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Democracy Dies in Darkness

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 9, 2025 · \$4

Executive power likely to expand

Justices seem ready to let president fire heads of independent agencies

BY JUSTIN JOUVENAL

The Supreme Court on Monday appeared poised to allow President Donald Trump to fire a leader of the Federal Trade Commission, a ruling that could limit or overturn a 90-year-old precedent that curbs executive power to dismiss the heads of agencies Congress set up to be independent.

A ruling in favor of Trump's position has been widely expected by legal experts because the justices have been chipping away for years at the precedent, known as Humphrey's Executor. Many of the Supreme Court's conservative justices have expressed support for an idea known as unitary executive theory, which holds that the Constitution gives the president broad authority to fire officials and that Congress cannot limit it.

During arguments Monday, Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. referred to Humphrey's Executor as a "dried husk." The contemporary FTC bears little resemblance to the one that existed at the time of the high court's 1935 ruling that insulated its commissioners from removal by the president without cause, because it now exercises significant executive powers, he said.

Conservative Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh said independent agencies lack accountability.

"I think broad delegations to SEE SUPREME COURT ON A5



From left, Ukraine's Volodymyr Zelensky, Britain's Keir Starmer, Germany's Friedrich Merz and France's Emmanuel Macron in London.

Paramount challenges Netflix | Despite U.S. tariffs, China's deal to acquire Warner Bros. | Trade surplus tops \$1 trillion deal to acquire Warner Bros.

BY SCOTT NOVER

Paramount Skydance launched a hostile bid Monday to buy Warner Bros. Discovery, mere days after Netflix struck an \$83 billion deal to acquire the media conglomerate.

Paramount Skydance, which took shape this year under CEO David Ellison, said it would be bringing an all-cash offer directly to Warner Bros. Discovery shareholders. The unsolicited bid, whose financial backers include President Donald Trump's son-in-

law Jared Kushner, is for the entire company, including CNN and other cable networks that were to be spun off into a separate company in Netflix's cash-and-stock proposal.

Ellison is the son of Oracle cofounder Larry Ellison, one of the world's wealthiest people and a friend and supporter of Trump. The president said Sunday he would be "involved" in assessing the intended Netflix-Warner Bros. Discovery deal, saying Netflix's market share in the streaming sec-

SEE PARAMOUNT ON A12

BY DAVID J. LYNCH AND SIMON ELEGANT

China's annual trade surplus topped \$1 trillion for the first time, a sign that President Donald Trump's high tariffs have done little to stop Chinese factories from flooding global markets with cars, electronics, machinery, solar panels and other manufactured goods.

The unbalanced global economy that the president set out to change earlier this year remains deeply distorted.

China has responded to the highest U.S. tariffs since the 1930s by redirecting its factory output from American ports to Europe and Southeast Asia. While trade tensions between Washington and Beijing have eased in recent months, a backlash against Chinese-manufactured goods is brewing in Eu-

Seven years after Trump began SEE CHINA ON A16

Farm aid: Trump unveils \$11 billion for sector hard hit by tariffs. **A8**

Ukraine refuses to cede territory

ZELENSKY REJECTS **RUSSIAN DEMAND**

Major setback for Trump's peace proposal

BY STEVE HENDRIX, LIZZIE JOHNSON AND KOSTIANTYN KHUDOV

LONDON — Ukraine will not surrender territory, President Volodymyr Zelensky declared Monday, rejecting a central Russian demand that President Donald Trump had incorporated into his latest proposal to end the Kremlin's war.

"Under our laws, under international law - and under moral law - we have no right to give anything away," Zelensky said, after meeting with top European leaders to discuss Trump's plan Monday. "That is what we are fighting for."

The unequivocal declaration that Ukraine will not surrender land could mark the collapse of Trump's plan, which critics condemned as fulfilling a wish list of Russian President Vladimir Putin.

Zelensky, speaking to journalists aboard his flight to Brussels following consultations with the leaders of Britain, France and Germany in London, made one of his clearest public statements yet on the emerging U.S.-backed proposal. He said the plan had been stripped of what he called "explicitly anti-Ukrainian provisions," suggesting that Kyiv was open to a

But he stood firm on the issue of SEE UKRAINE ON A14

Lanternfly honey has arrived. Just don't ask how it's made.

Exotic-tasting nectar has sparked interest in possible health benefits

BY BRITTANY SHAMMAS

One taste, and the beekeeper was certain: This was no ordi-

Sean Kennedy had been showing off the hives he tends in Northwest Washington one autumn afternoon when he removed a glove for a taste test. This was how the self-taught beekeeper ate most of his honey, by plunging a finger into a row of honeycomb and slipping it under his protective head covering to his mouth. Lately the flavor had been, well, different.

"I'd say that's spotted lanternfly honey," Kennedy, 64, declared after a moment's consideration, over the droning of thousands of bees at the Swiss Embassy apiary. He searched for the right way of describing how he knew, landing SEE LANTERNFLY ON A2



Sean Kennedy shows off beehives and honey with lanternfly influence at the Swiss Embassy in D.C.

D.C. police chief steps down after two years in top job

BY JENNY GATHRIGHT, MEAGAN FLYNN, EMMA UBER AND LEO SANDS

D.C. Police Chief Pamela A. Smith is resigning from her position leading the force after two years on the job marked by a steep drop in crime and escalating federal interference in the District's policing and public safety system.

Mayor Muriel E. Bowser (D) posted a statement online praising Smith's service while "navigating unprecedented challenges and attacks on our city's autono-

"Chief Smith dramatically drove down violent crime, drove down the homicide rate to its lowest levels in eight years, and helped us restore a sense of safety and accountability in our neighborhoods," Bowser added.

Bowser did not ask for Smith's resignation, according to Susana Castillo, the mayor's communications director, who said Smith submitted her resignation letter to the mayor. Smith's last day will be Dec. 31, and the mayor said she will name an interim chief before the end of the year.

In an interview with Fox5 on Monday morning, Smith said she resigned to spend more time with her family. "After 28 years in law enforcement," she said, "I have been going nonstop."

Smith, the department's fourth police chief since 2007, took the helm of the police force with homicides at a generational high and oversaw the agency as crime fell and homicide-closure rates rose. She also had to weather political upheaval that led President Donald Trump to seize temporary control of her department in August and surge federal law enforcement's presence in the city. The unprecedented flex of SEE SMITH ON A7

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