partly cloudy, high 68. **Tonight**, partly cloudy, low 55. **Tomorrow**, some sun, afternoon showers, mild,

high 75. Weather map is on Page B8.

\$4.00

VOL. CLXXIII .... No. 60,153

© 2024 The New York Times Company

MONDAY, MAY 13, 2024

Prices in Canada may be higher

# Fixer of Trump's Problems Has Become One of Them

### Cohen Poised to Testify at a Critical Moment for a Trial and American Politics

This article is by **Ben Protess**, **Jo**nah E. Bromwich, Jonathan Swan, Maggie Haberman and William K.

Donald J. Trump has always surrounded himself with lawyers all types of lawyers. There are the television-friendly talking heads. The polished criminal practitioners. The pit-bull litigators, the corporate suits and the legal advisers with their own legal

And then there was the singular Michael D. Cohen, lawyer by trade and enforcer by nature. With the loyalty of a surrogate son, he kept Mr. Trump's secrets and cleaned up his messes. He was the fixer.

This week, however, Mr. Cohen is poised to unfix Mr. Trump's life. When he takes the stand as a vital witness at Mr. Trump's criminal trial in Manhattan, Mr. Cohen will unearth some of the secrets he buried, revealing a mess that prosecutors say his former boss was desperate to hide.

It will represent a pivotal moment of the trial, and the climax of a decades-long relationship between two New York loudmouths who used each other, betrayed each other and will now face off on the biggest stage: the first criminal trial of an American president.

Interviews with 10 of Mr. Cohen's allies and adversaries, as well as a review of court records and Mr. Cohen's books, paint a portrait of a once-obscure operator who came to play an outsize role in American politics, a man whose relationship with the former president traced an arc from asset to threat.

From the stand, Mr. Cohen will tell of his greatest coup in Mr. Trump's employ, the time when he paid \$130,000 to suppress a porn star's story of a sexual encounter with Mr. Trump. He did so, he will say, at his boss's direction. And, illuminating what prosecutors say is the cover-up at the heart of the case, he is expected to offer his firsthand account of how, after the 2016 election, the new president reimbursed him for the hush money, but falsified records to disguise those payments as legal ex-

Mr. Trump denies any role in falsifying the records, and says he never had sex with the porn star, Stormy Daniels. His lawyers dispute that any crime occurred.

Despite months of preparation, Mr. Cohen, 57, will be unpredictable on the stand, prone as he is to both tirades and charm.

Prosecutors acknowledged on Friday having little control over Mr. Cohen, who, despite their admonitions, has taunted Mr. Trump throughout the trial. In a recent TikTok video, Mr. Trump's lawyers complained, he wore a shirt with a picture of the former president behind bars, prompting the judge to request that he keep qui-

But prosecutors, who are offer-



Michael D. Cohen said he had once been a "designated thug."

ing Mr. Cohen nothing in return, have little leverage to rein him in. Unlike a traditional cooperating witness who trades testimony for leniency, he has already spent more than a year in federal prison for paying the hush money and committing other crimes.

That experience, contrasted with that of other Trump aides who avoided indictment or received pardons, has catalyzed his anger. Mr. Cohen, whose selfimage remains inextricably tied to

Continued on Page A12

BATTLES IN NORTHERN GAZA Displaced Palestinians in the northern Gaza Strip, where new fighting raged over the weekend. Page A10.

## Truce in Gaza Hinges on Man Behind Oct. 7

This article is by Patrick Kingsley, Julian E. Barnes and Adam Rasgon.

JERUSALEM — After Hamas attacked Israel in October, igniting the war in Gaza, Israeli leaders described the group's most senior official in the territory, Yahya Sinwar, as a "dead man walking." Considering him an architect of the raid, Israel has portrayed Mr. Sinwar's assassination as a major goal of its devastating counterattack.

Seven months later, Mr. Sinwar's survival is emblematic of the failures of Israel's war, which has ravaged much of Gaza but left Hamas's top leadership largely intact and failed to free most of the captives taken during the October attack.

Even as Israeli officials seek his killing, they have been forced to negotiate with him, albeit indirectly, to free the remaining hostages. Mr. Sinwar has emerged not only as a strong-willed commander but as a shrewd negotiator who has staved off an Israeli battlefield victory while engaging Israeli envoys at the negotiating table, according to officials from Hamas, Israel and the United States. Some spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive intelligence assessments of Mr. Sinwar and diplomatic negotiations.

While the talks are mediated in Egypt and Qatar, it is Mr. Sinwar — believed to be hiding in a tunnel network beneath Gaza consent is required by Hamas's negotiators before they agree to any concessions, according to some of those officials.

Hamas officials insist that Mr. Sinwar does not have the final say in the group's decisions. But though Mr. Sinwar does not technically have authority over the entire Hamas movement, his leadership role in Gaza and his forceful personality have given him outsize importance in how Hamas operates, according to allies and foes alike.

"There's no decision that can be made without consulting Sinwar," said Salah al-Din al-Awawdeh, a Hamas member and political ana-

Continued on Page A10

#### Police Response Questioned

A pro-Palestinian encampment at U.C.L.A. was attacked for hours while authorities stood by. No arrests have been made. Page A14.

# Russians Plunge Deeper Into Northern Ukraine

#### **By JEFFREY GETTLEMAN** and CONSTANT MÉHEUT

KHARKIV, Ukraine - In the past three days, Russian troops, backed by fighter jets, artillery and lethal drones, have poured across Ukraine's northeastern border and seized at least nine villages and settlements, and more square miles per day than at almost any other point in the war, save the very beginning.

In some places, Ukrainian troops are retreating, and Ukrainian commanders are blaming each other for the defeats.

