"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, not as hot, humid, some sun, a thunderstorm, high 79. Tonight, cloudy, a passing shower, low 65. Tomorrow, cloudy, a shower around, link 77. Weath, a shower around the state of the high 72. Weather map on Page B12.

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THURSDAY, JUNE 26, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

Pushing Back On Assessment Of Iran Strikes

Rubio Insists Nuclear **Program Is Gutted**

By DAVID E. SANGER and TYLER PAGER

THE HAGUE — President Trump and Secretary of State Marco Rubio made their most detailed case yet on Wednesday at a NATO summit in the Netherlands for why they believe the American attack on Iran dealt a fatal blow to its nuclear ambitions, pushing back on the findings of a U.S. intelligence report and more cautious statements from international nuclear inspectors.

While Mr. Trump largely repeated his assertions that Iran's nuclear facilities were "obliterated," Mr. Rubio stepped in with the first description of why he thought the attack had set back the Iranians' progress for years rather than by only a few months, as a preliminary Defense Intelligence Agency report said. His argument centered on evidence that a "conversion facility" — which is key to converting nuclear fuel from a gas into the form needed to produce a nuclear weapon — has been destroyed.

The question of whether Iran could recover from the strike on Sunday morning dominated the meeting of the 32 NATO nations. It overshadowed a major accomplishment for Mr. Trump: an agreement among most of the allies, with the notable exception of Spain, to spend 5 percent of their gross domestic product on defense within a decade as they face down Russian military gression. Mr. Trump had demanded the increase and celebrated the moment, telling reporters during an hourlong news conference, "I began pushing for additional commitments in 2017."

But his anger over the disclosure of the intelligence report on Continued on Page A7

COMMITMENT NATO vows to increase military spending, pleasing President Trump. PAGE A5

AN OPEN BOOK Online and in real life, President Trump offers a window into his psyche. PAGE A5

MAMDANI VOWS TO UNITE CITY'S DEMOCRATS



Zohran Mamdani, who stunned Andrew M. Cuomo in a New York primary, will try to unseat Mayor Eric Adams, an independent.

A Sudden Acceleration Puts a Beleaguered Party at a Crossroads

By LIAM STACK

The national Democratic establishment on Tuesday night struggled to absorb the startling ascent of a democratic socialist in New York City who embraced a progressive economic agenda and diverged from the party's dominant position on the Middle East.

As elections go, Tuesday's party primary for mayor was a thunderbolt: New York voters turned away from a well-funded familiar face and famous name, former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, and in doing so made a generational and ideological break with the party's mainstream. They turned to a 33year-old, three-term state assemblyman, Zohran Mamdani, who ran on an optimistic message that has eluded many national Demo-

crats about affordability and the rising cost of living.

What became vividly clear on Tuesday, as votes were counted across the racially and economically diverse neighborhoods of New York, was that Mr. Mamdani had generated excitement among some — though not all — of the traditional pillars of winning Democratic voter coalitions.

Democratic leaders badly want to win over young voters and minority groups in the coming 2026 and 2028 elections — two groups they have struggled to mobilize since the Obama era — but they also need moderate Democrats and independents who often recoil from far-left positions.

"It really represents the excitement that I saw on the streets all throughout the City of New York,

Continued on Page A14



VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Supporters celebrated Mr. Mamdani's victory at a Democratic Socialists of America watch party on Tuesday night in Brooklyn.

After Strong Result, He Sees a 'Hunger' for New Politics

By EMMA G. FITZSIMMONS

Roughly a year ago, Zohran Mamdani sipped a cup of tea at a Yemeni cafe in Queens and spoke of what seemed like an unimaginable ambition: He wanted to become mayor of New York City.

Months later, he declared his candidacy, beginning the race with nothing more than optimism. He had few endorsements and name recognition that he put at "1 percent of New Yorkers knowing who I am, and that's a charitable estimation," he said in an interview on Wednesday.

In the ensuing months, Mr. Mamdani managed to create what turned out to be an indomitable campaign for mayor, exciting young voters with a brand of creativity, social media wizardry and a never-wavering message about the necessity of making New York more affordable.

He emerged from Tuesday's Democratic primary for mayor as the likely winner, building a coalition of support that crossed racial, economic and religious lines across most of the city.

On Wednesday, Mr. Mamdani took a rare moment to rest from his breakneck campaign. After "about four hours of sleep," he was home in his Assembly district in Queens taking congratulatory calls from policymakers like Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, the House Democratic leader, and reflecting on his success and the challenges that still lie ahead in the general election in November and beyond.

His apparent victory, he said, was a "reflection of a hunger across New York City, across neighborhoods, both ones that are described as progressive and ones that are not, for a different kind of politics, for a new generation of leadership, and for a democracy where New Yorkers can see themselves and see their concerns and see their struggles reflected back."

Mr. Mamdani, 33, a democratic socialist who would be the city's first Muslim mayor, acknowledged that he had thought the

Continued on Page A15

Kennedy Stops Vaccine Money To World Group

By STEPHANIE NOLEN

The U.S. health secretary, Robert F. Kennedy Jr., who has moved to undermine public immunization programs in the United States, took his efforts global on Wednesday, accusing the leading international vaccine organization of having "ignored the science" in immunizing children around the world.

In confrontational remarks sent by video to global leaders who had gathered to support the organization, Gavi, Mr. Kennedy said the United States would withdraw its financial support for the group's work purchasing vaccines for children in poor countries.

