VOL. CLXXIII No. 60,067

snow shower, breezy, high 37. To-

night, clearing skies, brisk, low 25. Tomorrow, partly cloudy, breezy, high 40. Weather map, Page B12.

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 2024

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00





People paid their respects to Aleksei A. Navalny, clockwise from top left, in Moscow; Prague; St. Petersburg, Russia; and Frankfurt.

Navalny, Thorn in Putin's Side, Dies in Arctic Prison

By VALERIE HOPKINS and ANDREW E. KRAMER

Aleksei A. Navalny, an anticorruption activist who for more than a decade led the political opposition in President Vladimir V. Putin's Russia, died on Friday in a prison inside the Arctic Circle, according to the Russian authori-

His death was announced by Russia's Federal Penitentiary Service, which said that Mr. Navalny, 47, lost consciousness on Friday after taking a walk in the prison where he was moved late last year. He was last seen on Thursday, when he had appeared in a court hearing via video link, smiling behind the bars of a cell and making jokes.

Mr. Navalny's lawyers and relatives are expected to arrive on Saturday at the Arctic prison where he had been held, said Kira Yarmysh, his press secretary. Despite their initial skepticism, Mr. Navalny's advisers said later that they believed he had died because of unusual happenings in Kharp, where he had been held. Ivan Zhdanov, the director of Mr. Navalny's anticorruption foundation, said the prison stopped taking calls and had been put under special protection.

Mr. Navalny had been serving multiple sentences that would

Opposition Leader Had **Endured Poisoning** and Isolation

probably have kept him in prison until at least 2031 on charges that his supporters say were largely fabricated in an effort to muzzle him. Despite increasingly harsh conditions, including repeated stints in solitary confinement, he maintained a presence on social media, while members of his team continued to publish investigations into Russia's corrupt elite from exile.

Mr. Navalny was given a threeand-a-half-year prison sentence in February 2021 after returning to Russia from Germany, where he had been recovering from being poisoned with a nerve agent the previous August. In March 2022, he received a nine-year sentence for embezzlement and fraud in a trial that international observers denounced as "politically motivated" and a "sham." And in August 2023, he was sentenced to 19 years in prison for "extremism."

Mr. Navalny had essentially returned from the dead after his 2020 poisoning and had conducted multiple hunger strikes to improve his treatment, with many

Continued on Page A6

TRUMP MUST PAY \$355 MILLION FINE IN NEW YORK CASE

Ex-President and Sons Barred for Years From Top Roles at Companies

By JONAH E. BROMWICH and BEN PROTESS

A New York judge on Friday handed Donald J. Trump a crushing defeat in his civil fraud case, finding the former president liable for conspiring to manipulate his net worth and ordering him to pay a penalty of nearly \$355 million plus interest that could wipe out his entire stockpile of cash.

The decision by Justice Arthur F. Engoron caps a chaotic, yearslong case in which New York's attorney general put Mr. Trump's fantastical claims of wealth on trial. With no jury, the power was in Justice Engoron's hands alone, and he came down hard: The judge delivered a sweeping array of punishments that threatens the former president's business empire as he simultaneously contends with four criminal prosecutions and seeks to regain the White House

Justice Engoron barred Mr. Trump for three years from serving in top roles at any New York company, including portions of his own Trump Organization. He also imposed a two-year ban on the former president's adult sons and ordered that they pay more than \$4 million each. One of them, Eric Trump, is the company's de facto chief executive, and the ruling throws into doubt whether any member of the family can run the business in the near term.

The judge also ordered that they pay substantial interest, pushing the penalty for the former president to \$450 million, according to the attorney general, Letitia

In his unconventional style, Justice Engoron criticized Mr. Trump and the other defendants for refusing to admit wrongdoing

for years. "Their complete lack of contrition and remorse borders on pathological," he said.

He noted that Mr. Trump had not committed violent crimes and also conceded that "Donald Trump is not Bernard Madoff." Still, he wrote, "defendants are incapable of admitting the error of

their ways." Mr. Trump will appeal the financial penalty but will have to come up with the money or secure a bond within 30 days. The ruling will not render him bankrupt;



Donald J. Trump's fraud trial.

most of his wealth is in real estate, which altogether is worth far more than the penalty. Mr. Trump will also ask an appeals court to halt the restrictions on him and his sons from running the company while it considers the case.

"This verdict is a manifest injustice — plain and simple," Alina Habba, one of Mr. Trump's lawyers, said in a statement. She added that "given the grave stakes, we trust that the Appellate Division will overturn this egregious

Continued on Page A17

Russia Loses A Potent Voice Against a War

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI

The death of Russia's most prominent opposition leader, Aleksei A. Navalny, at a remote Arctic prison on Friday ended one of the most audacious politi-

NEWS ANALYSIS

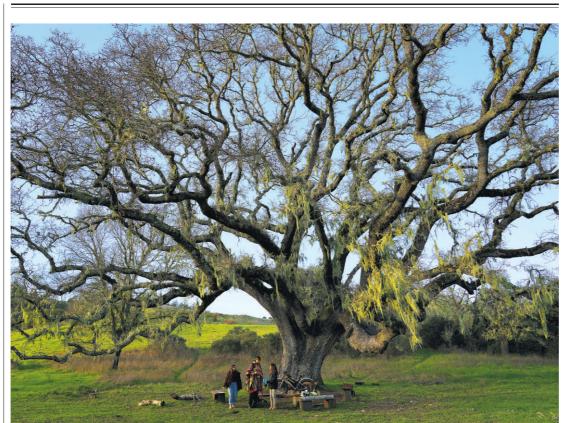
cal careers of modern times and left wartime Russia without its most

charismatic antiwar voice. Mr. Navalny, whose death was reported by the Russian authorities, stood as the most outspoken critic of President Vladimir V. Putin for more than a decade. harnessing broad opposition to the Russian leader more successfully than any other foe of the Kremlin. After surviving a poisoning widely seen as the Kremlin's doing in 2020 and recovering in Germany, Mr. Navalny returned to Russia in 2021 and was immediately arrested.

