

Needing Modi,
Gates Is Quiet
On His Faults

Philanthropist Is Close
With India’s Leader

By ANUPREETA DAS
NEW DELHI — In September 2019, Bill Gates presented Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India with an award on behalf of his philanthropic organization, the Gates Foundation, for the Indian leader’s work on improving sanitation. An uproar followed.
Three Nobel Peace Prize laureates wrote to Mr. Gates, arguing that Mr. Modi, who was given the award on the sidelines of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, did not deserve the recognition because democratic and human rights had eroded under his rule. “This is particularly troubling to us, as the stated mission of your foundation is to preserve life and fight inequity,” the laureates wrote.
The outrage did little to deter Mr. Gates and Mr. Modi, who have developed an unusually warm and high-profile relationship in the past decade.
They have met several times, and Mr. Gates has been nothing but complimentary of Mr. Modi. Last year, just before a national election, Mr. Gates sat down with the prime minister for an extended televised exchange that Mr. Modi used to burnish his image as a tech-savvy leader.
The relationship between Mr. Gates and Mr. Modi, according to observers, former foundation employees and critics, yields benefits for both men. Mr. Gates is set to visit India in the coming week, his third visit in three years, and will meet with government leaders and others to discuss India’s innovations and progress.
“This trip will give me a chance to see what’s working, what’s changing and what’s next — for India and the foundation,” Mr. Gates wrote on GatesNotes, his personal blog.
India is central to Mr. Gates’s philanthropic work, which makes it essential for the Gates Foundation to stay on the good side of a government that has cracked down on organizations backed by foreign donors. With the vast number of Indians in dire poverty, global development goals cannot be met without progress in India.

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Executives Get
Tariff Warning:
Better Strap In

This article is by Jonathan Swan, Maggie Haberman and Ana Swan-son.
WASHINGTON — The line fell silent.
In a phone call from the Oval Office, President Trump had just delivered unwelcome news to three of America’s most powerful auto executives: Mary Barra of General Motors, John Elkann of Stellantis and Jim Farley of Ford.
Everyone needs to buckle up, Mr. Trump said on the call, which took place in early March. Tariffs are going into effect on April 2. It’s time for everyone to get on board.
The auto chiefs, like the leaders of other industries, had been arguing that Mr. Trump’s 25 percent tariffs on cars coming from Canada and Mexico would wreak havoc on their supply chains and blow a hole through their industry. They had won a concession of sorts when Mr. Trump agreed to give them a one-month reprieve, until April 2.
But now, the Big Three automaker chiefs seemed to realize there was no point in fighting for more. They had gotten as much as

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PHOTOGRAPHS BY SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Israel’s Newest Military Recruits

Ultra-Orthodox men, once exempt from military service, are being drafted. One of them, Yechiel Wais, top, is an air force mechanic. The draft orders have also drawn resistance, above. Page A6.

Acupuncture for Retired Penguins, but No Bingo



CODY O’LOUGHLIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Boston aquarium made an exclusive island for older penguins.

By AMANDA HOLPUCH
Good etiquette is expected at meal time in the penguin colony, but the diners with the best manners are found on a new, special island for birds of a certain age.
There, geriatric African penguins don’t have to worry about younger birds bombarding the buckets of fish delivered by trainers at the New England Aquarium in Boston.
“They all get a good opportunity to eat and take their time and not feel rushed, not get pushed off the island by another animal that’s anxious to eat,” said Kristen McMahon, the aquarium’s curator of pinnipeds and penguins.
Six seabirds have moved to the island for “retired” penguins since it opened in February. Their relocation is meant to address the large number of penguins at the aquarium who are living well beyond the age they would be expected to reach in the wild. About half of the aquarium’s 40 African penguins are older than the bird’s life expectancy of 10 to 15 years, Ms. McMahon said, and some have doubled it.
The residents of what Ms. McMahon described as a “country club for older animals” are sectioned off from three other islands inhabited by youngsters via a

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Trump Lawyer
Defies a Judge
Over Migrants

Stonewalling on Order
to Halt Deportations

By ALAN FEUER and ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS
WASHINGTON — The Trump administration on Monday repeatedly stonewalled a federal judge seeking answers about whether the government had violated his order barring the deportation of more than 200 noncitizens without due process, escalating a conflict that threatened to become a constitutional crisis.
At a hearing in Federal District Court in Washington, a Justice Department lawyer refused to answer any detailed questions about the deportation flights to El Salvador that took place over the weekend, arguing that President Trump had broad authority to remove the immigrants from the United States under an obscure wartime law known as the Alien Enemies Act.
The tense back-and-forth in court between the judge, James E. Boasberg, and the Justice Department lawyer, Abhishek Kambli, left open the possibility of further conflict down the road.
Judge Boasberg directed Mr. Kambli to inform him by noon on Tuesday exactly what time the government believes his order stopping the deportation flights went into effect, a piece of information that will be crucial as the judge seeks to determine whether the Trump administration had flouted his authority.
The legal battle over the removal of the immigrants was the latest — and perhaps most serious — flashpoint yet between federal courts, which have sought to curb many of Mr. Trump’s recent executive actions, and an administration that has repeatedly come close to openly refusing to comply with judicial orders.
Earlier Monday, Mr. Trump’s so-called border czar, Thomas D. Homan, made defiant remarks on television, indicating that the administration planned to continue such deportations despite the court’s order — an action that could pit one of the coequal branches of the government against another.
“We’re not stopping,” Mr. Homan said on Monday, during an appearance on Fox News. “I don’t care what the judges think — I don’t care what the left thinks. We’re coming.”
Mr. Homan defended the administration’s decision to fly more than 200 immigrants to El Salvador over the weekend, including individuals the government identified as members of the Tren

