"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, early sunshine, then cloudy, high 79. Tonight, periodic rain late, low 65. Tomorrow, early showers, clouds break for sun, warmer, high 80. Weather map is on Page B12.

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 2025

NEWS ANALYSIS

A Presidency of Reprisal Tramples on Safeguards

Prices in Canada may be higher

Comey Case Risks Justice Dept. Integrity

This article is by Alan Feuer, Jonah E. Bromwich and Maggie Ha-

The clearest way to understand the extraordinary nature of the indictment on Thursday of James B. Comey, the former F.B.I. director, is to offer up a simple recitation of the facts.

An inexperienced prosecutor loyal to President Trump, in the iob for less than a week, filed criminal charges against one of her boss's most-reviled opponents. She did so not only at Mr. Trump's direct command, but also against the urging of both her own subordinates and her predecessor, who had just been fired for raising concerns that there was insufficient evidence to indict.

The charges, which were filed around 7 p.m. in Federal District Court in Âlexandria, Va., thrust the Justice Department into perilous new territory. The push for the indictment trampled over the agency's long tradition of maintaining distance from the White House and resisting political pressure, and it raised the prospect of further arbitrary prosecutions pushed by Mr. Trump against his enemies.

Heightening the break-glass moment, the felony charges against Mr. Comey, who stands accused of making false statements and obstructing justice, were rushed into court as Mr. Trump's handpicked prosecutor, Lindsey Halligan, hurried to beat the quickly approaching statute of limitations on Mr. Comey's purported crimes.

The rush to prosecute Mr. Comey was the clearest example yet of how the normal process of justice has been reversed under Mr. Trump, showing how the president came into his second

term with targets already in mind and ultimately pressured the Justice Department, over a degree of internal resistance, into finding a way to charge a former director of the F.B.I.

Ms. Halligan, who had been working as a top official in the White House staff secretary's office and had previously served as a personal lawyer for Mr.



James B. Comey testifying on Capitol Hill in June 2017.

Trump, had until now never prosecuted a single case in her

Mr. Trump nevertheless appointed her as interim U.S. attorney in the Eastern District of Virginia on Monday afternoon, after publicly berating Attorney General Pam Bondi on Saturday night for not moving more aggressively to prosecute Mr. Comey and two other figures who are longtime targets of his retribution campaign, Letitia James, New York's attorney general, and Senator Adam B.

Schiff, Democrat of California. Although Ms. Halligan had not been fully briefed on the Comey case before arriving and despite

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"Israel will not allow you to shove a terror state down our throats," Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said in his speech on Friday.

Netanyahu Denounces Palestinian State to a Mostly Empty U.N.

This article is by Ephrat Livni, Liam Stack and Thomas Fuller.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel ruled out calls for a Palestinian state during a combative speech at the United Nations in New York on Friday, saying the recognition of Palestine by more than 150 countries was "disgraceful" and vowing to "finish the job" against Hamas in the war in the Gaza Strip.

Mr. Netanyahu has for years rejected Palestinian statehood, but his address on Friday, to a largely empty hall that seemed a metaphor for his country's diplomatic isolation, came at an especially tense time for his country. Israel has faced growing denunciation of its devastating conduct of the war in Gaza, and major Western nations like Britain, France and Can-

C.T.E. Found

In Killer of 4

By KEN BELSON

and CHELSIA ROSE MARCIUS

people in a Midtown Manhattan

office building in July had chronic

traumatic encephalopathy, the de-

generative brain disease linked to

repeated head injuries sustained

in football and other contact

sports, according to the New York

The disease, known as C.T.E.

can be diagnosed only posthu-

mously. Shane Tamura, the gun-

man, killed himself after the

shooting spree at 345 Park Ave-

The medical examiner "found

dence of Chronic Traumatic En-

cephalopathy, also known as

C.T.E., in the brain tissue of the de-

cedent," according to a statement.

"The findings correspond with the

classification of low-stage C.T.E.,

according to current consensus

Mr. Tamura, a former high

school football player, shot him-

self in the chest after killing four

people and left a note that said his

motive was anger at the National

Football League, which he blamed

for hiding the effects of C.T.E. In

the note, he asked that his brain be

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The police said Mr. Tamura, 27,

unambiguous

diagnostic

City medical examiner's office.

The gunman who killed four

In Manhattan

Palestine, after years of holding out against calls to do so.

"Israel will not allow you to shove a terror state down our throats," Mr. Netanyahu told the sparse gathering. He said accepting an independent Palestine would be "national suicide" for Israel and that it would be a "mark of shame" for the countries that supported it, a group that includes the vast majority of the U.N. mem-

The United States is the sole member of the U.N. Security Council that has not recognized

Mr. Netanyahu's speech was the first at Friday's session of the annual meeting of the U.N. General Assembly, and many delegates and leaders either had not arrived, were boycotting or walked out when he took the podium. The image of the Israeli prime

By COLIN MOYNIHAN

After a 2018 fire at his Hamp-

tons estate, Ronald O. Perelman

argued that among the paintings

damaged by the blaze were five

particularly valuable works from

his collection, including a Cy

Twombly that he later said had

Insurers of the property balked

at paying for those works, saying

they had survived unharmed.

Holding companies affiliated with

Mr. Perelman sued for hundreds

On Friday, a judge in New York

who had presided over a bench

trial rejected Mr. Perelman's view.

saying he saw nothing to prevent

"the artworks from being enjoyed

damage to the five paintings," Jus-

tice Joel M. Cohen of the State Su-

preme Court in Manhattan said,

adding: "Nothing traceable to the

Justice Cohen added that they had

not proven their contention that

Mr. Perelman had intentionally

While finding for the insurers,

"I find that there was no visible

"lost its oomph."

of millions of dollars.

as they were before."

misled them.

