

PRESIDENT PRAISES 'BRAVE' MANAFORT, AND G.O.P. SQUIRMS

A Green Light for Candidates to Part With Trump

Says Convicted Aide Refused to 'Break,' Unlike Cohen

By JONATHAN MARTIN and NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — Senior Republican Party leaders began urging their most imperiled incumbents on Wednesday to speak out about the wrongdoing surrounding President Trump, with Representative Tom Cole, a former House Republican campaign chairman, warning, "Where there's smoke, and there's a lot of smoke, there may well be fire."

Democrats face their own pressure to shed their cautious midterm strategy and hammer the opposition for fostering what Democratic leaders are labeling "a culture of corruption" that starts at Mr. Trump and cascades through two indicted House Republicans to a series of smaller scandals breaking out in the party's backbenches.

One day after Michael D. Cohen, the president's former lawyer, implicated Mr. Trump in payoffs to two women before the 2016 election, and the former Trump campaign chairman Paul Manafort was convicted of eight felonies, Republicans were concerned that the worst may be to come in the House, although the party's senators expressed few worries.

By urging some candidates to speak out or at least stay silent, Republican leaders who gravely fear losing control of the House risked opening the first significant rift between the Trump White House and the Republican-controlled Capitol.

"Anybody who says this is not disturbing is not being honest," said Mr. Cole, an Oklahoman and the former head of the National Republican Congressional Committee, adding, "so my advice to any candidate would be: Keep your powder dry and don't rush to attack or defend anybody because you just don't know enough to have a reaction that you can still defend three months from now."

On cue, Representative Carlos Curbelo, Republican of Florida, called the accumulation of Trump-related scandals a "sad chapter in our country's politics" and said that "no one is above the law." Mr. Curbelo, in a tough re-election fight, also reproached the president.

Continued on Page A13

By JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS and EILEEN SULLIVAN

WASHINGTON — President Trump on Wednesday praised his just-convicted former campaign chairman for refusing to "break" and cooperate with federal prosecutors investigating Russia's interference in the 2016 election, expressing appreciation for the personal loyalty of a felon found guilty of defrauding the United States government.

In a series of tweets the morning after an extraordinary day in which Paul Manafort, his former campaign chief, was convicted of tax and bank fraud and his longtime personal lawyer, Michael D. Cohen, pleaded guilty to campaign finance violations he said were directed by Mr. Trump, the president appeared to suggest he was more concerned with the fallout for himself than with the crimes.

He compared Mr. Cohen unfavorably with Mr. Manafort, at-



GABRIELLA DEMCZUK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES President Trump suggested his former lawyer made up stories.

tacking Mr. Cohen as a bad lawyer who had caved to pressure from biased federal prosecutors while lauding Mr. Manafort as a "brave man" with a "wonderful family" who had stood strong.

"Justice" took a 12 year old tax case, among other things, applied tremendous pressure on him and, unlike Michael Cohen, he refused to 'break' — make up stories in order to get a 'deal,'" Mr. Trump wrote, his quotation marks suggesting his disdain for the Justice Department.

The president played down the wrongdoing by both men, noting that the jury in Mr. Manafort's case convicted him of eight counts

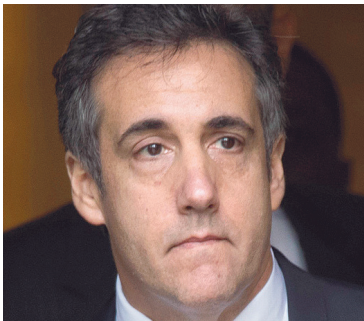
Continued on Page A12

Six Guilty Pleas And a Guilty Verdict

Of the 33 people who have faced criminal charges stemming from the investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 election, seven have pleaded guilty to charges or been convicted.



Paul Manafort Former campaign chairman Aug. 21: Convicted of tax fraud, bank fraud and failure to disclose a foreign bank account.



Michael D. Cohen President Trump's former lawyer Aug. 21: Pled guilty to tax evasion, bank fraud and violating campaign finance laws.



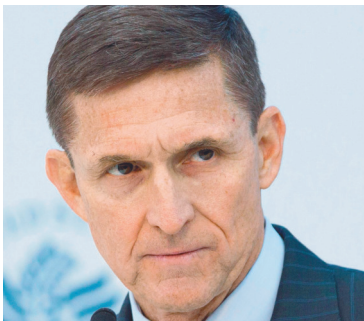
Rick Gates Former campaign adviser Feb. 23: Pled guilty to financial fraud and lying to investigators.



Alex van der Zwaan Lawyer who worked with Mr. Manafort and Mr. Gates Feb. 20: Pled guilty to lying to investigators about conversations with Mr. Gates.



Richard Pinedo California man who sold bank accounts online Feb. 12: Pled guilty to identity fraud.



Michael T. Flynn Former national security adviser Dec. 1, 2017: Pled guilty to lying to the F.B.I. about conversations with the Russian ambassador.



