

“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**THE WEATHER**  
Today, sunny with very low humidity, high 76. Tonight, clear, low 59. Tomorrow, mostly sunny and becoming a little warmer with low humidity, high 80. Weather map, Page B12.

VOL. CLXXIII . . . No. 60,171

© 2024 The New York Times Company

FRIDAY, MAY 31, 2024

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

# GUILTY

## JURY CONVICTS TRUMP ON ALL 34 COUNTS



Donald J. Trump could receive probation or up to four years in prison for falsifying records. His sentencing is scheduled for July 11.

### First Ex-President to Become a Felon Plans to Appeal

This article is by Ben Protess, Jonah E. Bromwich, Maggie Haberman, Kate Christobek, Jesse McKinley and William K. Rashbaum.

Donald J. Trump was convicted on Thursday of falsifying records to cover up a sex scandal that threatened to derail his 2016 presidential campaign, capping an extraordinary trial that tested the resilience of the American justice system and transformed the former commander in chief into a felon.

The guilty verdict in Manhattan — across the board, on all 34 counts — will reverberate throughout the nation and the world as it ushers in a new era of presidential politics. Mr. Trump will carry the stain of the verdict during his third run for the White House as voters now choose between an unpopular incumbent and a convicted criminal.

While it was once unthinkable that Americans would elect a felon as their leader, Mr. Trump’s insurgent behavior delights his supporters as he bulldozes the country’s norms. Now, the man who refused to accept his 2020 election loss is already seeking to delegitimize his conviction, attempting to assert the primacy of his raw political power over the nation’s rule of law.

As Mr. Trump learned his fate on Thursday, he showed little emotion, shutting his eyes and slowly shaking his head while a hush descended over the courtroom. But when he emerged, holding his jaw tense, the former president spoke to the assembled television cameras. He declared that the verdict was “a disgrace” and,

with a somber expression, proclaimed: “The real verdict is going to be Nov. 5, by the people,” referring to Election Day.

The judge overseeing the case, Juan M. Merchan, released Mr. Trump on his own recognizance and set his sentencing for July 11, just days before the Republican National Convention convenes and anoints him as the presidential nominee.

Alvin L. Bragg, the prosecutor who brought the case, declined to reveal Thursday whether he would seek a prison term. The judge could put Mr. Trump behind bars for up to four years, but the former president could receive probation instead, and may never see the inside of a prison cell. He has vowed to appeal, and will remain free to campaign for the presidency while he awaits his punishment.

The 12 New Yorkers who composed the jury needed nearly 10 hours to decide a case stemming

Continued on Page A15



Alvin L. Bragg, the district attorney, after Thursday’s verdict.

### Run of Luck in Criminal Court Was Ended by a ‘Zombie Case’

By MAGGIE HABERMAN and JONATHAN SWAN

Donald J. Trump’s run of luck in his criminal cases has expired. Before the conviction on Thursday in Manhattan, the former president had drawn what some of his closest advisers regarded as a defense lawyer’s equivalent of an inside straight: something close to perfection. Mr. Trump had lost civil cases with costly damages, but the four criminal cases that threatened his freedom were stumbling along so badly that his advisers were often incredulous at his good fortune.

In the Florida case in which he

was charged with obstruction of justice and unlawfully holding onto classified documents, a Trump-nominated judge had spent so much time puzzling over minor issues that the trial would almost certainly be delayed beyond the presidential election in November.

In the Georgia case, the prosecutor who had charged Mr. Trump as part of a conspiracy to overturn the 2020 election was caught in a romantic affair with the man she had hired to help her prosecute Mr. Trump.

And with the federal charges over his efforts to disrupt the

Continued on Page A16

### Shifting the Blame to His Wife Is a Risky Tactic for Menendez

By BENJAMIN WEISER

Prosecutors had called their first witness, and Senator Robert Menendez’s blame-my-wife strategy in his federal bribery trial already appeared vulnerable.

An F.B.I. agent was testifying about a search of the New Jersey home that Mr. Menendez, 70, shares with his wife and the gold bars that were found inside a locked bedroom closet — bribes prosecutors say were paid to the couple in exchange for political favors by the senator.

