

Trump Image,
And Finances,
Face Huge Hit

Civil Rulings Are Both
Severe and Symbolic

This article is by **Ben Protess, Jonah E. Bronwich, Maggie Haberman and Alex Lemonides.**

“We have a lot of cash,” Donald J. Trump boasted 10 months ago, under oath, claiming that the number was “going up very substantially every month.”

But whatever cash he had may soon be gone.

On Friday, the judge overseeing Mr. Trump’s civil fraud case issued a final ruling that inflicted a staggering financial penalty. With interest, the former president has been ordered to pay New York State about \$450 million, a sum that threatens to wipe out a stockpile of cash, stocks and bonds that he amassed since leaving the White House, according to a New York Times review of Mr. Trump’s financial records. He will have only 30 days or so to either come up with the money or persuade an outside company to post a bond.

The judge, Arthur F. Engoron, also imposed several new restrictions on Mr. Trump and his family business. For three years, Mr. Trump cannot run any New York company, including portions of his own, nor can he obtain a loan from a New York bank. The same restrictions apply to his adult sons for a two-year period. And the family business will be under the thumb of a watchful outsider, a court-appointed monitor who can hamstring the company if she does not like what she sees.

All told, the judge’s decision poses unprecedented threats to Mr. Trump’s finances, his family business and his ego at a critical time for the former president. Although Mr. Trump will not go bankrupt and the Trump Organization will not go out of business, the company’s loudest hype man could for now become a silent partner in his hometown properties. The organization will be another real estate company in a city full of them — this one facing unusual new constraints that could impede its ability to compete.

“Justice Engoron’s order could impose several years of paralysis at the Trump Organization,” said Jim Wheaton, a professor at William & Mary Law School who

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JOAO SILVA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

In Eswatini, sub-Saharan Africa’s last monarchy, activists are demanding something beyond tinkering with traditional politics.

A Family’s Fight Over Their King

A Son Strives to Topple the Monarchy His Father Has Sworn to Protect

By **JOHN ELIGON**

MATSAPHA, Eswatini — The riot police appeared out of nowhere, charging furiously toward the young protesters trying to oust King Mswati III, who has ruled over the nation of Eswatini for 38 years. The pop of gunfire ricocheted through the streets, and the demonstrators started running for their lives.

Manqoba Motsa, a college student, and his fellow Communists quickly slipped into disguise, pulling plain T-shirts over their red hammer-and-sickle regalia. They ducked down a sloped street and raced away, thinking that, somehow, they had escaped.

Then Mr. Motsa’s phone rang: A close friend at the protest had been shot. They

OLD WORLD, YOUNG AFRICA

A Generational Divide in Politics

found him splayed on a bed in the emergency room, a bloody bandage around his torso, a tube in his arm.

“We can’t stop fighting,” the wounded protester, Mhlonishwa Mtsetfwa, told the dozen red-clad Communist Party members surrounding his hospital bed. “We’ll do this until our last breath.”

Across much of Africa, that anger is palpable in restless young activists, like Mr. Motsa, who are pushing, protesting and at times risking their lives to remove long-reigning leaders they view as barriers to the continent’s true potential.

While the world grays and nations worry about collapsing without enough workers to support aging populations, Africa — the youngest continent, with a median age of 19 — sits at the opposite end of the spectrum. It boasts ample young people to power economic growth and global influence.

But to the frustration of its youthful population, Africa also has some of the world’s longest-serving leaders, who often place their own personal gain and political longevity above the welfare of their nations, experts on the continent’s politics say.

At least 18 heads of state in Africa have held power for more than two decades in the post-colonial era, and many have left legacies of poverty, unemployment, unrest and a wealthy ruling elite far removed from

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Trump’s Allies
Plan to Bolster
Abortion Bans

By **LISA LERER**
and **ELIZABETH DIAS**

Allies of former President Donald J. Trump and officials who served in his administration are planning ways to restrict abortion rights if he returns to power that would go far beyond proposals for a national ban or the laws enacted in conservative states across the country.

Behind the scenes, specific anti-abortion plans being proposed by Mr. Trump’s allies are sweeping and legally sophisticated. Some of their proposals would rely on enforcing the Comstock Act, a long-dormant law from 1873, to criminalize the shipping of any materials used in an abortion — including abortion pills, which account for the majority of abortions in America.

