

BUTTIGIEG FIGHTS SANDERS FOR LEAD AS IOWA REGROUPS

Warren in 3rd, Biden 4th in Partial Tally

By ALEXANDER BURNS and SHANE GOLDMACHER

DES MOINES — Democratic officials in Iowa on Tuesday provided a measure of clarity to the muddled outcome of its statewide caucuses, releasing a delayed first wave of partial results that showed Pete Buttigieg and Senator Bernie Sanders with a preliminary lead and former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. falling well behind the other top-tier candidates.

The release of the partial data, which accounted for 71 percent of caucus precincts, came after a night and day of suspense, confusion and silence from the Iowa Democratic Party after major problems with its new results reporting system. Even as the party began preparing to release the partial results on Tuesday afternoon, it drew sharp criticism from several campaigns that wanted a complete result, either to have a definitive outcome or frame their Iowa performance in the best possible light.

While the results of Monday night's caucuses could change with more data, the highly competitive race between Mr. Buttigieg, a moderate, and Mr. Sanders, a liberal, reflected the divisions among Democrats about the ideological direction of the party, and set up a crucial test for both wings of the party in the New Hampshire primary, on Feb. 11, where Mr. Sanders leads in the polls.

The partial Iowa results also showed Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts in third place, with Mr. Biden trailing her by several points and Senator Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota behind him.

Yet there was little evidence in

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How Caucuses Sank Into a 'Disaster'

By SHANE GOLDMACHER and NICK CORASANITI

DES MOINES — Sean Bagniewski had seen the problems coming.

It wasn't so much that the new app that the Iowa Democratic Party had planned to use to report its caucus results didn't work. It was that people were struggling to even log in or download it in the first place. After all, there had never been any app-specific training for the many precinct chairs.

So last Thursday Mr. Bagniewski, the chairman of the Democratic Party in Iowa's most populous county, Polk, instructed his precinct chairs to simply call in the caucus results as they had always done. But during Monday night's caucuses, those precinct chairs could not connect with party leaders via phone. Hold times stretched past 90 minutes. And when Mr. Bagniewski had his executive director to take pictures of the results with her smartphone and drive over to the Iowa Democratic Party headquarters to deliver them in person she was turned away without explanation.

"I don't even know if they know what they don't know," Mr. Bagniewski said of the state party shortly before 2 a.m. on Tuesday.

Inside the party's boiler room, the warning signs flashed almost as soon as results came in from the new app — as early as 8:15 p.m. The error rate was high, even as raw data seemed fine. Somehow it was mangled in the process of transmitting it for display. No one could figure out why.

And so, for nearly 22 hours after the Iowa caucuses had begun — with much fanfare, live cable coverage and deep consequences for the Democratic Party and the country — the state party re-

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Emboldened Trump Makes 2020 Case



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Speaker Nancy Pelosi ripped up her copy of President Trump's State of the Union address after he finished speaking Tuesday night.

NEWS ANALYSIS

'American Comeback' as a Presidency's Defense

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — The defendant finally showed up to have his say. President Trump never uttered the word impeachment, but in a 78-minute speech to the nation that combined a celebration of the American economy, hard-edge policy pronouncements and reality show-style surprises for the audience, he made the case for his presidency as only he could.

It was not a case that persuaded Democrats, who remained seated stonily during the applause lines, shaking their heads and rolling their eyes, but it was not meant to. Assured of acquittal in the Senate trial on Wednesday, Mr. Trump moved

Trump's Address Takes Aim at His Base and Suburban Voters

past preserving his first term and focused on securing a second with an argument aimed at both his political base and dubious suburban voters. It had a surreal quality, a president on trial for high crimes and misdemeanors addressing lawmakers in the same House chamber where he was impeached just seven weeks ago. While Mr. Trump resisted the impulse to show up at the Senate trial to reject the charges against him

over the last couple of weeks, he used his State of the Union address to present a different sort of defense without the burden of cross-examination, in effect arguing that the "great American comeback" he claimed credit for outweighed the allegations against him.

If Democrats were unmoved, and Speaker Nancy Pelosi ostentatiously ripped up her copy of his speech once it was done, making sure the cameras would catch the moment, Republicans embraced the president many of them once scorned. They welcomed him with hearty applause and even chanted, "Four more years! Four more years!" as if it were a campaign rally rather

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Tensions Grow as He and Pelosi Swap Snubs

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — President Trump claimed credit for a "great American comeback" in a speech to Congress on Tuesday night, boasting of a robust economy, contrasting his successes with the records of his predecessors and projecting optimism in the face of a monthslong Democratic effort to force him from office.

Mr. Trump, who lamented what he called "American carnage" when he was inaugurated in January 2017, described a different country today, declaring in his third State of the Union address that the nation's future was once again "blazing bright."

"In just three short years, we have shattered the mentality of American Decline and we have rejected the downsizing of America's destiny," Mr. Trump said in a speech that lasted 78 minutes. "We have totally rejected the downsizing. We are moving forward at a pace that was unimaginable just a short time ago, and we are never, ever going back!"

"The state of our union," Mr. Trump declared, "is stronger than ever before."

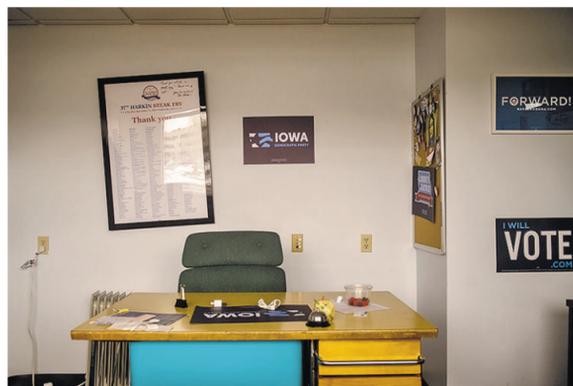
Welcomed by enthusiastic applause from Republican lawmakers, the president marched confidently into the same historic chamber where he was impeached 49 days earlier. Mr. Trump described the nation as enjoying what he called a "blue-collar boom," fueled by trade agreements and his success in "restoring our nation's manufacturing might."

On the eve of a Senate vote expected to acquit him, Mr. Trump never mentioned the impeachment inquiry that has threatened his presidency and consumed Washington. But his interactions on Tuesday night with Speaker Nancy Pelosi, who started the investigation by Democrats that has forever stained his legacy, un-

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IMPEACHMENT Beyond the partisan fight, the facts show the president pressured Ukraine. PAGE A22

RUSH LIMBAUGH The talk-show host, who has cancer, received a medal from the first lady. PAGE A16



HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A field office in Des Moines on Tuesday, a day after the caucuses.

Key to Democrats' Digital Push: Untested and Hastily Built App

This article is by Matthew Rosenberg, Nick Corasaniti, Sheera Frenkel and Nicole Perlroth.

The faulty smartphone app behind the chaotic aftermath of Iowa's Democratic caucuses was the work of a little-known company called Shadow Inc. that was founded by veterans of Hillary Clinton's unsuccessful presidential campaign, and whose previous work was marked by a string of failures, including a near bankruptcy.

The app grew out of a broader push by Democrats, backed by tens of millions of dollars in donor money, to match the Republicans' prowess in digital advertising and organizing after the 2016 election. Much of the energy and investment has gone into enterprises

that are intended to both boost the Democrats' digital game and turn a profit, like Shadow.

Yet instead of showcasing how far the Democrats had come since the 2016 defeat, the disarray surrounding the Iowa caucuses raised new questions about how the party hopes to compete in 2020 with the Trump campaign, a digital juggernaut that is churning out ads and raising record sums of money.

"It's the exact opposite of the Trump team approach — bring the engineers in house, figure out exactly what we need, we build it, we test it, we own it," said David Goldstein, chief executive of Tovo Labs, a progressive digital consulting firm.

Given less than two months to

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In China, Virus Spurred Rush of Blame Shifting

Wuhan's mayor blamed higher-ups. A senior disease control official blamed layers of bureaucracy. A top government expert blamed the public: The people, he said, simply didn't understand what he told them.

As China grapples with a mysterious coronavirus outbreak that has killed at least 490 people and sickened thousands, the country's 1.4 billion people are asking what went wrong. Senior officials are engaging in an unusually blunt display of finger pointing.

So many officials have denied responsibility that some online users joke that they are watching a passing-the-buck competition. (It's "tossing the wok" in Chinese.)

The Chinese people are getting a rare glimpse of how China's giant, opaque bureaucratic system works — or, rather, how it fails to work. Too many of its officials have become political apparatchiks, fearful of making decisions that anger their superi-



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

A colleague disinfecting a doctor on Monday in Wuhan, China.

ors and too removed and haughty when dealing with the public to admit mistakes and learn from them.

"The most important issue this outbreak exposed is the local government's lack of action and fear of action," said Xu Kaizhen, a best-selling author who is famous for his novels that explore the intricate workings of China's

bureaucratic politics.

"Under the high-pressure environment of an anticorruption campaign, most people, including senior government officials, only care about self-preservation," Mr. Xu said. "They don't want to be the first to speak up. They wait for their superiors to make decisions and are only accountable to their superiors instead of the people."

The Chinese government appears to be aware of the problem. The Communist Party's top leadership acknowledged in a meeting on Monday that the

Continued on Page A9

HONG KONG The death of a 39-year-old man was only the second reported outside mainland China as the contagion spread. PAGE A8

NEW YORK Some shops and hotels are empty as Chinese tourists, a major economic driver across the region, stay home. PAGE A24

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Politically Torn in Lebanon

Shiite Muslims have joined protesters from all religious sects in Lebanon. But the struggle has highlighted Hezbollah's role in the dysfunction. PAGE A4

Losing Kangaroo Island?

This Australian island was a wildlife haven and a tourist magnet — but then half of it burned. What's next? PAGE A11

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B8-10

Champions on Instagram

The Yankees lost to the Astros in the postseason, but a scandal is helping them win on social media. PAGE B8



ARTS C1-8

Four on a Mattress, Singing

A musical adaptation of the film "Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice" is friendly but toothless, Ben Brantley says. PAGE C1

Worth Neighing About

The show "BoJack Horseman" has had lots of animal gags during its run. Here are some of the funniest. PAGE C1

NATIONAL A12-23

When the Vet Does Harm

Accountability for abusive veterinarians is loose, as some despairing pet owners in Oregon found. PAGE A12

NEW YORK A24-25

On the Offensive

Harvey Weinstein's lawyers again attacked the credibility of a woman who said she was raped, portraying her as an opportunistic manipulator. PAGE A25

Examining a C.I.A. Leak

An ex-agency analyst faces trial on charges he gave reams of classified documents to WikiLeaks. PAGE A25

BUSINESS B1-6

The Surge of Tesla's Stock

Traders who bet against the electric-car maker's success could be behind a 36 percent increase in share price over two trading sessions. The price has more than doubled this year. PAGE B1

Disney Plus Hits It Big

The streaming service had 28.6 million subscribers as of Monday, the company said. It is considered an astounding number for a service that is less than three months old. PAGE B4

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Charlie Warzel

PAGE A26



FOOD D1-8

The Joy of Cooking Naked

Nudists balk at suggestions that cooking is more fraught for them than for the clothed. But spattering grease probably does carry more risk. PAGE D1



China in Crisis, Xi Backs Away From Spotlight

Limiting His Exposure to Political Risks

By CHRIS BUCKLEY
and STEVEN LEE MYERS

WUHAN, China — President Xi Jinping strode onstage before an adoring audience in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing less than three weeks ago, trumpeting his successes in steering China through a tumultuous year and promising "landmark" progress in 2020.

"Every single Chinese person, every member of the Chinese nation, should feel proud to live in this great era," he declared to applause on the day before the Lunar New Year holiday. "Our progress will not be halted by any storms and tempests."

Mr. Xi made no mention of a dangerous new coronavirus that had already taken tenacious hold in the country. As he spoke, the government was locking down Wuhan, a city of 11 million people, in a frantic attempt to stop the virus spreading from its epicenter.

The coronavirus epidemic, which has killed more than 800 people in China as of Sunday and sickened tens of thousands, comes as Mr. Xi has struggled with a host of other challenges: a slowing economy, huge protests in Hong Kong, an election in Taiwan that rebuffed Beijing and a protracted trade war with the United States.

Now, Mr. Xi faces an accelerating health crisis that is also a political one: a profound test of the authoritarian system he has built around himself over the past seven years. As the Chinese government struggles to contain the virus amid rising public discontent with its performance, the changes that Mr. Xi has ushered in could make it difficult for him to escape blame.

"It's a big shock to the legitimacy of the ruling party. I think it could be only second to the June 4 incident of 1989. It's that big," said Rong Jian, a writer about politics

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VIRUS KILLS AMERICAN The first U.S. citizen died in China, as the death toll surpassed that of SARS from 2002 and 2003. PAGE 13

Painful Theme, And Back Story, Of Met Painting

By GRAHAM BOWLEY

For years, a large, richly colored painting depicting a moment of sexual violence has stopped visitors in Gallery 634 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Once viewed as an image of Tarquin attacking Lucretia, as in Roman legend, the 17th-century work attributed to Eustache Le Sueur has more recently been described as a portrayal of the rape of Tamar from the Old Testament.

Now newly discovered evidence suggests the painting's history is as painful as its theme.

Old court records indicate the painting, purchased by the Met in 1984, is very likely the same one a Jewish art dealer, Siegfried Aram, left behind when he fled Germany as Hitler took power in 1933.

The records, which recount the dealer's unsuccessful effort to reclaim his painting for more than a decade after the war, were discovered by a researcher and photographer, Joachim Peter, who has spent years studying the history of Heilbronn, the German city where Mr. Aram once lived, including the treatment of its Jews and the devastation from Allied

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INTERNATIONAL 4-16

Votes for Change in Ireland

A surge in support for Sinn Fein, the former political wing of the Irish Republican Army, left Prime Minister Leo Varadkar weakened. PAGE 4

Venezuela Cedes Control of Oil

Nicolás Maduro is letting foreign companies take over daily oil operations in a bid to keep the economy afloat. PAGE 8

THE MAGAZINE

Breaking Barriers in Hollywood

Jenna Wortham talks to Dee Rees about the art of surviving as a black female director in the industry. PAGE 42

Bitter Struggle for Control of the Nile

Egypt Sees Ethiopia's Huge New Dam as Threat to Its Lifeblood

By DECLAN WALSH
and SOMINI SENGUPTA

MINYA, Egypt — The Egyptian farmer stood in his dust-blown field, lamenting his fortune. A few years ago, wheat and tomato-filled greenhouses carpeted the land. Now the desert was creeping in.

"Look," he said, gesturing at the sandy soil and abandoned greenhouses. "Barren."

The farmer, Hamed Jarallah, attributed his woes to dwindling irrigation from the overtaxed Nile, the fabled river at the heart of Egypt's very identity. Already, the Nile is under assault from pollution, climate change and Egypt's growing population, which officially hits 100 million people this month.

And now, Mr. Jarallah added, a fresh calamity loomed.

A colossal hydroelectric dam being built on the Nile 2,000 miles upriver, in the lowlands of Ethiopia, threatens to further constrict Egypt's water supply — and is scheduled to start filling this summer.

"We're worried," he said. "Egypt wouldn't exist without the Nile. Our livelihood is being destroyed, God help us."

The dispute between Egypt and Ethiopia over the \$4.5 billion Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam — Africa's largest, with a reservoir about the size of London — has become a national preoccupation in both countries, stoking patriotism, deep-seated fears and even murmurs of war.

To Ethiopians, the dam is a cherished symbol of their ambitions — a megaproject with the potential to light up millions of homes, earn billions from electricity sales to neighboring countries and confirm Ethiopia's place as a rising African power.

After years of bumpy progress, including corruption scandals and the mysterious death of its chief engineer, the first two turbines are being installed. Officials say the dam will start filling in July.

That prospect induces dread in Egypt, where the dam is seen as the most fundamental of threats.

Egypt is one of the driest countries on earth, with 95 percent

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JEREMY WHITE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

PRESIDENT'S TEAM AIMS TO WIN BACK SUBURBAN VOTERS

TAILORING HIS MESSAGE

Ads Target Those Turned Off by Trump's Policy and Personality

This article is by Maggie Haberman, Annie Karni and Jonathan Martin.

WASHINGTON — Buoyed by his impeachment acquittal and the muddled Democratic primary race, President Trump and his campaign are turning to address his re-election bid's greatest weakness with an aggressive, well-funded but uncertain effort to win back suburban voters turned off by his policies and behavior.

His campaign is aiming to regain these voters in battleground states like Pennsylvania and Michigan, after losing many of them to Democrats in the 2018 midterms. Advisers hope to expand the electoral map for November by winning moderate-leaning states like Minnesota and New Hampshire. And the White House is gearing up to help with policy issues directed at swing states, such as the new trade deal with Mexico and Canada and paid family leave for federal workers.

Trump campaign officials are also stockpiling cash to help with these efforts, with \$200 million in the bank now and fund-raising continuing at a brisk pace. They have put up television ads relatively early in the race, allocating \$6 million for the final three months of 2019 to highlight a booming economy and the low unemployment numbers.

Among the goals is trying to appeal to black voters and suburban and upper-income white voters with ads such as a spot focusing on criminal justice reform that first aired during the Super Bowl and is continuing on cable channels with large female audiences, like Bravo and Lifetime.

Yet Mr. Trump's messaging, like so much else about his approach to politics, is contradictory. For all the focus on appealing to moderates, the campaign is also engaging the president's hard-core supporters. Continued on Page 25



SAKCHAI LALITKANJANAKUL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Shooting Rampage Shocks Thailand

Security forces on Saturday in Korat, where a Thai soldier killed at least 26 and injured 57 in a shooting at a military base and a shopping mall, above, before being killed in a raid on Sunday. Page 16.

Wobbly After Outcome in Iowa, Biden Faces a Perilous Moment

By KATIE GLUECK
and THOMAS KAPLAN

MANCHESTER, N.H. — Former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s fourth-place finish in Iowa and his wobbly standing here in New Hampshire are now testing the central premise of his candidacy — that he is the Democrat with the strongest chance to defeat President Trump — and forcing his team to scramble to prove that claim before voters move on to other candidates.

The sudden reordering of the early primary race took on a heightened sense of urgency for Mr. Biden on Saturday as a poll showed him sliding to 11 percent support in New Hampshire. Campaigning in the state just three days before its primary, Mr. Biden went on the offensive against his chief rival for moderate Democrats, Pete Buttigieg, belittling his record as the former mayor of a small city, questioning his support from African-American voters and declaring, "This guy's not a Barack Obama."

It's a striking departure from Mr. Biden's self-assured posture throughout most of the campaign. He has said he is "the clear front-runner in the party." His allies still cite his strength in general election polls constantly, and have



ELIZABETH FRANTZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. in Concord, N.H.

even featured them in his television commercials. He has spent months targeting Mr. Trump rather than driving a sustained message at his rival Democrats, and his attempts to do so at Friday night's debate, while aggressive, did not appear to hurt them.

Now Mr. Biden's campaign is confronting its greatest moment of peril to date, marked by worrisome polls, jittery donors and tensions within the staff.

"If your whole theory of the case is that I'm the electable one and I can win, and then you lose in

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SUNDAY BUSINESS

Algorithm as Decision Maker

Software is being used in the United States and Europe to set prison sentences and probation rules and to predict who's a welfare fraud risk. Critics want more human oversight. PAGE 1

A Leading Silicon Valley Voice

Jessica Lessin has kept her online tech-focused publication, The Information, ad-free, charging \$399 a year for complete access. Her subscribers are eating it up. PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Ross Douthat

PAGE 4



SPORTSSUNDAY

The Last Flight of Kobe Bryant

A basketball tournament, a foggy morning, a helicopter ride: how a routine weekend turned into a tragedy. PAGE 1

U.S. Clinches Trip to Tokyo

The U.S. women's soccer team qualified for the 2020 Olympics with an easy 4-0 victory over Mexico. PAGE 2

ARTS & LEISURE

I Love the Oscars. But ...

The Academy Awards have made mistakes before, Wesley Morris writes. But this year's crop of best-picture nominees may be the breaking point. PAGE 14

SUNDAYSTYLES

Comfortable in Her Skins

Kim Kardashian West's shapewear company is taking off, even if shapewear can be hard to take off. PAGE 1



U.S. LIMITS TRAVEL AFTER W.H.O. CITES PANDEMIC



JIM URQUHART/REUTERS

A drive-through testing station in Denver on Wednesday as the effects of the coronavirus pandemic began to come into stark relief.

Trump Suspends Most Flights From Europe for 30 Days, but Excludes the U.K.

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — President Trump on Wednesday night blocked most visitors from continental Europe to the United States and vowed emergency aid to workers and small businesses as the World Health Organization declared the coronavirus a global pandemic, stock markets plunged further and millions of people cut themselves off from their regular lives.

In a prime-time address from the Oval Office, Mr. Trump outlined a series of measures intended to tackle the virus and its economic impact as he sought to reassure Americans that he was taking the crisis seriously after previously playing down the scope of the outbreak. He said he would halt travelers from Europe other than Britain for 30 days and asked Congress to support measures like a payroll tax cut.

"The virus will not have a chance against us," Mr. Trump declared in his 10-minute speech, reading from a teleprompter in an uncharacteristic monotone. "We are all in this together."