Although the closet held women’s clothing, the agent said, a man’s blue blazer was also found hanging inside, seemingly tying Mr. Menendez to the gold and other alleged bribes. The agent stuck by his account even after Mr. Menendez’s lawyer, during cross-examination, pressed him

#### Defense With Potential to Turn Off Jurors

and displayed a photograph showing the blazer hanging outside the closet.

But the next morning, the agent asked to clarify his testimony. After reviewing photographs of the search, he said, he agreed the blazer was hanging outside the closet.

Was his previous day’s testimony no longer accurate? Mr. Menendez’s lawyer asked.

“That is correct,” the agent said.

The moment passed quickly, but the exchange illustrated what has become a central pillar of Mr. Menendez’s defense: shifting blame to his 57-year-old spouse,

Continued on Page A20

### Front-Runner to Lead Mexico Is Also Facing an Uphill Battle

By NATALIE KITROEFF

MEXICO CITY — Claudia Sheinbaum’s list of accolades is long: She has a Ph.D. and a shared Nobel Peace Prize and was the first woman elected to lead Mexico City, her nation’s capital and one of the largest cities in the Western Hemisphere.

Now she has another chance to make history. Ms. Sheinbaum, 61, is the clear front-runner in the Mexican election on Sunday, putting her in position to become the country’s first female president.

But she has an image problem, and she knows it.

Many Mexicans are wondering: Can she be her own leader? Or is she a pawn of the current president?

“There’s this idea, because a lot of columnists say it, that I don’t

#### Mentor Casts Shadow Over Female Hopeful

have a personality,” Ms. Sheinbaum complained to reporters this year. “That President Andrés Manuel López Obrador tells me what to do, that when I get to the presidency, he’s going to be calling me on the phone every day.”

With the Mexican election just days away, Ms. Sheinbaum is facing a fundamental dilemma.

She insists she will govern independently from her mentor, Mr. López Obrador, and has some different priorities. But veering too far from his agenda could be risky.

She and Mr. López Obrador are “different people,” she said in an interview. He’s an oilman who in-

Continued on Page A9

### Biden Allows Ukraine to Use U.S. Arms to Strike in Russia

By DAVID E. SANGER and EDWARD WONG

WASHINGTON — President Biden, in a major shift pressed by his advisers and key allies, has authorized Ukraine to conduct limited strikes inside Russia with American-made weapons, opening what could well be a new chapter in the war for Ukraine, U.S. officials said on Thursday.

Mr. Biden’s decision appears to mark the first time that an American president has allowed limited military responses on artillery, missile bases and command centers inside the borders of a nuclear-armed adversary. White House officials insisted, however, that the authorization extended only to what they characterized as acts of self-defense, so that Ukraine could protect Kharkiv, its second-largest city, and the surrounding

#### Only for Self-Defense, White House Says

areas from missiles, glide bombs and artillery shells from just over the border.

“The president recently directed his team to ensure that Ukraine is able to use U.S.-supplied weapons for counter-fire purposes in the Kharkiv region so Ukraine can hit back against Russian forces that are attacking them or preparing to attack them,” a U.S. official said in a statement issued by the administration. “Our policy with respect to prohibiting the use of ATACMS or long-range strikes inside of Russia has not changed,” the statement continued, referring to an

Continued on Page A5

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

#### Crackdown on Democracy

Fourteen activists in Hong Kong were convicted on national security charges as part of China’s attempt to quash even peaceful opposition.

PAGE A8

NATIONAL A10-17, 20

#### ‘Goon Squad’ Group Chat

Messages from an encrypted WhatsApp text thread show conversations of sheriff’s deputies, including those who terrorized Mississippi residents.

PAGE A10

BUSINESS B1-5

#### Behind the ‘Vibecession’

The economy looks strong on paper, but many Americans remain unconvinced. We asked officials and analysts what they think is happening.

PAGE B1

WEEKEND ARTS C1-12

#### An Artist’s Blossoming

The Ray Johnson seen in a revelatory show is much different from the one known for mail art and his later gritty samplings of popular culture.

PAGE C8

OPINION A18-19

#### Mara Gay

PAGE A19

