

Trump Wields
New Weapon
Against Press

Suits Use Laws Meant
to Protect Consumers

By DAVID ENRICH

Media lawyers scoffed last year when President Trump sued two news organizations for producing journalism that, he claimed, violated laws meant to protect consumers from things like deceptive advertising.

They’re not laughing anymore. First Amendment experts still believe that Mr. Trump’s cases, against CBS News and The Des Moines Register, lack legal merit. But they now also realize that the lawsuits are proving effective at harassing the press — and that more of them are probably on the way.

The focus of the experts’ concern is the decision within Paramount, CBS’s parent company, to try to settle one of those lawsuits, showing that even a far-fetched legal argument can yield results. CBS would be the second major media company to recently reach a settlement with Mr. Trump, after ABC paid \$16 million to resolve a defamation suit in December.

The settlement talks between Paramount and Mr. Trump are likely to encourage the president, his allies and others to continue deploying the new strategy of suing media companies under consumer protection laws, said Adam Steinbaugh, a lawyer representing a defendant in The Des Moines Register suit.

“What gets rewarded gets repeated,” said Mr. Steinbaugh, who works for the Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression.

Daniel Suhr, the president of the Center for American Rights, a conservative legal group that has filed a similar lawsuit against The Register, said the goal of the consumer protection cases was partly to send a warning to other news

Continued on Page A12



A Palestinian man receiving food from an aid organization. The cease-fire in Gaza is contingent on the weekly entry of trucks and aid.

NEWS ANALYSIS

President’s Gaza Plan Could Torpedo the Two-State Solution

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — For decades, successive presidents in Washington have favored some version of a two-state solution for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. What no one imagined until now was that the second state would be American, not Palestinian.

President Trump’s stunning plan to displace the entire Palestinian population of Gaza and have the United States take over

the seaside enclave has not only convulsed the Middle East. It may have also all but written the obituary for the long-sought but maddeningly elusive goal of establishing a Palestinian state alongside Israel in peaceful coexistence.

Any vision of a Palestinian state has included Gaza as an integral part of it, along with the West Bank. In Mr. Trump’s vision, however, Gaza would become a U.S. territory transformed into a “Riviera of the

Support for Palestinian
Nation Was Already
on the Decline

Middle East.” It would not belong to the Palestinians anymore but would be open to anyone who wanted to live there. And for that matter, he signaled openness to Israeli annexation of parts of the West Bank, promising to reveal

his position within four weeks.

The prospects for a Palestinian state had already dwindled in recent years, especially after the Hamas terrorist attack on Israel on Oct. 7, 2023, that killed 1,200 people and led to the Israeli retaliatory war in Gaza that has killed 47,000 combatants and civilians, according to Gaza health authorities. Neither Israeli nor Palestinian populations see the two-state scenario as a viable plan anymore, according to polls.

Continued on Page A7

A Fortress for Democratic Elites
Denies a Pro-Trump Crypto King

By HEATHER KNIGHT

SAN FRANCISCO — In San Francisco, it is informally called “Susie’s Building” in deference to the owner of the 12th-floor penthouse with wraparound views of the bay. Susie Tompkins Buell, a power broker in Democratic politics, is known for throwing lavish fund-raising parties and writing checks so large they can start a campaign.

A who’s who of the Democratic Party has made a point of stopping by over the years. Bill and Hillary Clinton. Barack Obama. Kamala Harris. Nancy Pelosi. The political elite in San Francisco still recall the time Mr. Clinton’s Secret Service agents got trapped in Ms. Tompkins Buell’s elevator and had to be rescued by firefighters.

In other words, the Pacific Heights tower built in the 1920s is not the sort of place where you would expect to find an acerbic,

Legal Feud to Secure a
San Francisco Co-op

conservative cryptocurrency executive with a fondness for President Trump and Elon Musk.

Nonetheless, Jesse Powell wanted in.

Mr. Powell, an early Bitcoin proponent and the founder of the cryptocurrency exchange Kraken, had his heart set on unit No. 9 and its sprawling 3,500 square foot three levels below Ms. Tompkins Buell’s penthouse. The living room’s picture windows offer stunning views of the sparkling bay, the Golden Gate Bridge and Alcatraz Island.

He could have figured there would be problems, given his conservative politics and his past. But what would unfold wasn’t just a

Continued on Page A15



A San Francisco co-op has hosted lavish Democratic fund-raisers.

UKRAINE DISPATCH

At a Kyiv Draft Site, a Woeful Wait in the Dark

By CASSANDRA VINOGRAD and OLEKSANDR CHUBKO

KYIV, Ukraine — They stand in a small crowd outside the large metal gate, tense and waiting in the dark. Most look weighed down, both by stress and by overstuffed plastic bags — all for men who may soon be heading off to war.