The president's address came as the virus sent stock markets deeper into a meltdown, prompted the N.C.A.A. to bar crowds from its iconic March Madness annual basketball tournament and forced the N.B.A. to suspend its season altogether after one of its players tested positive. Schools, universities, businesses, theaters and sports stadiums shut their doors. And the ac-

tor Tom Hanks announced that he and his wife, Rita Wilson, had been infected with the virus.

The cascade of announcements felt like a turning point in the crisis, when the real-world effect on people in the United States and around the globe came into stark relief. Ordinary life in many places will no longer be the same for the foreseeable future as society adjusts to a new reality that transforms everything including the global economy and everyday social interactions — not just in far-off places on newscasts, but in the community right at home.

Mr. Trump and other world leaders grappled for a way forward, but there was no clear end in sight as one of America's top scientists, Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, predicted the outbreak would only grow worse. He spoke on the same day that India joined countries like China, Italy, Iran, Japan and Israel in imposing drastic travel limits.

Italy went further by ordering almost all nonessential businesses to close, including restaurants, bars, cafes, beauty salons and most stores. In Germany, Chancellor Angela Merkel warned that about two-thirds of her country's population may eventually be infected, a prediction that rattled many in Europe and across the ocean.

With the virus now in more than 100 countries, the W.H.O. cited the "alarming levels of inaction" in de-

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A Global Chorus of Responses, Without Harmony or a Conductor

By MARK LANDLER

LONDON — In Frankfurt, the president of the European Central Bank warned that the coronavirus could trigger an economic crash as dire as that of 2008. In Berlin, the German chancellor warned the virus could infect two-thirds of her country's population. In London, the

British prime minister rolled out a nearly \$40 billion rescue package to cushion his economy from the shock.

As the toll of those afflicted by the virus continued to soar and financial markets from Tokyo to New York continued to swoon, world leaders are finally starting to find their voices about the gravity of what is now officially a pandemic.

Yet it remains less a choir than

A Baffling Virus Results in a Leadership Void

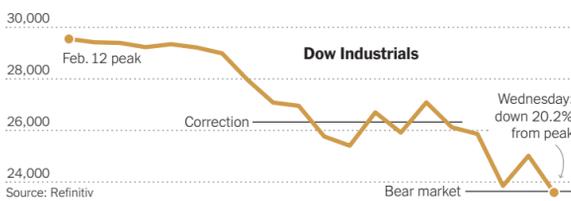
a cacophony — a dissonant babble of politicians all struggling, in their own way, to cope with the manifold challenges posed by the virus, from its crushing burden on hospitals and health care workers to its economic devasta-

tion and rising death toll.

The choir also lacks a conductor, a role played through most of the post-World War II era by the United States.

President Trump has failed to work with other leaders to fashion a common response, preferring to promote his border wall over the scientific advice of his own medical experts. In an Oval Office address on Wednesday

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Dow Ends 11-Year Win Streak As Outbreak Menaces Economy

By BEN CASSELMAN

The coronavirus outbreak ended one of the longest winning streaks in market history on Wednesday as the Dow Jones industrial average plunged and global policymakers grappled with the growing economic crisis.

The Dow closed with a loss of nearly 6 percent. That brought the decline from its most recent peak to more than 20 percent, the threshold that defines a bear market, after the Dow's 11-year run in bull-market territory.

The broader S&P 500 was off nearly 5 percent for the day, though down less than 20 percent from its peak less than a month ago.

The full economic toll of the outbreak will not be clear for months. But there is mounting evidence that it will be severe.

Airlines are warning of empty planes and huge financial losses. A sharp drop in oil prices is threatening to put energy companies

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Colleges Tell Students to Pack and Go, but Some Can't Go Home

By ANEMONA HARTOCOLLIS

The day after colleges across the country suspended classes over fears of the coronavirus, Abigail Lockhart-Calpito, a freshman from San Antonio, ran across the Harvard campus trying to get answers.

Her lectures were being replaced by online classes. Her residence hall was being cleared out. She, like thousands of others in her shoes, had a million questions: What was going to happen to her financial aid? Where would she stay? What about her credits?

The abrupt disruption of the semester caused widespread concern and a feeling of chaos on campuses across the country. Administrators saw spring break as a chance to reset the clock in the battle against the coronavirus. One after the other, like dominoes, they announced they were suspending classes and asking students to pack up and go.

Low-income students wondered whether they could afford



KATHERINE TAYLOR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mitchell Saron, a freshman at Harvard, prepared on Wednesday for his departure from campus.

to go home. International students had questions about their visas, which usually did not permit online learning. Graduate students worried about the effects on research projects years in the

making.

Dance, theater and music students fretted that after months of rehearsals there would be no performances. Seniors were already mourning their commencement,

assuming that it, too, would be canceled, and that the Class of 2020 might be together for the last time.

Some altruistically minded students

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Odds Longer, Sanders Pushes On From the Left

This article is by Sydney Ember, Reid J. Epstein and Glenn Thrush.

BURLINGTON, Vt. — Senator Bernie Sanders on Wednesday made a defiant case for his liberal policy agenda despite suffering big losses in the Democratic primaries this week, saying he planned to continue his bid for the presidency. But he acknowledged that he was "losing the debate over electability" to his rival, former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.

Mr. Sanders vowed to participate in the scheduled debate on



CALEB KENNA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Sunday, and asserted that "a strong majority" of Democrats supported his progressive causes, even as his path to the nomination looks increasingly narrow. Still, as

he addressed reporters at an afternoon news conference in Burlington, he did not directly attack Mr. Biden or vow to carry his fight to the end, instead signaling he was ready for a de-escalation in their rivalry.

In one striking sequence that highlighted his ideological resolve, Mr. Sanders ticked off a list of policy issues and challenged Mr. Biden to explain to the American people how he would address them — a series of questions that could be seen as an opening gambit for a list of concessions he would seek from Mr. Biden if he

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In Defining #MeToo Case, 23 Years for Weinstein

By JAN RANSOM

Harvey Weinstein, the movie producer who dominated Hollywood for decades, was sentenced on Wednesday to 23 years in prison for sex crimes, as the six women who had testified against him watched from the courtroom's front row, holding one another, some in tears.

The long sentence meant that Mr. Weinstein, who is 67 and in poor health, could very well spend the rest of his life in prison.

Minutes before, Mr. Weinstein, who was sitting in a wheelchair,

A First Conviction, but 'Not a First Offense'

had said that he was remorseful but also "totally confused" about what had happened to him. He likened his experience to that of Hollywood figures blacklisted during the scare over communism in the 1950s.

The moment capped a precipitous fall from power for Mr. Weinstein that started in October 2017 when, after years of rumors, sev-

eral women openly accused him of sexual assault and harassment.

Their stories led women around the world to speak about mistreatment at the hands of powerful men, shifting the cultural landscape with the #MeToo movement.

Justice James A. Burke, who presided over the trial in State Supreme Court in Manhattan, could have sentenced Mr. Weinstein to as little as five years, but he heeded the arguments of prosecutors who urged him to hand down a much longer sentence.

The judge said that while Mr. Weinstein

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NATIONAL A19-23

'Diligent, Hard-Working Lady'

A Florida Republican charged with turning in false voter forms may be tied to hundreds of bogus forms. PAGE A20

No Holdouts Allowed

Towns seeking federal funds to help people leave flood zones must commit to remove those who won't go. PAGE A19



BUSINESS B1-7

Insulin Costs May Be Capped

The Trump administration proposes limiting insulin costs to \$35 a month for some older Americans. PAGE B6

Does Working at Home Work?

Home-cooked lunches and no commuting can't compensate for what's lost in creativity, Kevin Roose writes. PAGE B1

INTERNATIONAL A4-18

'We Are Like Animals'

Detaining refugees incommunicado at a secret extrajudicial site before expelling them to Turkey is part of Greece's crackdown on migrants. PAGE A6

NEW YORK A24-25

N.J. Transit's Ancient Fleet

The railroad will be stuck with a batch of aging passenger cars that were built in the 1970s for at least three more years. PAGE A24

SPORTSTHURSDAY B8-12

They Swim and Run. A Lot.

Swimrun, an endurance race popular in Sweden, is starting to catch on with American triathletes. PAGE B10

Competition on the Cusp

Atlético Madrid defeated Liverpool in the Champions League, whose immediate future is murky. PAGE B9

ARTS C1-8

New Arts Leader Named

Gonzalo Casals, who runs a museum of queer art, will be New York City's cultural affairs commissioner. PAGE C1

A Different Stance on Jazz

The saxophonist Shabaka Hutchings, below, and his "Ancestors" have produced something special. PAGE C5



THURSDAY STYLES D1-8

Darning It All

"Visible mending" has been taken up by those opposed to fast fashion and disposable culture. It's also thrifty. PAGE D1

Build It. He Might Come.

For 50 years, Lloyd Kahn has collected examples of homes — wigwams, cabins, yurts — built with no architect. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Farhad Manjoo

PAGE A26



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WORST ROUT FOR WALL STREET SINCE 1987 CRASH



A sealed-off tent that was set up to help treat coronavirus patients outside an overwhelmed hospital in Brescia, Italy, on Thursday.

House Set to Vote on Rescue Plan — Sick Leave, Tests and Tax Credits

This article is by Emily Cochran, Jeanna Smialek and Jim Tankersley.

WASHINGTON — Financial markets plunged on Thursday in the biggest one-day drop since the Black Monday stock market crash of 1987, and Congress neared a deal with the White House on a sweeping economic rescue package to respond to the colossal effect of the coronavirus pandemic.

After a day of intense negotiations between Speaker Nancy Pelosi of California and the Treasury secretary, Steven Mnuchin, Ms. Pelosi told reporters that "we've resolved most of our differences" and the House would vote on Friday on the measure "one way or another." It would then go to the Senate, which called for a recess that had been scheduled for next week in anticipation of a compromise.

The legislation, according to a letter Ms. Pelosi sent to her members, will include enhanced unemployment benefits, free virus testing, aid for food assistance programs and federal funds for Medicaid. The package also ensures 14 days of paid sick leave, as well as tax credits to help small- and medium-size businesses fulfill that mandate. Language was still being drafted for provisions related to family and medical leave, according to a Democratic aide, as staff members worked through

the night to prepare the bill.

Ms. Pelosi, in her letter to lawmakers, also said that the House would soon pursue another package "that will take further effective action that protects the health, economic security and well-being of the American people."

The fast-moving measure reflected a sense of urgency in Washington to enact a fiscal stimulus in the face of a pandemic that has wreaked havoc on the financial markets, which have proved impervious to other interventions. The Federal Reserve, in a drastic attempt to ensure Wall Street remained functional as volatility roiled even normally staid bond markets, said it would promptly inject as much as \$1.5 trillion in loans into the banking system and broaden its purchases of Treasury securities.

But neither the Fed's actions, nor a plan by the European Central Bank to offer cheap loans to banks and step up its bond-buying campaign, were enough to assuage investors, who sent the S&P 500 down 9.5 percent.

President Trump, for his part, appeared to be scrambling to persuade the public that things were going smoothly, while suggesting he could further restrict travel. Speaking at the White House, Mr. Trump said he could conceivably ban domestic travel to regions of

Continued on Page A9

Testing Remains Elusive in Places Most in Need

By FARAH STOCKMAN

BOSTON — First came the tickle in the throat. Then, a hacking cough. Then, a shortness of breath she had never experienced before. Hillary King, a 32-year-old consultant in Boston who lives down the street from a hotel where dozens of Biogen executives contracted the new coronavirus, decided that she had better get tested.

But getting tested is far easier said than done, even as testing slowly ramps up nationwide. Five days after President Trump announced that anyone who wants a test can get a test, Ms. King's experience shows how difficult it can be in the United States to find out if you have the coronavirus.

Many who fear they have the virus have faced one roadblock after

'It Is a Failing,' Says a Top Health Official. 'Let's Admit It.'

another as they try to get tested, according to interviews with dozens of people across the country.

Some have been rejected because they had no symptoms, even though they had been in proximity to someone who tested positive. Others were told no because they had not traveled to a hot spot abroad, even though they had fevers and hacking coughs and lived in cities with growing outbreaks. Still others were told a bitter truth: There simply were not enough tests to go around.

"The system is not really

geared to what we need right now, what you are asking for. That is a failing," said Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, who leads the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, in testimony before the House Committee on Oversight and Reform on Thursday. "It is a failing. I mean, let's admit it."

Dr. Fauci added: "The idea of anybody getting it easily the way people in other countries are doing it, we are not set up for that. Do I think we should be? Yes. But we are not."

In some parts of the country, demand for the tests is low. Elsewhere efforts are underway to make testing easier. States like Colorado have even instituted drive-through testing to streamline the process.

But even there, demand has far

Continued on Page A10

In Italy's 'War,' Triage Decides Life or Death

By JASON HOROWITZ

ROME — The mayor of one town complained that doctors were forced to decide not to treat the very old, leaving them to die. In another town, patients with coronavirus-caused pneumonia were being sent home. Elsewhere, a nurse collapsed with her mask on, her photograph becoming a symbol of overwhelmed medical staff.

In less than three weeks, the coronavirus has overloaded the health care system all over northern Italy. It has turned the hard hit Lombardy region into a grim glimpse of what awaits countries if they cannot slow the spread of the virus and "flatten the curve" of new cases — allowing the sick to be treated without swamping the capacity of hospitals.

If not, even hospitals in developed countries with the world's best health care risk becoming triage wards, forcing ordinary doctors and nurses to make extraordinary decisions about who may live and who may die. Wealthy northern Italy is facing a version of that nightmare already.

"This is a war," said Massimo Puoti, the head of infectious medicine at Milan's Niguarda hospital, one of the largest in Lombardy, the northern Italian region at the heart of the country's coronavirus epidemic.

He said the goal was to limit infections, stave off the epidemic and learn more about the nature of the enemy. "We need time."

This week Italy put in place draconian measures — restricting movement and closing all stores except for pharmacies, groceries and other essential services. But they did not come in time to prevent the surge of cases that has deeply taxed the capacity even of a health care system that is well

Continued on Page A8



The New York Stock Exchange was devastated on Thursday.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Beyond Bears, Markets Show Strange Signs

By NEIL IRWIN

It has been an unsettling week on global financial markets, and not just because the stock market has fallen sharply enough to bring a decade-plus bull market to an end.

Underneath the headline numbers was a series of movements that don't really make sense when lined up against one another. They amount to signs — not definitive, but worrying — that something is breaking down in the workings of the financial system, even if it's not totally clear what that is just yet.

Bond prices and stock prices have moved together, not in opposite directions as they usually do. On a day when major economic disruptions resulting from the coronavirus pandemic appeared to become likelier —

Continued on Page A13

NEWS ANALYSIS

Trump's Effort To Calm Eases Few Anxieties

By PETER BAKER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — As he confronts the most serious crisis of his tenure, President Trump has been assertive in closing borders to many outsiders, one of his favorite policies. But within the United States, as the coronavirus spreads from one community to another, he has been more follower than leader.

While he presents himself as the nation's commanding figure, Mr. Trump has essentially become a bystander as school superintendents, sports commissioners, college presidents, governors and business owners across the country take it upon themselves to shut down much of American life without clear guidance from the president.

For weeks, he resisted telling Americans to cancel or stay away from large gatherings, reluctant even on Thursday to call off his own campaign rallies even as he grudgingly acknowledged he would probably have to. Instead, it fell to Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, the government's most famous scientist, to say publicly what the president would not, leading the nation's basketball, hockey, soccer and baseball leagues in just 24 hours to suspend play and call off tournaments.

Mayors and county executives, hospital executives and factory owners received no further direction from the president as he

Continued on Page A9

Dark Spirits as the Lights Go Out on Broadway

By MICHAEL PAULSON

The adage is synonymous with Broadway itself: The show must go on.

And for decades, through wars and recessions and all forms of darkness, Broadway, the heart of America's theater industry and an economic lifeblood for many artists, has kept its curtains up and its footlights on.

But on Thursday, facing a widening coronavirus pandemic and new limitations on large gatherings, the industry said it was suspending all plays and musicals for 32 days, effective immediately.

"The idea that our venerable, majestic houses are dark, and that there will be no lights on Broadway — I'm romanticizing, but that's the heartbeat of the city, and to think that they've been forced into darkness is shocking," said Patti LuPone, a beloved Broadway titan who has won two Tony Awards and has been performing in previews for a revival of "Company." "I'm shocked that they took



Many of New York's cultural institutions, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art, announced that they would shut down.

this tack, but also grateful they did, just to keep us healthy."

The shutdown — longer than those prompted in recent decades by strikes and snowstorms and even the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001 — will inevitably cost tens

of millions of dollars for investors and artists and associated businesses, and will likely trigger the collapse of some plays and musicals that will be unable to survive the delays and losses.

Continued on Page A12

INTERNATIONAL A4-17

Fearing Police as Riots Raged

More evidence has emerged that the Indian police, below, helped attack Muslims or stood aside during an explosion of violence last month. PAGE A14



Germany to Track Its Far Right

The country's intelligence agency labeled a wing of the Alternative for Germany extremist, warning of a "danger for democracy," and said some of its leaders would be monitored. PAGE A15

NEW YORK A23-24

Putting a Lid on It

City residents might be required to compost if the City Council speaker's plan to move toward mandatory organic waste recycling goes forward. PAGE A23

NATIONAL A18-22

Transgender Rights in Peril

Lawmakers across the nation have introduced dozens of measures, from targeting hormone therapy to barring transgender athletes. PAGE A18

Trump's Prospects Weaken

Weeks ago, his advisers were counting on a strong economy and an opponent easily portrayed as too far left. But the political landscape has shifted. PAGE A20

BUSINESS B1-7

Street Cred for Cadillac

It doesn't sell a sports car, but its high-performance V-series automobiles are finding success on the racetrack where luxury brands like Benz and BMW have thrived. PAGE B3

SPORTSFRIDAY B8-11

U.S. Soccer Chief Is Out

Court briefs in a gender discrimination lawsuit argued that female soccer players were inferior, leading Carlos Cordeiro to resign his post. PAGE B9

WEEKEND ARTS C1-20

She's Turning 60. So Is Benin.

Angélique Kidjo, below, is probably Africa's most respected international vocalist, and one of its hungriest synthesizers of culture and ideas. PAGE C1



A Perfect Time for 'Westworld'

After a nearly two-year hiatus, HBO's dystopian sci-fi western has evolved into a corporate noir with the fate of the human race at stake. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

David Brooks

PAGE A26



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Trump Stamps G.O.P. Imprint On the Courts

A Wave of Judges Tied to the Party's Causes

This article is by **Rebecca R. Ruiz, Robert Gebeloff, Steve Eder and Ben Protess.**

As a Republican candidate for the Texas Supreme Court, Don R. Willett flaunted his uncompromising conservatism, boasting of endorsements from groups with "pro-life, pro-faith, pro-family" credentials.

"I intend to build such a fiercely conservative record on the court that I will be unconfirmable for any future federal judicial post — and proudly so," a Republican rival quoted him telling party leaders.

Judge Willett served a dozen years on the Texas bench. But rather than disqualifying him, his record there propelled him to the very job he had deemed beyond reach. President Trump nominated him to a federal appeals court, and Republicans in the Senate narrowly confirmed him on a party-line vote.

As Mr. Trump seeks re-election, his rightward overhaul of the federal judiciary — in particular, the highly influential appeals courts — has been invoked as one of his most enduring accomplishments. While individual nominees have drawn scrutiny, The New York Times conducted a deep examination of all 51 new appellate judges to obtain a collective portrait of the Trump-populated bench.

The review shows that the Trump class of appellate judges, much like the president himself, breaks significantly with the norms set by his Democratic and Republican predecessors, Barack Obama and George W. Bush.

The lifetime appointees — who make up more than a quarter of the entire appellate bench — were more openly engaged in causes important to Republicans, such as opposition to gay marriage and to

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TWO WOMEN FELL SICK. ONLY ONE RECOVERED.

They were both mothers, just 29. They were healthy medical professionals, who worked long hours on the front lines in Wuhan. Within weeks, they came down with fevers and were hospitalized in critical condition. Page 8.



EUROPE LOCKS UP AND FACES CRISIS AS VIRUS SPREADS

France and Spain Restrict Public Life as Countries Rush to Shut Borders

This article is by **Adam Nossiter, Raphael Minder and Elian Peltier.**

PARIS — The shutdown of Europe expanded drastically on Saturday, as more countries shuttered businesses, locked up borders and chased people off streets and into their homes in a race to contain the growing threat of the coronavirus.

Spain became the second country in Europe, after Italy, to impose strict limits on public life, telling everyone to stay indoors, with few exceptions. As cases soared nationwide, the authorities confirmed that the prime minister's wife had been infected as well.

In France, cafes and restaurants — central to the country's soul and social life — were ordered closed along with most other nonessential businesses.

In the United States, Vice President Mike Pence widened the American travel ban to include Britain and Ireland, effectively shutting off travel from nearly 30 European countries, while the White House announced that President Trump had tested negative for the virus.

Across Europe, there was a widespread feeling that the health crisis flaying Italy for weeks had arrived at the doorsteps of its neighbors, and that the time for hoping the threat would somehow

dissipate without sweeping intervention was over.

Until Saturday, the cafes in Paris had been full of revelers and restaurants had been doing good business, even without tourists. But then French officials declared that the crisis could be disregarded no longer.

The time of classic Parisian nonchalance had come to an end.

"In France, when you tell people to stay home, they go to bars to celebrate the closure," said H el ene Noaillon, a bartender at Les P eres Populaires, reacting to news of the closings on Saturday night while the bar was still open.

"Our society is more libertarian," she said. "As long as you don't put people under any real constraints, they're going to continue to live the way they want."