"When vaccine safety issues have come before Gavi, Gavi has treated them not as a patient health problem, but as a public relations problem," Mr. Kennedy said in the address. He offered no evidence for the allegation.

His speech was the first indication that the Trump administration's decision to end funding for Gavi may be motivated by mistrust of vaccines, in addition to a desire to reduce foreign aid.

In the video, which Gavi's leaders said they would play before the end of the summit, Mr. Kennedy accused them of being selec-

Continued on Page A10

As Bezos Weds, Superyachts Join the Gondolas | Global Deals, Cash and Pressure

By EMMA BUBOLA

VENICE — Private jets soared above Venice's archipelago, and towering supervachts slipped through its lagoon. Caterers baked buttery Venetian delicacies while protesters schemed. Bombsniffing dogs prowled the verdant island of San Giorgio Maggiore, in front of the Doge's Palace.

Venice, the city built by merchants and tradesmen, girded itself this week for the nuptials of the doge of digital commerce.

A Grandiose Gathering Irks an Opulent City

Jeff Bezos, the billionaire tech entrepreneur, newspaper owner turned jacked tabloid fixture and A-list mingler, was set to celebrate his wedding to the energetic broadcaster Lauren Sánchez in a city that centuries ago set the standard for sumptuous, flashy ostentation.

For three days starting Thursday, the frescoed ancient homes of bankers and tradesmen that made Venice rich, now emptied of their residents and brimming with scented orchids, are to be turned over to influencers, rappers, pop stars and Ivanka Trump - all

among the expected guests. San Giorgio, where emperors once met with popes, would host the patron of Amazon.com.

City officials were proud, happy about the money and the prestige Continued on Page A9



The Grand Canal in Venice. When the private jets soar and the superyachts moor, that's amore.

Help Trump Offload Deportees

This article is by Edward Wong, Zolan Kanno-Youngs, Aleaziz and Minho Kim.

WASHINGTON — U.S. diplomats in several overseas missions received an urgent cable from Washington this spring. They were told to ask nine countries in Africa and Central Asia to take in people expelled from the United States who were not citizens of those nations, including crimi-

It was a glimpse into President Trump's wide campaign to get countries to accept America's deportees. American diplomats are reaching out to countries in every corner of the globe, even some shattered by war or known for human rights abuses.

U.S. officials have approached Angola, Mongolia and embattled Ukraine. Kosovo has agreed to accept up to 50 people. Costa Rica is holding dozens. The U.S. government paid

Rwanda \$100,000 to take an Iraqi man and is discussing sending more deportees there. Peru has said no so far, despite having been pressed repeatedly.

"The United States is eager to partner with countries willing to accept" people, the cable, dated March 12, said. It listed Tunisia, Togo and Turkmenistan among the possible destinations.

And the administration re-

cently planned to fly citizens of mainly Asian and Latin American countries to war-torn Libva and South Sudan, until a U.S. district court blocked those expulsions. Libya was one of the nine countries mentioned in the cable. which has not been reported previously.

The Supreme Court ruled on Monday that the Trump administration has the right to expel people to countries other than their



The immigration police at a detention facility in Costa Rica.

own, possibly paving the way for the deportation flight to South Sudan and similar moves across the globe.

up the deportation Tricia McLaughlin, a planes." spokeswoman for the Homeland Security Department, wrote on

Continued on Page A12

ARTS C1-6

An Astounding Debut

The Russian ballerina Olga Smirnova lit up the start of the American Ballet Theater's summer season.

Tale of Heroism in Chechnya

The makers of a film about the murdered Russian activist Natalya Estemirova had to take their own risks. PAGE C1

OPINION A18-19

Nicholas Kristof

PAGE A19

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Hopes Dashed on H.I.V.

U.S. funding cuts doomed plans for wide African distribution of a new drug to protect against the virus. PAGE A10

Kenya Protests Leave 8 Dead

Demonstrators battled with police nationwide a year after deadly rallies against a contentious tax plan. PAGE A8



NATIONAL A11-17, 20

Will Voters Balk at Cuts?

As they push for cuts in Medicaid and food stamps, Republicans are betting they can avoid backlash from supporters who use those programs. PAGE A17

BUSINESS B1-5

Geopolitics Abhors a Vacuum

As the Trump administration dismantles the Voice of America, adversaries are only too happy to fill the void. PAGE B1

Last Stand for Renewables

Supporters of incentives for wind and solar - many in Republican districts are fighting efforts to kill them. PAGE B1 SPORTS B6-9

From Broadway to the MAC Eddie George has won the Heisman

Trophy, starred in the N.F.L., started businesses and acted onstage. His new role: coaching Bowling Green. PAGE B6

OBITUARIES B10-11

Focused on City's 'Bad Boys' Marcia Resnick photographed the

swirling 1970s social scene, including John Belushi. She was 74.

Teen Idol of 1960s and '70s Bobby Sherman, an actor and a singer

who became an easygoing pop-music star, was 81.

Trump and the Gay Community Gay backers of the president say that

he is indifferent to sexuality. Many L.G.B.T.Q. activists disagree. PAGE D1

She's Still Fitting In The influencer Katie Sturino is losing

THURSDAY STYLES D1-8

weight, but that doesn't mean she is not "body neutral" anymore.

