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Dire Economy Brings Nigeria Vast Hardship

Daily Struggle for Food and Health Care

**By RUTH MACLEAN
and ISMAIL AUWAL**

KANO, Nigeria — Nigeria is facing its worst economic crisis in decades, with skyrocketing inflation, a national currency in free-fall and millions of people struggling to buy food. Only two years ago Africa’s biggest economy, Nigeria is projected to drop to fourth place this year.

The pain is widespread. Unions strike to protest salaries of around \$20 a month. People die in stampedes, desperate for free sacks of rice. Hospitals are overrun with women wracked by spasms from calcium deficiencies.

The crisis is largely believed to be rooted in two major changes implemented by a president elected 15 months ago: the partial removal of fuel subsidies and the floating of the currency, which together have caused major price rises.

A nation of entrepreneurs, Nigeria’s more than 200 million citizens are skilled at managing in tough circumstances, without the services states usually provide. They generate their own electricity and source their own water. They take up arms and defend their communities when the armed forces cannot. They negotiate with kidnappers when family members are abducted.

But right now, their resourcefulness is being stretched to the limit.

On a recent morning in a corner of the biggest emergency room in northern Nigeria, three women were convulsing in painful spasms, unable to speak. Each year, the E.R. at Murtala Muhammed Specialist Hospital in Kano, Nigeria’s second-largest city, re-

Continued on Page A10



Hunter Biden with his stepmother, Jill Biden, and wife, Melissa Cohen Biden, after the jury’s verdict on Tuesday in Wilmington, Del.

PRESIDENT’S SON IS FOUND GUILTY ON GUN CHARGES

LIED ABOUT DRUG USE

Conviction on 3 Felonies Raises Stakes of 2nd Case Against Him

This article is by Glenn Thrush, Eileen Sullivan and Zach Montague.

WILMINGTON, Del. — A jury on Tuesday found Hunter Biden, President Biden’s son, guilty of three felony counts for lying on a federal firearms application, a shattering blow for the Biden family in the middle of an unforgiving presidential election campaign.

The verdict brought an end to an extraordinary seven-day trial that made painfully public Mr. Biden’s crack addiction, reckless behavior and ruinous spending — narrated by three former romantic partners, including the widow of his brother, Beau Biden, and by the defendant himself in the pages of his memoir.

The charges that Mr. Biden was convicted of stem from the purchase of a Colt pistol in October 2018, and also included illegal possession of a weapon after falsely claiming to be drug-free on the standard background check required in all firearms transactions.

Mr. Biden, 54, faces up to 25 years in prison, although federal sentencing guidelines call for a fraction of that penalty. First-time offenders who did not use their weapons to commit violent crimes receive relatively light sentences, and prosecutors suggested they would not seek a sentence more severe than for any other person convicted in such a case.

As the verdict was read aloud, Hunter Biden stood with his arms crossed, grimly surveying the jury. When it was all over, he hugged and kissed his wife, Melissa Cohen Biden.

“I am more grateful today for the love and support I experienced this last week from Melissa, my family, my friends and my community than I am disappointed by the outcome,” he said in a statement shortly after.

Mr. Biden’s lawyer, Abbe Lowell, suggested that he might appeal, vowing to “vigorously pursue all the legal challenges available to Hunter.”

It is unclear what, if any, political implications the verdict will have. Former President Donald J. Trump, facing two federal indictments, pounced on the conviction. But other Republicans have expressed skepticism about the trial, and Representative Matt Gaetz, a Florida Republican allied with Mr. Trump, said on social media that the conviction was “kinda dumb.”

But the verdict was nothing short of a personal catastrophe for Mr. Biden.

A year ago, Mr. Biden, who has been sober since mid-2019, reached a plea agreement with the government that would have allowed him to participate in a counseling program for people who commit nonviolent firearms offenses in lieu of prosecution or prison time. But the deal imploded

Continued on Page A14

Secret to Candidate’s Big Haul in Matching Funds: Fake Donors

**By JAY ROOT
and BIANCA PALLARO**

In the heart of Flushing, Queens, a second-floor apartment seemed to be a modest hotbed of interest in a local State Assembly race, with three family members donating small amounts of cash to an obscure Democrat, according to campaign records.

A taxi driver, Ahmad Zadrán, was listed as a \$40 donor to the candidate, Dao Yin. Mr. Zadrán’s brother was shown as giving \$25; his son, Raheem Zadrán, was

listed as giving \$50.

Under New York State’s new generous system for publicly financing political campaigns, Mr. Yin claimed the Zadráns’ modest donations as eligible for \$1,380 in matching funds. Yet in interviews, the Zadráns said they had not given money to Mr. Yin, nor had they even heard of him.

“This is crazy,” Raheem Zadrán, 27, said. “I never donated to this guy. I don’t know who the hell he is.”

His father was equally incredulous. “I don’t care about politics,”

Weak Oversight Paving the Way to Abuses in New York

Ahmad Zadrán said. “I never donate a penny to anybody.”

The Zadráns are among scores of New Yorkers who supposedly made small cash donations to Mr. Yin, a businessman who immigrated to New York from Shanghai in the late 1990s. He is the

lesser known of two candidates in the Democratic primary who are challenging longtime Assemblyman Ron Kim in a predominantly Asian district east of La Guardia Airport.

Despite his lack of name recognition, Mr. Yin is now one of New York’s top recipients of public matching funds — \$162,800 at last count — after reporting the highest percentage of cash, the least traceable form of donation, of any state candidate who received matching funds this year.

Continued on Page A17



“The system in Washington is broken, and Americans know it,” said Jay Carson, once a Democratic insider, with his daughter.