Thousands of Ukrainian civilians are fleeing to Kharkiv, the nearest big city. A reception center that hummed with a sense of order and calm on Saturday had transformed into a totally different scene on Sunday, as exhausted

### Unclear if Incursion Is Just Setback for Kyiv or a Turning Point

people shouted at each other and families with no place to go spilled out onto the grass.

As the sense of panic spreads, especially in Kharkiv, some hard questions loom: How far will this go? Is it just a momentary setback for the underdog Ukrainians? Or a turning point?

Military experts say the Russian advance has put Ukraine in a very dangerous spot. Ukrainian troops have been complaining for months about severe shortages of ammunition — exacerbated by the tangles in the U.S. Congress that delayed the delivery of key

weapons. And Ukrainian soldiers, by all accounts, are exhausted.

More than two years of trying to fight off a country with three times the population to draw from has left Ukraine so depleted and desperate for fresh troops that its lawmakers have voted to mobilize convicts, a controversial practice that Ukraine had ridiculed Russia for using in the first half of the war.

One Ukrainian commander took the unusual step on Sunday of blasting his colleagues for what he said were terrible border defenses.

"The first line of fortifications and mines just didn't exist," Denys Yaroslavsky, a reconnaissance Continued on Page A6

A RARE SHAKE-UP President Vladimir V. Putin has replaced his minister of defense. PAGE A6



From left, the Irish wolfhounds Rowan and Brody at their hotel in Long Island City, N.Y.; Vitellozzo the French bulldog, who slept through most of his multipart journey from Croatia; and last year's Best in Show winner, Buddy Holly, a petit basset griffon Vendéen.

## These Westminster Pooches Might Have More Miles Than You

#### By CHRISTINE CHUNG

The A-listers who traveled to New York this past weekend, gathering for the biggest event of their careers, arrived by car and driver, or on planes surrounded by entourages. They didn't even carry their own passports, much less pack their kibble or squeaky

Each and every one of them, though, is a very good dog.

Some 2,500 top-ranked dogs are in New York City to compete in this year's Westminster Kennel Club Dog Show. Breed judging, the marquee event, will begin on Monday, while several hundred other dogs have already battled it out in events testing agility, obedience and the ability to dive the farthest off a dock.

Getting into the show takes years of training and effort. Getting to the show requires exten-

#### Show Dogs Can Travel Often, but Not Light

sive organizing by owners and handlers, who plan hours- or days-long road or plane trips, pack thousands of dollars' worth of gear — grooming tables, industrial-strength hair drvers, leashes, collars, toys, kibble and

more — and pray that neither delays nor cancellations disrupt their itineraries. Treats are nonnegotiable.

"I try to stock up on healthy, single-ingredient treats such as freeze-dried duck or freeze-dried liver," said Shell Lewis, 71, who came to New York with a Russell terrier and a cairn terrier. On show days, however, her dogs receive "something special and

Continued on Page A16

## Musk Is Wooing Global Leaders On Right Wing

This article is by Ryan Mac, Jack Nicas and Alex Travelli.

Minutes after it became clear that Javier Milei had been elected president of South America's second-largest nation in November, Elon Musk posted on X: "Prosperity is ahead for Argentina."

Since then, Mr. Musk has continued to use X, the social network he owns, to boost Mr. Milei. The billionaire has shared videos of the Argentine president attacking "social justice" with his 182 million followers. One doctored image, which implied that watching a speech by Mr. Milei was better than having sex, is among Mr. Musk's most viewed posts ever.

Mr. Musk has helped turn the pugnacious libertarian into one of the new faces of the modern right. But offline, he has used the relationship to press for benefits to his other businesses, the electric carmaker Tesla and the rocket company SpaceX.

"Elon Musk called me," Mr. Milei said in a television interview weeks after taking office. "He is extremely interested in the

lithium." Mr. Musk has declared lithium the silvery-white element that is the main component in Tesla's car batteries — "the new oil." Tesla has long bought lithium from Argentina, which has the world's

Continued on Page A8



NATIONAL A11-17, 20

#### What Parrots Really Want

Scientists are trying to determine if interactive tools might give animals ways to express themselves. PAGE A17

### Are Psychedelics a Sacrament?

Organizations identifying as churches are providing the compounds, illegal in most settings, to followers. PAGE All **INTERNATIONAL A4-10** 

## Turmoil Over a K-Pop Group

The firm Hybe has lost hundreds of millions of dollars in market value because of a feud with the producer behind the band NewJeans. PAGE A4

**OBITUARIES B6-7** 

#### Stunt Double to the Stars

Jeannie Epper soared on the hit TV series "Wonder Woman" and in many other places. She was 83.

### A Low-Budget Auteur

Roger Corman had hundreds of films to his credit, and helped launch the likes of Martin Scorsese. He was 98.



SPORTS D1-8

### Two Friends Vying for Paris

The running partners Conner Mantz, left, and Clayton Young hoped to represent the U.S. in the marathon. PAGE D1

#### Pitches That Elude Pitchers Aces like Corbin Burnes and Clayton

Kershaw spoke of the throws they have PAGES D4-5 yet to master.

**BUSINESS B1-5** 

#### Transforming a Work Force

Some 70 companies in Germany have formed a coalition intended to help them hold on to their collective 2.7 million employees by offering training and certification.

#### **Higher Cost for High Speed**

China is sharply increasing prices for bullet train rides, in a move to address rising costs and heavy debts since construction of the vast system began nearly two decades ago.

OPINION A18-19

Michelle Cottle PAGE A18



#### A Pushback With Some Bite As book bans in libraries and class-

rooms surged in Florida, the novelist Lauren Groff and her husband opened a bookstore in Gainesville.

