

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**

Today, partly sunny, humid, high 85. Tonight, partly cloudy, low 70. Tomorrow, warm and partly cloudy, a storm around in the afternoon, high 89. Weather map is on Page A22.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



LEXI PARRA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

## A Kaleidoscope of Spirit

The New York City Pride March on Sunday reflected optimism about local leaders and concern about the national climate. Page A13.

## Trump Cut Big Mine Deal, And Sons Stand to Gain

### \$1.6 Billion Pact for Kazakhstan Tungsten Furthers Pattern of Self-Enrichment

By PAUL SONNE and ERIC LIPTON

UNREK, Kazakhstan — When Commerce Secretary Howard Lutnick met with Kazakhstan’s president at the St. Regis Hotel last September in New York, President Trump jumped in by phone as the men sealed a deal on a top priority for Washington.

During the call, Mr. Trump and his team won an agreement from the Kazakh leader to give a little-known American company access to one of the world’s largest untapped reserves of tungsten, a metal that the United States desperately needs for the production of missile warheads, fighter jets, computer chips and other critical goods.

Ahead of the deal, the Trump administration approved preliminary applications for as much as \$1.6 billion in federal financing for the American company, now called Kaz Resources, which plans to break ground on the project in rural Kazakhstan.

It was not only Mr. Trump and Mr. Lutnick who saw an opportunity.

Their sons were soon doing business with partners in a deal that their fathers were negotiating, continuing a pattern of self-enrichment in the second Trump administration that has few precedents in American history.

Within weeks of the St. Regis negotiations, investors with a firm called Dominari Securities, which is housed at Trump Tower in New York and partly owned by the president’s two eldest sons, Donald Trump Jr. and Eric Trump,

joined with other partners to take a 20 percent stake in a corporate entity related to the Kazakhstan project.

Around the same time, Cantor Fitzgerald, an investment company controlled by Mr. Lutnick’s family and overseen by his sons Brandon and Kyle Lutnick, helped one of the lead investors working with Dominari on the Kazakh deal raise \$210 million in new capital for a related entity. Such rounds of fund-raising typically net Cantor millions of dollars in fees.

The Kazakh deal was ultimately signed on Nov. 6, six days after the investment involving the Trump sons and their partners, which was not publicly disclosed at the time.

The arrangement is hardly an outlier. One or both families have financial ties to at least 14 companies that are actively working with the federal government on critical mining deals, including the Kazakhstan project, according to federal filings examined by The New York Times.

All 14 of these companies have either benefited directly from offers of financial assistance from the Trump administration, or have pending permit applications before the Commerce Department, which Mr. Lutnick oversees, The Times found. The total amount of federal funding that the Trump administration has provided or is considering providing

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## SHIPPING REVIVAL AT RISK IN STRAIT

### Renewed Strikes Hinder Growth in Gulf Traffic

By PETER EAVIS and JENNY GROSS

A renewal of strikes by the forces of Iran and the United States is threatening the nascent recovery of shipping in the Persian Gulf, where traffic through the Strait of Hormuz recently rose to the highest levels since the start of the war.

The attacks that began last week and continued over the weekend showed that both countries were willing to use military force to gain the upper hand in the strait, prompting many ship operators to remain wary of the waterway, a crucial choke point for oil and gas shipments from the gulf. “Shipping is literally caught in the crossfire as the U.S. and Iran battle for control of Hormuz strait,” said Michelle Wiese Bockmann, an analyst at Windward, a maritime intelligence firm. “This does little to restore confidence that security and safety can be guaranteed to get stranded ships out.”

The escalation began on Thursday, when Iran attacked a cargo ship in the strait with a drone. The United States retaliated with strikes against Iran, which were followed by an attack Saturday on a tanker that U.S. Central Command said Iran had carried out.

The United States and Iran signed a preliminary peace agreement this month that included a provision to reopen the strait.

But the waterway has not returned to normal. After the Iranian attack on the cargo ship, Ever Lovely, the International Maritime Organization, a United Nations agency, halted an effort to evacuate hundreds of ships stranded in the Persian Gulf.

Harry Vafias, chief executive of Stealth Gas, a shipping company, said on Saturday that of his three vessels stuck in the Persian Gulf for more than three months, one was able to exit the Persian Gulf in recent days. But the other two are still stuck, and it is too difficult for them to exit at this time.

He said the “situation in Hormuz seems to be deteriorating once more.”

Iran has in recent weeks tried to

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## Relief Efforts in Venezuela Take a Political Turn

By FRANCES ROBLES

The Venezuelan opposition party led by the exiled former legislator and Nobel laureate María Corina Machado mobilized volunteers throughout the nation last week to collect donations for homeless earthquake survivors, but it encountered an unexpected obstacle: the National Police.

On Thursday, Heidi Loicett, a leader of the opposition party, Vente, stood under a blue tarp on a sidewalk in Portuguesa, a state some 275 miles from the disaster zone, as people came by with a variety of items like diapers, bottled water and used clothing. The police came by, too, she said.

Several Venezuelan National

### A New Leader and a Clash Over Who Gets to Take Credit

Police officers and officials from the federal Civil Protection agency tried to shut down the charity drive, she explained in a telephone interview after the encounter, adding that she was told that all donations had to be channeled through the federal government.

“They said we couldn’t have a donation center, that the only authorized donation drop-off center was Civil Protection and the gov-

ernment,” Ms. Loicett said. “That was political persecution.”

The clash over who gets to take credit for the earthquake-shattered nation highlights a much larger, high-stakes battle for political survival in a fractured Venezuela.