A Former Aide to the Clintons Who Now Has Kennedy’s Ear

By REBECCA DAVIS O’BRIEN

LOS ANGELES — In his outsider bid for the White House, Robert F. Kennedy Jr. is flanked by a team of unlikely political characters: new age health gurus, antivaccine activists, social media influencers, veterans of fringe third-party campaigns, cryptocurrency evangelists and militant environmentalists.

Jay Carson may be the most unexpected.

Now a Hollywood screenwriter, Mr. Carson, 47, has the résumé of a Democratic insider. He was the press secretary for Hillary Clinton’s 2008 presidential campaign. He worked for Bill Clinton, Chuck Schumer, Tom Daschle, Howard Dean and Michael R. Bloomberg. He describes Anita Dunn, a senior adviser to President Biden, as his political godmother and “one of

my favorite people in the world.”

He left politics more than a decade ago for show business, becoming a producer on “House of Cards” and the creator of “The Morning Show.” He got divorced, got sober — he met Mr. Kennedy at one of his first 12-step meetings — remarried and settled into a new life in Topanga Canyon, Calif., with no plans to return to a campaign.

But over the last year, he has become a quiet, steadying force behind a candidate who is at war with the Democratic Party.

As an informal adviser, Mr. Carson has offered Mr. Kennedy encouragement and guidance on campaign staffing, communications and field operations. He produced and appeared in a 30-

Continued on Page A12

Too Old to Run? North Dakotans Vote on Limits.

By ERNESTO LONDOÑO

FARGO, N.D. — For months, as the presidential election has drawn closer, a debate over the age of American politicians has swirled: Is there a point at which candidates should be deemed too old to run? Should age even matter?

On Tuesday, voters in North Dakota were weighing in.

Granted, the ballot question on age limits for politicians posed to North Dakotans took the temperature of voters in a single state — and one of the nation’s least populous states at that, with some 779,000 residents. Experts say the measure would almost certainly face a legal challenge if it were to pass. And, technically, this proposed age limit pertains only to North Dakota candidates for Congress, not the presidency or any other office.

Still, amid all the chatter about age in 2024, this ballot measure provides a rare chance to learn what at least one set of voters in the nation’s middle thinks about older elected officials.

“Most people think it’s common sense that politicians should retire at some point,” said Jared Hendrix, a Republican politician in Fargo who led efforts to gather signatures to put the question before voters. “I think it’s very possible that if we pull this off here, other states will follow.”

If approved, the ballot measure would amend the state’s Constitution, barring candidates from running for Congress if they would turn 81 or older by the end of the year before their term ends.

At the moment, the measure

Continued on Page A13



For First Ladies, a First Photograph
Sotheby’s is offering an 1846 daguerreotype of Dolley Madison, taken some decades after her White House years. Page C5.

Florida Cannot Deny Minors Transgender Care

By PATRICIA MAZZEI

MIAMI — Key parts of a Florida law that bans gender transition care for minors and imposes hurdles on adults seeking such care are unconstitutional, a federal judge ruled on Tuesday.

Judge Robert L. Hinkle of Federal District Court in Tallahassee sided with advocacy groups and three families who had said that

Judge Rules That Law Is Unconstitutional

the law stripped them of parents’ rights to make medical decisions for their transgender children.

In a 105-page order, Judge Hinkle said that “gender identity is real” and that a “widely accepted

standard of care” includes puberty blockers and hormone treatments that Florida unlawfully banned.

“The state of Florida can regulate as needed but cannot flatly deny transgender individuals safe and effective medical treatment — treatment with medications routinely provided to others with the state’s full approval so long as

Continued on Page A13



FOOD D1-10

How to Cut an Onion
The cookbook author Kenji López-Alt dives deep into a question of his own, with computer models and all. PAGE D1

The Flavors of Juneteenth
Our recipes will brighten any celebration, with a strawberry ginger limeade, shrimp jambalaya and more. PAGE D6

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Inside Israel’s Hostage Rescue
The operation in Nuseirat that freed four captives held by Hamas involved hundreds of intelligence officers and two teams of commandos. PAGE A8

Voters Reining In Strongmen
In recent elections in Turkey, India and elsewhere, democratic institutions have shown surprising strength. PAGE A7

BUSINESS B1-6

Paramount-Skydance Deal Off
Hitches in the final stages of negotiations put an end to merger discussions between the media companies. PAGE B1

NATIONAL A11-18

Gateway Tunnel Gets Funding
With a federal grant approved, the long-stalled Gateway project, an added link between Penn Station in Manhattan and New Jersey, can proceed. PAGE A15

Green Card Push for Spouses
The White House is weighing relief for immigrants who entered illegally but are eligible for green cards through marriage to U.S. citizens. PAGE A13

Hochul Kept Concerns Quiet
Although the governor said she feared congestion pricing might hurt New York City’s economy, she never disclosed her reservations. PAGE A15



ARTS C1-6

Choreography of a Rumble
There’s no sugarcoating of a climactic gang battle in “The Outsiders,” a musical up for 12 Tony Awards. PAGE C6

Happy to Share the Spotlight
At the Ojai Festival, the pianist Mitsuko Uchida was busy performing, but also displayed talents as a mentor. PAGE C1

SPORTS B7-10

How Doncic and Irving Clicked
The Mavs stars’ bond that’s now evident didn’t come right away. It took time, patience and an overseas trip. PAGE B7

‘Don’t Mess With Happy’
For now, Coach Dan Hurley is keeping things simple. He’s staying at UConn. He’ll give contentment a try. PAGE B9

OPINION A20-21

Patti Davis PAGE A20

