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stray shower, high 50. Tonight, clear

to partly cloudy, cold, low 34. Tomorrow, partly sunny, a cool breeze, high 51. Weather map is on Page B10.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



#### For Ukraine's Sick Children, a War Within the War

Yuliia Serhiienko, center, with her son Mykolai as doctors performed tests during a home visit last month in Kharkiv, Ukraine. Mykolai has severe cerebral palsy, microcephaly, seizure syndrome and epilepsy. Families of children with long-term illnesses have had to overcome countless challenges during more than three years of full-scale fighting. Page A6.

# Ukraine and Russia Reach Fragile Truce on Black Sea Fighting

#### By CONSTANT MÉHEUT and IVAN NECHEPURENKO

KYIV, Ukraine - Ukraine and Russia agreed to cease fighting in the Black Sea and to hash out the details for halting strikes on energy facilities, the White House said on Tuesday, in what would be the first significant step toward a cease-fire three years after Russia's full-scale invasion.

But the deal falls short of a complete pause in combat, which Trump administration officials have been pushing, and it remains unclear how and when such a limited truce would be carried out or how firm was either side's commitment. Last week, Russia and Ukraine agreed in principle to stop attacking energy facilities, only to quickly accuse each other of continuing such strikes.

It was "too early to say that it will work," President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine told reporters on Tuesday. "Additional technical consultations" were needed as soon as possible to put the deal in place, added Rustem Umerov, Ukraine's defense minister.

And while both Ukraine and

#### Kremlin Says Western Sanctions Must End for It to Honor Deal

which came after three days of intense negotiations in Saudi Arabia, Moscow added significant caveats, at least some of which the United States appeared to agree to while gaining little in return. In a statement, the Kremlin said it would honor the maritime securi-Russia confirmed the agreement, ty portion of the deal only after

Western countries removed restrictions imposed on Russian agricultural exports after the invasion began in 2022.

The White House pledged in a statement that it would "help restore Russia's access to the world market for agricultural and fertilizer exports," among other partic-

Mr. Zelensky complained that the provision was "a weakening of positions and a weakening of sanctions." And lifting restrictions on Russia's agricultural exports would also need the approval of

Continued on Page A5

# Speech in India Chilled by Mobs Mad Over Jokes

## By MUJIB MASHAL

NEW DELHI — The joke was nothing too unusual for political comedy. But in India, where there is little room anymore to make fun of politicians without drawing court cases or mob violence, all

hell quickly broke loose. Just hours after video from a stand-up show in Mumbai was posted online Sunday, supporters of a state political leader barged into the popular club where it had been taped. The vigilantes intimidated the crowd, which had gathered for an unrelated event, and vandalized the place as the police

watched. The state's chief minister called for legal action against the comic who performed the show, and the police filed charges, accusing him of defamation. The local municipality then sent government employees to batter the comedy club with hammers, a lighter version of what has become known as bulldozer justice.

The comic, Kunal Kamra, who is among the last comedians still taking on politicians in India, issued a statement on Monday emphasizing that he would not be intimidated.

"Attacking a venue for a comedian's words is as senseless as overturning a lorry carrying tomatoes because you didn't like the butter chicken you were served," Continued on Page A10





PHOTOGRAPHS BY ILANA PANICH-LINSMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The cases of Fernando Padron, left, and David Burckhardt help illustrate the court system's lapses in Maverick County, Texas. "They really don't give you information here," Mr. Burckhardt said.

# Lost in Jail Without Charges, Lawyers or Hope

### By JOLIE McCULLOUGH

EAGLE PASS, Texas - Fernando Padron was stuck in a South Texas jail cell. Accused of stealing credit cards that he used to buy diapers, a bike and other goods for his family, he had not been brought into court or spoken

He did not hear anything about his case for nine months. Finally, March 2023, prosecutors charged him with a misdemeanor,

#### Poor Texas Defendants' *'Kafkaesque'* Ordeals

and he was released. But his ordeal had just begun.

Over the next two years, he would be arrested repeatedly in connection with the theft. He was pressured into a seemingly improper plea deal in one court, only to be charged again in another. At

one point, he was in jail for six months before officials involved in his case realized he was there.

Mr. Padron, 27, is a U.S. citizen with no prior convictions, and his offense was minor enough that elsewhere in Texas, he might not have been jailed at all. But he was in the dysfunctional Maverick County court system, where basic tenets of American justice often do not apply.

Officials here openly acknowl-Continued on Page A12

# Trump's Team Bares Disdain Toward Europe

## Texts Become Public, Shaking an Alliance

#### By JEANNA SMIALEK and STEVEN ERLANGER

BRUSSELS — Trump administration officials have not kept their disdain for Europe quiet. But the contempt seems to be even louder behind closed doors.

Europeans reacted with a mix of exasperation and anger to the publication of parts of a discussion among top-ranking Trump administration officials, carried out on the messaging app Signal. The discussion, about a planned strike on Yemen, was replete with comments that painted Europeans as geopolitical parasites, and was revealed on Monday in The Atlantic, whose editor was inadvertently included in the conversation.

"I just hate bailing out the Europeans again," wrote Vice President J D Vance, asserting that the strikes would benefit Europe far more than the United States.

"I fully share your loathing of European freeloading," Hegseth, the secretary of defense, later replied. "It's PATHETIC."