While some European leaders, like President Emmanuel Macron of France, have called for intensifying cooperation across nations, others are trying to close their countries off.

From Denmark to Slovakia, governments went into aggressive virus-fighting mode with border closings.

In Denmark, Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen said all foreigners who did not have an essential purpose for visiting the country would be turned away.

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TRACKING AN OUTBREAK

NEW YORK The state reported its first two deaths and said two lawmakers were ill. PAGE 13

CENSORSHIP DEFIED As China cracks down on virus coverage, journalists are resisting. PAGE 4

RESILIENCE In locked-down Italy, song breaks out from rooftops, balconies and windows. PAGE 6

NEGATIVE The president was tested, and the White House doctor says he is healthy. PAGE 10

Uninvited Guest at Mar-a-Lago Birthday Party: The Coronavirus

By **PETER BAKER** and **KATIE ROGERS**

WASHINGTON — The lights were low and the disco balls spinning as a cake with a fiery sparkler shooting flames into the air was brought out to a robust rendition of "Happy Birthday," joined by President Trump. The birthday girl, Kimberly Guilfoyle, the girlfriend of Donald Trump Jr., then pumped her fist in the air and called out, "Four more years!"

It was a lavish, festive, carefree Saturday night at Mar-a-Lago a week ago in what in hindsight now seems like a last hurrah for the end of one era and the beginning of another. In the days since then, the presidential estate in Florida has become something of a coronavirus hot zone. A growing number of Mar-a-Lago guests from last weekend have said they are infected or put themselves into quarantine.

A week later, the White House

physician announced on Saturday night that the president had tested negative for the virus, ending a drama that played out for days as Mr. Trump refused repeatedly even to find out whether he had contracted it after exposure to multiple infected people. The result came less than 24 hours after the White House put out a misleading midnight statement saying there was no need for such a test at roughly the same time the president by his own account was

actually having one in deference to public pressure.

But either way, the Mar-a-Lago petri dish has become a kind of metaphor for the perils of group gatherings in the age of coronavirus, demonstrating how quickly and silently the virus can spread. No one is necessarily safe from encountering it, not senators or diplomats or even the most powerful person on the planet seemingly secure in a veritable

Continued on Page 10

Trump Unveils Google Project Still Incomplete

By **MICHAEL D. SHEAR** and **DAISUKE WAKABAYASHI**

WASHINGTON — It started as a series of conversations this past week between officials working with Jared Kushner, the president's son-in-law, and the chief executive of Verily, a life sciences subsidiary of Google's parent company, about how it might help the Trump administration in the fight against the coronavirus.

Verily was developing a website that could let people evaluate their symptoms and direct them to nearby "drive through" locations for testing. Desperate to tap the private sector to satisfy the public's demands for a more robust response to the rapidly spreading virus, Mr. Kushner was quickly sold on the idea.

But on Friday, President Trump inflated the concept far beyond reality. At a news conference in the Rose Garden, he said that the company was helping to develop a website that would sharply expand testing for the virus, falsely claiming that "Google has 1,700 engineers working on this right now" and adding that "they've made tremendous progress."

In truth, the project at Verily — which has a total of about 1,000 employees — is in its infancy. A pilot program is planned for the San Francisco area, but a website has yet to be unveiled. Testing locations have not been identified, and the coronavirus tests themselves are not yet widely available.

The president's effort to sell the

Continued on Page 9

Health Systems Cut to the Bone Face Onslaught

By **JULIE BOSMAN** and **RICHARD FAUSSET**

CHICAGO — A widespread failure in the United States to invest in public health has left local and state health departments struggling to respond to the coronavirus outbreak and ill prepared to face the swelling crisis ahead.

Many health departments are suffering from budget and staffing cuts that date to the Great Recession and have never been fully restored. Public health departments across the country manage a vast but often invisible portfolio of duties, including educating the public about smoking cessation, fighting opioid addictions, persuading the reluctant to vaccinate their babies, and inspecting restaurants and tattoo parlors.

Now, these bare-bones staffs of medical and administrative workers are trying to answer a sudden rush of demands — taking phone calls from frightened residents, quarantining people who may be infected, and tracing the known contacts and whereabouts of the ill — that accompany a public health crisis few have seen before.

Nationwide, local and state health departments have lost nearly a quarter of their work force since 2008, according to the National Association of County and City Health Officials. As the nation's local and state public health officials confront a pandemic that has paralyzed much of the world, many of them have made their situation plain: They

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'Crazy Money' in a Pandemic, Selling \$70 Bottles of Sanitizer

By **JACK NICAS**

On March 1, the day after the first coronavirus death in the United States was announced, brothers Matt and Noah Colvin set out in a silver S.U.V. to pick up some hand sanitizer. Driving around Chattanooga, Tenn., they hit a Dollar Tree, then a Walmart, a Staples and a Home Depot. At each store, they cleaned out the shelves.

Over the next three days, Noah Colvin took a 1,300-mile road trip across Tennessee and into Kentucky, filling a U-Haul truck with thousands of bottles of hand sanitizer and thousands of packs of antibacterial wipes, mostly from "little hole-in-the-wall dollar stores in the backwoods," his brother said. "The major metro areas were cleaned out."

Matt Colvin stayed home near Chattanooga, preparing for pal-

lets of even more wipes and sanitizer he had ordered, and starting to list them on Amazon. Mr. Colvin said he had posted 300 bottles of hand sanitizer and immediately sold them all for between \$8 and \$70 each, multiples higher than what he had bought them for. To him, "it was crazy money." To many others, it was profiteering from a pandemic.

The next day, Amazon pulled his items and thousands of other listings for sanitizer, wipes and face masks. The company suspended some of the sellers behind the listings and warned many others that if they kept running up prices, they'd lose their accounts. EBay soon followed with even stricter measures, prohibiting any U.S. sales of masks or sanitizer.

Now, while millions of people across the country search in vain



DOUG STRICKLAND FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

As a seller on Amazon, Matt Colvin follows trends that he can turn into profit. When the coronavirus hit, he stockpiled supplies.

for hand sanitizer to protect themselves from the spread of the coronavirus, Mr. Colvin is sitting on 17,700 bottles of the stuff with little idea where to sell them.

"It's been a huge amount of whiplash," he said. "From being in

a situation where what I've got coming and going could potentially put my family in a really good place financially to 'What the heck am I going to do with all of this?'"

Continued on Page 12

INTERNATIONAL 14-17

Saudi Women's Other Hurdle

Women are finding they have to negotiate with their male guardians to exercise their newly granted legal rights to work, drive and travel. PAGE 14

Trying to Heal in Christchurch

The attack a year ago that killed 51 at two New Zealand mosques made Zulfirman Syah a hero and a victim. PAGE 16

THE MAGAZINE

The Music That Defines Us

A look at three artists who exemplify what popular music means today, and 25 songs that matter. The Music Issue.



NATIONAL 19-26

Primary Row Among Friends

The amicable relationship between Senator Bernie Sanders and Joseph R. Biden Jr. may lift party unity. PAGE 20

Guant namo's Secret Prison

It's called Camp 7, and nobody gets in. But by some accounts, conditions have eased up from its rough past. PAGE 21

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Your Money and the Pandemic

Is it time to buy securities? Should I sell my house now? You asked, experts answered. Here's some advice on stocks, bonds and cash; timing the market — and more. PAGE 6

The Upside of a Down Market

It's true that the worth of your savings has declined as the value of stocks has fallen. But that also means that the value you're getting on any future earnings has increased. PAGE 8

SUNDAY REVIEW

Jon Mooallem

PAGE 4



SPORTSSUNDAY

The High-Five, Brought Low

A staple of sports is now actively discouraged. But getting athletes to stop doing it is harder than you think. PAGE 1

A Challenge to Our Obsession

Sports were supposed to calm us, distract us. John Branch asks, will this lead to a reboot, a cleanse? PAGE 1

ARTS & LEISURE

The Genius of Being Alive

As the celebrated composer Stephen Sondheim turns 90, we toast Broadway's master of emotions, mixed and otherwise. PAGES 11-18

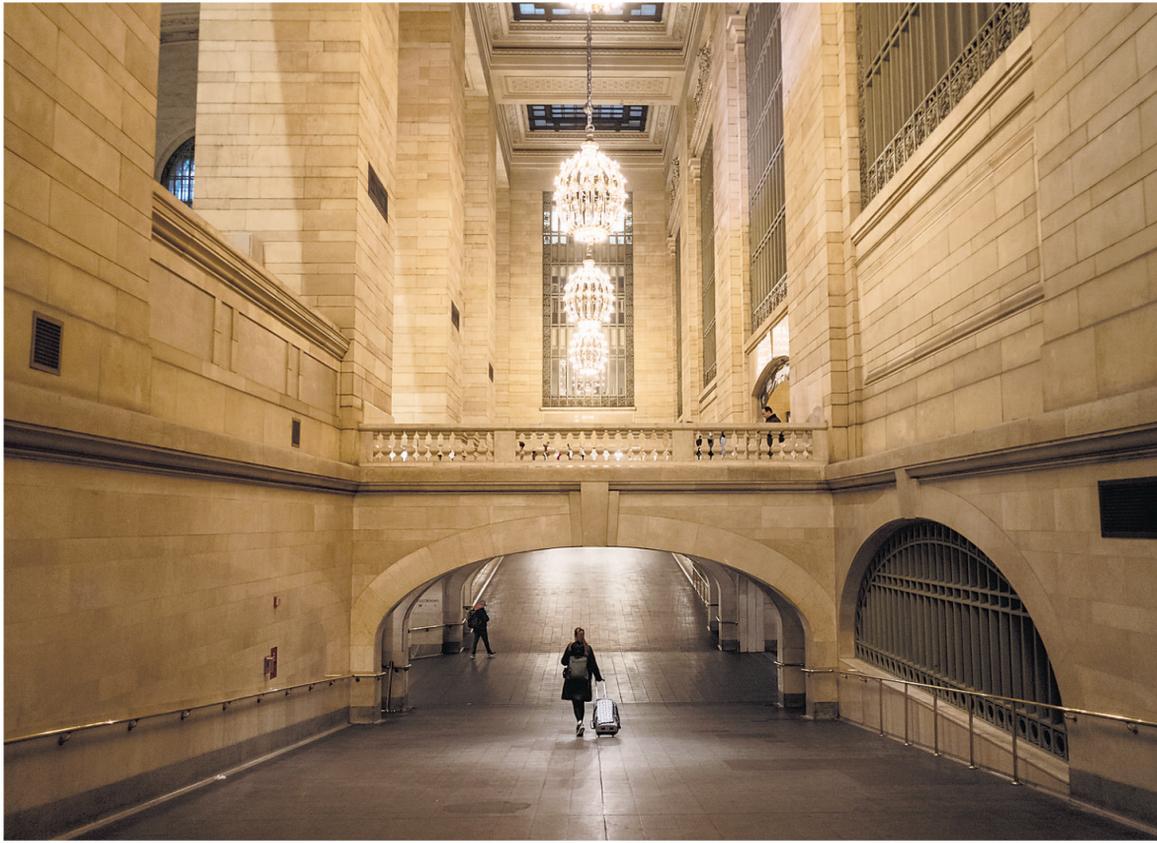
SUNDAY STYLES

Got Milk? Not Anymore

Americans have been souring on cow's milk for decades. In an age of plant-based substitutes, dairy farmers are trying to win us back. PAGE 1



FED CUTS RATES TO NEAR ZERO; VIRUS TOLL SOARS



TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

TOO QUIET A subdued Grand Central Terminal last week as gloom settled on a nation suddenly in the grip of a pandemic. Page A4.

As Business Grinds to a Halt, The Cost of Disruption Surges

This article is by Ben Casselman, Patricia Cohen, Stacy Cowley, Conor Dougherty, Nicholas Kulish, David McCabe and Karen Weise.

A week ago, Mark Canlis's restaurant in Seattle was offering a \$135 tasting menu to a bustling dining room every night. Eileen Hornor's inn on the Maine coast was booking rooms for the busy spring graduation season. And Kalena Masching, a real estate agent in California, was fielding multiple offers on a \$1.2 million home.

Then the coronavirus outbreak changed everything.

Today, Mr. Canlis's restaurant is preparing to become a drive-

through operation serving burgers. Ms. Hornor is bleeding cash as she refunds deposits for scores of canceled reservations. And Ms. Masching is scrambling to save her sale after one offer after another fell through.

"Last week, I would have told you nothing had changed," she said. "This week, it has all gone to hell."

For weeks, forecasters have warned of the coronavirus's potential to disrupt the American economy. But there was little hard evidence beyond delayed shipments of goods from China and stomach-churning volatility in fi-

Continued on Page A10

New York Orders Schools, Bars And Restaurants to Shut Down

By LUIS FERRÉ-SADURNÍ

Facing mounting pressure, New York City officials announced on Sunday a sweeping shutdown of tens of thousands of bars and restaurants, and the closure of the city's public school system — the largest in the nation — in an effort to suppress the spread of the coronavirus.

From California to Washington, D.C., governors and mayors are grappling with how far government should go in constricting people's daily lives to keep them home.

A patchwork of recent measures — mandatory curfews in Puerto Rico and Hoboken, N.J.;

the closing of restaurant and bar dining rooms in Ohio and Illinois; and the closure of public schools in several states, including Minnesota, South Carolina and Rhode Island — was a sign that the restrictive interventions could soon become the norm nationwide.

New York provided another stark example on Sunday: Shortly before 10 p.m., Mayor Bill de Blasio announced that the city will close its bars and restaurants, except for delivery and pickup services, leaving waiters, bartenders and baristas uncertain about their next paycheck.

Continued on Page A9

Italy Reports a Sharp Increase in Deaths — New Round of Closings Across the U.S.

By JEANNA SMIALEK and NEIL IRWIN

WASHINGTON — With the fast-spreading coronavirus posing a dire threat to economic growth, the Federal Reserve on Sunday night took the dramatic step of slashing interest rates to near zero and unveiled a sweeping set of programs in an effort to backstop the United States economy.

In addition to cutting its benchmark interest rate by a full percentage point, returning it to a range of 0 to 0.25 percent, the Fed said it would inject huge sums into the economy by snapping up at least \$500 billion of Treasury securities and at least \$200 billion of mortgage-backed debt "over coming months."

The remarkable Sunday afternoon action — a drastic move unlike any since the depths of the global financial crisis a dozen years ago — reflected the imminent peril facing the global economy as the virus shutters factories, quarantines workers and disrupts everyday life.

President Trump, who has been vocal in his criticism of the Fed, praised the central bank's move and sought to assure worried Americans that food supplies would not be disrupted. After weeks of problems, the administration promised again to expand access to testing for the virus, but a top official added, "I'm not going to say that the lab testing issue is over."

The virus is wreaking havoc across the world, with Italy reporting 368 new deaths, bringing the toll there to 1,809 on Sunday — the largest one-day uptick yet of any country, and, some experts warned, a harbinger of the threat to the United States if the government does not take swift action. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention recommended

Sunday that no gatherings with 50 people or more be held in the United States for the next eight weeks.

Germany announced it would close its borders with Austria, Denmark, France, Luxembourg and Switzerland, following several other European Union member states in restricting the freedom of movement across the Continent.

The Vatican said on Sunday that its traditional services during the week before Easter, which usually draw tens of thousands of people, would not be open to the public next month, interrupting a historic tradition. Ireland closed pubs for two weeks, including on St. Patrick's Day, while Austria banned gatherings of more than five people.

In the United States, more than 3,100 cases of the virus have been reported across 49 states as of Sunday, and public officials scrambled to enact stricter measures to slow the virus's spread, including the shuttering of schools, restaurants, bars and other businesses.

New York City's public school system, the nation's largest with 1.1 million students, will begin shutting down this week, Governor Andrew M. Cuomo said, in the city's most aggressive and disruptive effort to slow the coronavirus. Minnesota, Rhode Island and South Carolina also closed schools.

Ohio ordered restaurants and bars to close starting Sunday night and Maryland ordered casinos, racetracks and betting facilities to close "indefinitely." New York City will also limit restaurants to takeout and delivery service starting Tuesday. Star-

Continued on Page A14

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK

STOCKING SHELVES Food suppliers and retailers say they have enough goods, but are still adjusting their pace to meet demand. PAGE A13

BIOTECHNOLOGY German officials appeared rattled by a reported American overture to a company researching a vaccine. PAGE A12

AIRPORTS Travelers returning to the United States waited in line for as long as seven hours for "enhanced screening" at customs. PAGE A13

Across Europe, Virus Punctures A Cafe Society

By STEVEN ERLANGER

BRUSSELS — The "gilded museum" of Europe is hollow and echoing. The great squares and stadiums are empty, the museums shut, the churches hesitant about services, the fine restaurants and cool bars shuttered.

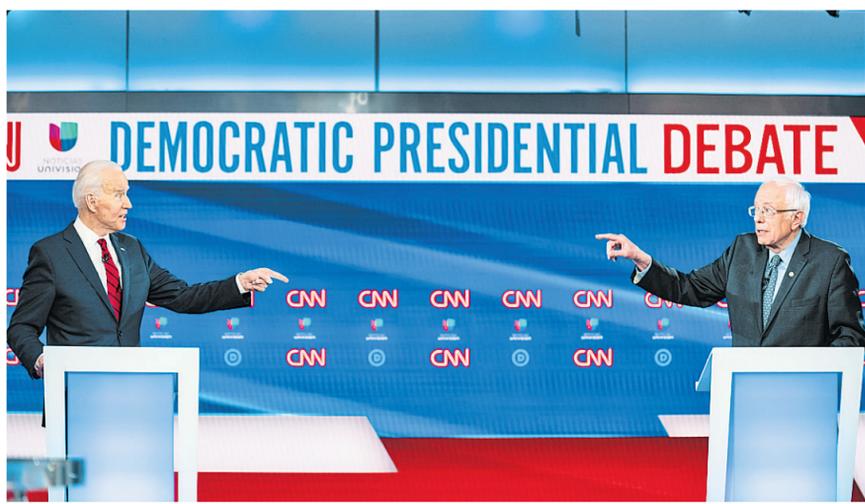
The coronavirus is not only spreading, but also infecting societies with a sense of insecurity, fear and fragmentation. Above all, it has severed humanity from its conceit of control and of the invincibility of its institutions, science, technology and democracies.

If that is true nearly everywhere the virus goes, it is all the more so in Europe, with its history of Enlightenment, where life is lived, ordinarily, on an intimate scale, bumping shoulders on the street or in the cafe, greeting friends with kisses on the cheeks.

No more. Today, Europeans are told to hide away, erecting borders between countries, inside their cities and neighborhoods, around their homes — to protect themselves from their neighbors, even from their grandchildren.

Confronting a virus that respects no borders, this modern Europe without borders is building them everywhere. But differ-

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ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Joseph R. Biden Jr. and Bernie Sanders avoided shaking hands at a debate with no live audience.

Two Rivals Take On Outbreak, and Each Other

By ALEXANDER BURNS and JONATHAN MARTIN

Joseph R. Biden Jr. and Senator Bernie Sanders called for vastly more aggressive government action to battle the coronavirus but split over some of the details along familiar ideological lines on Sunday night, as the two Democrats grappled to lead their party into a campaign overshadowed by the pandemic inflicting havoc on the

country's economy and its social fabric.

In their first one-on-one encounter of the primary race, Mr. Sanders, a democratic socialist, demanded sweeping economic reform and the creation of a single-payer health care system to address crises like the virus. Mr. Biden said he would call up the military to help and enact a "multi-billion dollar program" of disease containment and economic rescue, and said that there

were more issues at hand that could not wait on reinventing the health care system.

Mr. Biden also used the debate to explicitly pledge to name a woman as his running mate, a vow that prompted Mr. Sanders to say he would "in all likelihood" do the same.

The specter of the disease pervaded their encounter from their first moments onstage: Mr. Biden and Mr. Sanders declined to shake

Continued on Page A19

Ex-Felons in Florida Can Vote At Last. Some Don't Want To.

By NICHOLAS CASEY

GAINESVILLE, Fla. — The two men were strangers and stood steps from the courthouse that had once sent them both to prison. Julius Irving spoke first.

He said he had come to register potential voters. Florida had recently overturned a lifetime ban on voting for most people who had been convicted of felonies and were free. A big election was on the way this year, and both of them now needed to vote.

But Deontre Washington's mind was elsewhere as he listened. He thought of the 18-month sentence he had served for a burglary in 2014, when he was homeless and lacked the money to feed his two children. He thought about the Florida prison he was sent to where men were forced to work without pay; he thought about the beatings by guards and the threat of solitary confinement there.

And then he thought out loud. "I'm not going to vote," he finally said. "I don't care about this government and this government doesn't care about me."

In 2018, Florida voters passed what became the largest expansion of American voting rights in decades, a state constitutional amendment that allowed most ex-felons to vote in elections. Until then Florida had been one of just



EVE EDELHEIT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Julius Irving, a canvasser, said his prison experiences "made me not trust this government."

four states where having a felony essentially meant losing the right to vote forever.

Almost overnight, an estimated 1.5 million people, nearly 10 percent of voting-aged adults, regained voting rights — all in a key swing state that Donald J. Trump won by less than 113,000 votes in 2016 and George W. Bush by 537 votes in 2000.