But Mr. Navalny, a joking, gregarious, straight-talking former real estate lawyer, stayed relevant even from prison, publishing Instagram posts via messages relayed by his lawyers that were at once humorous and outraged. He pleaded with Russians not to give up or give in to their fears, and railed against the "criminal" war in Ukraine, which he said would bring the "continued impoverishment of Russian

The reports of his death stunned his supporters and politicians around the world. Mikhail Vinogradov, a Moscow

Continued on Page A7



A nonprofit spent \$8.9 million to turn a golf course in San Geronimo, Calif., into a public park.

Well-Tended Fairways Give Way to Wild Places

By CARA BUCKLEY

There was scraggly grass in one sand trap and wooden blocks and a toy castle in another, evidence of children at play. People were walking their dogs on the fairway, which was looking rather ragged and unkempt. This was only to be expected.

Nowadays, these grounds are mowed just twice a year, and haven't been doused with pesticides or rodenticides since 2018, which

A Comeback for Nature as Courses Close

was when this 157-acre stretch of land stopped being the San Geronimo Golf Course, and began a journey toward becoming wild, or at least wilder, once again.

A small number of shuttered golf courses around the country have been bought by land trusts,

municipalities and nonprofit groups and transformed into nature preserves, parks and wetlands. Among them are sites in Detroit, Pennsylvania, Colorado, the Finger Lakes of upstate New York, and at least four in Califor-

"We quickly recognized the high restoration value, the conservation value, and the public access recreational value," said Guillermo Rodriguez, California state

Continued on Page A14

Trump Is Said To Favor Limit For Abortions

This article is by Maggie Haberman, Jonathan Swan and Lisa

Former President Donald J. Trump has told advisers and allies that he likes the idea of a 16-week national abortion ban with three exceptions, in cases of rape or incest, or to save the life of the mother, according to two people with direct knowledge of Mr. Trump's deliberations.

Mr. Trump has avoided taking a clear position on restrictions to abortion since Roe v. Wade was overturned in the middle of 2022, galvanizing Democrats ahead of the midterm elections that year. He has said in private that he wants to wait until the Republican presidential primary contest is over to publicly discuss his views, because he doesn't want to risk alienating social conservatives before he has secured the nomination, the two people said.

Mr. Trump has approached abortion transactionally since becoming a candidate in 2015, and his current private discussions reflect that approach.

One thing Mr. Trump likes about a 16-week federal ban on abortions is that it's a round number. "Know what I like about 16?" Mr. Trump told one of these people, who was given anonymity to describe a private conversation. "It's even. It's four months."

When discussing prospective vice-presidential candidates, Mr. Trump often asks whether they are "OK on abortion." He is in-Continued on Page A12

Biden Sees Rift In Town Stung By Derailment

By ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS and ERICA L. GREEN

EAST PALESTINE, Ohio President Biden traveled to East Palestine on Friday to show solidarity with a community still reeling more than a year after a Norfolk Southern train derailed, spilling a toxic mess across this small Ohio town near the border with Pennsylvania.

But what he found when he got here were divisions on every cor-

On the main street, protesters accused the White House of neglect and asked why it had taken Mr. Biden so long to visit. More than 100 Trump supporters, some of whom had driven in from out of state, held up "Impeach Biden"

And still others said they were sick of their town being used as a political prop and wanted answers about their long-term health.

Mr. Biden alluded to some of those differences during remarks near the crash site, saying that "it doesn't matter if you're a Democrat or Republican or independ-

"What matters is we're all Americans," Mr. Biden continued. "We look out for one another. We leave no one behind. And we come

back stronger than before." Mr. Biden also said the National Institutes of Health would issue six grants to research universities to study "the short- and long-term impacts" of the toxic spill — a key concern among residents, many

Continued on Page A11



NATIONAL A10-17, 20

A Farewell at St. Patrick's

A transgender activist's funeral was held at the cathedral, a site that used to draw frequent protests. PAGE A15

Manchin Says He Won't Run

The West Virginia senator has ruled out a third-party White House bid and a challenge to President Biden. PAGE A13 **INTERNATIONAL A4-9**

Britain's Leader in Hot Seat

Despite the Tories losing two Parliament seats in once-reliable Conservative areas, it is unlikely that Rishi Sunak will be forced out.

Zelensky Visits Berlin and Paris

The Ukrainian president sought to push leaders in Europe to boost aid as woes over U.S. funding grow. PAGE A8

TRAVEL C9-10

Hot Soaks and Freezing Hair

There's pleasure to be had in the Yukon, the roughly 186,000-square-mile wedge of frigid northwestern Canada. PAGE C9



ARTS C1-8

Grief Conveyed in Movement

Alexei Ratmansky's first work as artist in residence at New York City Ballet addresses the war in Ukraine. PAGE C1

Two Sides of One Struggle

National Geographic's latest "Genius" season focuses on the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X. PAGE C1 **BUSINESS B1-5**

China's Markets, and Giraffes

As their losses pile up, Chinese investors are losing confidence in the government's ability to turn the economy around. A viral video became the sounding board for their anger. PAGE B1

So You've Been Scammed?

New York magazine's money columnist wrote about being conned by crooks pretending to be from Amazon and government agencies. We asked the companies for comment.

OPINION A18-19

PAGE A18

Nicholas Kristof





Hail the New Scoring Champ En route to the N.C.A.A. women's career

scoring record, Caitlin Clark gave fans another magical night ... and a singlegame record for Iowa, too.

