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Echoing Boss, Trump Envoy Chafes France

Elder Kushner Is Blunt Over Antisemitism

By MARK LANDLER

PARIS — Four days before marking the 82nd anniversary of the D-Day landings in Normandy, Charles Kushner, President Trump's ambassador to France, made a quieter pilgrimage to a military cemetery in eastern France. There, he recited the Kaddish prayer over the graves of five Jewish American soldiers killed in World War I.

It was a solemn act of commemoration for Mr. Kushner, an Orthodox Jew who puts his faith at the heart of his diplomacy. But it is his full-throated advocacy on behalf of Jews living in today's France that has drawn more attention, and reproach, in Paris, where he has cut a Trumpian swath through its decorous salons.

Mr. Kushner, whose son Jared is married to Mr. Trump's daughter Ivanka, clashed with his French hosts weeks after arriving last July when he accused them of not doing enough to combat antisemitism. Nearly a year later, he contends the problem has gotten worse — so much so that he has suggested that the Trump administration grant refugee status to French Jews, even as it otherwise scales back asylum provision.

"It would be an objective of mine to have, for the Jewish population here, more options to go to America rather than the option of only going to Israel," Mr. Kushner said in an interview this month in his baronial residence in Paris. "They live in fear and they feel abandoned by this government."

Statements like that, which he first put in an open letter to President Emmanuel Macron in August, have burned his bridges with the French Foreign Ministry. Mr. Kushner, 72, has been summoned twice to be rebuked for interfering in France's internal affairs — snubbing both requests — after which the foreign minister, Jean-Noël Barrot, threatened to forbid him from meeting with French officials.

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A billboard of Iran's first two supreme leaders in Tehran. The second, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, was killed at the start of the war.

Inquiry Into Trump Clemency Grant Is Quashed

This article is by Kenneth P. Vogel, Nicole Hong and William K. Rashbaum.

WASHINGTON — President Trump's political appointees quashed an early-stage criminal investigation into the circumstances surrounding his clemency grant to a convicted fraudster, according to five people with knowledge of the events.

The investigation, which has not been previously reported, had begun examining whether improper payments were made to help facilitate the commutation awarded to David Gentile, a private equity executive who was convicted in a \$1.6 billion scheme that defrauded thousands of mostly mom-and-pop investors, some of whom lost their retirement savings.

The clemency grant freed Mr.

After Fraudster Freed, Suspicions Arose of Illicit Payments

Gentile last November, which was less than two weeks into a seven-year prison sentence, and wiped away the possibility of forfeiting more than \$15.5 million to the government.

Within a few months, federal prosecutors in Brooklyn, where Mr. Gentile's conviction had been secured, opened an investigation into how the commutation came about.

Among the evidence they gathered was information about jailhouse communications in which Mr. Gentile discussed making payments of \$2.5 million or more

to people or companies to help facilitate his clemency, according to two people with knowledge of the investigation who were not authorized to discuss it.

One of the people who came under scrutiny by investigators was the Rev. Frank Mann, a retired Catholic priest from Queens who is friends with Mr. Trump. In an email sent to The New York Times, Father Mann denied having anything to do with the clemency. But people with knowledge of the prison communications say that the priest corresponded with Mr. Gentile about lobbying the president on his behalf.

By May, the investigation had come to an abrupt halt after The Times inquired about the matter with the White House and the U.S. attorney's office in the Eastern District of New York, where the

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For Mamdani, Election Tests Political Clout

By NICHOLAS FANDOS and SALLY GOLDENBERG

A year ago this week, Zohran Mamdani's surprise victory in the Democratic primary for mayor upended New York politics.

Now, in the closing days of another primary season, he has thrown himself back onto the campaign trail, this time risking his political capital in a high-stakes bid to catapult fellow leftists to primary victories against the old Democratic guard.

Mr. Mamdani and allies are attempting to unseat two Democratic incumbents, Representatives Daniel Goldman and Adriano Espaillat, whom they view as too friendly to corporate donors and Israel. They want to lay claim to a third House seat. And down the ballot, they have designs on expanding the democratic socialist bloc in Albany.

If he prevails on Tuesday, Mr. Mamdani, 34, will go a long way toward establishing socialists as a major faction in New York City politics and himself as a kingmaker capable of vaulting relatively unknown candidates to victory and sidelining erstwhile power brokers.

But a string of losses could be disastrous, weakening the may-

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Neither War Nor a Truce Ended Risks

Iran Retains Missiles and Atomic Program

By NEIL MacFARQUHAR

In igniting a war against Iran on Feb. 28, President Trump billed the U.S. campaign as an unprecedented step toward transforming the Middle East and terminating the threat from what he called a "wicked, radical dictatorship."

Roughly 100 days later, as the United States and Iran have reached a somewhat vague memorandum of understanding to end the war, skeptics are expressing bafflement over what exactly has transformed.

Neither the war nor the agreement ended what U.S. and Israeli officials regard as the main threats emanating from Iran. The country's nuclear program, while heavily damaged, was not eliminated — its fate punted to future negotiation.

The same goes for its ballistic missiles, which the deal does not address. Iran's authoritarian regime endured, albeit with new leaders. Its proxies remain a threat to the region. Israel and Hezbollah, the Iran-backed militia in Lebanon, persisted in attacking each other.