Those the voting ban hit hardest were now set to benefit the most: black men like Mr. Irving and Mr. Washington. As Florida's

Continued on Page A22



INTERNATIONAL A15-17

A Russian Magnet for Dissent

The Kremlin's plan to hand out plots of land in Russia's Far East has attracted some freethinking settlers. PAGE A15

Israel Again Looks to Gantz

In a narrow vote, the Israeli Parliament gave Benny Gantz a fresh chance to form a coalition government. PAGE A17

NATIONAL A18-24

Trump Ponders a Pardon

The president said he expected to pardon Michael T. Flynn, his former national security adviser who had pleaded guilty to lying to the F.B.I. PAGE A24

BUSINESS B1-8

Joining in Arizona's Boom

The state's growing economy is a magnet for technology companies and for workers seeking an affordable life. PAGE B1

The Rent-or-Buy Puzzle

If you're downsized from a larger place after retirement, here's what to consider before you commit. PAGE B7



SPORTSMONDAY D1-5

But Is He Arena-Trained?

Butler, a powerhouse of Big East basketball, is getting a new bulldog. The process takes over a year. PAGE D4

N.F.L. Players Back Labor Deal

The narrow vote allows an added regular-season game, expanded playoffs and increased minimum salaries. PAGE D1

NEW YORK A25

Tensions at Fashion School

At the Fashion Institute of Technology, a show featuring "monkey ears" is among several episodes that have raised questions about racism. PAGE A25

OBITUARIES D6-7

Beloved Tiny Dancer

At just 12 years old, Ni Gusti Ayu Raka Rasmu enchanted the world with the highly stylized dance of Bali during a tour in 1952. PAGE D6

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Andrew M. Cuomo

PAGE A27



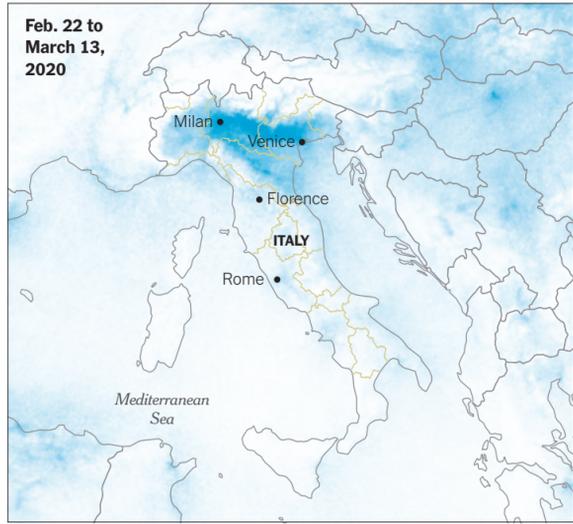
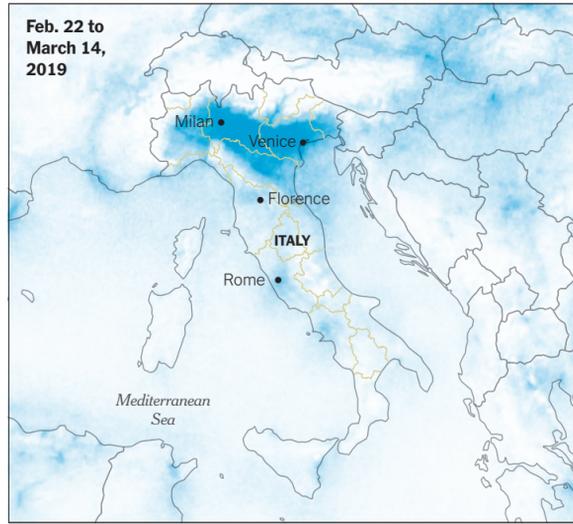
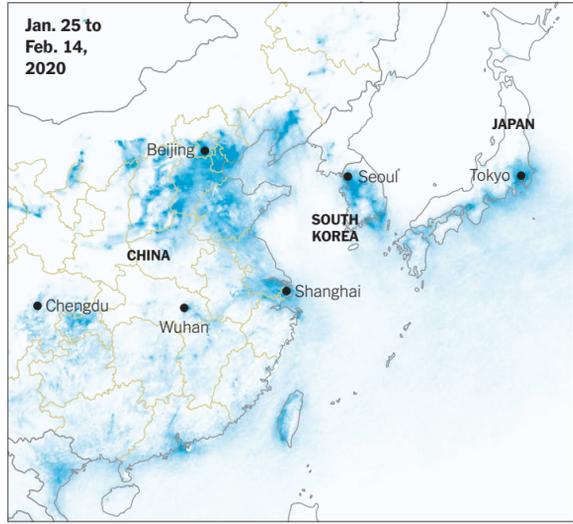
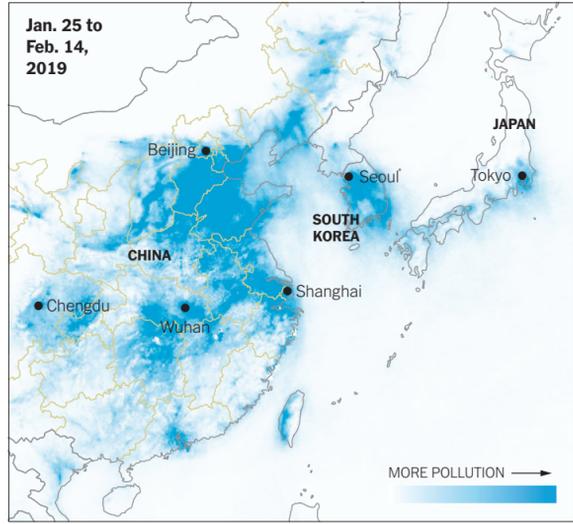
ARTS C1-6

A Believable Horror Story

David Simon's potent HBO adaptation of the Philip Roth novel "The Plot Against America" imagines a country tilting toward fascism. PAGE C1



PLAN WOULD INJECT \$1 TRILLION INTO ECONOMY



Source: Sentinel-5P satellite data processed by Descartes Labs

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Emissions Fall as Effects of Coronavirus Spread

A satellite that detects pollution from human activity shows how the new coronavirus is shutting down whole countries. Page A4.

'Shelter in Place' Order May Be Next as New York Grinds to Halt

By ANDY NEWMAN

New York City, a colossus of 8.6 million people and an economic engine for the country, ground to a shocking halt on Tuesday because of the coronavirus outbreak and the restrictions on public life put in place to stem its spread.

The city's mayor signaled that the shutdown could go even further with the possibility of an order to "shelter in place" — a decision he said "should be made in the next 48 hours."

"If that moment came, there are tremendously substantial challenges that would have to be met," Mayor Bill de Blasio said in an emotional address at City Hall. "And I don't take this lightly at all."

"What is going to happen with folks who have no money?" he continued. "How are they going to get food? How are they going to get medicines? How are we going to ensure in a dynamic like that, that supplies are sufficient for our population?"

As officials grappled with an epidemic that has stricken more than 800 city residents and killed at least seven, the toll on the life of the city was becoming apparent.

Times Square emptied out. Macy's closed. The Statue of Liberty

was cordoned off. The Empire State Building was shuttered. Restaurants and bars, the ones that had not closed entirely, stood nearly empty and tried to survive on takeout and delivery orders alone.

"I'd like to see them try keeping New Yorkers off the street," said Rafael Morales, 52, a super at a co-op building on the Upper West Side of Manhattan.

New York's desperation was also made clear when the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, which runs the subway system,

buses and two commuter railroads, said on Tuesday that it was seeking a \$4 billion federal bailout.

Ridership has plummeted by as much as 90 percent on the region's trains and 60 percent on the subway — rendering the normally jampacked underground practically unrecognizable.

Officials have grasped for comparisons to other catastrophes. Mr. de Blasio said the economic fallout from the shutdown as a result of the virus could rival that of the Great Depression and the

health impact that of the 1918 influenza epidemic that killed over 20,000 in the city.

But even as New Yorkers were struggling with the vast shutdown, the mayor and the governor, Andrew M. Cuomo, fell into a familiar pattern: battling with each other over control of the city.

As the mayor conducted his news conference on Tuesday, Mr. Cuomo's office sent out a news release proclaiming that any kind of mass quarantine order would need state approval and that none was imminent. The governor then doubled down on that message.

"There is not going to be any quarantine, no one is going to lock you in your home, no one is going to tell you, you can't leave the city," the governor said in an interview on NY1. "That's not going to happen."

Some New Yorkers greeted the possibility of being put on virtual lockdown with grim resignation.

Joseph Montes, who was skateboarding down Fourth Avenue in Brooklyn back to a homeless shelter Tuesday night from his job as a tattoo artist in the Bronx, was appalled at the prospect.

"That's totally crazy," said Mr. Montes, 27, who was wearing a face mask with a jack-o'-lantern



STEPHEN SPERANZA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Central Park was empty as many city residents stayed indoors.

Saying He Long Saw Pandemic, Trump Rewrites History

By KATIE ROGERS

WASHINGTON — For weeks, President Trump has minimized the coronavirus, mocked concern about it and treated the risk from it cavalierly. On Tuesday he took to the White House lectern and made a remarkable assertion: He knew it was a pandemic all along.

"This is a pandemic," Mr. Trump told reporters. "I felt it was a pandemic long before it was called a pandemic."

This is what Mr. Trump has actually said over the past two months:

On Jan. 22, asked by a CNBC reporter whether there were "worries about a pandemic," the president replied: "No, not at all. We have it totally under control. It's one person coming in from China, and we have it under control. It's going to be just fine."

On Feb. 26, at a White House news conference, commenting on the country's first reported cases: "We're going to be pretty soon at only five people. And we could be at just one or two people over the next short period of time. So we've had very good luck."

On Feb. 27, at a White House meeting: "It's going to disappear. One day — it's like a miracle — it will disappear."

On March 7, standing next to President Jair Bolsonaro of Brazil at Mar-a-Lago, his club in Palm Beach, Fla., when asked if he was concerned that the virus was spreading closer to Washington: "No, I'm not concerned at all. No, I'm not. No, we've done a great job." (At least three members of the Brazilian delegation and one Trump donor at Mar-a-Lago that weekend later tested positive for the virus.)

On March 16, in the White House briefing room, warning that the outbreak would "wash" away this summer: "So it could be right in that period of time where it, I say, wash — it washes through. Other people don't like that term. But where it washes through."

That comment on Monday was part of Mr. Trump's inching toward a more urgent tone in recent days. But his assertion on Tuesday that he had long seen the pandemic coming was the most abrupt pivot yet from the voluminous number of claims and caustic remarks he has made about the disease.

On Tuesday, Mr. Trump spent much of a lengthy news conference praising his administration's response to the pandemic, saying the only mistake his administration made had been a mismanagement of relationships with the news media.

When asked why he had suddenly

Continued on Page A9

Checks Would Go to Millions at Risk of Job Disruptions

This article is by Alan Rappeport, Emily Cochrane and Nicholas Fandos.

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration called on Tuesday for urgent action to speed \$1 trillion into the economy, including sending \$250 billion worth of checks to millions of Americans, as the government prepared its most powerful tools to fight the coronavirus pandemic and an almost certain recession.

The Federal Reserve took the rare step of unleashing its emergency lending powers and President Trump called on Congress to quickly approve the sweeping economic stimulus package. Mr. Trump dispatched his Treasury secretary to Capitol Hill to begin hammering it out as large sections of the economy shut down and companies began laying off workers.

With markets experiencing levels of volatility not seen since the 2008 financial crisis, the White



SUSAN WALSH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A lectern on Capitol Hill was wiped down on Tuesday.

House vowed to use every weapon it has to combat the crisis.

"We want to go big," Mr. Trump said at a news conference at the White House, adding that he had instructed the Treasury secretary, Steven Mnuchin, to introduce measures that would provide more immediate economic support than the payroll tax cut holiday he had been promoting.

During lunch on Capitol Hill not long after, Mr. Mnuchin privately told Republican senators that he envisioned the direct payments covering two weeks of pay and going out by the end of April, according to three people familiar with the discussion who described it on the condition of anonymity. Additional checks would be possible if the national emergency persists, Mr. Mnuchin told the group.

The tone of the lunch conversation was grim. Mr. Mnuchin warned darkly that without forceful government intervention, the unemployment rate could rise to nearly 20 percent, according to

Continued on Page A11

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK

HUNTING FOR A CURE Researchers worldwide have "mapped" proteins in the coronavirus and identified 50 drugs to test against it. PAGE A10

SOUTHERN ENTRY The administration, citing the health threat, plans to turn back all undocumented immigrants and asylum seekers. PAGE A9

RISKS TO THE YOUNG A study of 2,000 infected children in China found that babies were very vulnerable to severe infections. PAGE A10

Beijing to Expel Journalists From 3 U.S. Papers

This article is by Marc Tracy, Edward Wong and Lara Jakes.

In a sharp escalation of tensions between the two superpowers, China announced on Tuesday that it would expel American journalists working for The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal and The Washington Post. It also demanded that those outlets, as well as the Voice of America and Time magazine, provide the Chinese government with detailed in-

A Response to Curbs on Chinese Outlets

formation about their operations.

The announcement, made by China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, came weeks after the Trump administration limited to 100 the number of Chinese citizens who can work in the United States for five state-run Chinese news orga-

nizations that are widely considered propaganda outlets.

China instructed American journalists for the three news organizations whose press credentials are due to expire this year to "notify the Department of Information of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs within four calendar days starting from today and hand back their press cards within ten calendar days." Almost all the China-based journalists for the three organizations have press

Continued on Page A15

Biden Sweeps 3 States on Chaotic Day of Voting

By ALEXANDER BURNS and JONATHAN MARTIN

Joseph R. Biden Jr. easily defeated Senator Bernie Sanders in three major primaries on Tuesday, all but extinguishing Mr. Sanders's chances for a comeback, as anxious Americans turned out to vote amid a series of cascading disruptions from the coronavirus pandemic.

Mr. Biden, the former vice president, won by wide margins in

Holds an Overwhelming Lead Over Sanders

Florida and Illinois and also carried Arizona, sweeping the night and achieving a nearly insurmountable delegate lead. The emphatic outcome could greatly intensify pressure on Mr. Sanders to end his campaign and allow Democrats to unify behind Mr. Biden

as their presumptive nominee.

The routs in Florida and Illinois, two of the biggest prizes on the national map, represented both a vote of confidence in Mr. Biden from most Democrats, and a blunt rejection of Mr. Sanders's candidacy by the kind of large, diverse states he would have needed to capture to broaden his appeal beyond the ideological left.

Mr. Sanders, of Vermont, has struggled since his first presiden-

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NEW YORK A20-21

A Cloud Over Solar

A renewable energy push faces opposition in rural areas where panels are affecting vistas. PAGE A20

Terror Case Is Dropped

Uzair Paracha served 17 years in prison, but after a new trial was ordered, the charges were dismissed. PAGE A21

INTERNATIONAL A14-15

Running Toward Change

Women are increasingly joining a marathon in Somaliland, one of several signs that life may be changing in this traditional, conservative society. PAGE A14

EBay Laptop Had Secret Data

An old German military computer was sold with classified information relating to an active weapons system. PAGE A14

NATIONAL A16-19

A Barber's Tender Task

Antoine Dow is often asked to provide a final haircut for customers who have fallen victim to gun violence. PAGE A16



SPORTSWEDNESDAY B9-12

'A New Stage' for Tom Brady

The quarterback, who won six Super Bowls in 20 seasons with New England, parted ways with the Patriots and is expected to join Tampa Bay. PAGE B9

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Frank Bruni

PAGE A23

BUSINESS B1-8

Bulldozers in Amish Country

A project addresses scarce housing in Lancaster County, Pa., but some say it's out of step with the rural area. PAGE B7

ARTS C1-6

A Dispute Over Looted Art

A researcher at a German museum quit when she began to doubt it was serious about returning art plundered by the Nazis to the owners' heirs. PAGE C1

Sparring Partners

Reese Witherspoon and Kerry Washington face off in the new drama "Little Fires Everywhere" on Hulu. PAGE C1



FOOD D1-8

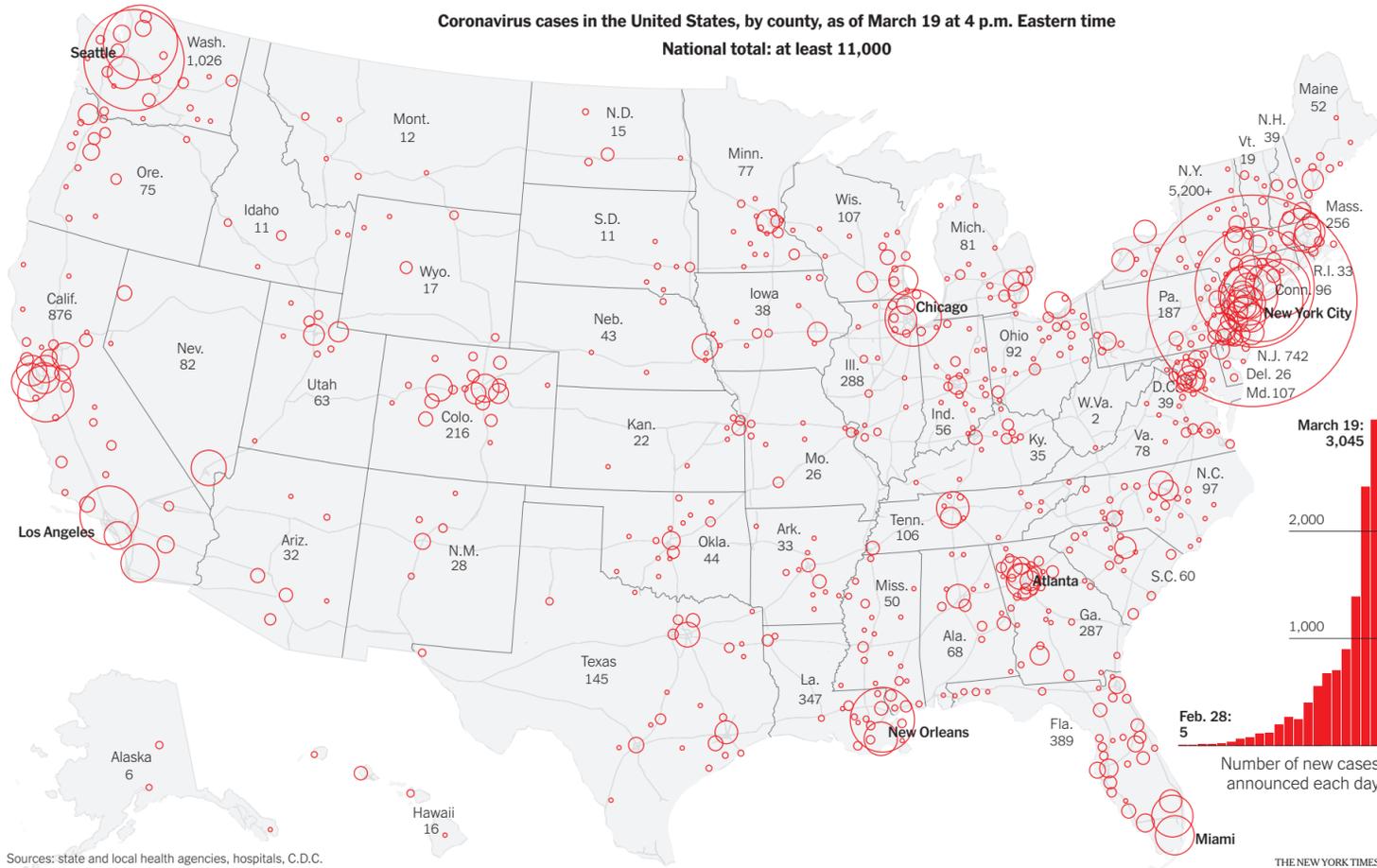
Settling In With Beans

They can be comforting and cozy — not to mention colorful — when things seem overwhelming at best and scary at worst, Melissa Clark writes. PAGE D1



DOCTORS SOUND ALARM AS A NATION STRUGGLES

Coronavirus cases in the United States, by county, as of March 19 at 4 p.m. Eastern time
National total: at least 11,000



Sources: state and local health agencies, hospitals, C.D.C.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Shortages of Gear Imperil Staffs at Hospitals

This article is by Andrew Jacobs, Matt Richtel and Mike Baker.

The Open Cities Community Health Center in St. Paul, Minn., is considering shutting down because it doesn't have enough face masks. Doctors at Barnes Jewish Hospital in St. Louis are performing invasive procedures on coronavirus patients with loose-fitting surgical masks rather than the tight respirator masks recommended by health agencies. At a Los Angeles emergency room, doctors were given a box of expired masks, and when they tried to put them on, the elastic bands snapped.

With coronavirus cases soaring, doctors, nurses and other front-line medical workers across the United States are confronting a dire shortage of masks, surgical gowns and eye gear to protect them from the virus.

In interviews, doctors said they were increasingly anxious, fearing they could expose not only themselves to the virus, but also their families and others.

"There's absolutely no way to protect myself," said Dr. Faezah A. Bux, an anesthesiologist in central Kentucky who in recent days had to intubate several elderly patients in respiratory distress without the respirator masks and protective eye gear recommended by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. "Not only can I not protect myself, I can't protect my patients."

At a White House briefing on Thursday, President Trump said that millions of masks were in production and that the federal government had made efforts to address the shortages, though he did not provide details. But he said it was largely up to governors to deal with the problem.

"The federal government's not supposed to be out there buying vast amounts of items and then shipping," Mr. Trump said. "You know, we're not a shipping clerk."