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EXODUS DEPLETES
NUCLEAR AGENCY
UNDER MUSK PUSH

FIRINGS AND BUYOUTS

Critics Fear a Shortage of
Scientists and Others
Vital to Security

This article is by Sharon LaFraniere, Minh Kim and Julie Tate.
They handled the secure transport of nuclear materials — dangerous, demanding work that requires rigorous training. Four of them took the Trump administration’s offer of a buyout and left the National Nuclear Security Administration.
A half-dozen staff members left a unit in the agency that builds reactors for nuclear submarines.
And a biochemist and engineer who had recently joined the agency as head of the team that enforces safety and environmental standards at a Texas plant that assembles nuclear warheads was fired.
In the past six weeks, the agency, just one relatively small outpost in a federal work force that President Trump and his top adviser Elon Musk aim to drastically pare down, has lost a huge cadre of scientists, engineers, safety experts, project officers, accountants and lawyers — all in the midst of its most ambitious endeavors in a generation.
The nuclear agency, chronically understaffed but critically important, is the busiest it has been since the Cold War. It not only manages the nation’s 3,748 nuclear bombs and warheads, it is modernizing that arsenal — a \$20-billion-a-year effort that will arm a new fleet of nuclear submarines, bomber jets and land-based missiles.
Since the last year of the first Trump administration, the agency has been desperately trying to build up its staff to handle the added workload. Though it was still hundreds of employees short of what it had said it needed, it had edged up to about 2,000 workers by January.
Now, with the Trump administration’s buyouts and firings, the agency’s trajectory has gone from one of painstaking growth to retraction.
More than 130 employees took the government’s offer of a payout to resign, according to internal agency documents obtained by The New York Times that have not previously been reported. Those departures, together with those of about 27 workers who were caught up in a mass firing

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Black and Hispanic Women Hit
Harder by State Abortion Bans

By CLAIRE CAIN MILLER and MARGOT SANGER-KATZ
Abortion bans successfully prevented some women from getting abortions in the immediate aftermath of the Supreme Court’s overturning of Roe v. Wade, according to a detailed new study of birth data from 2023. The effects were most pronounced among women in certain groups — Black and Hispanic women, women without a college degree, and women living farthest from a clinic.
Abortion has continued to rise since the period the data covers, especially through pills shipped into states with bans. But the study identifies the groups of women who are most likely to be affected by bans.
For the average woman in states that banned abortion, the distance to a clinic increased to 300 miles from 50 miles, resulting in a 2.8 percent increase in births relative to what would have been expected without a ban.
For Hispanic women living 300 miles from a clinic, births increased 3.8 percent. For Black women, it was 3.2 percent, and for white women 2 percent.
“It really tracks, both that women who are poorer and younger and have less education are more likely to have an unintended pregnancy, and more likely to be unable to overcome the barriers to abortion care,” said Dr. Alison Norris, an epidemiology professor at Ohio State who helps lead a nationwide abortion counting effort and was not involved in the new study.
The working paper, released Monday by the National Bureau of Economic Research, is the first to analyze detailed local patterns in births soon after the Dobbs decision in 2022, a period when abortion

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INTERNATIONAL A4-9

A Top-Level U.S.-Russia Call
Presidents Trump and Vladimir V. Putin may discuss Ukraine’s power plants and dividing up assets. PAGE A5

Officials Held in Fire Inquiry

The tragedy in North Macedonia killed 59 people trapped in an inferno in a club without proper escape routes. PAGE A9



NATIONAL A10-18

Revival of Family Detention
Two facilities in South Texas are being readied for undocumented parents and their children. One site began receiving them earlier this month. PAGE A12

Harvard Expands Free Tuition

A plan to offer free tuition for students whose families earn \$200,000 and below is an effort to bolster diversity. PAGE A16

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Pulling Out of the Market

Despite advisers’ advice, some are shifting investment strategies as stocks sour on President Trump. PAGE B1

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Sticking His Neck Out
Patrick Schwarzenegger, born of Hollywood and political royalty, is a good fit for HBO’s “The White Lotus.” PAGE C1



An Eye on the Met’s Treasures

After giving up many artworks thought to have been looted, the museum is watching acquisitions closely. PAGE C1

SPORTS B6-10

A Deep Women’s Tournament
U.C.L.A. secured the top overall seed in the N.C.A.A. basketball bracket, edging the defending champion, South Carolina, which joined Southern California and Texas as the other No. 1 seeds. PAGE B6

SEC Rules the Men’s Field

Fourteen of the conference’s teams made the N.C.A.A. tournament, setting a record. The league combined with the Big Ten and the Big 12 to take 31 of 68 spots. Action begins Tuesday. PAGE B6

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Frank Bruni PAGE A21



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A Lifeboat for Darwin’s Frogs

Males of the South American species incubate their young in their vocal sacs. The London Zoo has begun an effort to save the frog from extinction. PAGE D3

