

“All the News
That’s Fit to Print”

The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Today, mostly cloudy, some late-day rain, high 55. **Tonight**, cloudy, damp, early rain and drizzle, low 50. **To-morrow**, cloudy, a bit of rain, high 62. Weather map appears on Page B10.

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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



Kamal El Akhdar, center, on Sunday in Ternopil, Ukraine, preparing to bury his wife and two children, who died in a Russian attack.

MAURICIO LIMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

NEWS ANALYSIS

Win for Putin, Peace or War

Seeing Favorable Deal
And a Battered Kyiv

By PAUL SONNE

BERLIN — Ukrainian and European officials sprang into a frenzy over the weekend to alter President Trump’s new 28-point peace plan to end the war in Ukraine, developed with input from Russia and heavily weighted toward the Kremlin.

President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, for his part, sat back and watched.

For the Russian leader, a Kremlin-friendly peace plan that enshrines Ukraine’s perpetual subordination and vulnerability would be a win. So would a failed process that leads Mr. Trump to pull remaining support for Ukraine and further antagonize European allies.

U.S. and Ukrainian officials reported progress on talks aimed at amending the proposal, saying they had made some unspecified changes. By late Monday, the officials had returned home.

It is unclear if Mr. Putin will accept those changes. On Friday, in a video conference with security officials, the Russian leader said the 28-point plan could be the foundation for a peace settlement, pending “substantive and meaningful discussion,” or Russia could keep pressing its case in Ukraine by force.

More Ukrainian cities will fall to Russian troops, “perhaps not as quickly as we would prefer, but inevitably,” Mr. Putin warned. He said such a path “also suits us,” because Moscow was content to pursue its interests “through armed confrontation.”

His message: His authoritarian system can outlast the resources and will of its adversaries.

“The West has entered a pain contest with Vladimir Putin. Who can withstand more pain?” said Alexander Gabuev, the director of the Carnegie Russia Eurasia Center. “In this competition, Putin can be tough as nails, and his system can be tough as nails.”

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A NEW MARIUPOL Current and former residents of the Russian-occupied city have mixed views of the reconstruction effort. **PAGE A6**

Restrained, Beaten and Suffocated Behind Bars

By JAN RANSOM
and BIANCA PALLARO

Even in a system known for its brutality, what New York State prison guards did to Robert L. Brooks and Messiah Nantwi stood out.

Both men were handcuffed before guards beat them viciously, leaving them unable to defend themselves or even shield their faces as the blows rained down. Both died soon after being attacked, victims not of justified force but, essentially, of torture.

The killings caused a brief reckoning this year within the walled-off world of New York’s prisons, resulting in criminal charges against 20 of the officers involved and sending officials scrambling to try to portray the episodes as unacceptable aberrations.

But a New York Times investigation has found that state prison guards have been credibly accused of engaging in such behavior — putting inmates in restraints and then assaulting them — far more often than was previously known.

Drawing on thousands of pages of court records, disciplinary data and interviews with dozens of current and former inmates, The Times identified more than 120 instances in the past decade in which guards were described as having punched, kicked or stomped on prisoners, smashed their fingers in cell doors, held

Evidence Shows Rising Brutality by Guards in New York Prisons

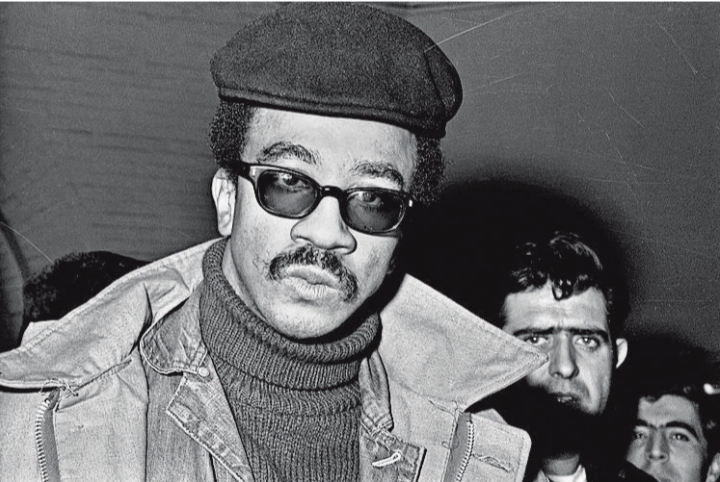
their legs apart and struck their genitals with batons, and even waterboarded them — all while the prisoners were handcuffed or otherwise restrained.

