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Taming a Violent Tradition

A young bullfighter in front of the riot police in Mexico City on Tuesday during a protest against a bullfighting ban, which many fiercely opposed. Lawmakers overwhelmingly voted for it. Fights can still take place, but animals cannot be hurt or killed. Page A10.

Penn Targeted
With Defunding
For Trans Policy

By ALAN BLINDER and MICHAEL C. BENDER
The Trump administration said on Wednesday that it would suspend about \$175 million in federal funding to the University of Pennsylvania over its approach to transgender athletes, according to a White House social media account that trumpeted the pause. The move would intensify the government’s campaign against transgender people’s participation in public life and escalate a clash with elite colleges.

The White House’s rapid response account on X said the decision was based on Penn’s “policies forcing women to compete with men in sports.” A person familiar with the decision, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because the administration had not formally announced the pause, confirmed the suspension and cited Penn’s past embrace of Lia Thomas, a transgender woman, as a member of its women’s swim team.

In a statement, Penn said it was “aware of media reports suggesting a suspension of \$175 million in federal funding to Penn” but that it had not “received any official notification or any details” from the government. The university added that it had been, and remained, “in full compliance with the regulations that apply to not only Penn, but all of our N.C.A.A. and Ivy League peer institutions.”

Penn, President Trump’s alma mater, is the second Ivy League university in two weeks to be so explicitly targeted by the administration. The administration announced on March 7 that it was pausing about \$400 million in contracts and grants involving Columbia University, over accusations that it did not do enough to counter antisemitism on campus. Last week, U.S. officials sent Columbia a list of demands that they said needed to be met before negotiations about the canceled funding could begin.

Dozens more schools are facing federal inquiries and are being squeezed by the administration’s broad efforts to cut federal spending.

The administration’s move against Penn, which was first reported by Fox Business, came

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Kennedy Archives Won’t Dispel Fog of Paranoia

On his third day in office in January, President Trump ordered the release of documents from the National Archives related to the assassinations of John F. Kennedy, his brother Robert and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. As Mr. Trump declared on the campaign trail, “It’s been 60 years, time for the American people to know the TRUTH.”

The truth is that nothing in the archives is going to dispel the fog of hypothesis, rumor and speculation that swirls around these

killings. The assassinations of the 1960s — President Kennedy’s in particular — remain the source and paradigm of modern conspiratorial thinking, a style of argument to which the current president is passionately committed. Whatever details emerge now are unlikely to settle the ongoing debates, which are less about what happened in Dallas in 1963 (or Memphis and Los Angeles five years later) than about the character of the American state and the nature of reality itself.

Was Kennedy killed by the Mafia? By the C.I.A.? Was he an

early, liberal victim of what modern conservatism has come to call the Deep State? A lot of people think so, and there may be unanswered questions hovering around his death. But there’s a thin line between skepticism and paranoia, between reasonable guesses and wild invention. The American imagination often gravitates to the far side of that line, and the Kennedy assassination was one of the shocks that pushed us over it.

By 1963, we were already headed in that direction. Suspi-

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10:23 P.M. Late on Dec. 3, President Yoon Suk Yeol stunned South Koreans by declaring martial law.



10:56 P.M. The opposition leader went on YouTube to ask the public to come and block the troops.



12:34 A.M. Resistance by crowds and some officials prevented the arrest of Yoon opponents.



10:30 P.M. The police quickly dispatched officers to the National Assembly to keep lawmakers out.



11:49 P.M. Troops were flown to the Assembly to thwart lawmakers’ efforts to revoke martial law.



12:45 A.M. Parliamentary staff members created barricades to keep troops out of the Assembly.

Martial Law: A Plot’s Making and Unmaking

President Yoon Suk Yeol came close to disabling South Korea’s Parliament with a few hundred troops. But he misjudged the power of his people and the willingness of his army to use force. He now faces criminal charges. PAGES A12-13

President’s Son
Blurs the Lines
In Serbia Visit

Supporting a Leader,
With a Hotel in Play

By ERIC LIPTON

WASHINGTON — The protests against President Aleksandar Vucic of Serbia had been growing in intensity and size when an unusual guest showed up in its capital this month to meet with the embattled European leader: Donald Trump Jr., the oldest son of President Trump.

The quick visit by Mr. Trump, which included a meeting with Mr. Vucic to talk about U.S. foreign aid to Serbia, came as the Trump family and Jared Kushner, the American president’s son-in-law, were moving ahead with plans to build a Trump International Hotel in Belgrade, the first such property in Europe.

The hotel is slated to be built atop the site of the former Yugoslavian Ministry of Defense headquarters, which was bombed by NATO 26 years ago on land now owned by the Serbian government. Opposition leaders in Serbia have criticized the agreement and called for it to be terminated, raising the prospect that the deal could be scuttled in a change of power.

Mr. Trump used the visit as an opportunity to express his support for Mr. Vucic — a trip that offered perhaps the most explicit mixing so far in President Trump’s second term of U.S. foreign policy and the Trump family’s financial interests.

On Wednesday, the Serbian prime minister resigned, effectively bringing down the governing party and forcing Mr. Vucic to form a new government or hold new parliamentary elections later this year, creating more uncertainty.

