breezy and warmer, high 50. To-

mostly sunny and warmer, high 60. Weather map appears on Page 30.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

# FEARING PAYBACK, CRITICS OF TRUMP **MUTE THEMSELVES**

#### A CHILL STIFLES DEBATE

From Colleges to Capitol, Averting Threats and

WASHINGTON — The silence

Fired federal workers who are

Even longtime Republican hawks on Capitol Hill, stunned by President Trump's revisionist history that Ukraine is to blame for its invasion by Russia, and his Oval Office blowup at President Volodymyr Zelensky, have either muzzled themselves, tiptoed up to criticism without naming Mr. Trump or completely reversed

More than six weeks into the second Trump administration, there is a chill spreading over political debate in Washington and

People on both sides of the aisle who would normally be part of the public dialogue about the big issues of the day say they are intimidated by the prospect of online attacks from Mr. Trump and Elon Musk, concerned about harm to their companies and frightened for the safety of their families. Politicians fear banishment by a party remade in Mr. Trump's image and the prospect of primary opponents financed by Mr. Musk, the president's partner and the

world's richest man. "When you see important societal actors — be it university presidents, media outlets, C.E.O.s, mayors, governors — changing their behavior in order to avoid the wrath of the government, that's a sign that we've crossed the line into some form of authoritarianism," said Steven Levitsky, a professor of government at Harvard and the co-author of the influ-

Mr. Trump ran in 2024 promising retribution against his enemies and has quickly sent menacing signals from the White House. He revoked the security details of high-profile critics like Gen. Mark A. Milley, a retired chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who faces death threats from Iran, and said he would pull the security clearances of lawyers at a law firm who are representing Jack Smith, the special counsel who investigated

One prominent first-term critic of Mr. Trump said in a recent interview that not only would he not comment on the record, he did not want to be mentioned in this article at all. Every time his name appears in public, he said, the threats against him from the far

right increase. On Capitol Hill, Senator Thom Tillis of Ñorth Carolina, a Republican, was wavering in his support

**Protecting Careers** 

#### By ELISABETH BUMILLER

grows louder every day.

worried about losing their homes ask not to be quoted by name. University presidents fearing that millions of dollars in federal funding could disappear are holding their fire. Chief executives alarmed by tariffs that could hurt their businesses are on mute.

their positions.

ential 2018 book "How Democracies Die.'

for Pete Hegseth, Mr. Trump's

Continued on Page 21

# Over 40 Died While Captive In Gaza Strip

#### Israelis' Anguish Grows as Peace Talks Flail

This article is by Natan Odenheimer, Ronen Bergman and Gabby Sobelman.

JERUSALEM — Itay Svirsky, 40, was a therapist who loved philosophy. Eden Yerushalmi, 24, was training to become a Pilates instructor. Alex Lobanov, 32, a father of three, never met his youngest child.

They are among the 41 hostages killed since being taken captive by Hamas and its allies during their Oct. 7 attack on Israel, according to an analysis by The New York Times of forensic reports and military investigations into their deaths, as well as interviews with more than a dozen Israeli soldiers and officials, a senior regional official and seven relatives of hos-

Some were killed by Hamas, some by Israeli fire; with some, the cause of death is unknown. The losses — and most acutely, the scale of them — are now at the heart of an anguished debate within Israeli society about whether more people could have been brought back alive if a truce had been reached sooner.

The Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, has long contended that only military force could compel Hamas to free the hostages. Mr. Netanyahu's opponents argued that the longer the war, the likelier that the hostages would be executed by Hamas or killed in Israeli strikes.

The debate has gained more resonance in recent days as the country faces the prospect of returning to war since the lapse of the recent truce. The Israeli government recently upended the process by proposing a new framework, immediately rejected by Hamas, that called for a sevenweek extension during which the group would release half the living hostages and return the remains of half the deceased ones.

Of the 59 hostages still believed held in Gaza, the Israel government has said that only 24 are Continued on Page 10

# A Hotline Opens, and the Suits Against Combs Mount

war widow Nira Sharabi's home at a kibbutz has reminders of her husband, Yossi, who was killed in Gaza by an Israeli airstrike.

#### By JULIA JACOBS

BILLINGS, Mont. — In a room full of cubicles, workers in headsets read from their computer screens, addressing callers who dialed a 1-800 number. They have a script.

"Were you or your loved one sexually abused by Sean 'Love' Combs, known as Diddy, Puff Daddy and P. Diddy?"

"If the abuse occurred at a party, please list the name of the party. What kind of party was it?"

Their employer, Reciprocity Industries, is a legal services company located in a low-slung building in Billings, Mont., more than 2,000 miles from the Brooklyn jail

Father Accused

In Vacation Plot

To Kill Daughter

By SARAH MASLIN NIR

and ZIA ur-REHMAN

middle school, she would duck out

of his car and scamper up the steps of Public School 16 in Yon-

kers, N.Y., the Westchester County town where she grew up.

Inside, Hira would greet her

principal and catch up with her

classmates, sharing tracks by her

favorite band, Chase Atlantic, or TikTok videos of the singer Zavn

Malik, whom everyone knew she

had a particular crush on because

he was of Pakistani descent, as

Then, a few months ago, some-

thing changed: When her father's

car was out of sight of the school,

Hira, 14, would remove her hijab. Hira's principal took notice, and, concerned that she was being bullied to conform, she pulled Hira

Hira said it was the opposite, ac-

In late January, while on a vaca-

tion with her father to his home-

town, Quetta, Pakistan, Hira was

shot to death in front of her fa-

ther's family home. Shortly after,

her father, Anwar ul-Haq Rajpoot,

tearfully told the police that a ran-

dom attack had taken his daugh-

Continued on Page 18

cording to her principal: She fi-

nally felt free to express herself. That freedom did not last long.

aside to check in.