George Papadopoulos Former campaign adviser Oct. 5, 2017: Pled guilty to lying to the F.B.I.

Not an Impeachable Offense? The Framers Might Disagree

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — There are more serious crimes than violating campaign finance laws. Some offenders face jail time, while others catch a break.

But the campaign finance violation President Trump's former lawyer accused him of on Tuesday — arranging to pay hush money to influence an election — may nonetheless be precisely the sort of offense that the drafters of the Constitution meant to cover in granting Congress the power to impeach and remove a president.

"At the constitutional convention, the framers repeatedly expressed anxiety about the president seeking to obtain office through corrupt means," said Joshua Matz, an author of "To End a Presidency: The Power of Impeachment."

"In fact," he said, "that was one of the principal reasons they included an impeachment power in the first place."

Mr. Trump is unlikely to face criminal prosecution while he is in office, as the Justice Department's longstanding policy and something approaching a scholarly consensus say that the Con-

In 1787, They Feared Corrupt Efforts to Gain Presidency

stitution does not permit criminal proceedings against a sitting president. And political realities will probably protect him from impeachment proceedings, at least as long as Republicans control the House of Representatives.

But legal scholars said that committing crimes aimed at undermining the integrity of an election could well satisfy the constitutional standard for impeachment, which is set out in Article II, Section 4: "The president, vice president and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors."

When the framers met in Philadelphia in 1787, they singled out one offense in particular as worthy of impeachment: a candidate's interference with the Elec-

Continued on Page A13

How a Tabloid and Trump's Team Kept Scandals Off the Front Page

By JIM RUTENBERG and REBECCA R. RUIZ

The federal campaign finance and tax evasion case that is embroiling the White House began in the unlikelyst of places: the world of supermarket tabloids.

It is populated by porn stars and Playboy models, shadowy "story brokers" and the ultra rich and powerful, who can buy back their secrets on an underground exchange run by gossip scribes who set the rules, the prices and, frequently, the reputational toll.

That world has now come to life on the stark pages of federal court documents that detail violations of campaign finance and tax laws, implicating President Trump and reprising Watergate-era talk of "high crimes and misdemeanors" and possible impeachment.

In laying out the charges to which Michael D. Cohen, Mr. Trump's longtime lawyer, pleaded guilty on Tuesday, the documents filed in New York also entangle several unidentified people in Mr. Trump's business and from his campaign.

The anatomy of the crime the court papers describe — stemming from hush money payments

Setting a Trip Wire for Negative News and Burying It

to two women who claimed they had sexual encounters with Mr. Trump — has a reality-television twist that has come to typify the Trump presidency. One of the women, the pornographic film star Stephanie Clifford, known as Stormy Daniels, went public with her story earlier this year in a media blitz, and she was represented by a brash lawyer who says he now is considering running for president.

"You have to go back to Watergate-era scandals to find similarly colorful and outrageous events," said Daniel A. Petalas, a former head of enforcement at the Federal Election Commission and a former Justice Department public corruption prosecutor. "When political figures are engaged in conduct that might be tawdry or salacious, it's not unusual that the other participants have colorful histories and backgrounds them-

Continued on Page A14

Bull Market Hits 3,453 Days; Gusher Flows Past Most Americans

By MATTHEW PHILLIPS

The party has been going for more than a decade. But a lot of Americans haven't been celebrating.

Stocks crossed a major threshold on Wednesday, when the 10-year-old bull market arguably became the longest on record.

It ranks among the great booms in American market history. The Standard & Poor's 500-stock index has soared more than 320 percent since emerging from the rubble of the financial crisis in March 2009, creating more than \$18 trillion in wealth.

But the gains haven't been spread among the masses. Stock market wealth is heavily concentrated among the richest families.

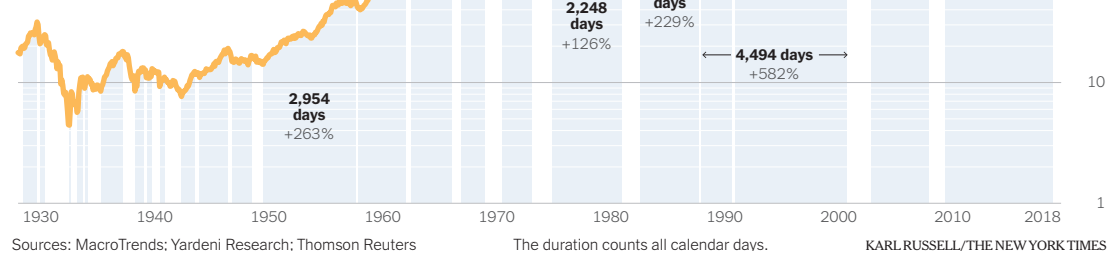
As the stock market surged, prices for homes — the most important source and store of wealth for the American middle class —

INVESTOR GUT CHECK A checklist to help you decide if it's time to take money off the table. PAGE B1

Longest Bull Markets

At 3,453 days, the S.&P. 500-stock index has reached a milestone: It is the longest bull market if you include a period in 1990 in which it declined 19.9 percent. Bear markets are often marked by declines of 20 percent or more.