While doctors grappled with supply problems, the State Department advised Americans who are abroad to either come home now or plan to stay overseas until the pandemic is under control. In Italy, the death toll is now more than 3,400, a higher number of fatalities than even in China.

At home, the number of reported cases grew to over 11,000, Senate Republicans released a plan that would provide checks of up to \$1,200 for many taxpayers, and Gov. Gavin Newsom of California issued an order that state residents "stay at home."

In talking about the medical supplies shortage, the president said there were no immediate plans to address medical equipment shortages by activating the Defense Production Act, a Korean

Continued on Page A11

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK

SENATE PLAN Republicans unveiled a bill that includes tax cuts and loans to businesses. PAGE A10

SYRIAN CAMPS Doctors worry about the toll in places where even hand-washing is hard. PAGE A6

A Global Race To Figure Out A Silver Bullet

This article is by David E. Sanger, David D. Kirkpatrick, Sui-Lee Wee and Katrin Bennhold.

WASHINGTON — A global arms race for a coronavirus vaccine is underway.

In the three months since the virus began its deadly spread, China, Europe and the United States have all set off at a sprint to become the first to produce a vaccine. While there is cooperation on many levels — including among companies that are ordinarily fierce competitors — hanging over the effort is the shadow of a



BING GUAN/REUTERS

Vaccine research at Arcturus Therapeutics in San Diego.

nationalistic approach that could give the winner the chance to favor its own population and potentially gain the upper hand in dealing with the economic and geostrategic fallout from the crisis.

What began as a question of who would get the scientific accolades, the patents and ultimately the revenues from a successful vaccine is suddenly a broader issue of urgent national security. And behind the scramble is a harsh reality: Any new vaccine that proves potent against the coronavirus — clinical trials are already underway in the United States, China and Europe — is sure to be in short supply as governments try to ensure that their own people are the first in line.

In China, 1,000 scientists are at work on a vaccine, and the issue has already been militarized: Researchers affiliated with the Academy of Military Medical Sciences

Continued on Page A17

Claims Surge As Employees Are Cut Loose

By PATRICIA COHEN

In an early sign of the coronavirus pandemic's devastating impact on American workers, the Labor Department on Thursday reported a 30 percent increase in unemployment claims last week, one of the largest spikes on record.

The surge — 281,000 new claims — reflects a crushing new reality: Any hopes that businesses could keep their staffs largely intact have quickly evaporated.

"I started laying people off this Monday, not knowing how bad it was," said Barry Rosenberg, founder of Vending One, a Los Angeles company that stocks and maintains vending machines and self-serve kiosks in malls, office complexes, jails, schools and casinos. "On Tuesday, we started restricting hours. By next Monday, I don't know that they'll be any work."

Jon Blomer, who services accounts and refills those machines, was one of the first to lose his job. "There's not enough hours to go around, and everyone's been there longer," said Mr. Blomer, 33, who has worked at Vending One for a year. "I understand."

Job losses have become so sensitive that the Trump administration is asking state labor officials to delay releasing the precise number of unemployment claims.

In an email sent Wednesday and shared with The New York Times, the Labor Department instructed state officials to do nothing more than "provide information using generalities to describe claims levels (very high, large increase)" until the department releases the total number of national claims next Thursday.

The message noted that the data was "monitored closely by policymakers and financial markets to determine appropriate actions in light of fast-changing economic conditions" and should be closely held until the Labor Department's report.

To stanch the job losses, officials in Washington are racing to design a trillion-dollar stimulus. Senate Republicans put forward

Continued on Page A10

Warning of a Pandemic Last Year Was Unheeded

This article is by David E. Sanger, Eric Lipton, Eileen Sullivan and Michael Crowley.

WASHINGTON — The outbreak of the respiratory virus began in China and was quickly spread around the world by air travelers, who ran high fevers. In the United States, it was first detected in Chicago, and 47 days later, the World Health Organization declared a pandemic. By then it was too late: 110 million Americans were expected to become ill, leading to 7.7 million hospitalized and 586,000 dead.

That scenario, code-named "Crimson Contagion," was simulated by the Trump administration's Department of Health and Human Services in a series of exercises that ran from last January to August.

Simulation Showed the U.S. Was Unprepared for a Contagion

The simulation's sobering results — contained in a draft report dated October 2019 that has not previously been reported — drove home just how underfunded, underprepared and uncoordinated the federal government would be for a life-or-death battle with a vi-

rus for which no treatment existed.

The draft report, marked "not to be disclosed," laid out in stark detail repeated cases of "confusion" in the exercise. Federal agencies jockeyed over who was in charge. State officials and hospitals struggled to figure out what kind of equipment was stockpiled or available. Cities and states went their own ways on school closings.

Many of the potentially deadly consequences of a failure to address the shortcomings are now playing out in all-too-real fashion across the country. And it was hardly the first warning for the nation's leaders. Three times over the past four years the U.S. gov-

Continued on Page A12



SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Security State Showcase

Shelves in Moscow are bare, yet the Kremlin sees opportunity in the coronavirus outbreak. PAGE A8.

Is Anyone Actually Sick? Yes, She Told Her Friends, My Husband

By ELAINA PLOTT

The only thing that should have been different about the first Friday in March was the apple crisp. Heaven Frilot didn't usually cook at the end of the workweek, instead letting her family snack on leftovers — a roast or pork chops she'd made earlier, maybe — or order pizza. But her 10-year-old son, Ethan, was having a friend over

that night, and her husband, Mark, a lawyer, was coming off a crushing week of arbitration. She would bake an apple crisp.

Then Mark Frilot — 45 years old, "never, ever sick" — came home with a fever.

In the haze of days that followed, Ms. Frilot, a 43-year-old oil-and-gas analyst, occupied one world, the rest of her community in Kenner, La., another. She saw

Putting a Local Face on the Coronavirus

her friends making jokes on social media about the coronavirus — eye-roll emojis, Fox News talking points, Rush Limbaugh quotes writing off the threat. And then one person asked if anyone really

had this thing.

Ms. Frilot had an answer. "I have been seeing a lot of posts about people taking this virus lightly and joking about it," she began in a Facebook post. "Mark has tested positive for the coronavirus."

Days earlier, it never occurred to Ms. Frilot (pronounced FREE-low) that her husband's fever that

Continued on Page A11



NATIONAL A22-26

Rival Turned Running Mate?

If Joseph R. Biden Jr. is going to run with a woman, some officials think it should be one who ran against him. PAGE A24

Homeless Youth Discrepancy

Data from two federal agencies show opposite trends, which some say undermines an effort to provide aid. PAGE A22

INTERNATIONAL A4-21

Honoring Female Strength

An exhibit in Kabul, Afghanistan, celebrates the achievements of ancient and modern women amid fears of a Taliban return to power. PAGE A20

Germany Bans Far-Right Clubs

In raids on the homes of extremist leaders, the police found weapons, propaganda and narcotics. PAGE A21

OBITUARIES A27, 30

A Pioneer of Pranks

Six decades ago, Mal Sharpe began conducting absurd interviews with gullible passers-by. He was 83. PAGE A30



SPORTSFRIDAY B9-12

Giddyup on the Piste

The Scandinavian sport of skijoring fits in with the Wild West atmosphere in Leadville, Colo. PAGE B9

Broken Up in Boston

Tom Brady's departure from the Patriots on Tuesday anguished fans already besieged by bad news. PAGE B9

BUSINESS B1-8

Trump Deflates Punching Bag

The president's relentless attacks on the Federal Reserve Board and its chair, Jerome H. Powell, have undermined public confidence in its ability to navigate the current crisis. PAGE B3

Hush! Big Rigs Go Electric

Tractor-trailer fleets will take time to make the transition from noisy, dirty diesel, but start-ups and established truck makers are racing to get their models on the road. Wheels. PAGE B3

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A28-29

David Brooks

PAGE A29



WEEKEND ARTS C1-12

Taking a Scalpel to Society

The artist Nate Lewis left his job as a nurse three years ago, but life in an I.C.U. unit produced long-lasting memories. Above, an untitled sketch. PAGE C8



PRESSURE ON TRUMP AS MILLIONS ARE KEPT HOME

Mixed Signals From President Sow Confusion

This article is by Katie Rogers, Maggie Haberman and Ana Swanson.

WASHINGTON — President Trump and his advisers have resisted calls from congressional Democrats and a growing number of governors to use a federal law that would mobilize industry and provide badly needed resources against the coronavirus spread, days after the president said he would consider using that authority.

Mr. Trump has given conflicting signals about the Defense Production Act since he first said on Wednesday that he was prepared to invoke the law, which was passed by Congress at the outset of the Korean War and grants presidents extraordinary powers to force American industries to ensure the availability of critical equipment.

The next day, he suggested that obtaining medical equipment should be up to individual governors because "we're not a shipping clerk." But on Friday, he reversed himself, asserting that he had used the law to spur the production of "millions of masks," without offering evidence or specifics about who was manufacturing them or when they would reach health workers.

And Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, the Democratic leader, said that he was left with the impression after talking with Mr. Trump that he had decided to move to put the act into effect. He said "a commitment on the phone was a good start," but that the president now needed to push the government "to move full steam ahead."

But Mr. Trump's confusing statements played out in the middle of a growing health crisis that within days has abruptly and indefinitely altered the course of American life.

With the number of coronavirus cases in the United States surging above 17,000 — over 40 percent of those concentrated in New York — front-line health care workers have reported a dire shortage of masks, surgical gowns and eye gear to protect them from the virus. State lawmakers have also implored the president to help them get the supplies they need.

Business leaders have said invoking the defense law is not necessary. During his appearance with the members of his coronavirus task force on Friday, Mr. Trump supported that idea and said that private companies, in-

Continued on Page A7

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK

STOCK UPROAR A sell-off by Senator Richard Burr has led to calls for his resignation. PAGE A9

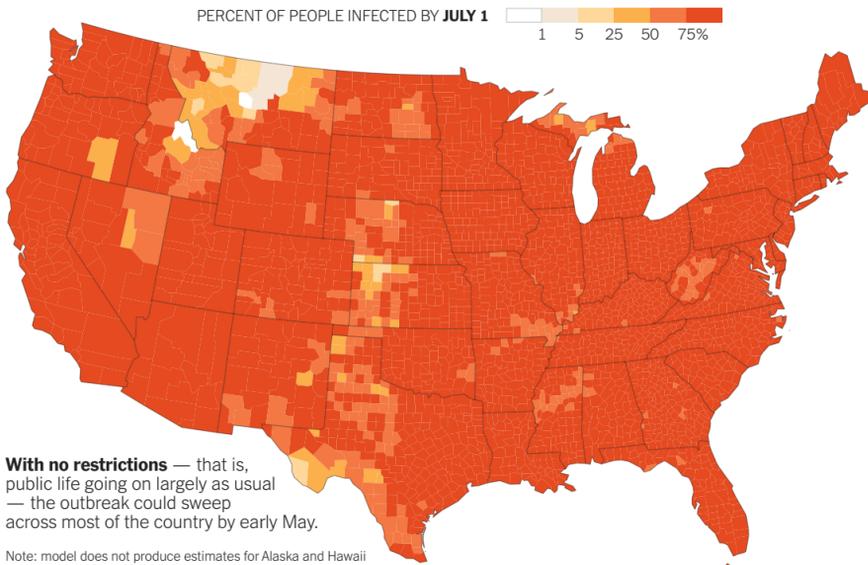
MILESTONE Spain became the second European country with more than 1,000 deaths. PAGE A4

TEST SHORTAGES Decisions and blunders months ago have caused disparities worldwide. PAGE A6

How the Outbreak Could Spread Across U.S. Counties Under Three Social Control Scenarios

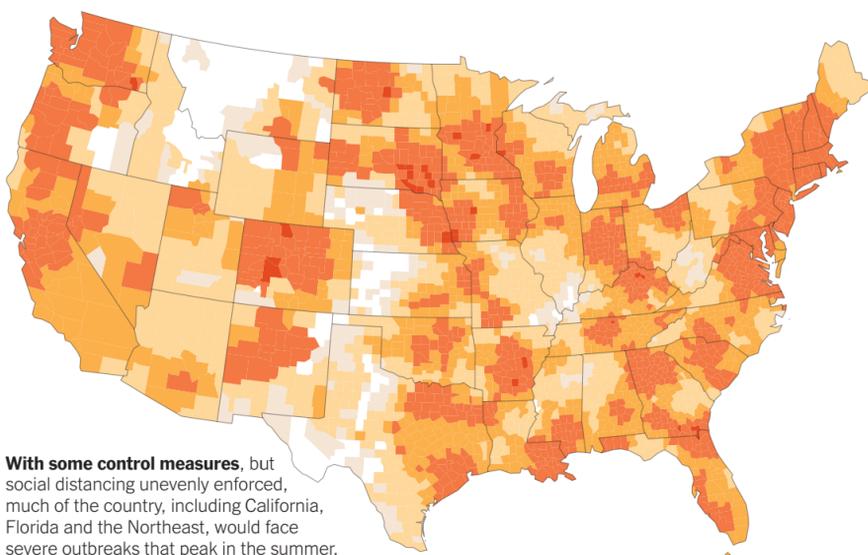
These maps, based on modeling, show where coronavirus infections might spread — or not — depending on how aggressively Americans' social contact is restricted.

Story and more graphics, Page A12.

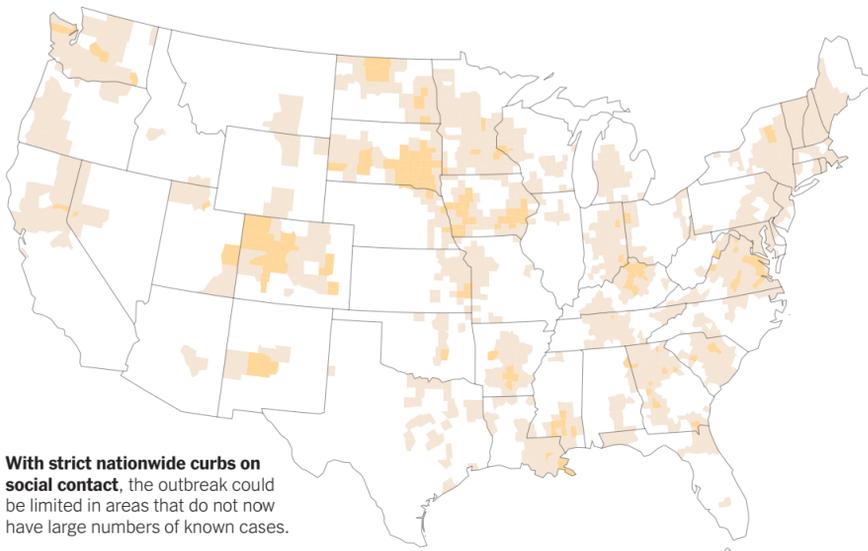


With no restrictions — that is, public life going on largely as usual — the outbreak could sweep across most of the country by early May.

Note: model does not produce estimates for Alaska and Hawaii



With some control measures, but social distancing unevenly enforced, much of the country, including California, Florida and the Northeast, would face severe outbreaks that peak in the summer.



With strict nationwide curbs on social contact, the outbreak could be limited in areas that do not now have large numbers of known cases.

Source: Sen Pei and Jeffrey Shaman, Columbia University

Decrees From New York and Illinois — Virus Tightens Grip on Nation

By JULIE BOSMAN and JESSE MCKINLEY

CHICAGO — America plunged into a deeper state of disruption and paralysis on Friday as New York and Illinois announced a broad series of measures aimed at keeping tens of millions of residents cloistered in their homes, following similar actions by California and a patchwork of restrictions from coast to coast.

The new, more stringent directives, in some of the country's most populous states, were intended to slow the spread of the coronavirus that has swept across the country, sickening more than 17,000 people and claiming at least 214 lives. By the end of the weekend, at least 1 in 5 Americans will be under orders to stay home, and more states were expected to follow suit.

Increasingly severe shutdowns and restrictions on Americans' movement — which public experts consider essential to reduce the alarming rate of infection — have turned much of the country quiet. Forty-five states have closed all their schools and the other five have closed at least some of them. Bars, restaurants and other gathering spots have been abruptly shuttered.

New York State has become the center of the outbreak, as its confirmed coronavirus cases have jumped to more than 7,000 and health officials have flagged with urgency a looming shortage of hospital beds and equipment. With 6 percent of the U.S. population, the state now accounts for more than one-third of all confirmed cases in the country.

Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo of New York announced Friday what he called "the most drastic action we can take," essentially ordering the nation's largest city and the rest of his state into a protective crouch: All nonessential businesses were ordered closed by 8 p.m. on Sunday, setting up a stark new reality

for some 19 million residents, who were told to stay home as the state went "on pause."

New York officials have issued a lengthy list of businesses and services that would be allowed to stay open, including nuts-and-bolts governmental duties like code enforcement to more practical concerns like automotive repair, child care and computer support.

Basic functions like grocery shopping, walking the dog and getting medicine or exercise were



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Most businesses in New York State must close by Sunday.

still to be permitted, but little else in the way of normal life. "We need everyone to be safe," Mr. Cuomo said, acknowledging the severe economic and psychological impact of such an order. "Otherwise no one can be safe."

New York City's public transit system would continue to run, but the city it travels through was profoundly transformed from its usually bustling, never-sleep energy: Its restaurants and bars were closed; its schools, museums and theaters dark; and its gaudy central mall — Times Square — quiet.

Continued on Page A10

Short on Beds and Ventilators, New York Hospitals Face Surge

This article is by Brian M. Rosenthal, Joseph Goldstein and Michael Rothfeld.

New York State's long-feared surge of coronavirus cases has begun, thrusting the medical system toward a crisis point.

In a startlingly quick ascent, officials reported on Friday that the state was closing in on 8,000 positive tests, about half the cases in the country. The number was 10 times higher than what was reported earlier in the week.

In the Bronx, doctors at Lincoln Medical and Mental Health Center say they have only a few remaining ventilators for patients who need them to breathe. In Brooklyn, doctors at Kings County Hospital Center say they are so low on supplies that they are reusing masks for up to a week, slathering them with hand

sanitizer between shifts.

Some of the jump in New York's cases can be traced to significantly increased testing, which the state began this week. But the escalation, and the response, could offer other states a glimpse of what might be in store if the virus continues to spread. Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo on Friday urged residents to stay indoors and ordered nonessential businesses to keep workers home.

State officials have projected that the number of coronavirus cases in New York will peak in early May. Both the governor and Mayor Bill de Blasio have used wartime metaphors and analogies to paint a grim picture of what to expect. Officials have said the state would need to double its available hospital beds to 100,000

Continued on Page A15

\$1 Trillion Stimulus Spurs Lobbying Gold Rush

This article is by Kenneth P. Vogel, Katie Edmondson and Jesse Drucker.

WASHINGTON — Restaurants say they need \$325 billion in federal assistance. Boeing wants \$60 billion. The travel industry has requested \$250 billion and manufacturers are seeking \$1.4 trillion in loans to deal with the economic devastation being wrought by the coronavirus.

And that's to say nothing of the casinos, airlines and franchise owners, all of whom have signaled that they, too, will need relief from

Old Agendas Infiltrate Aid Package Proposal

the federal government to survive.

Then there are the industries and companies that do not immediately come to mind as front-line casualties but are nonetheless lobbying for their causes to be addressed as Congress prepares to allocate \$1 trillion or more in response to the crisis.

The prospect of a bailout on a

scale without precedent has set off a rush to the fiscal trough, with businesses enduring undeniable dislocation jostling with more opportunistic interests to ensure they get a share.

The sportswear company Adidas is seeking support for a long-sought provision allowing people to use pretax money to pay for gym memberships and fitness equipment — despite the mandatory closure of fitness facilities in many jurisdictions during the outbreak.

Continued on Page A9

Skipping Meals So Her Children Can Have Theirs

By MANNY FERNANDEZ

BRENNHAM, Texas — With her six hungry children in the car, Summer Mossbarger was one of the first in line for lunch at the drive-through. Not at a fast-food restaurant, but outside Alton Elementary School.

Alton was closed — all the public schools in Brenham, a rural Texas town of 17,000 about 90 miles east of Austin, have shut for the coronavirus — but one vital piece of the school day lived on: free lunch. Ms. Mossbarger rolled

In a Crisis, the Poor Are Left Further Behind

down the window of her used, 15-year-old sport utility vehicle as school employees handed her six Styrofoam containers.

Even as the carnival aroma of mini corn dogs filled the vehicle on the drive back home, and even as the children sat on the porch and ate from their flipped-open containers with the family dogs running around, Ms. Mossbarger

ate nothing.

She skipped breakfast and lunch, taking her first bite of food — food-pantry fried chicken — about 5:30 p.m. All she consumed from the time she awoke that morning until she ate dinner were sips from a cherry Dr Pepper.

