

# Joy, Relief and Worry as Gaza Truce Nears

## Hostages Should Be Free Within Days, Trump Says

This article is by Adam Rasgon, Bilal Shbair, Liam Stack and Michael Levenson.

JERUSALEM — Flashing victory signs, waving flags and pouring into streets and plazas, Israelis and Palestinians celebrated on Thursday as Israel and Hamas moved toward a cease-fire and a hostage-prisoner exchange that could pave the way for an end to two years of devastating war in Gaza.

Early Friday, the Israeli government put its stamp of approval on the deal reached by negotiators for Hamas and Israel in Egypt earlier in the week. President Trump said he expected that the Israelis being held hostage in Gaza would be released on Monday or Tuesday in exchange for Palestinians imprisoned in Israel.

Mr. Trump also said he was planning to travel to Egypt for a ceremonial signing of the agreement, which his administration helped broker, and to Israel to address its Parliament at the invitation of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

Speaking at a cabinet meeting on Thursday, Mr. Trump described the agreement as a “momentous breakthrough in the Middle East.”

Although the text of the agreement had not been made public, it promises at least a cease-fire, if not a more lasting end to a war that has set off a humanitarian catastrophe in Gaza, battered Hamas militarily and left Israel exhausted and isolated internationally. The conflict has also contributed

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**HOSTAGES** Festivalgoers and a set of twins are among the living captives set to be freed. PAGE A7



DAVID GUTTENFELDER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A deal to exchange Israeli hostages for Palestinian prisoners led to elation in Tel Aviv on Thursday.



SAHER ALGHORRA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The reaction in Khan Younis, Gaza. Aid agencies planned to speed food deliveries to the territory.

# On Brink of Diplomatic Feat, a Dealmaker Chases His Legacy

By DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON — President Trump is at the brink of the biggest diplomatic accomplishment of his second term — a cessation of the brutal war between Israel and Hamas — and on Wednesday evening he made clear he was eager to fly to the Middle East to preside over a cease-fire and welcome hostages

who have spent two long years in underground captivity.

For Mr. Trump, success in this venture is the ultimate test of his self-described goal as a dealmaker and a peacemaker — and a pathway to the Nobel Peace Prize he has so openly coveted. By chance, the winner for 2025 was scheduled to be announced just hours before he may be departing to take his victory lap in Egypt and Israel.

## NEWS ANALYSIS

Much could go wrong in coming days, and in the Middle East it often does. The “peace” deal Mr. Trump heralded on Truth Social on Wednesday evening may look more like another temporary pause in a war that started long before Israel’s founding in 1948, and has never ended.

But if Mr. Trump can hold this deal together, if Hamas gives up its last 20 living hostages this weekend and with them its negotiating leverage, that would be an extraordinary step toward the kind of peace plan Mr. Trump, and his predecessor, Joseph R. Biden Jr., have pressed to accomplish, despite many diversions down dark holes. And if Mr. Trump can get Prime Minister

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# Initially Peaceful, Nepal’s Gen Z Protests Went Chaotically Awry

By HANNAH BEECH

KATHMANDU, Nepal — It was not supposed to be a revolution. Really, it wasn’t.

The young Nepalis all chafed at the government’s abrupt ban on social media. They all wanted an end to corruption in a country where families of Communist, Maoist and social democrat leaders alike paraded their wealth while the rest of the population seemed to slide into hopelessness.

But a wholesale change in government? Security forces shooting dead at least 19 protesters, including students in school uniforms? The coordinated burning and looting that in a few hours robbed a nation of the physical manifestations of a state — majestic government buildings, police stations and ward offices — all in smoldering ruins, along with hundreds of homes and businesses connected to the political elite?

In a handful of days in September, Tanuja, Misan and Mahesh, Sudan, Rakshya and Dipendra would find their lives transformed. One would be elevated as a leader of the Gen Z movement,

even though he was a millennial a decade or more older than the others. Another would watch the protest she helped organize devolve into unrecognizable chaos. Several would bicker about what it was they really wanted. All would be hunted. Two would be shot. One would die.

Across the world, Nepal’s youth

have been celebrated as spearheads of a Gen Z revolution, the first to so rapidly turn online outrage at “nepo kids,” as privileged children of the elite are called, into an overthrow of the political system. The trajectory of Nepal’s Gen Z — economically frustrated, technologically expert, educationally overqualified — is part of a

wellspring of youthful dissent that has flowed in recent years from Indonesia and Bangladesh to the Philippines and Sri Lanka.

It is rooted in the same dissatisfaction that spurred rebellions and revolutions in North Africa and the Middle East 15 years ago. In 2023, a distraught Nepali businessman set himself on fire in front of Parliament, an echo of the self-immolation of a Tunisian fruit seller that ignited the Arab Spring.

But interviews with dozens of young Nepalis, in the wake of the government ouster, make clear that the country’s abrupt and violent shift was not what they envisioned. Someone, somehow appears to have steered the movement in unexpected ways, leaving its youthful engineers dazed, even as they now scramble to help the new government run. A mysteriously sourced call for another anti-corruption protest on Oct. 9 has been met with both excitement and anger from Gen Z groups that say they desire no more upheaval.

After the government collapsed

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ATUL LOKE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

“The whole thing was hijacked,” said Tanuja Pandey, right, who kept a low profile in Kathmandu after last month’s deadly clashes.