By Saturday, even the most significant immediate result of the deal — Iran's reopening of the Strait of Hormuz, which Mr. Trump had identified as essential — seemed at risk. Iran's military said it was closing the waterway again, because the United States had failed to stop the fighting in Lebanon. The U.S. military contested that, saying the strait remained open as the agreement stipulated.

"This is not a document the United States agreed to because the war demonstrated a new U.S. military superiority," said Caitlin Talmadge, a professor at M.I.T. who specializes in Persian Gulf security issues. "I think it's a document that has resulted from the fact that the United States bit off more than it could chew and doesn't want to escalate."

That's a worthy goal, she said. "But it really raises the question of what was achieved here, especially in comparison to the original Iran nuclear deal."

For its part, the Islamic Republic is set to receive potentially substantial financial rewards. That is one substantive change, although not necessarily one in the United States' favor.

For Tehran, weathering the blistering assaults from the United States and Israel, and demonstrating the ability to retaliate and inflict damage,

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Activities at Camp Breastie in Honesdale, Pa., a camp for breast cancer survivors, include bracelet-making and a Latin dance class.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ADRIANNA NEWELL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

At This Camp, 'Breasties' Bond With Kindred Cancer Survivors

By RONI CARYN RABIN

HONESDALE, Pa. — At Camp Breastie, women who wanted to scream had to wake up early.

The lakeside venting session was the first activity of the day, so the sun was still low in the sky as dozens of breast cancer survivors scrambled down from their cabin bunks to the shore.

But first they wrote the names of their troubles on small stones and cast them into the water.

"Anger," wrote Shelby Jones, 33, who is from New York City.

"Fear," said Emily Tout, 30, from Buffalo, a single mother with metastatic disease.

Then Nancy Antoine, a cancer survivor from Davie, Fla., who said she'd been practicing scream therapy for years — albeit usually alone in the house — urged them to let it all out with a scream.

"Just release what you're carrying with you, and let the lake receive it," said Ms. Antoine, 51.

The screamers were among 500 women — breast cancer survivors, women living with advanced disease and women at

A Haven as Cases Rise Among Young Adults

high risk who had taken measures to prevent the disease — who had converged on a campsite near Honesdale, Pa., in early June for an annual, four-day retreat that has become so popular that organizers plan to add a West Coast location next year, doubling the event's capacity.

More than 350,000 women in

the United States are diagnosed with breast cancer every year, and there's been a sharp rise in cases among younger adults, for whom the camp holds particular appeal. That means demand for spots regularly outstrips supply: Tickets for the camp sold out in two weeks in 2025, organizers said, and in less than two hours this year.

"It's like Coachella," said Trish Michelle, one of the organizers, referring to the popular music and arts festival held each year in Indio, Calif. The minute sales start

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A Debate of Health vs. Privacy As Cities Test Sewage for Drugs

By JAN HOFFMAN

TEMPE, Ariz. — A foul odor permeated the early morning heat as city workers unlocked a sewage monitoring shed and opened the tap of a collection jug that had been siphoning from Tempe's wastewater over the previous day. They filled a jar, packed it in a blue cooler and hurried to the next shed, or "doghouse," retrieving from 11 in all.

Rushing to prevent the samples from degrading under the glaring sun, they delivered the coolers to a new municipal lab, where chemists test sewage for traces of dangerous drugs.

The aim of this citywide effort is to detect drugs as soon as they start infiltrating neighborhoods and to reduce overdoses by alert-

ing residents and emergency medical responders.

A colorful, interactive dashboard broadcasts the latest results: On April 27, xylazine, which can necrotize human flesh, was popping in Collection Area 4; on May 11, fentanyl jumped in Collection Area 6.

"The poop don't lie," said Wydale Holmes, director of strategic management and innovation for the city, invoking her office's mantra.

Tempe is among a growing number of local governments that are experimenting with monitoring wastewater for drug use, using methods similar to those widely employed to track the co-

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Colombia's Enduring Drug War

Ten years after a landmark peace deal, armed rebel groups are still wreaking deadly violence. PAGE A8

'Robin Hood Tree' Has Died

The Major Oak in the Sherwood Forest was between 800 and 1,200 years old. It succumbed to several factors. PAGE A4

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China's Robot Advantage

Building on the E.V. industry, Chinese companies are producing parts for humanoid robots at a scale and price others can't match. PAGE B1

An Unglamorous Reality

Job cuts at Glamour and a focus on shopping tips are signs of the waning power of women's magazines. PAGE B1

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He Helped Find 'God Particle'

François Englert shared a Nobel with Peter Higgs, whose boson solved a physics mystery. He was 93. PAGE A17



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Diocese Objects to Border Wall

Roman Catholics in New Mexico are claiming that a steel barrier would desecrate a holy landmark. PAGE A11

Quarantine Ends for 18 People

The American passengers of a cruise ship hit by a hantavirus outbreak had been held for weeks. PAGE A14

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Already Closer to Broadway

Top students from across the country come to New York each year for the National High School Musical Theater Awards. We tagged along for a day of their weeklong residency. PAGE C1

Putting Liberty on Display

The expansive Tang Wing at the New York Historical is home to a show called "Democracy Matters," part of the museum's efforts to celebrate the United States' semiquincentennial. PAGE C1

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Christine Emba

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SPORTS D1-8

Swimming the California Coast

A 900-mile route won't be "the worst way to spend four months," Catherine Breed said — as long as the great white sharks leave her alone. PAGE D4