Across the prison system, the rate at which staff members have used force against inmates has been climbing steadily for the past decade.

But interviews with watchdog officials, prisoners’ advocates and prisoners themselves suggest that instances of the most egregious abuse have increased significantly in just the past three years.

The officials, advocates and prisoners have linked the increase partly to seething anger among guards over recently enacted limits on their ability to use solitary confinement. And they said the uptick had been accompanied by a general increase in rule breaking

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BETTSMANN, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin was chairman of the S.N.C.C. in 1967.

JAMIL ABDULLAH AL-AMIN, 1943-2025

Staunch Black Power Promoter Gained Fame as H. Rap Brown

By PAUL VITELLO

Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin, who as H. Rap Brown defined Black militancy in the 1960s with a call to arms against white oppression, and who later lived quietly as a Muslim cleric and shopkeeper until his arrest in 2000 in the murder of a sheriff’s deputy, died on Sunday in a federal prison hospital in North Carolina. He was 82.

His death, at the Federal Medical Center, Butner, was confirmed by Kristie Breshears, the director of communications for the Federal Bureau of Prisons, which operates

the hospital. She did not specify a cause. In February, The Washington Informer reported that Mr. Al-Amin had multiple myeloma and that his health was deteriorating.

He had been serving a life sentence without parole.

Before converting to Islam and changing his name in the 1970s, Mr. Al-Amin was one of the most incendiary orators among the Black Power activists who emerged in the late 1960s to challenge the leadership and nonvio-

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Haitians Cheer Soccer Success In Era of Crisis

By JAMES WAGNER

MEXICO CITY — As Delmas Oslet watched the Haitian men’s national soccer team earn its first spot in the World Cup in five decades, he said he was filled with “happiness, happiness, happiness.”

But there were also tinges of pain.

Mr. Oslet, 49, left Haiti in search of a better life more than 20 years ago because of social instability. He couldn’t help but think now, he said, of the hundreds of thousands of others who had fled since then.

Some departed seeking opportunities, as Haiti remains the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere. Others left in the wake of persistent disasters such as earthquakes and hurricanes. And many have fled a long crisis of gang violence that has grown steadily worse since 2021, driving more than a million Haitians out of their homes, according to United Nations figures.

“The team’s win won’t resolve the deep problems in Haitian society,” said Patrice Dumont, a former Haitian senator who is a longtime soccer commentator. “We know that. But it’s a relief. It’s fundamental for us. Even with hunger, you can be proud. Hunger doesn’t prohibit joy.”

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CHARGES TOSSED FOR 2 TRUMP FOES, COMEY AND JAMES

Prosecutor’s Appointment Ruled Illegal — White House Signals an Appeal

By ALAN FEUER and DEVLIN BARRETT

A federal judge on Monday tossed out separate criminal charges against the former F.B.I. director James B. Comey and New York’s attorney general, Letitia James, saying the loyalist prosecutor installed by President Trump to bring the cases was put into her job unlawfully.

The twin rulings, by Judge Cameron McGowan Currie, were the most significant setback yet to the president’s efforts to force the criminal justice system to punish his perceived foes. The cases’ dismissals also served as a rebuke to Attorney General Pam Bondi, who had rushed to carry out Mr. Trump’s orders to appoint the prosecutor, Lindsey Halligan, as the U.S. attorney for the Eastern District of Virginia.

The dismissals, while embarrassing for the White House and the Justice Department, are unlikely to be the last word on an issue of constitutional authority that many legal experts expect could be appealed to the Supreme Court. And the way Judge Currie rendered her decision left open the possibility that another prosecutor could refile the charges against both Mr. Comey and Ms. James.

Judge Currie’s orders center on Mr. Trump’s unorthodox decision to appoint Ms. Halligan to her prosecutorial position in an interim capacity, replacing his previous pick, who was also serving in a temporary role. Within days after assuming her new post, Ms. Halligan rejected the advice of the career prosecutors in her new office and moved single-handedly to indict both Mr. Comey and Ms. James, two of the president’s most reviled targets.