Last week, Venezuela suffered two devastating earthquakes that killed more than 1,400 people, just six months after the U.S. military raided the country and seized the country’s former leader, Nicolás Maduro. Critics say they fear that Venezuela’s acting president, Delcy Rodríguez, will politicize the tragedy, using the disaster response to establish her legitimacy

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FABIOLA FERRERO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Dr. Zaira Medina with a team member outside her collapsed building in La Guaira, Venezuela.

## Is There Anyone Alive? A Doctor Rushes Home.

By FABIOLA FERRERO and JULIE TURKEWITZ

LA GUAIRA, Venezuela — The doctors thought they were headed out to save lives.

When they arrived at the heart of Venezuela’s disaster zone, they were told they would be searching for the dead.

On Friday, less than 48 hours after two major earthquakes shook Venezuela, Dr. Zaira Medina, 58, gathered a team of doctors and do-

### 12 Hours With a Team in Venezuela’s Rubble

nated supplies and set out for La Guaira, the nearby state on the country’s sparkling coast that had been hardest hit in the disaster.

“I am going to war,” she told the medical staff she was leaving behind. They gathered around her. “Make sure to be loving to the peo-

ple who come here. If there is a kid, hug the kid.”

Dr. Medina, director of the Pérez de León Hospital in Caracas, Venezuela’s capital, didn’t know what to expect. But she had a destination, her home in La Guaira, and a goal: rescue her neighbors.

Portofino Beach was the name of the sand-colored nine-story building. While some residents used it as a vacation spot, for Dr.

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## Brazil Turning To A.I. to Find The Next Pelé

By ANA IONOVA

AGUAÍ, Brazil — Eager to impress, the young soccer players darted and dribbled around the purple cones laid out on the patchy grass. Their speed, control and footwork were all being carefully evaluated — but not by a veteran scout.

Not even by a human being. Instead, the Brazilian athletes were being assessed by a mobile app powered by artificial intelligence, part of a handful of new tools promising to revolutionize the way that talent is discovered in the soccer-mad nation.

“We’re talking about millions of unseen boys and girls,” said Roger Wittmann, a German sports agent who created Cuju, one scouting app gaining ground in Brazil. “This is a big chance for them to be seen.”

Platforms like Cuju have quickly attracted hundreds of thousands of users in a country where playing professional soccer is a dream shared by many. The tools have also caught the attention of major soccer clubs, some of which are now using apps to recruit.

Brazil, where soccer is deeply intertwined with everyday life, exports more star talent than any other country in the world, with some athletes earning millions of dollars at top European clubs.

A.I. scouting platforms are already common in Europe, where evaluating soccer talent has long been rooted in metrics and statistics. But in Brazil, deep economic and regional inequalities have historically made it difficult to standardize scouting practices.

Instead, discovering Brazil’s soccer talent has been left to the nation’s storied scouts. Known as “olheiros” in Portuguese, these veteran talent hunters often

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MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Gov. Andy Beshear of Kentucky may run for president.

## Beshear Tours For Midterms, Or Maybe More

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

FRANKFORT, Ky. — Gov. Andy Beshear of Kentucky made a pilgrimage in April to the Rev. Al Sharpton’s National Action Network conference in New York City. On a sweltering night in May, he was at Representative James E. Clyburn’s “World Famous Fish Fry” in South Carolina. This month, he has rallied Democrats in Colorado, Nevada, Minnesota and Iowa.

“I am living, breathing proof the Democrats can win anywhere, and we should be fighting everywhere!” Mr. Beshear shouted at a rally in Des Moines for Rob Sand, who had just won the party’s nomination for Iowa governor.

Mr. Beshear, who seems to be everywhere on the 2026 midterms circuit, is in demand as a surrogate for Democrats in frontline races, all while positioning himself for an expected presidential run in 2028. Democrats, who urgently need to be competitive in more states if they are to win back Congress and eventually the White House, see hope in Mr. Beshear, a twice-elected Democratic governor of a deep-red state

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BUSINESS B1-6

### Reboot for a Leaner Saks

The retailer, renamed Exempler Luxury Group, is ditching everything except premium shopping. PAGE B1

### Investors Losing Voting Rights

Companies, including SpaceX, increasingly use dual-class share structures to limit shareholders’ say. PAGE B1

INTERNATIONAL A4-12

### Curbing the Ebola Outbreak

Advances in testing, contact tracing, vaccine development and containment will determine how fast doctors can get the epidemic under control. PAGE A4

### Europe’s Melting Infrastructure

The devastating heat wave has exposed weaknesses in structures built for a climate that no longer exists. PAGE A12

OBITUARIES A19, B8

### Go-Go Gallerist of the ’80s

The art dealer Bruno Bischofberger, 86, propped up painters like Andy Warhol and Jean-Michel Basquiat. PAGE A19



SPORTS D1-8

### A Team Backed by 2 Nations

Cape Verde, a tiny African nation in the World Cup with a Dublin-born player, is winning Irish cheers. PAGE D1

### Divided and United by the Net

Chris Evert and Martina Navratilova have shared one of the seminal rivalries and friendships in sports. PAGE D7

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### 3 Firefighters Die in Blazes

The crew members were part of a multi-agency effort to battle wildfires sweeping the Utah-Colorado border. Two other firefighters were being treated for burn injuries. PAGE A16

### Pathway to U.S. for Afrikaners

President Trump has exempted white South Africans from his move to upend America’s refugee program, which had been a sanctuary for people fleeing persecution and disaster. PAGE A14

OPINION A20-21

### James V. Grimaldi

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ARTS C1-6

### Focused on the Future

The filmmaker Robert Townsend has lately turned to TV, acting in FX’s “The Bear,” directing episodes of “The Chi” and mentoring Black actors. PAGE C1



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