Defiant Address Comes to Symbolize Israel's Global Isolation

much of the applause came from his own delegation seemed to underline the fears by some Israelis that the country is heading toward pariah status.

For his journey to New York from Israel, Mr. Netanyahu took an unusually long route, avoiding the airspace of two European countries that have sharply criticized Israel's conduct of the war in Gaza, according to flight tracking

His office did not provide an explanation for the circuitous route that added about an hour to his flight. But the prime minister is

A Painting Survived a Fire. But Did Its 'Oomph'?

the International Criminal Court on war crimes charges related to the war in Gaza. The countries he avoided, France and Spain, are both signatories to the Rome Statute, the treaty that established the I.C.C., which could make him subject to arrest if he were to land in their territory. The United States and Israel have not joined the

The Israeli authorities sought and were granted permission to fly through French airspace, according to a French diplomat who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss the situation. But Mr. Netanyahu seemed to be taking no chances.

As the prime minister spoke on Friday, hundreds of protesters on the streets of New York City denounced the war in Gaza, which will soon reach the two-year mark. The war has shocked and

New Tariff Plan Would Exceed Justices' Reach

By ANA SWANSON

The fate of many of President Trump's tariffs hangs in the balance at the Supreme Court, but he is rapidly building out a backup plan.

The Supreme Court is set to begin considering whether the tariffs that Mr. Trump has placed on countries including Switzerland and India earlier this year are unconstitutional. But the Trump administration has been erecting another system of tariffs that is im-

pervious to the legal challenge. The administration has proposed or issued tariffs that cover more than a third of U.S. imports under a legal provision related to national security, known as Section 232. They include many critical products for American businesses and consumers, including cars, machinery, medical devices and semiconductors.

The president expanded the use of the national security law on Thursday night, saying he would put tariffs ranging from 25 percent to 100 percent on imports of pharmaceuticals, semi trucks, kitchen cabinets and furniture beginning on Wednesday.

A day earlier, his administration opened investigations that could result in tariffs on industrial machinery, robotics, medical devices and personal protective gear. Tariffs on other industries, including semiconductors and the electronics that contain them, are still pending and could raise costs further for consumers and busi-

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Supreme Court Lets Trump Cut Billions in Aid

By ANN E. MARIMOW

WASHINGTON - The Supreme Court on Friday allowed the Trump administration to withhold \$4 billion in foreign aid that had been appropriated by Congress, in a preliminary test of President Trump's efforts to wrest the power of the purse from lawmakers

In its brief order, the court's conservative majority allowed the president to cut the funding in part because it said his flexibility to engage in foreign affairs outweighed "the potential harm" faced by aid recipients. The justices cautioned that their decision, a temporary one while litigation continues, "should not be read as a final determination on the mer-

The three liberal justices dissented, saying the issue before the court was too consequential to have been dealt with on an emer-

gency basis. "The stakes are high: At issue is the allocation of power between the executive and Congress" over how government funds are spent, wrote Justice Elena Kagan, who was joined by Justices Sonia Sotomayor and Ketanji Brown Jack-

Justice Kagan noted that while the majority's order was an interim measure, the funding Congress appropriated would not reach foreign aid groups regardless of how the underlying litigation was re-

In response to the Supreme Court order, lawyers for one of the Continued on Page A9

Ronald O. Perelman said his Cy Twombly work was damaged in a blaze at his estate. Insurers, and a judge, deemed it unharmed.

A lawyer for the holding companies had no comment on whether they might appeal. Justice Cohen's decision re-

solved, at least for the moment, a lengthy battle that began after the fire in an attic at Mr. Perelman's 72-acre estate known as the Creeks. The litigation has drawn attention, in part because it explored questions of how to define

and calculate damage, including some that may not be visible to the naked eye. It also included allegations by insurers that the case was "a portrait of a contrived claim" generated by a man in dire need of

There is no dispute that several

works at the estate were damaged in the fire, some severely. Holding company lawyers contend that even if the five at issue — two by Andy Warhol, two by Ed Ruscha and the Twombly — were not scorched by flames or soaked by

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BUSINESS B1-7

studied.

Railroads Make Comeback

Companies are trying to win back business lost over the years to trucking, their main rival. PAGE B1

A Fresh Round of Tariffs

President Trump said imported drugs, trucks and household furnishings would be hit, starting next week.

NATIONAL A8-14

Texas' Camp Mystic to Reopen

Twenty-seven children and counselors died in a July flood, and many families expressed shock that the retreat would open for its 100th anniversary. PAGE A8

Schools Chief Detained by ICE

Ian Roberts, who has led the Des Moines public school system since 2023, was in the U.S. illegally, officials said. PAGE A11

OBITUARIES A15, 18

Revolutionary Who Escaped

Assata Shakur, once known as JoAnne Chesimard, was convicted in the killing of a state trooper. She was 78. PAGE A15



ARTS C1-6

'The Histories' of Black Life

Kerry James Marshall tackles the complexity of making "the paintings nobody else is making" in a new exhibit. PAGE C1

The New York Film Festival

This year's highlights include the Italian documentary "Below the Clouds" and the epic "Magellan."

INTERNATIONAL A4-7 A Canada Post Walkout

The end of door-to-door delivery and other cuts to the country's postal service came at a time of steep financial losses for the carrier, and protracted labor talks for its union. PAGE A4

A New Plan to Aid Kyiv

Germany's chancellor is the latest to back a loan agreement, using Russian assets that are frozen as collateral to send a message to Moscow. But the idea carries risks. PAGE A6

OPINION A16-17

Michelle Goldberg



SPORTS B8-11

Leading a Syracuse U-Turn Fran Brown, a straightforward football

coach, won 10 games in his first year, and then upset Clemson last week. He's hungry for more. PAGE B8