Scale is logarithmic to show comparable percentage changes. Each shaded area is a bull market.



Sources: MacroTrends; Yardeni Research; Thomson Reuters. The duration counts all calendar days. KARL RUSSELL/THE NEW YORK TIMES

recovered much more slowly from the Great Recession and housing bust. Incomes, too, have only recently surpassed pre-crisis levels, despite steady economic growth in recent years.

"This is the decade in which wealth inequality has increased the most in U.S. history," said Moritz Schularick, a professor of economics at the Bonn Graduate School of Economics in Germany

who has written about the distribution of wealth in the United States. "The driver has been the very unequal gains in the very sharp performance of the stock market relative to the sharp drop of the housing market."

There is some debate over whether this bull market technically deserves the award for the longest on record. Bull markets are defined as a stretch when the

stock market rises without suffering a 20 percent drop.

At issue is a market run from October 1990 to March 2000, a 3,452-day period that was preceded by a slump of 19.92 percent. Wednesday, despite the S. & P. 500's ticking down 0.04 percent, was the current upswing's 3,453rd day.

Statistical sticklers, though, Continued on Page A17

As Attacks on Refugees Rise, A Link Is Uncovered: Facebook

ALTENA, Germany — When you ask locals why Dirk Denkhaus, a young firefighter trainee who had been considered neither dangerous nor political, broke into the attic of a refugee group house and tried to set it on fire, they will list the familiar issues.

This small riverside town is shrinking and its economy declining, they say, leaving young people bored and disillusioned. Though most here supported the mayor's decision to accept an extra allotment of refugees, some found the influx disorienting. Fringe politics are on the rise.

But they'll often mention another factor not typically associated with Germany's spate of anti-refugee violence: Facebook.

They have seen Facebook rumors portraying refugees as a threat. They've encountered

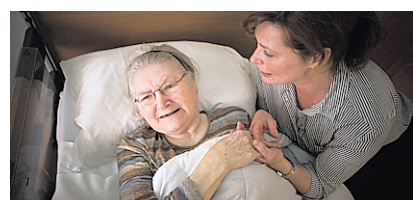
racist vitriol on local pages, a jarring contrast with Altena's public spaces, where people wave warmly to refugee families.

Many here suspected — and prosecutors would later argue, based on data seized from his phone — that Mr. Denkhaus had isolated himself in an online world of fear and anger that helped lead him to violence.

This may be more than speculation. Little Altena exemplifies a phenomenon long suspected by researchers who study Facebook: that the platform makes communities more prone to racial violence. And, now, the town is one of 3,000-plus data points in a landmark study that claims to prove it.

Karsten Müller and Carlo Schwarz, researchers at the University of Warwick, tracked every anti-refugee attack in Germany — 3,335 in all — over a two-year span. They analyzed

Continued on Page A8



INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Fresh Ways to Fight Dementia The Netherlands moves away from a medicalized approach, instead using methods to soothe patients. PAGE A4

New in Hong Kong Schools

More white students are enrolling than ever before, as wealthy Chinese gravitate to international schools. PAGE A6

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Hacking at America's Roots

Facebook has shown it can be proactive against global influence campaigns. But finding a solution to such interference is another matter entirely. PAGE B1

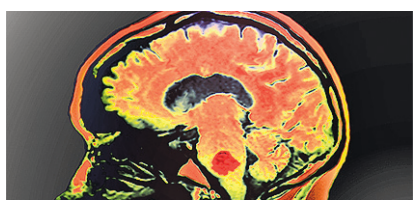
No Avocados, Cocktails or Kids

Amid economic uncertainty, Chinese consumers are cutting back. That's bad news for the global economy. PAGE B1

NEW YORK A18-21

Trump and Weather Vex Farms

Farmers say drought, floods, tariffs and a tightening immigration policy are causing anguish. PAGE A18



NATIONAL A10-17

Hope for Cancer Patients

Immunotherapy was found to shrink tumors and prolong life in people with an aggressive form of skin cancer. PAGE A16

Killing Inflames Border Debate

A man said to be an undocumented immigrant was charged with murdering a college student in Iowa. PAGE A17

SPORTSTHURSDAY B8-11

Ohio State Suspends Coach

Urban Meyer, the football coach, will sit out three games for mishandling the case of an assistant who was accused of domestic violence. PAGE B8

THURSDAY STYLES D1-6

Queen of the Astrologers

Susan Miller predicted Donald J. Trump wouldn't make it to the 2016 election, but did forecast Britney Spears's comeback. She tells us what's next. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

Gail Collins PAGE A25



ARTS C1-6

Plácido Domingo's 150th Role

The singer will reach another milestone when he takes the stage as Zurga in "The Pearl Fishers" at the Salzburg Festival in Austria. PAGE C1