A spokesman for Donald Trump Jr. dismissed any suggestion that his visit created a conflict of interest. The spokesman said the trip had been driven by a plan to interview Mr. Vucic for Mr. Trump’s podcast, not to step into foreign relations issues or the real estate deal.

“Don hosts one of the biggest political podcasts in the world and was in Serbia strictly in his capacity as a podcast host for an interview,” Andy Surabian, the spokesman, said. “He was in and out of the country in less than eight hours and at no point had any dis-

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ZELENSKY AGREES
TO HALT STRIKES
ON ENERGY SITES

ACCEPTS PUTIN’S OFFER

In Call, Trump Envisions
Ukraine Power Plants
in U.S. Control

This article is by Shawn McCreesh, Michael Crowley and Maria Varenikova.

WASHINGTON — President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine agreed in a Wednesday phone call with President Trump to accept Russia’s offer of a mutual pause in attacks on energy targets for 30 days as a step toward a broader cease-fire.

It was not immediately clear how or when a pause in strikes on certain targets would take hold. “Everything will continue to fly,” Mr. Zelensky said in a later news conference from Finland, until “there is an appropriate document” negotiating terms. He added that Russian drones were in the air in Ukraine as he spoke.

During the call between Mr. Trump and Mr. Zelensky, the American president floated the idea of the United States possibly taking control of Ukrainian power plants, according to an official U.S. statement; it was a new idea that Ukrainian energy experts said was probably unworkable.

Mr. Zelensky later elaborated during his news conference that he felt he faced “no pressure” from Mr. Trump about that idea, saying it was limited to one plant. He added that the call with Mr. Trump was “the most substantive in recent times” and that the list of targets protected from strikes in a partial cease-fire could be expansive.

But any agreement restricted to energy targets between Mr. Zelensky and President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia would leave a wide chasm between their positions on how the war could end. And Mr. Zelensky has characterized some of the Russian leader’s proposals as stalling tactics as he maneuvers for military advantage and the best possible deal from the American president.

A joint statement from Mr. Trump’s national security adviser, Michael Waltz, and the secretary of state, Marco Rubio, said technical teams would meet in Saudi

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American Tourists Journeyed
To Hell and Back in Venezuela

By JULIE TURKEWITZ

The guards wore name tags that read “Hitler” and “Demon” and covered their faces with ski masks. The Americans in the Venezuelan prison were confined to cement cells, beaten, pepper-sprayed and subjected to what one prisoner called “psychological torture.”

Three months into their capture, the Americans were so filled with anger that they rebelled. They banged cell walls and kicked doors, they said, as other prisoners joined in, hundreds of them screaming for freedom until the concrete began to crack.

“Are you with me, my Venezuelans?” one of the prisoners, Gregory David Werber, yelled, a fellow inmate recalled.

“We are with you, gringo!” they yelled back.

Six American prisoners came home from Venezuela in late January, their freedom secured after an unusual and highly public visit by a Trump administration official to Caracas, the capital. Critics said the meeting between Richard Grenell, a special envoy, and Nicolás Maduro, Venezuela’s au-



FERNANDA PINEDA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

David Guillaume, a nurse from Florida, was beaten and jailed for months in Venezuela.

toocrat, gave legitimacy to a leader accused of widespread human rights abuses and stealing a recent election.

Others pointed out that it got the Americans home.

Now free and adjusting to their new lives, three of the former prisoners spoke at length with The New York Times about their detention, providing the most de-

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Turkey Arrests Istanbul Mayor
Opposition officials said the detention of the leading rival of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan was politically motivated. PAGE A4

Lifting Ban Over Forced Labor
A Dominican company partly owned by Trump donors will now be allowed to ship sugar to the United States. PAGE A9

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Greenpeace to Pay for Protests
The group said it may have to shut down after a jury’s large award for damages to a pipeline company. PAGE A21



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A Hit Album Brought to Life
A show inspired by the “Buena Vista Social Club” recording focuses on veterans of Havana’s music scene. PAGE C1

Ready to Play Once Again
After 14 years between albums, Alison Krauss has reconvened Union Station to sing of darkness and light. PAGE C1

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Fed Leaves Rates Unchanged
Federal Reserve officials stick to their previous forecast for two more cuts this year despite bracing for higher inflation and slower growth. PAGE B1

Tariffs Could Hammer Boeing
Aerospace companies are big exporters but also reliant on global supply chains, making them vulnerable. PAGE B1

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Last Battle of Britain Survivor
John A. Hemingway, a Royal Air Force fighter pilot who helped stave off a Nazi Germany invasion, was 105. PAGE B11



THURSDAY STYLES D1-8

When His Focus Was Atop the Head
Bill Cunningham was a milliner before he became a noted style photographer for The New York Times. Eight of his one-of-a-kind hats have now been put up for auction. PAGE D6

Comfy, and Scary, Footwear

Shoes with teeth glaring right at you. Shoes with soles at right angles. Shoes made from two shoes. Shintaro Yamamoto is the fashionable Dr. Frankenstein who is behind them all. PAGE D5

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Women’s Players to Watch
Two Vanderbilt stars are among those who could jump off your screen during the N.C.A.A. tournament. PAGE B7

76 Teams? Not So Fast.

The power conferences want to expand the men’s bracket, but the TV networks aren’t sure about the money. PAGE B6

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Nicholas Kristof PAGE A22