The exchange seemed to show real feelings and judgments that the Europeans are mooching and that any American military action, no matter how clearly in American interests as well, should be somehow paid for by other ben-

A member of the chat identified as "SM," and believed to be Stephen Miller, a top aide to President Trump, suggested that both Egypt and "Europe" should compensate the United States for the operation. "If Europe doesn't remunerate, then what? If the US successfully restores freedom of navigation at great cost there needs to be some further economic gain extracted in return," SM wrote.

There was no official request from European Union officials that America carry out the strike in Yemen — they were simply informed, said a European diplomat and a European official who spoke on condition of anonymity to discuss diplomatic conversations. There have also been no conversations with high-level policymakers about remuneration, according to the diplomat.

The apparent disregard by administration officials of security protocols by having a discussion that included operational details on a consumer chat app, even an encrypted one, prompted concern that Russia and China could be lis-

Continued on Page A9

# PRESIDENT TRIES TO DIVERT BLAME IN WAR PLAN LEAK

#### **FUROR IN WASHINGTON**

Playing Down the Breach as Democrats Call It a 'Sloppy' Error

#### By TYLER PAGER and DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON - President Trump characterized an extraordinary security breach as a minor transgression on Tuesday, insisting that top administration officials had not shared any classified information as they discussed secret military plans in a group chat that included the editor in chief of

The Atlantic magazine. "So this was not classified," Mr. Trump said during a meeting with U.S. ambassadors at the White House. "Now if it's classified information, it's probably a little bit different, but I always say, you have to learn from every experience."

Mr. Trump also stood by his national security adviser, Michael Waltz, who had inadvertently added the journalist Jeffrey Goldberg to the chat on the Signal app, which included Vice President JD Vance and others.

In the chat, Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth shared information on timing, targets and weapons systems to be used in an attack on Houthi militants in Yemen, according to Mr. Goldberg.

"I think it was very unfair the way they attacked Michael," the president said of Mr. Waltz.

Former national security officials said they were skeptical that the information shared by Mr. Hegseth ahead of the March 15 strike was not classified, given the life-or-death nature of the opera-

The president and the secretary of defense have the ability to assert, even retroactively, that information is declassified. But officials have to refused to answer questions about the specifics of the information or who, exactly, determined that it was unclassified and could be shared on Signal, an encrypted commercial app.

Mr. Hegseth denounced Mr. Goldberg late Monday, saying he had been "peddling hoaxes time and time again." But on Tuesday morning, testifying in the Senate, the nation's top two intelligence officials conceded that the exchanges released by The Atlantic were accurate.

During the meeting at the Continued on Page A16

# Despite Skepticism of Kennedy, His Health Ideas Gain Traction

## By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

WASHINGTON - Babies are not ordinarily a fixture of closeddoor White House meetings.

But when Robert F. Kennedy Jr., the health secretary, convened a group of women this month for a discussion on nutrition and other topics, a healthy-eating activist who calls herself "the Food Babe" was stunned to see President Trump's press secretary with her 8-month-old on her lap.

While several female cabinet secretaries looked on, the press secretary, Karoline Leavitt, lamented that baby formula seems healthier in Europe than in the United States, where a recent study found that many varieties are laden with added sugars. Last week, Mr. Kennedy met with formula makers and announced a push to expand options for "safe, reliable and nutritious infant formula."

The activist, Vani Hari, was thrilled. "It was such an amazing opportunity to see some solidifica-



Robert F. Kennedy Jr. is polarizing, but he has a following.

tion of the MAHA agenda across the different cabinets," she said, using the acronym for Mr. Kennedy's "Make America Healthy Again" movement. She called the

event "a dream come true." The gathering of "MAHA Moms," as Mr. Kennedy calls the corps of influencers and activists who follow him, was one of a se-

ries of choreographed events held Continued on Page A17



NATIONAL A11-19

### Hillel Reflecting Student Rifts

The Jewish campus group is thriving, but the war in Gaza has exposed divisions over its mission.

#### Showdown at Institute of Peace A 911 call. A lockdown. A master key.

A timeline of how the Trump administration took control of the group. PAGE A14 **INTERNATIONAL A4-10** 

## The Demise of Radio Martí

For four decades, a U.S.-financed broadcaster provoked the ire of the Communist government in Cuba. President Trump dismantled it in days. PAGE A4

### U.S. Lifts Taliban Bounties

The move was a big shift toward leaders of the Haggani network, which was behind some of the deadliest attacks during the war in Afghanistan. PAGE A9

## Prized for More Than Peace

President Trump has said his "proudest legacy will be that of a peacemaker and unifier." Getting Nobel recognition has become an obsession.

**BUSINESS B1-5** 

## Trump's Disinformation Mill

Falsehoods riddled President Trump's first term. Now he and his team have essentially institutionalized such falsities to justify their policy goals. PAGE B1

### **PBS and NPR Face Congress**

Executives from the public media networks are bracing for a hearing titled "Anti-American Airwaves." PAGE B1

SPORTS B6-10

## **Back Home to Fix Her Game**

In returning to where she grew up in South Florida, Coco Gauff sees a chance PAGE B6 to regain perspective.



## A K-Pop Legal Spectacle

As the group New Jeans battled its record label, a court ruling upended its first concert in months.

## Inspirational, and Funny, Too

Writing a memoir wasn't easy for the dyslexic comedian Phil Hanley. Neither was narrating the audiobook. PAGE C1 FOOD D1-8

### Table for One, Please

With many restaurants still restricting tables to two or more, solitary Americans often feel left out.

#### Is the Doggy Bag Dead? Restaurateurs say that diners are in-

creasingly unlikely to ask for those little boxes to take home leftovers. PAGE D4

OPINION A22-23

Thomas L. Friedman



