama of violating the rights of people deported from the U.S. to Latin American nations. PAGE A4

Honduras to Extradite Man

The case of an immigrant accused of killing an Iowa woman has long been on President Trump's radar. PAGE A9



ARTS C1-6

Step Into Her World

The immersive Laura Owens has it all over the immersive van Gogh in a wildly ambitious show in New York. PAGE C1

The Limits of TV's Influence

Sitcoms imagine a transgender-tolerant society, but with fragmented audiences, can they make one a reality? PAGE C1 **BUSINESS B1-5**

David French

Shop Till You Drop Out

Tired of the constant barrage of marketing pitches, some shoppers are unsubscribing from emails, opting out of texts from brands and sharing the ways that they are curbing spending.

Journalists Under Scrutiny

Voice of America's parent organization placed a staff member on leave after he reported on criticism of President Trump amid concerns about the broad-

caster's editorial independence. PAGE B1

OPINION A18-19





Running Around the World Clark Gamblin, a cancer surgeon and

survivor, found his best self trying to run seven marathons on seven continents in seven days.