“Where’s my father? Where’s my father?” a boy in a camouflage coat asks, leaning on the gray gate. As his mother tells him to be patient, two women comfort each other nearby.

Svitlana Vakar hovers at the back of the group, crying and sniffing as she holds the dimpled hand of Maksym, her 2-year-old grandson. Wiping her eyes, she

Loved Ones Are Seized
in a Desperate Need
for New Recruits

adjusts Maksym’s red “Paw Patrol” puffer jacket to protect him from the winter cold, then plants a long kiss on top of his head.

Maksym’s father had been picked up by recruiting officers that morning, on his way to work. He was able to send his mother a message: He had been taken to this military gathering point on the edge of Kyiv — along with dozens of other men picked up that day around the Ukrainian capital. Brought in for

processing, they would be held overnight then shipped out in the morning for basic military training as recruits.

“Why take him like a dog? Not allowing him to say goodbye to family, to kids,” Ms. Vakar said, starting to sob.

At the start of Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022, men flocked to the recruitment centers. But after three years of grinding war, the well of volunteers has run dry. Now, men wait for their draft papers to arrive before appearing at recruiting centers — or try to avoid being found.

Faced with severe troop shortages and heavy casualties, Ukraine’s military has been chasing draft dodgers to help

Continued on Page A8

After Dog Pilot’s Last Flight, a Good Home, and an Empty One

By ANDREW KEH

Seuk Kim was loitering cheerfully on the tarmac of Culpeper Regional Airport in Northern Virginia one afternoon last November.

He had a lot to be cheerful about. Just a few years earlier, Mr. Kim, a gregarious father of three, was anxiously leaving a stable career to pursue a childhood dream of flying. Now, at 49, he had a pilot’s license, his own single-engine plane and, as he proudly told his friends, a job lined up with a charter airline.

On this day, though, he was indulging in a passion project: volunteering as a transport pilot for

shelter animals, joining a small fleet of planes that would help relocate 23 dogs and 12 cats to rescue organizations around the Northeast.

Among the dogs taking flight that afternoon was a 1-year-old Yorkshire terrier mix named Pluto, who had been discovered astray six weeks earlier along a highway in rural Georgia. Now Pluto found himself on a 1,000-mile odyssey that would carry him, in a quirky bit of fate, from an animal shelter just outside Albany, Ga., to an organization just outside Albany, N.Y.

Mr. Kim, petting and cooing at the animals on the tarmac, would be his chaperone for the final leg

Continued on Page A14



Seuk Kim flying dogs to a shelter in New York State last year.

NATIONAL A9-17

Tariffs Threaten Way of Life
President Trump’s immigration policies have introduced new uncertainty for U.S. border communities. PAGE A9

Not in Anyone’s Pocket, He Says
Skeptics say the mayor, the Levi’s heir Daniel Lurie, is another sign of the power of San Francisco’s rich. PAGE A15



INTERNATIONAL A4-8

Mexican Troops at U.S. Border
Analysts and former officials question whether 10,000 additional National Guard forces can effectively stop the flow of migrants and fentanyl. PAGE A4

Deportations to Venezuela
A promise to start flights in the next 30 days could herald a shift in the relationship between the U.S. and Venezuela’s autocrat, Nicolás Maduro. PAGE A5

Funding Freeze Sows Worry
The U.S. drive to cut aid is putting in doubt the long-term security of a Syrian camp that holds Islamic State members and their families. PAGE A7

BUSINESS B1-6

Pace of Job Growth Slows
U.S. employers added 143,000 jobs last month, slightly fewer than forecast, but American workers still appear to be in good shape overall. PAGE B1

A Playbook for Commercials
Knowing when to pause N.F.L. games is a task for league executives, network producers and on-field officials. PAGE B1

TRAVEL C8-10

In a Cold and Quiet Venice
A nighttime exploration inspired by the Russian writer Joseph Brodsky, who loved the city in winter. PAGE C8

ARTS C1-6

Slavery’s Roots in Brooklyn
An exhibition at the Center for Brooklyn History focuses on enslaved people and their living descendants. PAGE C1

‘Club Shay Shay’ Has Its Fans
A podcast hosted by the former N.F.L. star Shannon Sharpe grabs attention in a saturated ecosystem. PAGE C1



SPORTS B7-10

Much More Than Cheesesteaks
At Passyunk Avenue, a Philadelphia-themed bar in London, Eagles fans can find an authentic taste of home. PAGE B7

Trump Discusses Golf Deal
The president met with the PGA Tour commissioner about its venture with the Saudi-backed LIV Golf. PAGE B10

OPINION A18-19

Samantha Power PAGE A18