Money was tight. Ms. Mossbarger, 33, a disabled Army veteran, does not work. Her husband's job as a carpenter has slowed, becoming more unpredictable as people cancel or delay residential construction jobs. She

Continued on Page A11



INTERNATIONAL A17-18

Making a Rare Vocal Leap

María Castillo de Lima became a breakout star after switching to soprano from tenor. The Saturday Profile. PAGE A18

Europe's New Migrant Buffer

Merchant ships have been tasked with saving lives — and returning seaborne migrants to war-torn Libya. PAGE A17

BUSINESS B1-8

Groceries on the Front Line

Grocery stores have been deemed essential businesses, meaning their employees are worried about being exposed to the coronavirus. PAGE B1

The 'Trump Bump' Vanishes

With a decline of 4.5 percent on Friday, the Dow Jones industrial average is now lower than it was when President Trump took office. PAGE B1

News Site Traffic Ticks Up

Journalists are covering the coronavirus from home. But as readers flock to news outlets, ads in some categories are starting to disappear. PAGE B1

SPORTSSATURDAY B9-12

Liverpool's Delayed Dream

The club was two wins away from claiming its first Premier League title. And then everything stopped. PAGE B9

Brady Is a Buccaneer

After 20 seasons and six championships with the New England Patriots, Tom Brady, a free agent, is joining just his second N.F.L. team. PAGE B9

OBITUARIES B13-14

Poet Who Had 'Bandit' Father

Molly Brodak chronicled the trauma she endured as the child of a bank robber in the Detroit area. She was 39. PAGE B14



NATIONAL A19-21, 24

No More Coal in New York

A coal-fired power plant in Barker, N.Y., the last of its kind in the state, will close this month. PAGE A19

Bloomberg Shifts His Spending

The former New York mayor will give \$18 million directly to the Democratic National Committee. PAGE A20

ARTS C1-6

Holed Up With Viral Content

The pandemic clarifies a dark bargain: We look to devices to soothe our nerves, and we hand over our minds. PAGE C1

Overshadowed by Bach

The music of Heinrich Schütz, a 17th-century path breaker, is largely unknown today but worth a listen. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Bret Stephens

PAGE A23



SENATE APPROVES A \$2 TRILLION VIRUS RESPONSE

State vs. State As Governors Limit Visitors

This article is by Patricia Mazzei, Julie Bosman and Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs.

MIAMI — Florida has a message for New Yorkers: Please don't visit. And if you do, prepare to sit in quarantine or risk jail.

It is a rare circumstance in the United States, a country where travel between states is generally welcomed and often only noticed in tourism statistics, that states are suddenly looking for ways to discourage residents of other states from coming into theirs.

Governors, who also now find themselves competing with one another for urgently needed medical resources like ventilators, say they are placing restrictions on visitors to save their own people, trying to prevent the contagious virus from spreading further into their states.

And in a spiraling health crisis that has largely been managed by individual governors rather than a cohesive federal government, there has been little to stop them from making their own rules.

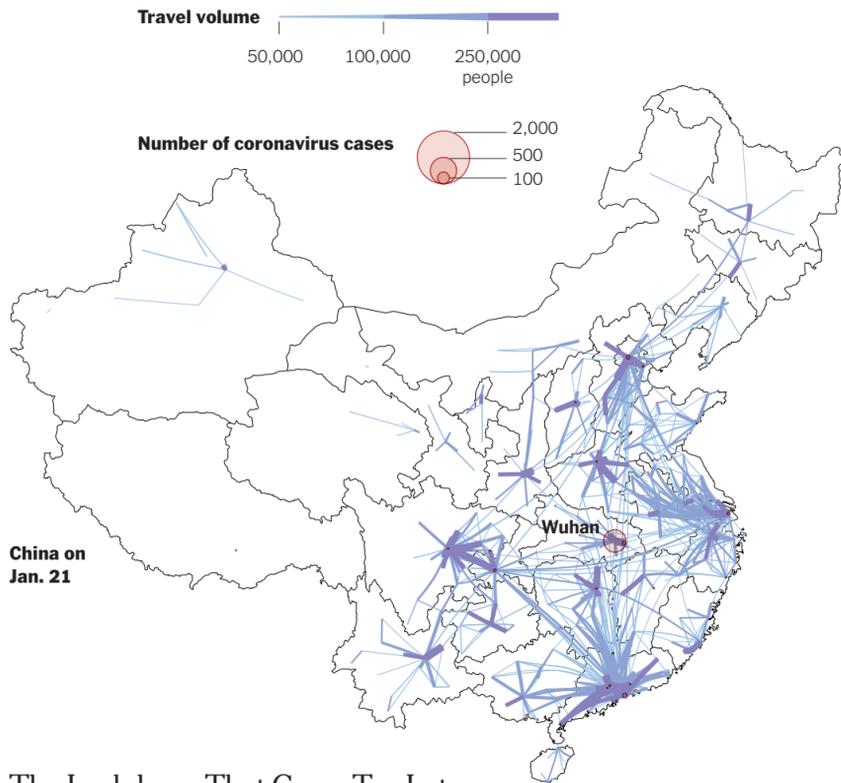
On Tuesday, Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida, a Republican, signed an executive order requiring a 14-day quarantine of anyone who had arrived from the New York region over the past three weeks.

"Maybe they haven't even shown symptoms, but they could be infected," Mr. DeSantis said. "After all the hard work, we don't want it to now get seeded as people flee the hot zone."

Last week, Gov. David Ige of Hawaii, a Democrat, did the unthinkable in a state that lives on entertaining visitors by asking travelers to postpone trips for 30 days.

"The actions I'm announcing today may seem extreme to some of you, and we know that it will have negative effects to our economy," Mr. Ige said. "But we are confident that taking aggressive actions now will allow us to have a quicker recovery when this crisis is over."

Continued on Page A11

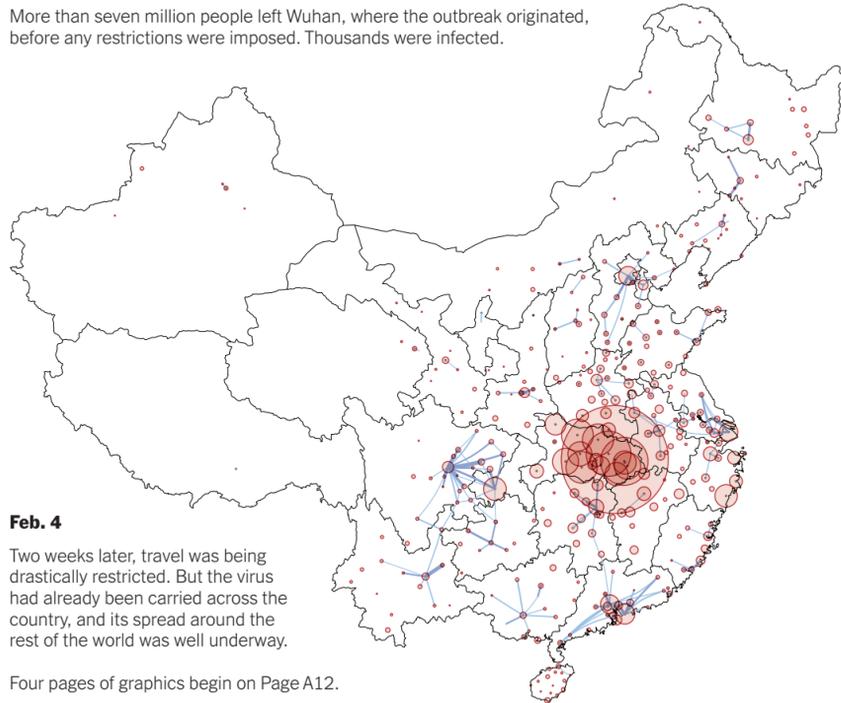


China on Jan. 21

The Lockdown That Came Too Late

The acceleration of the coronavirus outbreak came at an especially perilous time: a season of widespread travel for Lunar New Year. On Jan. 21, above, millions were on the move across China.

More than seven million people left Wuhan, where the outbreak originated, before any restrictions were imposed. Thousands were infected.



Feb. 4

Two weeks later, travel was being drastically restricted. But the virus had already been carried across the country, and its spread around the rest of the world was well underway.

Four pages of graphics begin on Page A12.

Sources: New York Times analysis of data published by Baidu and major telecom companies, which tracked the movements of millions of cellphones.

JIN WU, WEIYI CAI, DEREK WATKINS AND JAMES GLANZ/THE NEW YORK TIMES

NEWS ANALYSIS

A Lifeline? At Least for a Few Months

By JIM TANKERSLEY

WASHINGTON — If you want to shut down an economy to fight a pandemic without driving millions of people and businesses into bankruptcy, you need the government to cut some checks.

If the outbreak and the disruptions continue through summer, lawmakers will need to spend even more.

The bill, a compromise between the Trump administration and Republican and Democratic leaders in Congress, includes loans and grants for corporations and small businesses, increased unemployment benefits for workers laid off or working fewer hours amid the outbreak, and direct payments to low- and middle-income individuals and families.

Taken together, those measures form a novel, temporary expansion of the federal government's role in the economy: it will be essentially paying millions of Americans not to work, and thousands of businesses not to shut down even if they have no customers, in order to slow the spread of the pandemic.

The economy, which has been shuttered to control the spread of the virus, does not need a jolt to get moving again. The government is just trying to tide people and firms over until it is safe to start back up again.

Viewed through that particular set of circumstances, the bill isn't economic stimulus at all. It's a series of survival payments. And those payments will only last a few months.

How quickly those payments find their way to households and businesses will be critical. Prospects for swift passage had dimmed on Wednesday afternoon, when three Republican senators raised concerns over the generosity of the enhanced unemployment benefits.

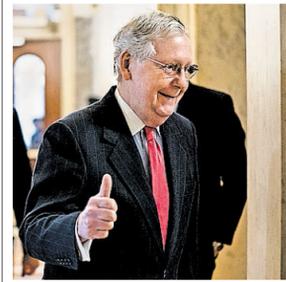
Continued on Page A9

Largest Stimulus for U.S. Economy in Modern History

By EMILY COCHRANE and NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — The \$2 trillion economic stabilization package agreed to by Congress and the Trump administration is the largest of its kind in modern American history, intended to respond to the coronavirus pandemic and provide direct payments and jobless benefits for individuals, money for states and a huge bailout fund for businesses.

The measure, which the Senate approved unanimously on Wednesday night, amounts to a government aid plan unprecedented in its sheer scope and size, touching on every facet of American life with the goal of salvaging and ultimately reviving a battered



Senator Mitch McConnell supported the wide-ranging bill.

economy. The measure, whose details were unveiled shortly before the final vote, amounts to a government aid plan unprecedented in its sheer scope and size, touching on every facet of American life with the goal of salvaging and ultimately reviving a battered economy.

Its cost is hundreds of billions of dollars more than Congress provides for the entire United States federal budget for a single year, outside of social safety net programs. Administration officials said they hoped that its effect on a battered economy would be exponentially greater, as much as \$4 trillion.

The legislation would send direct payments of \$1,200 to millions of Americans, including those earning up to \$75,000, and an additional \$500 per child.

It would substantially expand jobless aid, providing an additional 13 weeks and a four-month enhancement of benefits, and would extend the payments for the first time to freelancers and gig workers.

Continued on Page A9

Mourning Apart, or Postponing Remembrance

By KIRK JOHNSON

SEATTLE — After Mary Flo Werner died last week of cancer, her nine grandchildren filed in through the big white doors of their Catholic church in Janesville, Wis., for the funeral Mass.

Left to grieve in the church parking lot were Ms. Werner's four adult children. They sat in their cars and watched their 74-year-old mother's service on their phones and tablets.

In Staten Island, the family of Arnold Obey, 73, a retired school principal, does not know when or how his funeral might occur. Mr. Obey died Sunday night while vacationing in Puerto Rico, and his wife is in isolation in a San Juan hotel room, awaiting her coronavirus test results.

Meri Dreyfuss, a tech worker in the San Francisco area whose older sister, Barbara Dreyfuss, died



In Shaler, Pa., after a service that was streamed online.

in Seattle this month of complications from the coronavirus, has put off a funeral until the fall.

"We can't properly bury our dead because of the situation," she said. "We can't mourn together, we can't share memories together, we can't get together and hug each other."

The rituals of honoring and saying goodbye to the dead run deep. Reaching out to touch in sympathy and condolence feels instinctive.

But the coronavirus, in its confounding and confining effects — stay-at-home orders, bans on large gatherings and fears of travel and exposure — is blowing those traditions apart, no matter the cause of death.

Postponement and uncertainty, and for many families a painful triage of who can physically attend a service and who cannot, are becoming part of the language of obituaries and family discussions even as people grieve.

"In light of Covid-19, a family funeral will be held," is how the loved ones put it in the obituary for Ivan Brenko, a 98-year-old man who died near Toronto. The obituary for James Anthony Michael, 91, who died on March 18 in a suburb of Detroit, said that "due to health concerns, the family has chosen to do a memorial mass at a later date."

Reba McEntire, the country music star, announced that the memorial service for her 93-year-old mother, Jacqueline McEntire, who died of cancer last week, will be held at a later date.

Continued on Page A11

An 'Apocalyptic' Surge at a New York Hospital

This article is by Michael Rothfeld, Somini Sengupta, Joseph Goldstein and Brian M. Rosenthal.

In several hours on Tuesday, Dr. Ashley Bray performed chest compressions at Elmhurst Hospital Center on a woman in her 80s, a man in his 60s and a 38-year-old who reminded the doctor of her fiancé.

Elmhurst, a 545-bed public hospital in Queens, has begun transferring patients not suffering from coronavirus to other hospitals as it moves toward becoming dedicated entirely to the outbreak. Doctors and nurses have struggled to make do with a few dozen ventilators. Calls over a loud-speaker of "Team 700," the code for when a patient is on the verge of death, come several times a shift. Some have died inside the emergency room while waiting for a bed.

A refrigerated truck has been stationed outside to hold the bodies of the dead. Over the last 24



Elmhurst Hospital Center in Queens is strained by the crisis.

hours, New York City's public hospital system said in a statement, 13 people at Elmhurst had died.

"It's apocalyptic," said Dr. Bray, 27, a general medicine resident at the hospital.

Across the city, which has become the epicenter of the coronavirus outbreak in the United States, hospitals are beginning to confront the kind of harrowing surge in cases that has overwhelmed health care systems in

China, Italy and other countries. On Wednesday evening, New York City reported 20,011 confirmed cases and 280 deaths.

More than 3,922 coronavirus patients have been hospitalized in the city. Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo on Wednesday offered a glimmer of hope that social-distancing measures were starting to slow the growth in hospitalizations statewide. This week, the state's hospitalization estimations were down markedly, from a doubling of cases every two days to every four days.

It is "almost too good to be true," Mr. Cuomo said.

Still, hospitals are under siege. New York City's hospitals run the gamut from prestigious teaching institutions catering to the elite to public hospitals providing care for some of the poorest communities in the nation. Regardless of whom they serve, few have been spared the impact of the pandemic: A flood of sick and fearful New Yorkers has besieged emergency rooms across the city.

Continued on Page A16

BUSINESS B1-8

The 3-Legged Stool Strategy

Economic recovery will require mutually reinforcing supports that can't really work in isolation. PAGE B5

On the Road to Recovery

For small cities struggling in the new economy, Lawrence, Mass., offers hope of reversing a long decline. PAGE B7



INTERNATIONAL A19-20

Sex Clips Suspect Is Named

South Korea accused a 24-year-old man of blackmailing scores of women and girls into making pornographic video clips for online users. PAGE A19

Guilty Plea in Mosque Murders

A white supremacist changed his plea in the 51 killings in Christchurch, New Zealand, last March. PAGE A20

OBITUARIES B14-15

Cuisine-Bending Star Chef

Floyd Cardoz was the first chef born and raised in India to lead a major New York City kitchen. He was 59. PAGE B14

NATIONAL A21, 24

Reversing Environmental Rules

President Trump will push ahead with efforts to roll back protections and impose new limits on how science can be used in writing policy. PAGE A24

Another Debate? Debatable

"We've had enough," Joseph R. Biden Jr. said. His rival, Bernie Sanders, says he's ready to go again. PAGE A24

SPORTSTHURSDAY B9-13

Carolina Releases Newton

The veteran quarterback Cam Newton, a former league M.V.P. hobbled by injuries, faces free agency at 30. PAGE B12

THURSDAY STYLES D1-6

Self-Care, Minus the Salon

Without stylists in this age of social distancing, waxing, hair dye and facials have come home and online. PAGE D3

Sex Doesn't Require a Partner

Betty Dodson, the nonagenarian evangelist of the joy of self-stimulation for women, is not slowing down. PAGE D1



ARTS C1-8

A Virtual Tour of Broadway

David Rockwell, the architect and Tony-winning show designer, shares stories about his favorite theaters. PAGE C1

'Unorthodox,' a Tale of Escape

A young Hasidic woman's flight from her marriage and Brooklyn community makes for a thrilling series. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Gail Collins

PAGE A23



JOB LOSSES SOAR; U.S. VIRUS CASES TOP WORLD



VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Since the coronavirus descended on Brooklyn Hospital Center three weeks ago, the staff has handled over 800 potential cases.

New Data Shows Staggering Toll of Outbreak

This article is by Ben Casselman, Patricia Cohen and Tiffany Hsu.

More than three million people filed for unemployment benefits last week, sending a collective shudder throughout the economy that is unlike anything Americans have experienced.

The alarming numbers, in a report released by the Labor Department on Thursday, provide some of the first hard data on the economic toll of the coronavirus pandemic, which has shut down whole swaths of American life faster than government statistics can keep track.

Just three weeks ago, barely 200,000 people applied for jobless benefits, a historically low number. In the half-century that the government has tracked applications, the worst week ever, with 695,000 so-called initial claims, had been in 1982.

Thursday's figure of nearly 3.3 million set a grim record. "A large part of the economy just collapsed," said Ben Herzon, executive director of IHS Markit, a business data and analytics firm.

The numbers provided only the first hint of the economic cataclysm in progress. Even comparatively optimistic forecasters expect millions more lost jobs, and with them foreclosures, evictions and bankruptcies. Thousands of businesses have closed in response to the pandemic, and many will never reopen. Some economists say the decline in gross domestic product this year could rival the worst years of the Great Depression.

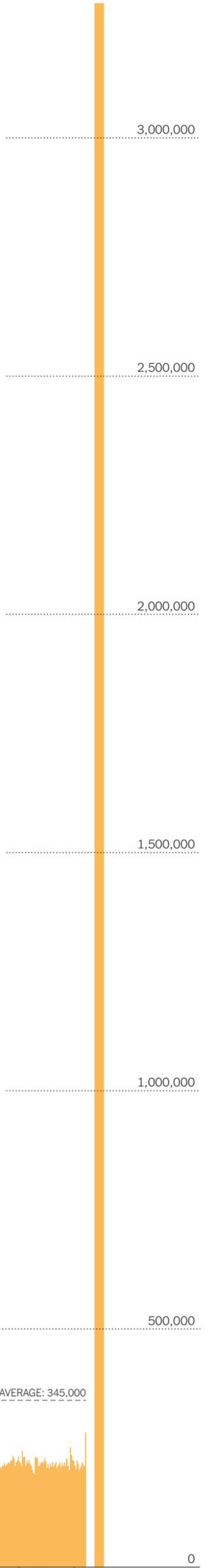
And there was fresh evidence on Thursday of the relentless course of the virus itself. Cases in the United States now exceed 80,000, the most of any nation, even China and Italy, according to a New York Times database. More than 1,000 deaths across the country have been linked to the virus.

At least 160 million people na-
Continued on Page A17

Labeling Regions by Risk

President Trump told governors he planned to classify counties according to the danger of coronavirus infection. Page A11.

Nearly 3.3 million unemployment claims were filed last week, a record number.



Under Trump, Unfilled Posts Hinder Action

By JENNIFER STEINHAUER and ZOLAN KANNO-YOUNGS

WASHINGTON — Of the 75 senior positions at the Department of Homeland Security, 20 are either vacant or filled by acting officials, including Chad F. Wolf, the acting secretary who recently was unable to tell a Senate committee how many respirators and protective face masks were available in the United States.

The National Park Service, which like many federal agencies is full of vacancies in key posts, tried this week to fill the job of a director for the national capital region after hordes of visitors flocked to see the cherry blossoms near the National Mall, creating a potential public health hazard as the coronavirus continues to spread.

At the Department of Veterans Affairs, workers are scrambling to order medical supplies on Amazon after its leaders, lacking experience in disaster responses, failed to prepare for the onslaught of patients at its medical centers.

Ever since President Trump came into office, a record high turnover and unfilled jobs have emptied offices across wide sections of the federal bureaucracy. Now, current and former administration officials and disaster experts say the coronavirus has exposed those failings as never before.
Continued on Page A11

Online Class With No Way To Get There

By NIKITA STEWART

Allia Phillips was excited about picking up an iPad from her school in Harlem last week. She did not want to miss any classes and hoped to land on the fourth-grade honor roll again.

On Monday, the first day that New York City public schools began remote learning, the 10-year-old placed her iPad on a tray she set up over her pillow on a twin bed in a studio that she shares with her mother and grandmother inside a homeless shelter on the Upper West Side.

And then, Allia saw nothing. "I went downstairs to find out that they don't have any internet," said Kasha Phillips-Lewis, Allia's mother. "You're screwing up my daughter's education. You want to screw me up? Fine. But not my daughter's education."

The Department of Education, which runs the largest school system in the country with more than 1.1 million students, began attempting to teach all students through remote learning this week because schools were closed to slow the spread of the coronavirus.

Shutting the vast system, which includes 1,800 schools, was a serious challenge for the city, and the large-scale, indefinite school closures are uncharted territory, altering the lives and rou-
Continued on Page A16

Courage at a Brooklyn Hospital, At the Front of an Invisible War

By SHERI FINK

It was not even 9 in the morning and Dr. Sylvie de Souza's green N95 mask, which was supposed to form a seal against her face, was already askew.

In freezing rain on Monday, she trudged in clogs between the emergency department she chairs at the Brooklyn Hospital Center and a tent outside, keeping a sharp eye on the trainee doctors, nurses and other staff members who would screen nearly 100 walk-in patients for the coronavirus that day.

