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LOYAL ALLIES The phalanx of G.O.P. leaders in court shows how Donald J. Trump has changed his party. Political Memo. Page A19.

Trump Lawyer Depicts Cohen As Vindictive

This article is by Ben Protess, Jonah E. Bromwich and Maggie Haberman.

Little more than two weeks into Donald J. Trump’s presidency, he and his personal lawyer met in the Oval Office for a private conversation about money.

“I was sitting with President Trump and he asked me if I was OK,” the lawyer, Michael D. Cohen, recalled on Tuesday from the witness stand at Mr. Trump’s criminal trial. “He asked me if I needed money,” Mr. Cohen said, and volunteered that a check would be forthcoming.

When monthly checks started arriving — most bearing Mr. Trump’s signature — they disguised the nature of the payments, Mr. Cohen testified. The stubs described the checks as part of a legal “retainer” agreement, but they were in fact reimbursements for hush money that Mr. Cohen had paid to silence a porn star’s story of sex with Mr. Trump. Mr. Cohen said that Mr. Trump was present when a plan to fictionalize the records was cooked up weeks earlier in New York.

The testimony marked a pivotal moment for prosecutors. They charged Mr. Trump with falsifying the checks and other records, and Mr. Cohen’s recounting drove those accusations home. It offered the jury its first and only personal account tying the former president to the documents at the crux of his case.

Mr. Trump has denied the allegations and the sex, and his legal team soon sought to sweep Mr. Cohen’s revelations aside in cross-examination. The lead defense lawyer, Todd Blanche, attacked Mr. Cohen’s credibility, portraying him as out of control and bent on

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Kennedy Is Emerging as an Unpredictable Force

By SHANE GOLDMACHER and NEIL VIGDOR

Robert F. Kennedy Jr. is polling stronger than any third-party candidate has in decades, pulling in roughly 10 percent of registered voters across the battleground states as he saps support from both President Biden and former President Donald J. Trump, a new series of polls has found.

The overall results in the Biden versus Trump contest were virtually unchanged when Mr. Kennedy was included in the polls conducted by The New York Times, Siena College and The Philadelphia Inquirer. But beneath the surface of that seeming stability, the surveys revealed

Polls Find Young Voters and Social Media Feed Support

how Mr. Kennedy, powered by social media and younger voters, has emerged as an unpredictable X factor in what would otherwise be a 2020 rematch.

With less than six months until the election, the faction of the electorate giving Mr. Kennedy early support exposes some of the vulnerabilities inside the president’s Democratic coalition. Mr. Biden dropped all the way to 33 percent in a five-candidate race, an alarm-

ingly low share of the vote for an incumbent president. The series of polls focused on what are expected to be the most contested states this fall: Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

Two of the groups that Mr. Kennedy performed strongest with in the surveys — voters under 30 (18 percent support) and Latinos (14 percent) — have traditionally been strong Democratic constituencies, unnerving some party strategists. Mr. Biden is also win-

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NEVADA Economic despair and a shift among Hispanic voters have hurt President Biden. PAGE A18



JONAH ROSENBERG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Put Your Best Paw Forward

The Westminster Kennel Club Dog Show culminated on Tuesday at the U.S.T.A. Billie Jean King National Tennis Center. Coverage at nytimes.com, and additional coverage on Thursday in Styles.

Exclusion of Jewish Jurors Prompts Review of Death Row Cases

By TIM ARANGO

A jury was being chosen for a murder trial nearly three decades ago in California. The state was seeking a death sentence for Ernest Dykes, who had been charged with killing a 9-year-old boy during a robbery in Oakland.

Weighing who should be struck from the jury pool and who should be kept, a prosecutor made notes

about a prospective juror: “I liked him better than any other Jew but no way.”

Other notes about prospective jurors bore evidence of similar prejudice: “Banker. Jew?” read one. “Jew? Yes,” read another.

The notes — just handwritten scribbles — were discovered recently in an internal case file from the 1990s when Mr. Dykes was

Notes From ’90s Reveal Bias in California

convicted of murder and sent to death row. A federal judge who is overseeing settlement talks as part of an appeal by Mr. Dykes told the Alameda County District Attorney’s office to conduct a top-

to-bottom search for any additional documents, and that effort turned up the notes, which are now in the hands of the judge.

The notes offered a startling glimpse into a practice that some defense lawyers long suspected was going on, and that a former prosecutor had alleged was common in Alameda County — prosecutors seeking to exclude people

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Russia’s Gains In War Worry U.S. Officials

Scramble to Replenish Ukraine’s Arsenal

This article is by David E. Sanger, Julian E. Barnes and Kim Barker.

WASHINGTON — Just 18 months ago, White House and Pentagon officials debated whether Russia’s forces in Ukraine might collapse and be pushed out of the country entirely.

Now, after months of Russian ground advances and technological leaps in countering American-provided arms, the Biden administration is increasingly concerned that President Vladimir V. Putin has enough momentum to change the trajectory of the war, and perhaps reverse his once-bleak prospects.

In recent days, Moscow’s troops have opened a new push near the country’s second-biggest city, Kharkiv, forcing Ukraine to divert its already thinned-out troops to defend an area that it took back from Russian forces in a stunning victory in the fall of 2022.

Artillery and drones provided by the United States and NATO have been taken out by Russian electronic warfare techniques, which came to the battlefield late but have proved surprisingly effective. And a monthslong debate in Washington about whether to send Ukraine a \$61 billion package of arms and ammunition created an opening that Russia has clearly exploited, even though Congress ultimately passed the legislation.