In her rulings on Monday, Judge Currie said that it was unlawful to appoint two interim prosecutors in succession, and she dismissed the charges against Mr.

Comey and Ms. James without prejudice.

The administration signaled on Monday that it would appeal the judge’s ruling rather than acquiesce to the death of two high-profile cases that the president had demanded be brought.

Karoline Leavitt, the White House press secretary, told reporters that the judge “was clearly trying to shield Letitia James and James Comey from receiving accountability” and added



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

James B. Comey’s lawyers cited a statute of limitations.

that the Justice Department would quickly appeal “this unprecedented action.”

The dismissal of charges without prejudice meant the government could also try to refile them, whatever the outcome of the ultimate legal fight over the appointment of Ms. Halligan, a former White House aide and personal lawyer to Mr. Trump.

In a statement, a lawyer for Mr. Comey, Patrick J. Fitzgerald, said that with the dismissal of the case against his client, “an independent judiciary vindicated our system of laws not just for Mr. Comey but for all American citizens.”

Ms. James’s lawyer, Abbe Lowell, said the court ruling showed

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PL GOULD/IMAGES PRESS, VIA GETTY IMAGES

The reggae musician Jimmy Cliff performing in France in 1976.

JIMMY CLIFF, 1944-2025

Dynamic Singer Helped Make Reggae Into Global Sensation

By ALEX MARSHALL and ALEX WILLIAMS

Jimmy Cliff, a onetime choirboy who emerged from the rough quarters of Kingston, Jamaica, riding a rebel spirit and a fierce sense of social justice to help make the supple, bobbing sounds of reggae a global phenomenon with songs like “You Can Get It If You Really Want” and “The Harder They Come,” has died. He was 81.

Mr. Cliff’s wife, Latifa Chambers, announced his death in an online post early Monday. She said the cause was a seizure followed by pneumonia.

Fueled by his searing performance as a musician-turned-outlaw in the 1972 film “The Harder They Come,” Mr. Cliff became the first worldwide reggae star.

But he set his sights even higher. Over the years, his musical journey encompassed ska, rocksteady, pop, soul and other genres. “I didn’t really want to be known just as the King of Reggae,” he said in a 2004 interview with The Washington Post. “I actually

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Worsening Floods in Vietnam

Scientists suggested that climate change could make the country a global hot spot for destructive storms. **PAGE A7**

Denmark’s Migration Stance

European leaders have long admired Copenhagen’s restrictive asylum policy, which took shape a decade ago. **PAGE A4**

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The Rich Reshaping Higher Ed

Conservative billionaires have helped oust college presidents and even assisted the Trump administration’s effort to overhaul academia. **PAGE A8**

Venezuelan Migrants Divided

President Trump’s immigration policies, air strikes and saber-rattling against the Maduro regime have deepened tensions in South Florida. **PAGE A13**

Port Authority Leader to Retire

Rick Cotton oversaw the rebuilding of LaGuardia Airport and several other major infrastructure projects in the New York City region. **PAGE A13**

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Rethinking Business With U.S.

As trade rules create chaos, small companies from Sweden to Brazil are questioning their plans to serve American customers. **PAGE B1**

Bracing for Britain’s Budget

Rachel Reeves, the unpopular chancellor of the Exchequer, may upset an angry public with her plan. **PAGE B1**

SPORTS B6-10

More Money, but at a Price

The men’s tennis tour made some tournaments longer to enrich top players, but it’s a time drain. **PAGE B6**



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In a Midwife’s Hands

In a state where the nearest obstetrician is far away, a tradition of community-based care is being revived. **PAGE D1**

Changing the Trajectory

The ESCAPADE mission to Mars has broken the mold on how planetary science missions come together. **PAGE D1**

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Love, Onscreen and Off

Married for three decades, Ted Danson and Mary Steenburgen get together in “A Man on the Inside.” **PAGE C1**

Selling Michelangelo’s Foot

Christie’s will auction a sketch of a model’s foot said to have been drawn by the Renaissance artist. **PAGE C1**

OPINION A18-19

Thomas L. Friedman

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