



ASH ADAMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Fight Over Trump’s Agenda Runs Through Alaska

Republicans in Congress are clashing over Biden-era clean energy tax credits that are a lifeline for their constituents. Page A14.

‘INTENSIVE’ PUSH  
PLANNED IN GAZA

Palestinian Population to  
Be Moved to South

This article is by Michael D. Shear, Aaron Boxerman and Adam Rasgon.

JERUSALEM — Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel declared on Monday that his country was “on the eve of a forceful entry to Gaza” after his security cabinet approved a new plan for tens of thousands of additional soldiers to seize and hold territory in the embattled enclave and relocate Palestinians to the south.

In video posted to social media as military reservists across Israel began receiving notices of their call-up, Mr. Netanyahu said that the country’s top military officials had recommended what he called an “intensive” escalation of the 18-month war.

“It’s time to launch the concluding moves,” Mr. Netanyahu said the military officials told him, adding that the new campaign would help bring home the hostages still being held in Gaza. The prime minister said he believes “we are not done. We are before the finish line.”

The escalation follows more than two months in which Israel continued to blockade and bombard the Gaza Strip as cease-fire talks to free the remaining hostages ground to a near standstill. Israel has barred any humanitarian aid to Gaza in an effort to press Hamas to surrender, leading aid groups to denounce the mounting deprivation among Palestinians there.

Mr. Netanyahu’s opponents quickly criticized the expanded military campaign, saying it would endanger the remaining hostages’ lives and would not fundamentally change the dynamic that 18 months of war has wrought. The prime minister’s critics — both inside and outside the country — have urged him to bring to an end a conflict that began when Hamas killed about 1,200 people in Israel on Oct. 7, 2023, and took some 250 hostage. Israeli officials said the offensive would start slowly in anticipation of cease-fire negotiations that are continuing ahead of President Trump’s trip next week to the region for meetings in several Arab capitals. But the officials

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‘Made in America’ Becomes Trade War Casualty

By LIZ ALDERMAN

PARIS — For motorcycle lovers in Sweden, Harley-Davidson is the hottest brand on the road. Jack Daniel’s whiskey beckons from the bar at British pubs. In France, Levi’s jeans are all about chic.

But in the tumult of President Trump’s trade war with Europe, many European consumers are starting to avoid U.S. products and services in what appears to be a decisive and potentially long-term shift away from buying American, according to a new assessment by the European Cen-

Europeans Shun Goods  
in What Could Be a  
Long-Term Shift

tral Bank.

In April, Mr. Trump imposed a 10 percent blanket tariff on America’s trading partners, and threatened “reciprocal tariffs” on many of those, including the European Union. Companies like Tesla and McDonald’s are seeing customers in Europe put off by “Made in

America.”

“The newly imposed U.S. trade tariffs on European products are causing European consumers to think twice about what’s in their shopping cart,” the European Central Bank wrote in a blog post about its research on consumer behavior. “Consumers are very willing to actively move away from U.S. products and services.”

Europeans had already begun testing grass-roots boycotts on American products, including Heinz ketchup and Lay’s potato chips, shortly after Mr. Trump

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NINA WESTERVELT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Reigning Supreme at the Met Gala

The singer Diana Ross at Monday’s extravaganza, which raised \$31 million for the Costume Institute at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Coverage at nytimes.com and in ThursdayStyles.

76 Years of Longing for a Child Taken From Her

By ALI WATKINS

LOUGHREA, Ireland — The house is at the end of the road, nestled behind a playground in Loughrea, an ancient town in County Galway. Built of white stone with gray trim, it has lace curtains, a statue of the Virgin Mary and two small bedrooms, one pink, the other blue.

In the living room, a small, fragile woman in a plaid skirt sits in an overstuffed orange chair. She is 93

An Irish Woman Waits  
for Her Son’s Return

but lives alone, with an overweight mutt named Rex. Day after day, she busies herself with small tasks — praying the rosary, hanging the wash, letting the dog into the yard — while she waits for the return of the son she never got to hold.

She has been waiting for 76 years.

As a teenager, Chrissie Tully fell in love with a man in her neighborhood, and in 1949, she became pregnant.

What happened next would follow a grim, common script in mid-century Ireland, where the Catholic Church and its rigid doctrine dominated nearly every aspect of daily life. Ms. Tully’s family disowned her; the town, Loughrea,

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Vast Tent City  
For Deportees  
Fell Far Short

Guantánamo Has Held  
Fewer Than 500

By CAROL ROSENBERG

GUANTÁNAMO BAY, Cuba — American military forces have taken down some of the tents they had hurriedly set up on an empty corner of the U.S. naval station at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, three months after President Trump ordered preparations to house up to 30,000 migrants at the base.

No migrants were ever held in the tents, and no migrant surge has ever occurred. On Monday, the operation was housing just 32 migrants, in buildings that were established years ago.

A total of 497 migrants have been held there for just days or weeks, as Immigration and Customs Enforcement uses the base as a way station to hold small numbers of detainees designated for deportation.

Instead, the Homeland Security and Defense Departments have reached an agreement to house dozens, not thousands, of ICE detainees at the base on any given day. Full costs of the operation have not been disclosed.

The military says it can pivot and expand migrant operations at Guantánamo, depending on need. But the decision to dismantle at least some of the tents demonstrates that the Defense and Homeland Security Departments do not currently plan to house tens of thousands of migrants on the base, as the president had envisioned.

The tents and cots that served as a backdrop of the high-profile Feb. 7 visit by Kristi Noem, the homeland security secretary, have been inventoried and stashed for future possible use, according to a Defense Department official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because the president’s migrant mission is considered politically sensitive.