“We don’t need a federal ban when we have Comstock on the books,” said Jonathan F. Mitchell, the legal force behind a 2021 Texas law that found a way to effectively ban abortion in the state before Roe v. Wade was overturned. “There’s a smorgasbord of options.”

Mr. Mitchell, who represented

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TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ukrainian soldiers from the 71st Jaeger Brigade in the area of Avdiivka, Ukraine, on Wednesday.

The Harrowing Fall of Avdiivka,
A Longtime Ukraine Stronghold

This article is by **Carlotta Gall, Marc Santora** and **Constant Méheut.**

KHARKIV, Ukraine — Ukraine ordered the complete withdrawal from the decimated city of Avdiivka before dawn on Saturday, surrendering a position that had been a military stronghold for the better part of a decade, in the face of withering Russian assault.

“Based on the operational situation around Avdiivka, in order to avoid encirclement and preserve the lives and health of servicemen, I decided to withdraw our units from the city and move to defense on more favorable lines,” Gen. Oleksandr Syrsky, Ukraine’s top military commander, said in a statement issued overnight.

The fall of Avdiivka, a city that

was once home to some 30,000 people but is now a smoking ruin, is the first major gain Russian forces have achieved since May of last year. After rebuffing a Ukrainian counteroffensive in the summer and fall, Russian forces in recent weeks have been pressing the attack across nearly the entire length of the 600-mile-long front.

The Ukrainian withdrawal on Saturday follows a bloody endgame that saw some of the fiercest fighting of the war. Relying on its superiority in personnel and weaponry, Russia pounded the city with aerial bombardments and ground assaults, even as its fighters suffered a staggering amount of casualties.

Outgunned Ukrainian forces had begun withdrawing from po-

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Why Navalny, Sacrificing His Freedom and Ultimately His Life, Had to Return

By **NEIL MacFARQUHAR**

There was one question that Russians repeatedly asked the opposition leader Aleksei A. Navalny, who died in a remote Arctic penal colony on Friday, and he confessed that he found it a little

annoying.

Why, after surviving a fatal poisoning attempt widely blamed on the Kremlin, had he returned to Russia from his extended convalescence abroad to face certain imprisonment and possible death? Even his prison guards,

turning off their recording devices, asked him why he had come back, he said.

“I don’t want to give up either my country or my beliefs,” Mr. Navalny wrote in a Jan. 17 Facebook post to mark the third anniversary of his return and arrest in 2021.

“I cannot betray either the first or the second. If your beliefs are worth something, you must be willing to stand up for them. And if necessary, make some sacrifices.”

That was the direct answer, but for many Russians, both those who knew him and those who did

not, the issue was more complex. Some of them considered it almost a classical Greek tragedy: The

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PUTIN CRITIC Aleksei A. Navalny, 47, endured. Obituary. PAGE 26

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A Breakout Hit in China

A stage version of the prison drama “The Shawshank Redemption,” with an all-Western cast fluent in Mandarin, has found success against all odds. PAGE 4

NATIONAL 16-25

In Texas, ‘Combat Golf’

Along the border, a course operates alongside National Guard troops, Humvees and concertina wire. PAGE 16

Jimmy Carter’s Long Goodbye

The 39th president has spent his life confounding expectations. He is doing so again, now near the end. PAGE 21



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An Ambitious Exhibition

“The Harlem Renaissance and Transatlantic Modernism” at the Metropolitan Museum of Art has big goals. PAGE 16

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Media Mogul for the Future

Alex Cooper’s podcast “Call Her Daddy” took off in 2018 as a young woman’s answer to Howard Stern. Can her new company, Trending, solve the riddle of what Gen Z wants? PAGE 10

Garments With Backbone

At New York Fashion Week, the biggest undercurrent was women’s clothing that used unapologetic strength as a design principle. Vanessa Friedman has the review. PAGE 1

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Brent Staples

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METROPOLITAN

The Cameras Keep Rolling

TV and movie production has resumed on the streets of New York after pauses for the pandemic and strikes. PAGE 1

Exhibit A, and Much More

In the Office of the Manhattan Property Clerk, evidence and lost items arrive by the tens of thousands. PAGE 1

SUNDAY BUSINESS

The Littlest Houses

Over the past decade, builders have shrunk their dwellings to keep prices within buyers’ reach. The 400-square-foot subdivision house is here. PAGE 4

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Earnhardt’s Daytona Triumphs

Dale Earnhardt Jr. explains how patient driving and careful positioning propelled him to victory in the Daytona 500 in 2004 and 2014. PAGE 29



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