Inside her E.R., more than a dozen people showing signs of infection waited for evaluation in an area used just a few weeks ago for stitches and casts. Another dozen

With Supplies Waning, Workers Soldier On

lay on gurneys arranged one in front of the next, like a New York City car park. One man on a ventilator was waiting for space in the intensive care unit.

Minutes before paramedics wheeled in a heart attack patient, Dr. de Souza pointed to beds reserved for serious emergencies, separated by a newly constructed wall from the suspected virus cases. "This is our safe area," she told a reporter. Then she corrected herself: "This is thought to be safe." There was really no way
Continued on Page A14

No Crowd, but I'll Take You Out to the Ballgame

By DAN BARRY

Professional baseball greeted a new season this afternoon with an Opening Day game for the ages, an extra-inning masterpiece that vividly unfolded on the sun-dappled field of the imagination. The crack of the bat could almost be heard, the blur of white almost seen, the communal joy nearly felt.

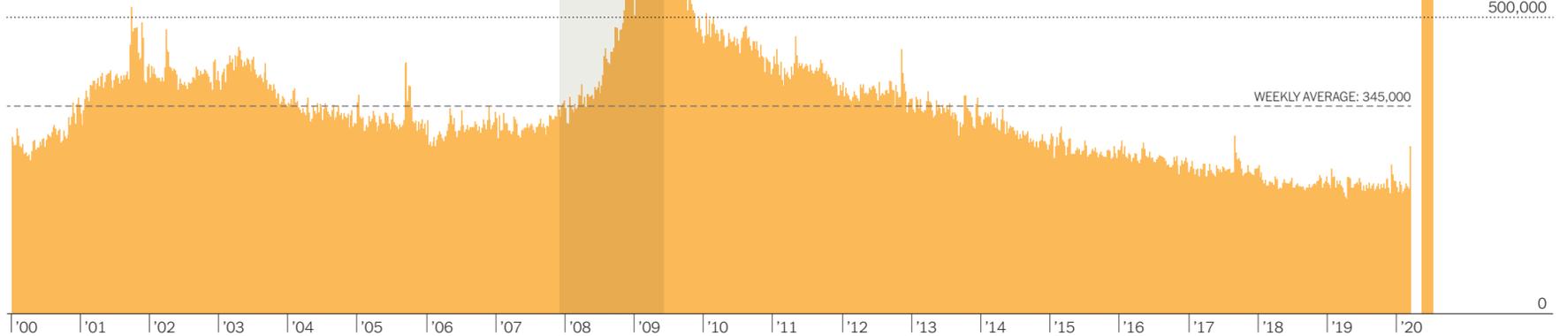
A Fan Writes a Fantasy for Opening Day

From the moment the first batter tipped his helmet — and a bird flew out — to the walk-off home run by a faltering pinch-hitter, this 11-inning affair redefined what constitutes a perfect game. No one cared about the outcome; the distraction was reward enough. Don't misunderstand: This

game between the New York Gothams and the Cincinnati Greens mattered, but in ineffable ways beyond the columns of wins and losses. It mattered so much that complaints about baseball's slow pace yielded to the universal wish that this game would last forever.

"I could've played into the night," said the redeemed Gothams left fielder Sammy Sosa, who missed part of last season after sneezing so hard that he strained a ligament in his back. "I didn't
Continued on Page A13

Weekly unemployment claims



Note: Official figures are seasonally adjusted. Source: Department of Labor

THE NEW YORK TIMES

BUSINESS B1-9

Armed With Sewing Machines

With hospitals desperate for masks, people are pulling out their sewing machines to fill the void. PAGE B4

A Gusher Can't Be Contained

A chaotic mismatch between supply and demand for oil means the world is running out of places to store it. PAGE B9



INTERNATIONAL A18-20

Maduro Is Indicted in U.S.

Federal prosecutors accused the Venezuelan president, whom the U.S. no longer recognizes, of participating in a narco-terrorism conspiracy. PAGE A20

Netanyahu Rival Relents

The Israeli prime minister was set to maintain power after his rival reversed course, citing the pandemic. PAGE A19

Brushing Aside a Slaughter

Russia and China, which often revel in grudges against other countries, are employing selective memory to address a massacre that occurred on their border in 1900. PAGE A18

NATIONAL A21-23

New Focus on Health System

The pandemic gives added urgency to a central issue that was already a main talking point for Joseph R. Biden Jr. and other Democrats. PAGE A21

Starting Over on Foster Care

A lawsuit led New Mexico to remake its failing system into one advocates hope will serve as a national model. PAGE A22

SPORTSFRIDAY B11-15

Slow to Embrace a Delay

Athletes question why U.S. Olympic leaders took so long to join calls to postpone the Tokyo Games. PAGE B11

WEEKEND ARTS C1-16

For Pint-Size Paleontologists

Like dinosaurs? Have crayons? Take a peek at two pages reprinted from The New York Times for Kids. PAGE C8

It's Virtually Perfect

Donald Judd's installation, below, at the Gagosian Gallery is impressive, in person or, for now, online. PAGE C13



OBITUARIES A24-25

Chronicler of U.S. History

Richard Reeves's books on Nixon, Clinton and others could be as unsparing as his column. He was 83. PAGE A24

Globetrotters' Dean of Dribble

Fred "Curly" Neal dazzled fans with his ball-handling wizardry in more than 6,000 games. He was 77. PAGE A25

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Paul Krugman

PAGE A27



Why President Let Go of Goal Of Easter Reset

Numbers Cast Cloud on Reopening Nation

By PETER BAKER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — The numbers the health officials showed President Trump were overwhelming. With the peak of the coronavirus pandemic still weeks away, he was told, hundreds of thousands of Americans could face death if the country reopened too soon.

But there was another set of numbers that also helped persuade Mr. Trump to shift gears on Sunday and abandon his goal of restoring normal life by Easter. Political advisers described for him polling that showed that voters overwhelmingly preferred to keep containment measures in place over sending people back to work prematurely.

Those two realities — the dire threat to the country and the caution of the American public — proved decisive at a critical juncture in the response to the pandemic, his advisers said.

The first of those two realities, the deadly arc of the virus, has been known for weeks even if disregarded by the president when he set his Easter target. But the second of the two upended Mr. Trump's assumptions about the politics of the situation and restrained, for a moment at least, his eagerness to get back to business as usual.

The president's reversal may prove to be an important pivot point in the effort to curb the pandemic, one that in the view of public health officials averted a greater catastrophe. Mr. Trump's abrupt change of heart reflected a volatile president who has veered from one message to another, at points equating the virus to ordinary flu that will "miraculously" go away and at others declaring it an all-out war endangering the country.

His move came as additional governors took action to stop the spread of the virus. With new orders on Monday from the governors of Arizona, Maryland and Virginia, as well as the mayor of the District of Columbia, more than half of the 50 states and three out of four Americans are or will soon be under the directive to remain at home.

They took that action as the number of cases in New York climbed past 66,500 and the number of deaths surpassed 1,200, by far the most of any state. Layoffs continued apace, with Macy's announcing it would furlough a "majority" of its 125,000 workers. Gap said it would do the same for 80,000 store employees in the United States and Canada.

In the past two days, Mr. Trump has dispensed with the assertion Continued on Page A10

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK

MORE HELP Lawmakers are eyeing a fourth package to bolster the U.S. economy. PAGE A12

DETROIT Poverty and a weakened public health system are driving up cases in the city. PAGE A9

EARLY RELEASE To curb the spread behind bars, thousands of inmates have been freed. PAGE A9



RELIEF ARRIVES The hospital ship U.S.N.S. Comfort coming into New York on Monday. Page A13.

Nowhere to Turn but the Subway, and Its Risks

By CHRISTINA GOLDBAUM and LINDSEY ROGERS COOK

As the coronavirus pandemic has all but shut down New York City, its subway — an emblem of urban overcrowding — has become almost unrecognizable, with overall ridership down 87 percent.

But even as officials crack down on gatherings in New York, removing hoops from basketball courts and sending the police to

Many Have No Option to Shelter at Home

break up parties, subway stations in poorer neighborhoods are still bustling, as if almost nothing has changed.

It is a striking turnabout for a system that has long been the

great equalizer, a space where hourly workers jostled alongside financial executives. Now the subway has become more of a symbol of the city's inequality, amplifying the divide between those with the means to safely shelter at home and those who must continue braving public transit to preserve meager livelihoods.

"This virus is very dangerous. I don't want to get sick, I don't want

Continued on Page A16



COMMUNITY CARE The owner of a restaurant in North London accepting a tip Sunday while on a delivery round. The restaurant has been providing free meals for residents over the age of 70.

PANDEMIC TEMPTS LEADERS TO SEIZE SWEEPING POWERS

Fears That Measures Necessary in a Crisis Will Become Everyday Oppression

By SELAM GEBREKIDAN

LONDON — In Hungary, the prime minister can now rule by decree. In Britain, ministers have what a critic called "eye-watering" power to detain people and close borders. Israel's prime minister has shut down courts and begun an intrusive surveillance of citizens. Chile has sent the military to public squares once occupied by protesters. Bolivia has postponed elections.

As the coronavirus pandemic brings the world to a juddering halt and anxious citizens demand action, leaders across the globe are invoking executive powers and seizing virtually dictatorial authority with scant resistance.

Governments and rights groups agree that these extraordinary times call for extraordinary measures. States need new powers to shut their borders, enforce quarantines and track infected people. Many of these actions are protected under international rules, constitutional lawyers say.

But critics say some governments are using the public health crisis as cover to seize new powers that have little to do with the outbreak, with few safeguards to ensure that their new authority will not be abused.

The laws are taking swift hold across a broad range of political systems — in authoritarian states like Jordan, faltering democracies like Hungary, and traditional democracies like Britain. And there

are few sunset provisions to ensure that the powers will be rescinded once the threat passes.

"We could have a parallel epidemic of authoritarian and repressive measures following close if not on the heels of a health epidemic," said Fionnuala Ni Aolain, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on counterterrorism and



A checkpoint in Chile. The nation's military is on city streets.

human rights.

As the new laws broaden state surveillance, allow governments to detain people indefinitely and infringe on freedoms of assembly and expression, they could also shape civic life, politics and economies for decades to come.

The pandemic is already redefining norms. Invasive surveillance systems in South Korea and Continued on Page A6

In Georgia, They Came to Mourn And Soon Found Themselves Ill

By ELLEN BARRY

It was an old-fashioned Southern funeral.

There was a repast table crammed with casseroles, Brunswick stew, fried chicken and key lime cake. Andrew Jerome Mitchell, a retired janitor, was one of 10 siblings. They told stories, debated for the umpteenth time how he got the nickname Door-

face. People wiped tears away, and embraced, and blew their noses, and belted out hymns. They laughed, remembering. It was a big gathering, with upward of 200 mourners overflowing the memorial chapel, so people had to stand outside.

Dorothy Johnson has gone over the scene in her mind over the last month, asking herself who it was who brought the virus to her brother's funeral.

"We don't know who the person was," she said. "It would help me to know."

During the weeks that followed, illnesses linked to the coronavirus have torn through her hometown, Albany, Ga., with about two dozen relatives falling ill, including six of her siblings. Ms. Johnson herself was released from an isolation ward to the news that her daughter, Tonya, was in grave condition,

her heart rate dropping.

Like the Biogen conference in Boston and a 40th birthday party in Westport, Conn., the funeral of Andrew Jerome Mitchell on Feb. 29 will be recorded as what epidemiologists call a "super-spreading event," in which a small number of people propagate a huge number



Albany, Ga., is part of an intense cluster of infections.

of infections.

This rural county in southwest Georgia, 40 miles from the nearest interstate, now has one of the most intense clusters of the coronavirus in the country.

Continued on Page A8

Democrats Wage Uphill Battle on Digital Front

By JIM RUTENBERG and MATTHEW ROSENBERG

The deceptively edited video that purported to show Joseph R. Biden Jr. endorsing President Trump's re-election bounced relentlessly around the internet, falsely painting the former vice president as too confused to know

what office he was running for or whom he was vying to run against.

The doctored video didn't originate with one of the extremist sites that trade in left-bashing disinformation. It was posted on Twitter by Mr. Trump's own social media director. From there, it collected shares, retweets and likes from the social media accounts of

the president, his eldest son and the multitudinous conservative influencers and websites that carry his message to voters' palms hour by hour, minute by minute, second by second.

The video, based on a speech Mr. Biden gave earlier this month, registered five million views in a day before his campaign re-

Continued on Page A22

Trump to Deal Final Blow to Car Pollution Goals

By CORAL DAVENPORT

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration is expected to announce on Tuesday its final rule to rollback Obama-era automobile fuel efficiency standards, relaxing efforts to limit climate-warming tailpipe pollution and virtually undoing the government's biggest

effort to combat climate change.

The new rule, written by the Environmental Protection Agency and the Department of Transportation, would allow cars on American roads to emit nearly a billion tons more carbon dioxide over the lifetime of the vehicles than they would have under the Obama standards, and hundreds of millions of tons more than will

be emitted under standards being enacted in Europe and Asia.

Administration officials raced to complete the auto rule by this spring, even as the White House was consumed with responding to the coronavirus pandemic. President Trump is expected to extol the rule, which will stand as one of the most consequential regulations Continued on Page A20



BUSINESS B1-7

Alarm on Europe's Farms

Eastern European workers who harvest crops from Spain to Sweden can't enter, raising concern for food stocks. PAGE B1

G.M.'s Race for Ventilators

The company and a partner had strategized for days when the White House said G.M. was wasting time. PAGE B1

INTERNATIONAL A17-18

Beijing Claims Indonesian Seas

Despite brazen moves by China into rich fishing waters, Indonesia has backed away from confronting its largest trading partner. PAGE A17

Signing Off as Royals

With little fanfare, Harry and Meghan transferred control of their brand to advisers in Los Angeles. PAGE A18

NATIONAL A19-23

Scientists Have Their Say

Federal scientists have embedded data into documents that lawyers can use to fight environmental rollbacks. PAGE A19

SPORTSTUESDAY B8-9

Get Set: Olympics in July 2021

The Tokyo Games made the new start date official, allowing athletes and sponsors a chance to regroup. PAGE B8

Antidoping Efforts Take Hiatus

The coronavirus pandemic is giving elite athletes a break from the usual drug-testing regimens. The cheaters may see this as an opportunity. PAGE B8

OBITUARIES A24-25

Nobel Laureate in Physics

Philip W. Anderson, who deepened science's understanding of magnetism and superconductivity, was 96. PAGE A24



SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Looking for Help Underwater

In a submerged forest, scientists raced to search for creatures that might conceal medicine of the future. PAGE D1

The World vs. E-Cigarettes

The launch-first, seek-permission-later strategy of the e-cigarette company Juul seems to be backfiring. PAGE D1

ARTS C1-8

Pouncing on Boldface Names

The virus has altered relations among the masses, the elites and the celebrities who liaise between them. PAGE C1

When 'Outbreak' Was on Top

Wesley Morris decides to visit 1995, when the pandemic-related film starring Dustin Hoffman was a hit. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Michelle Goldberg

PAGE A27



"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition

Today, mostly cloudy, showers, high 63. Tonight, partly to mostly cloudy, low 48. Tomorrow, mostly cloudy, cooler, showers, especially morning, high 56. Weather map, Page B8.

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How Outbreak Kept New York A Step Behind

Infighting, Delays and Unheeded Warnings

By J. DAVID GOODMAN

A 39-year-old woman took Flight 701 from Doha, Qatar, to John F. Kennedy International Airport in late February, the final leg of her trip home to New York City from Iran.

A week later, on March 1, she tested positive for the coronavirus, the first confirmed case in New York City of an outbreak that had already devastated China and parts of Europe. The next day, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, appearing with Mayor Bill de Blasio at a news conference, promised that health investigators would track down every person on the woman's flight. But no one did.

A day later, a lawyer from New Rochelle, a New York City suburb, tested positive for the virus — an alarming sign because he had not traveled to any affected country, suggesting community spread was already taking place.

Although city investigators had traced the lawyer's whereabouts and connections to the most crowded corridors of Manhattan, the state's efforts focused on the suburb, not the city, and Mr. de Blasio urged the public not to worry. "We'll tell you the second we think you should change your behavior," the mayor said on March 5.

For many days after the first positive test, as the coronavirus silently spread throughout the New York region, Mr. Cuomo, Mr. de Blasio and their top aides projected an unwavering confidence that the outbreak would be readily contained.

There would be cases, they repeatedly said, but New York's hospitals were some of the best in the world. Plans were in place. Responses had been rehearsed during "tabletop" exercises. After all, the city had been here before — Ebola, Zika, the H1N1 virus, even

Continued on Page A12

As Limits Ease, Wuhan Limp Into New Life

By RAYMOND ZHONG and VIVIAN WANG

China on Wednesday ended its lockdown of Wuhan, the city where the coronavirus first emerged and a potent symbol in a pandemic that has killed tens of thousands of people, shaken the global economy and thrown daily life into upheaval across the planet.

But the city that has reopened after more than 10 weeks is a profoundly damaged one, a place whose recovery will be watched worldwide for lessons on how populations move past pain and calamity of such staggering magnitude.

In Wuhan, sickness and death have touched hundreds of thousands of lives, imprinting them with trauma that could linger for decades. Businesses, even those that have reopened, face a wrenching road ahead, with sluggishness likely to persist. Neighborhood authorities continue to regulate people's comings and goings, with no return to normalcy in sight.

The Chinese authorities sealed off Wuhan, an industrial hub of 11 million people, in late January, in a frantic attempt to limit the outbreak's spread. At the time, many outsiders saw it as an extreme step, one that could be tried only in an authoritarian system like

Continued on Page A7

INTERNATIONAL A18-19

Cardinal's Opaque Acquittal

Critics say Australia's courts were secretive in overturning a jury's conviction on sexual abuse charges. PAGE A19

Rhyming in Two Tongues

Hip-hop artists mixing French and English are causing a stir in the Franco-phone province of Quebec. PAGE A18



NATIONAL A20-23

Trump Finds a Friend: Florida

In South Florida, the president's Republican support extends beyond his base and includes admiration from immigrants and Jewish voters. PAGE A20

Civil Rights Icon Backs Biden

Representative John Lewis's endorsement shows Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s firm support from black voters. PAGE A22

OBITUARIES B12-14

Artist Who Spoke in Silhouette

Idelle Weber, one of the few women of Pop art, criticized corporate anonymity in her works. She was 88. PAGE B14

BUSINESS B1-7

For Millennials, It Gets Worse

Young adults, in debt and unable to save as much as previous generations, are ill prepared to endure what for many is their first big economic crisis. PAGE B1

Tiny but Up for a Challenge

Small digital businesses could help many communities recover from economic blows, a study finds. PAGE B3

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B9-11

U.F.C. Plans an End Run

Holding an event on tribal land in California would allow the group to dodge public health restrictions. PAGE B11

FOOD D1-8

A Cheerleader for Corned Ham

Holidays bring a hankering for a dish that the North Carolina chef Bill Smith aims to make popular again. PAGE D1

An Adaptable Asparagus Salad

You could use any kind of nuts or semi-firm cheese in this spring dish. You could even lose the asparagus. PAGE D3



ARTS C1-8

Finding Unity in Distance

A dance work from 1971 focusing on communication from rooftop to rooftop has been adapted for today. PAGE C1

Learning From Plagues Past

Zoya Cherkassky's virtual exhibition looks back to Jewish shtetl life as an allegory of today's crisis. PAGE C2