# JAMES IS INDICTED AS TRUMP PURSUES POLITICAL RIVALS

## On Heels of Comey, Justice Dept. Targets Attorney General of New York

This article is by Devlin Barrett, Glenn Thrush and Jonah E. Bromwich.

WASHINGTON — A prosecutor handpicked by President Trump secured an indictment of New York’s attorney general, Letitia James, on bank fraud and false statement charges in the Eastern District of Virginia on Thursday after the president publicly demanded she be charged.

The five-page indictment accused Ms. James of falsely claiming in loan documents that she would use a home she purchased in Norfolk, Va., as a secondary residence, and using it instead as a rental investment property, allowing her to receive favorable terms that would save her close to \$19,000.

The charges, coming two weeks after the Trump-directed indictment of James B. Comey, the former F.B.I. director, deepened the president’s intervention in the justice system, casting away longstanding democratic norms as he seeks retribution on his political enemies.

In a statement, Ms. James, who had won a civil case against Mr. Trump accusing him of fraudulently inflating the value of his assets, called the indictment “nothing more than a continuation of the president’s desperate weaponization of our justice system.” She called the charges “baseless.”

The prosecutions have ushered in a turbulent era at a Justice Department increasingly under the direct command of a president intent on using federal law enforcement to prosecute his adversaries, shield his supporters and redefine criminality as it suits his interests.

That his appointees have now succeeded in convincing two grand juries will likely embolden him, even if the prospects of conviction are anything but certain.

In both the James and Comey

cases, the career prosecutors who conducted the investigations reported that there was insufficient evidence to bring charges, and a previous U.S. attorney ousted by Mr. Trump declined to bring either case before a grand jury.

Mr. Trump’s newly appointed replacement, Lindsey Halligan, was the only prosecutor listed on either indictment. In nearly all similar cases, the career prosecutors responsible for collecting and analyzing evidence sign the court filings.

Mr. Comey pleaded not guilty on Wednesday to charges of lying to and obstructing Congress, and his lawyer said he would seek dismissal of the case as a vindictive and selective prosecution. Court records show that Ms. James is due in court in Norfolk on Oct. 24.

Charges against other targets are likely on the way. The department has opened investigations into John R. Bolton, Mr. Trump’s former national security adviser, and Senator Adam B. Schiff, a California Democrat, among others.

“This is what tyranny looks like,” Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, the Democratic minority leader and a longtime James ally, said in a statement. “President Trump is using the Justice Department as his personal at-

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TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Letitia James in 2022.

## Governors’ Ties Pushed to Limit By Deployments

By J. DAVID GOODMAN

HOUSTON — The deployment of Texas National Guard troops to Illinois at the behest of President Trump has divided the nation’s governors, severing the bonds between state leaders who have long portrayed themselves as above the partisan fray.

The Illinois governor, JB Pritzker, along with Gov. Gavin Newsom of California, both Democrats, have threatened to leave the once-chummy National Governors Association, a group formed more than 100 years ago and dedicated to finding areas of bipartisan agreement even in fractious political times.

Instead, Democratic governors are accusing Republicans, especially Gov. Greg Abbott of Texas, of a betrayal, even an “invasion” of their states.

“Greg Abbott is a tool of Donald Trump, he’s his lackey,” said Mr. Pritzker in an interview with Rachel Maddow on MSNBC this week.

Mr. Abbott returned fire, calling Mr. Pritzker “clueless.”

Such animus would once have been considered unusual or out of bounds for governors, who generally have seen themselves as pragmatic politicians, required to balance budgets and find solu-

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## A Fraught Mix: Private Equity And Drug Trials

This article is by Walt Bogdanich, Carson Kessler and Jeremy Singer-Vine.

When the Danish drugmaker Novo Nordisk wanted to test whether the main ingredient in Ozempic, its wildly popular weight-loss and diabetes drug, could also treat liver disease, it first needed approval from an ethics panel to ensure the safety of trial volunteers in the United States.

Such panels, called institutional review boards, have the power to reject drug trials or order modifications if participants face unreasonable risks. They are supposed to be independent watchdogs — counterweights to Big Pharma and overzealous researchers.

Yet Novo didn’t have to venture far to hire an ethics panel for its liver-disease trial in May 2024: It chose WCG Clinical, a review board partly owned by its own corporate parent, The New York Times found.

Novo declines to discuss the review boards it selects; their names are scrubbed from a federal online database, because the information is deemed proprietary. But documents obtained by The Times reveal that the liver study was hardly an outlier: In the six years since its parent com-

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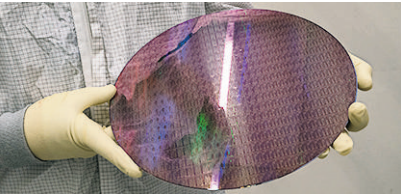
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Senate Republicans blocked a measure that would end the president’s legally disputed campaign, which he says is an effort to combat drug running. PAGE A9

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Laszlo Krasznahorkai, a Hungarian novelist regarded as the “master of the apocalypse,” received the award for reaffirming the power of art. PAGE A11

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JB Pritzker is trying to seize the moment to fuel opposition to President Trump and, perhaps, his own future presidential ambitions. PAGE A18

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Democrats forced a government shutdown over it. But in some fundamental sense, this is not what American politics is about anymore. PAGE A16

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A festival omits the turned-on, fourth-dimension pieces that brought the choreographer Gerald Arpino fame. PAGE C3



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For the first time in their long N.B.A. careers, the brothers Stephen and Seth Curry will suit up together. PAGE B9

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### David Brooks

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