In interviews, American officials express confidence that many of these Russian gains are reversible once the spigot of new arms is fully opened and President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine finds ways to bring more — and younger — troops to the front lines. But they are hesitant to offer predictions of where the battle lines may stand even a few months from now, or whether Mr. Zelensky will be able to mount his long-delayed counteroffensive.

American and allied officials interviewed for this article spoke on the condition of anonymity, in order to discuss intelligence reports and sensitive battlefield assessments. But some of the concerns have spilled out in public comments.

Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken said with some understatement on Sunday that “there’s

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THE WEATHER
Today, cooler, cloudy, a bit of rain, high 67. Tonight, occasional rain, cloudy, breezy, low 57. Tomorrow, morning rain, mostly cloudy, breezy, high 68. Weather map, Page B12.

ISRAELI OFFICERS CHAFE OVER LACK OF POSTWAR PLAN

RISK TO TROOPS IN GAZA

Officials Say Void Allows Hamas to Reclaim Ground It Lost

By DAMIEN CAVE and ADAM RASGON

JERUSALEM — With Israeli troops returning to clear Hamas for the second or third time from parts of northern Gaza, and fighting farther south in Rafah, too, Israel’s government has found itself confronting more vocal discontent from an important constituency: its own military leaders.

Current and former senior military officers have begun to argue more openly that because the government has failed to roll out a plan for what follows the fighting in Gaza, Israeli troops are being forced — in the eighth month of the war — to battle again for areas of the territory where Hamas fighters have reappeared.

Two Israeli officials, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to avoid professional repercussions, said some generals and members of the war cabinet were especially frustrated with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu for failing to develop and announce a process for building an alternative to Hamas to govern Gaza.

There was little expectation, among officials or experts, that a new government would be formed while combat raged. But “clear, hold and build” is the widely accepted practice for fighting an insurgency. And to a growing number of critics, Israel appears to be simply stuck in clearing mode, increasing the risks for Israeli soldiers and Gazan civilians while cease-fire talks remain stalemated.

The two officials said Mr. Netanyahu’s unwillingness to have a serious conversation about the latter phases of the Gaza campaign — the “day after” the fight — has made it easier for Hamas to reconstitute itself in places such as Jabaliya in northern Gaza.

Israel first attacked Hamas’s ranks there in October — and returned this week with another air and ground assault.

Much of the global criticism of Israel over the war has focused on

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ALICE MUNRO, 1931-2024

Nobelist Whose Stories Made The Ordinary Extraordinary

By ANTHONY DePALMA

Alice Munro, the revered Canadian author who started writing short stories because she did not think she had the time or the talent to master novels, then stubbornly dedicated her long career to churning out psychologically dense stories that dazzled the literary world and earned her the Nobel Prize in Literature, died on Monday night in Port Hope, Ontario, east of Toronto. She was 92.

A spokesman for her publisher, Penguin Random House Canada, confirmed the death, at a nursing home. Ms. Munro’s health had declined since at least 2009, when she said she’d had heart bypass surgery and had been treated for cancer, though she continued to write.

Ms. Munro was a member of the rare breed of writer, like Katherine Anne Porter and Raymond Carver, who made their reputations in the notoriously difficult literary arena of the short story, and did so with great success. Her tales — many of them focused on women at different stages of their



IAN WILLMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Alice Munro in 2013.

lives coping with complex desires — were so eagerly received and gratefully read that she attracted a new generation of readers.

Ms. Munro’s stories were widely considered to be without equal, a mixture of ordinary people and extraordinary themes. She portrayed small-town folks, often in rural southwestern Ontario

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INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Mexico Pushes Migrants South

In response to pressure from the United States, thousands have been bused away from the border. PAGE A11

Waiting to Be Sent to Haiti

About 1,000 Kenyan police officers are expecting to arrive in Port-au-Prince by the end of the month. PAGE A11

NATIONAL A14-19

A New Model for Jobs Training

Pursuit, a nonprofit that retrains workers, is asking New York lawmakers to make rules for such programs. PAGE A14

ARTS C1-6

Ready for Some New Songs

After enduring a year and a half of physical challenges, the actress Betty Buckley is back in concert mode. PAGE C1

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Saxophonist Without a Genre

David Sanborn, 78, played jazz but also elevated classic rock albums. PAGE B11



SPORTS B7-10, 12

A Danger on Every Surface

The red clay of the French Open has vexed American men, but Ben Shelton is trying to conquer it. PAGE B7

The Best Is Getting Better

Lionel Messi didn’t move to Miami to relax. He’s compiling what might be the greatest M.L.S. season ever. PAGE B10

BUSINESS B1-6

Biden Raises Tariffs on China

The president announced increased taxes on imports in strategic industries, building on former President Donald J. Trump’s trade policy that he criticized during the 2020 campaign. PAGE B1

A.I.’s ‘Her’ Era Has Arrived

New chatbot technology can talk, laugh and sing like a human in a lifelike way that draws comparisons to the virtual assistant in the 2013 movie. What comes next is anyone’s guess. PAGE B1

OPINION A22-23

Michelle Goldberg

PAGE A22



FOOD D1-8

Hot Honey Is Spreading

Once mostly just a garnish for pizzas, the sweet-and-spicy condiment has made its way into ice creams, fast-casual bowls and espresso martinis. PAGE D1