Over the weekend, the task force in charge of migrant detention at Guantánamo Bay was holding 32 migrants awaiting deportation and had about 725 staff members, mostly uniformed Army and Marine forces, with 100 employed by ICE as security officers or contractors.

That is more than 22 uniformed military and ICE workers for each migrant.

When Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth visited in February, the Pentagon said the task force num-

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DEMOCRATS BLAST  
CRYPTO DEALINGS  
OF TRUMP FAMILY

CALL FOR TOUGHER BILL

Two Senators Also Seek  
Investigation, Citing  
National Security

By DAVID YAFFE-BELLANY  
and ERIC LIPTON

Senate Democrats are demanding changes to cryptocurrency legislation pending in Congress, responding partly to growing evidence that the Trump family is using its connections and President Trump’s power to profit from crypto trading.

The pushback intensified late last week after a closed-door meeting among Senate Democrats in which Senator Chuck Schumer, the Democratic leader, told colleagues they should not commit to voting for the so-called GENIUS Act, a bill backed by the crypto industry.

For months, the bill had appeared to be gliding toward passage, with support from both parties, and it was scheduled for a procedural vote this week. But in the meeting, Senate Democrats expressed concern that the legislation would directly benefit the Trump family’s crypto business, citing reporting by The New York Times.

Among the concerns the senators raised, according to lawmakers, is that the Trump-affiliated crypto firm, World Liberty Financial, recently secured a deal to take \$2 billion in deposits from an Emirati venture fund backed by the government of Abu Dhabi, as The Times reported last week.

“It’s a selling of influence, a conflict of interest, just a massive form of corruption we haven’t witnessed,” Senator Jeff Merkley, Democrat of Oregon, said in an interview, echoing comments he said he made at the meeting. “And it needs to be ended.”

And Senator Elizabeth Warren, Democrat of Massachusetts, pushed other Democrats to take a stand on the matter.

The Senate legislation “will make it easier for the president and his family to line their own pockets,” Ms. Warren said in a statement. “This is corruption and no senator should support it.”

Those ethical concerns have contributed to a broader unease about the bill among Democrats.

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V.A. Staff, Crammed in Offices,  
Says Patient Privacy Is Suffering

By ELLEN BARRY  
and NICHOLAS NEHAMAS

In a Boston V.A. hospital, six social workers are conducting phone and telehealth visits with veterans from a single, crowded room, clinicians say. In Kansas City, providers are planning patient care while facing each other across narrow, cafeteria-style tables in a large, open space, according to staff members.

And in South Florida, psychiatric nurses have been treating veterans with mental health conditions in a hallway near a bathroom, sitting down with them in a makeshift medical bay jury-rigged out of filing cabinets and a translucent screen.

“People walking by can hear everything that’s going on,” said Bill Frogameni, an acute care psychiatric nurse at the Miami V.A. hospital and director of the local chapter of the National Nurses United union, referring to the patient intake setup in a V.A. outpatient facility in Homestead, Fla., outside Miami.

“The nurses are triaging these



A photograph of a makeshift office obtained by The Times.

patients asking standard questions: ‘Do you feel like harming yourself or others? How long have you been feeling suicidal? Do you have a plan to harm yourself?’” Mr. Frogameni said. “It’s very personal stuff.”

The cramped conditions are the result of President Trump’s decision to rescind remote work arrangements for federal employees, reversing a policy that at the V.A. long predated the pandemic.

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INTERNATIONAL A4-12

The Anti-Trump Bump

In Canada and Australia, right-wing parties that borrowed from the MAGA playbook were punished. Elsewhere, it’s more complex. News Analysis. PAGE A7

El Salvador’s ‘Death Realm’

The phenomenon of Salvadoran men vanishing into prisons is all too familiar, even as the U.S. debates its policy of sending migrants there. PAGE A12

‘We Will Not Go Away’

Survivors of sexual abuse are arriving in Rome and urging cardinals to make the crisis a priority when considering who should be the next pope. PAGE A8

BUSINESS B1-7

The Times Wins 4 Pulitzers

In addition to The Times’s awards, The New Yorker received three Pulitzers and ProPublica won the prestigious prize for public service. PAGE B4

Debt Shrinks Take-Home Pay

In Kenya, an increase in the payroll tax rate is one element of the president’s desperate effort to keep the government running and pay off the country’s foreign creditors. PAGE B1



NATIONAL A13-19

Book Battle Splits a Utopia

Fairhope, Ala., originated as an experimental colony, a spirit still central to its character. But now its library is at the heart of a culture war. PAGE A13

SPORTS B8-11

A 10,000-Mile Playoff Mission

Inside the Carolina Hurricanes’ six-day effort to get the Russian prospect Alexander Nikishin to the N.H.L. PAGE B8

Wrath of Timberwolves’ Fans

Expect vitriol when Draymond Green and Jimmy Butler of the Warriors go to Minnesota for the playoffs. PAGE B9



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Needed Reinforcements

Volunteers are playing a key role at the Forest Service. Above, a dying cactus in a national forest in Arizona. PAGE D1

Battling Over Consciousness

What makes humans conscious? Scientists disagree, strongly, as one group of peacemakers discovered. PAGE D5

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The Last Surrealist

Now 90, Jean-Claude Silberman is showing his colorful works at the Independent Art Fair in Manhattan. PAGE C1

A Matter of Perspective

The Trump administration and Harvard disagree on a lot, but both say they favor “viewpoint diversity.” PAGE C1

OPINION A22-23

Rebecca Patterson

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