When Hira Anwar's father dropped her off every morning at where Mr. Combs awaits trial on federal racketeering and sex trafficking charges.

For years, the company has helped seed litigation by fielding complaints from people hurt by natural disasters, weedkillers or abusive clergy.

Now it's the central collection point for sexual assault allegations against Mr. Combs.

Some complaints come in through the phone, others arrive online in response to ads promoted on Facebook and Instagram. (A news conference where a backdrop displayed the hotline in large red numbers made headlines last October.)

By the company's count, it has received some 26,000 contacts. It

#### Drawn by Advertising to a Divisive Area of the Law

has deemed hundreds of complaints worthy of review. Already, the lead lawyer handling these cases, Tony Buzbee, a high-profile litigator from Houston, has filed nearly 40 lawsuits against Mr. Combs. He says more are coming.

In their court filings, Mr. Combs' accusers describe harrowing abuse. Fifteen plaintiffs say he raped them. Three say they were minors at the time. The ac-

counts are often similar: a drink at a party, unusual wooziness and a sexual assault. All were initially filed anonymously.

"Plaintiff has experienced a significant impact on her personal life," lawyers said in a suit that accused Mr. Combs of assaulting a woman at a hotel in 2014.

The cases against Mr. Combs, who denies assaulting anyone, amount to what's called a mass tort, in which many people, often drawn by advertising, file claims against a common defendant.

This growing area of the law has long been divisive.

Lawyers for plaintiffs say the cases foster justice for those who Continued on Page 16





### A Reverence for the Handmade

Designers around the world are imbuing contemporary crafts with a genuflection to ancient techniques. Special Section.

# Eclectic Grandpa, Coastal Grandma, Mob Wife? Fast Fads Are Tiring Out Gen Z.

#### By CALLIE HOLTERMANN

For the past few years, opening up social media has felt like standing in front of a fire hose of fashion and internet fads and cranking open the nozzle, full blast.

New "it" water bottles are anointed almost quarterly. Influencers urge their viewers to style themselves as coastal grandmothers, ballet dancers, indie sleazers

and coquettes — looks that have little in common besides the consumption they require. Specious fads like the "mob wife aesthetic." recognized by publications including this one, prompted The New Yorker's humor column to predict what might come next: How about "Supreme Court casual" or "spotted-lanternfly goth"?

To keep up would leave most people broke, not to mention disoriented. And while a majority of these crazes are labeled "Gen Z trends," members of that generation may be the ones most fatigued by the churn.

It's not that they don't get what's going on: Today's young adults can comfortably discuss the way that social media and fast fashion keep many members of their generation buying, sharing and discarding items. They are

aware, sometimes painfully, that their insecurities are being harnessed for someone else's bottom line. But awareness does not equal liberation. Understanding the mechanisms at play does not always mean they can escape them although many are trying.

Neena Atkins, 16, a high school junior in Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., said she felt "constantly bombarded" product recommendations.

Cheetah print was hot less than two months ago, she said, "and now when I go on TikTok, I see people saying, like, cheetah print is getting so old."

Lina, 15, a high school freshman near Fort Wayne, Ind., watched classmates buy \$35 Stanley tumblers only to covet another brand of pastel water bottles shortly thereafter. "It's wasteful," she

Continued on Page 15

#### **INTERNATIONAL 4-12**

#### Tariffs Could Benefit Tesla

Elon Musk's company builds all of the vehicles it sells in the United States in California and Texas, shielding it from levies that could hurt its rivals. PAGE 4

#### **India Loves Book Festivals**

From beaches to hilltops, young people are driving a boom in literary events as they embrace reading in the country's many native languages.

#### A Return to the Cinemas

The movie industry in France has been celebrating statistics that show an increase in theater attendance after pandemic lockdowns.



SUNDAY BUSINESS

## A Growth Plan, Upended

Shrinking cities have tried to attract foreign-born residents. That often worked, until the inauguration. PAGE 6

## High Prices Hit a French Dish

Restaurants in Paris that make beef Bourguignon are being pushed to the brink by inflation.

## NATIONAL 13-22

#### Rise From Ashes or Take Flight

For residents of Altadena, Calif., who lost their homes to the wildfires, the reality of construction costs and insurance payments has set in. PAGE 13

SUNDAY STYLES

#### The Queen of the Blouse

Chemena Kamali has transformed Chloé into the uniform of cool women everywhere. PAGE 10

#### A Novelist Explores Anxiety Curtis Sittenfeld rakes over some mid-

dle school memories while visiting Cincinnati, where she grew up. PAGE 1



Ezra Klein

## Setting the Record Straight

In an age of streaming music, a factory owner in rural Kansas is obsessively working to produce the best-sounding vinyl LPs possible. PAGE 6

SUNDAY OPINION

PAGE 8

# **METROPOLITAN**

#### Chaotic Day for Train Riders New York's subway has been flooded

with patrol officers to prevent crime and stop fare evasion. One Sunday in Brooklyn, it all went wrong.

SPORTS 26-29, 31

#### Colorado Shifts Its Approach

Coach Deion Sanders has pivoted from a heavy reliance on transfers to assembling a class that reflects the norms of college football roster building. PAGE 26