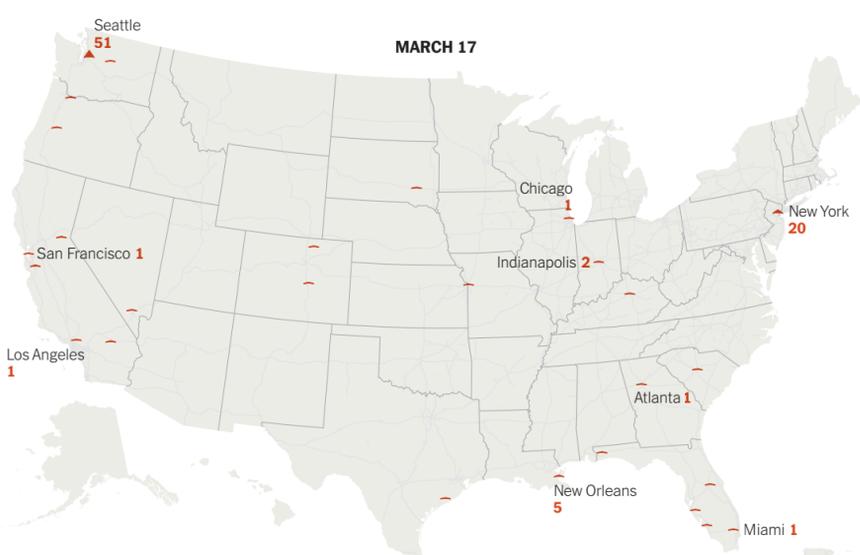
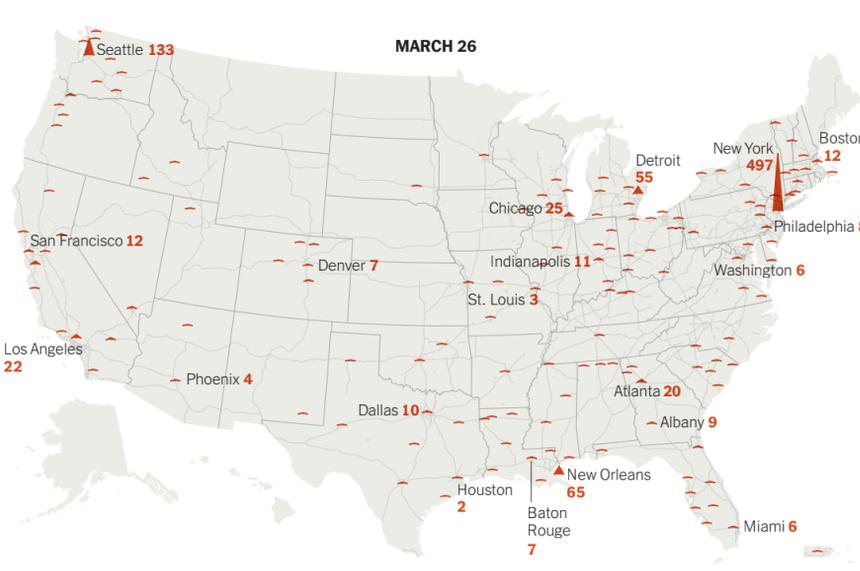
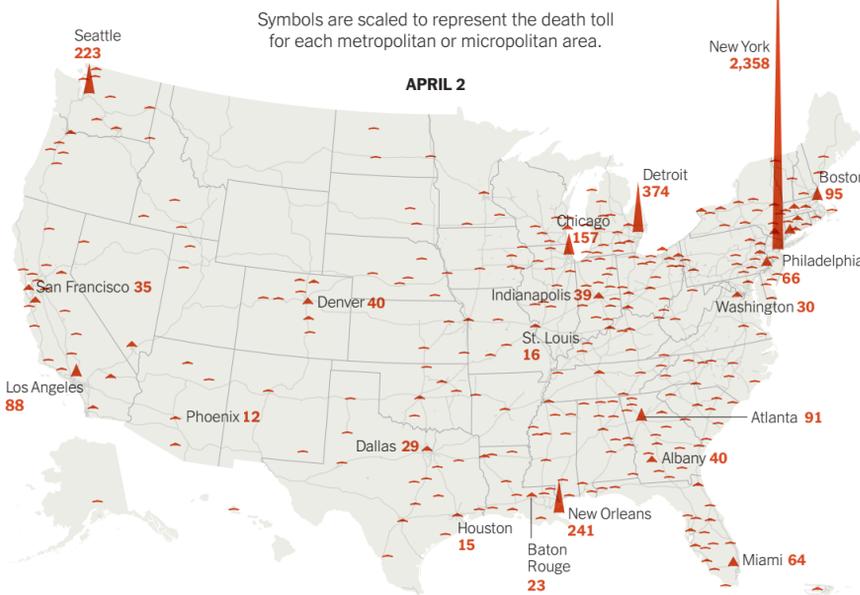
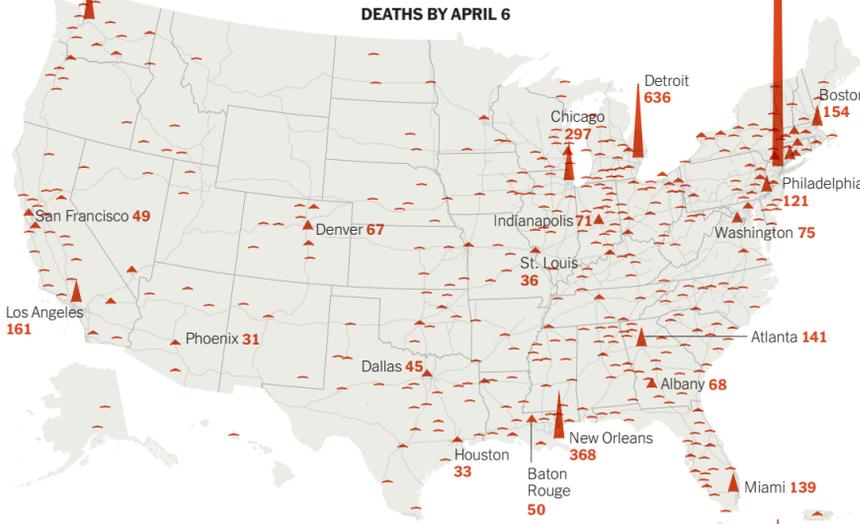
EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

Susan E. Rice

PAGE A25



How the Coronavirus Toll Grew
The first 5,000 deaths came in just over a month. In less than five days, the second 5,000 followed. Article and more graphics, Page A14.



Sources: New York Times database of cases and deaths, based on data from state and local health agencies and hospitals; U.S. Census Bureau. Data as of April 6, 2020 at 10 p.m., Eastern. Data for Puerto Rico is displayed at the territory level.

LAZARO GAMIO, KAREN YOURISH AND BILL MARSH/THE NEW YORK TIMES

BLACK AMERICANS BEAR THE BRUNT AS DEATHS CLIMB

Statistics From Certain Cities and States Highlight Entrenched Inequality

This article is by John Eligon, Audra D. S. Burch, Dionne Searcey and Richard A. Oppel Jr.

The coronavirus is infecting and killing black people in the United States at disproportionately high rates, according to data released by several states and big cities, highlighting what public health researchers say are entrenched inequalities in resources, health and access to care.

The statistics are preliminary and much remains unknown because most cities and states are not reporting race as they provide numbers of confirmed cases and fatalities. Initial indications from a number of places, though, are alarming enough that policymakers say they must act immediately to stem potential devastation in black communities.

The worrying trend is playing out across the country, among people born in different decades and working far different jobs.

There is Donnie Hoover, a judge from Charlotte, N.C., who could not shake a dry cough that arrived in March. On the South Side of Chicago, LaShawn Levi, a medical assistant who rides the bus to work each day, turned to tea and cough syrup — "everything your grandma taught you" — to treat a headache and a cough. And in Detroit, Glenn Tolbert, a union leader for city bus drivers, was coughing so much that he got tested.

"This is a call-to-action moment

for all of us," said Lori Lightfoot, the mayor of Chicago, who announced statistics of the outbreak in her city this week. African-Americans account for more than half of those who have tested positive and 72 percent of virus-related fatalities in Chicago, even though they make up a little less



ASHLEE REZIN GARCIA/CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

Mayor Lori Lightfoot of Chicago cited "shocking" figures.

than a third of the population.

"Those numbers take your breath away, they really do," said Ms. Lightfoot, who is the city's first black woman elected as mayor. She added in an interview that the statistics were "among the most shocking things I think I've seen as mayor."

In Illinois, 43 percent of people who have died from the disease

Continued on Page A17

President Ousts Official Policing Relief Spending

By CHARLIE SAVAGE and PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — President Trump moved on Tuesday to oust the leader of a new watchdog panel charged with overseeing how his administration spends trillions of taxpayer dollars in coronavirus pandemic relief, the latest step in an abruptly unfolding White House power play against semi-independent inspectors general across the government.

The official, Glenn A. Fine, has been the acting inspector general for the Defense Department since before Mr. Trump took office and was set to become the chairman of a new Pandemic Response Accountability Committee to police how the government carries out the \$2.2 trillion coronavirus relief bill. But Mr. Trump replaced Mr. Fine in his Pentagon job, disqualifying him from serving on the new oversight panel.

The move came at a time when the president has been reasserting authority over the executive branch and signaling impatience with independent voices within the government that he considers disloyal. In recent days, he fired an inspector general who reviewed the whistle-blower complaint that led to his impeachment, nominated a White House aide to another key inspector general post, declared that he would ignore certain oversight provisions in the new relief law and attacked another inspector general who criticized virus testing shortages.

Mr. Trump even cheered the firing of the captain of an aircraft carrier for sending a letter to fellow Navy officers pleading for help for his virus-stricken crew,

Continued on Page A10

In Wisconsin, Sense of Strain Shadows Vote

By ASTEAD W. HERNDON and ALEXANDER BURNS

MILWAUKEE — Even before voting began, there were lines outside polling locations that stretched for several blocks. Some poll workers wore hazmat suits. Nearly every voter wore a face mask, removing it only to make small talk that reflected a combination of determination and grim



LAUREN JUSTICE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Voters lined up on Tuesday outside a school in Milwaukee.

humor about the extraordinary experience of voting amid a deadly pandemic.

For thousands of people across Wisconsin on Tuesday, fears of the coronavirus outbreak did not stop them from participating in the state's elections, where critical races such as the Democratic presidential primary and a key state Supreme Court seat were being decided.

"It feels bad to have to choose between your personal safety and your right to vote," said Dan Bullcock, 40, as he waited to vote at Washington High School on Milwaukee's North Side. "But you

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INTERNATIONAL A18-19

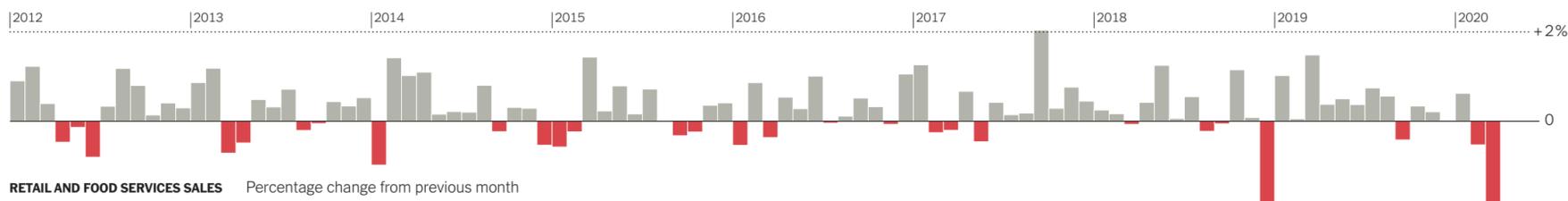
NATIONAL A20-23

BUSINESS B1-7

FOOD D1-8

ARTS C1-8

SALES AT U.S. STORES HIT 'CATASTROPHIC' DEPTHS



RETAIL AND FOOD SERVICES SALES Percentage change from previous month

Scant Testing Is Still Barrier For Reopening

This article is by Abby Goodnough, Katie Thomas and Sheila Kaplan.

As President Trump pushes to reopen the economy, most of the country is not conducting nearly enough testing to track the path and penetration of the coronavirus in a way that would allow Americans to safely return to work, public health officials and political leaders say.

Although capacity has improved in recent weeks, supply shortages remain crippling, and many regions are still restricting tests to people who meet specific criteria. Antibody tests, which reveal whether someone has ever been infected with the coronavirus, are just starting to be rolled out, and most have not been vetted by the Food and Drug Administration.

Concerns intensified on Wednesday as Senate Democrats released a \$30 billion plan for building up what they called "fast, free testing in every community," saying they would push to include it in the next pandemic relief package. Business leaders, who participated in the first conference call of Mr. Trump's advisory council on restarting the economy, warned that it would not rebound until people felt safe to re-emerge, which would require more screening.

And Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo of New York reiterated his call for federal assistance to ramp up testing, both for the virus and for antibodies.

"The more testing, the more open the economy. But there's not

Continued on Page A13



EMILY ROSE BENNETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Paris Banks boarding the No. 17 bus in Detroit. She tries to reduce her risk by disinfecting her seat.

Retailers Fear Any Rebound Is Too Far Off

By SAPNA MAHESHWARI and BEN CASSELMAN

Retail sales plunged in March, offering a grim snapshot of the coronavirus outbreak's effect on consumer spending, as businesses shuttered from coast to coast and wary shoppers restricted their spending.

Total sales, which include retail purchases in stores and online as well as money spent at bars and restaurants, fell 8.7 percent from the previous month, the Commerce Department said Wednesday. The decline was by far the largest in the nearly three decades the government has tracked the data.

Even that bleak figure doesn't capture the full impact of the sudden economic freeze on the retail industry. Most states didn't shut down nonessential businesses until late March or early April, meaning data for the current month could be worse still.

"It was a pretty catastrophic drop-off in that back half of the month," said Sucharita Kodali, a retail analyst at Forrester Research. She said April "may be one of the worst months ever."

The resulting job losses continue to mount. Best Buy, which has 125,000 employees over all, said Wednesday that it would furlough 51,000 hourly store workers beginning Sunday, including nearly all of its part-time staff.

And in the months ahead, the question is how quickly spending will bounce back once the economy reopens, and how many businesses will survive until then.

People who lose jobs won't quickly resume spending once

Source: Dept. of Commerce

THE NEW YORK TIMES

MARCH '20 -8.7%

businesses reopen. And those willing to spend may be reluctant to congregate in malls, restaurants and other businesses that rely on face-to-face contact.

Michelle Cordeiro Grant, chief executive and founder of Lively, a lingerie brand acquired by Wacoal last year, said it wasn't clear how customers would want to shop and "what the new culture of shopping in physical retail will be."

"Do they want to have a different type of fitting-room experience?" she mused. "Do they want our associates to wear masks and to be offered a mask? What is the try-on situation?"

When demand does rebound, it might come too late for some retailers, many of which were struggling even before the pandemic because of changes in mall traffic and a long-term shift to online sales.

The disruptions from the pandemic may ultimately hand more power to retailers able to continue operating stores during the crisis.

"It's only going to cause a shakeout of a lot of retailers, and I think long term it just means that some of these big guys get less competition," Ms. Kodali said.

"The less competition they have,

Continued on Page A10

Allies of Trump Urged His Move Against W.H.O.

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — Fox News pundits and Republican lawmakers have raged for weeks at the World Health Organization for praising China's handling of the coronavirus crisis. On his podcast, President Trump's former chief strategist, Stephen K. Bannon, urged his former boss to stop funding the W.H.O., citing its ties to the "Chinese Communist Party."

And inside the West Wing, the president found little resistance among the China skeptics in his administration for lashing out at the W.H.O. and essentially trying to shift the blame for his own failure to aggressively confront the spread of the virus by accusing the world's premier global health group of covering up for the country where it started.

Mr. Trump's decision on Tuesday to freeze nearly \$500 million in public money for the W.H.O. in the middle of a pandemic was the culmination of a concerted conservative campaign against the group. But the president's announcement on the W.H.O. drew fierce condemnations from many quarters.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce said cutting its funding was "not in U.S. interests." Speaker Nancy Pelosi said she would support the move.

Continued on Page A8

No Choice but Shoulder to Shoulder on the Bus

By JOHN ELIGON

DETROIT — Paris Banks sprayed the seat with Lysol before sliding into the last row on the right. Rochell Brown put out her cigarette, tucked herself behind the steering wheel and slapped the doors shut.

It was 8:37 a.m., and the No. 17 bus began chugging west across Detroit.

On stepped the fast-food worker who makes chicken shawarma that's delivered to doorsteps, the janitor who cleans grocery stores, the warehouse worker pulling together Amazon orders.

Detroit's Working Class Commutes in Dread

By 9:15, every available row on the bus was occupied. Strangers sat shoulder to shoulder. The city might be spread across 139 square miles, but one morning last week there was no way to social distance aboard this 40-foot-long New Flyer bus. Passengers were anxious and annoyed. Resigned, too.

"I don't like it, but it's something you have to do," Valerie Brown, 21,

the fast-food worker, said through a blue mask. She was on her way to work at a local Middle Eastern fast-food chain.

This hardscrabble city, where nearly 80 percent of residents are black, has become a national hot spot with more than 7,000 infections and more than 400 deaths.

One reason for the rapid spread, experts say, is that the city has a large working-class population that does not have the luxury of living in isolation. Their jobs cannot be performed from a laptop in a living room. They do not have vehicles to safely get them to the grocery store.

Continued on Page A12



JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Everybody Cover Up

Gov. Andrew Cuomo said New Yorkers must wear face coverings in stores and in public. Page A14.

Colleges Running Low on Money Worry Students Will Vanish, Too

By ANEMONA HARTOCOLLIS

For years, Claire McCarville dreamed of going to college in New York or Los Angeles, and was thrilled last month to get accepted to selective schools in both places. But this month, she sent a \$300 deposit to Arizona State University, a 15-minute drive from her home in Phoenix. "It made more sense," she said, "in light of the virus."

Across the country, students like Ms. McCarville are rethinking their choices in a world altered by the pandemic. And universities, concerned about the potential for shrinking enrollment and lost revenue, are making a wave of decisions in response that could profoundly alter the landscape of higher education for years to come.

Lucrative spring sports seasons have been canceled, room and board payments have been refunded, and students at some schools are demanding hefty tuition discounts for what they see as a lost spring term. Other revenue sources like study abroad programs and campus bookstores have dried up, and federal research funding is threatened.

Already, colleges have seen their endowments weakened and worry that fund-raising efforts will founder even as many families need more financial aid. They also expect to lose international students, especially from Asia, be-

Applicants Reconsider Their Choices in a Changed World

cause of travel restrictions and concerns about studying abroad. Foreign students, usually paying full tuition, represent a significant revenue source everywhere, from the Ivy League to community colleges.

Some institutions are projecting \$100 million losses for the spring, and many are now bracing for an even bigger financial hit in the fall, when some are planning for the possibility of having to continue remote classes.

Administrators anticipate that students grappling with the financial and psychological impacts of the virus could choose to stay closer to home, go to less expensive schools, take a year off or not go to college at all. A higher education trade group has predicted a 15 percent drop in enrollment nationwide, amounting to a \$23 billion revenue loss.

"The combination of fear for health and safety and the economic impact at the same time is one that I haven't experienced, and I don't think most university leaders have," said Kent D. Syverud, the chancellor of Syracuse University.

Continued on Page A15

INTERNATIONAL A17-18

Seeking a Grammar Revolution In Argentina, a push for gender-neutral terms is gaining supporters, including President Alberto Fernández. PAGE A17

Paris's 2 Catastrophes

The anniversary of the Notre-Dame fire passed with rebuilding work paused and the city in lockdown. PAGE A18



NATIONAL A19-21

The Radio Show That Wasn't President Trump wanted a daily two-hour show, officials said, but was reluctant to compete with Rush Limbaugh, a friend and conservative ally. PAGE A19

Warren Endorses Biden

Elizabeth Warren is the latest big-name progressive to help Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s appeal with liberal voters. PAGE A21

OBITUARIES A24, B11-12

Fierce Pass Rusher for Packers Willie Davis, a Hall of Famer, helped win five N.F.L. titles, including the first two Super Bowls. He was 85. PAGE A24

SPORTS THURSDAY B9-10

Seeking a Financial Tiebreaker Although the status of the U.S. Open remains unclear, the U.S.T.A. will try to bail out tennis's grass roots. PAGE B9

BUSINESS B1-8

Upheaval in a Small Town Once the pandemic reached rural Bristol, N.H., the effect on the local economy was devastating. PAGE B1

Amazon at Odds With France

The retailer said it would temporarily suspend operations there after a court said it hadn't adequately protected workers against Covid-19. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-8

Turning the Camera on Himself Kenya Barris, creator of the comedy "black-ish," stars as a successful TV writer in Netflix's "#blackAF." PAGE C1

The Glory of Rockefeller Center

The critic Michael Kimmelman joins the historian Daniel Okrent on a virtual tour of the complex. PAGE C1



THURSDAY STYLES D1-6

Experts at Lockdown Fitness Some trainers who spent time behind bars share tips on how to emerge from confinement in better shape. PAGE D1

A Dress Giveaway Goes Wrong

Reese Witherspoon's fashion line, Draper James, offered free clothes to teachers — just not every teacher. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Neal K. Katyal PAGE A23



What the Next Year (or Two) May Look Like

Scientists Foresee Long Road in U.S.

By DONALD G. McNEIL JR.

The coronavirus is spreading from America's biggest cities to its suburbs, and has begun encroaching on the nation's rural regions. The virus is believed to have infected millions of citizens and has killed more than 34,000.

Yet President Trump last week proposed guidelines for reopening the economy and suggested that a swath of the United States would soon resume something resembling normalcy. For weeks now, the administration's view of the crisis and our future has been rosier than that of its own medical advisers, and of scientists generally.

In truth, it is not clear to anyone where this crisis is leading us. More than 20 experts in public health, medicine, epidemiology and history shared their thoughts on the future during in-depth interviews. When can we emerge from our homes? How long, realistically, before we have a treatment or vaccine? How will we keep the virus at bay?

Some felt that American ingenuity, once fully engaged, might well produce advances to ease the burdens. The path forward depends on factors that are certainly difficult but doable, they said: a carefully staggered approach to reopening, widespread testing and surveillance, a treatment that works, adequate resources for health care providers — and eventually an effective vaccine.

Still, it was impossible to avoid gloomy forecasts for the next year. The scenario that Mr. Trump has been unrolling at his daily press briefings — that the lockdowns will end soon, that a protective pill is almost at hand, that stadiums and restaurants will soon be full — is a fantasy, most experts said.

"We face a doleful future," said Dr. Harvey V. Fineberg, a former president of the National Academy of Medicine.

He and others foresaw an unhappy population trapped indoors for months, with the most vulnerable possibly quarantined for far longer. They worried that a vaccine would initially elude scientists, that weary citizens would abandon restrictions despite the risks, that the virus would be with us from now on.

"My optimistic side says the virus will ease off in the summer and a vaccine will arrive like the cavalry," said Dr. William Schaffner, a preventive medicine specialist at Vanderbilt University medical school. "But I'm learning to guard against my essentially optimistic nature."

Most experts believed that once the crisis was over, the nation and its economy would revive quickly. But there would be no escaping a period of intense pain.

Continued on Page 14



From top: Picking up food at a nonprofit in Manhattan's Washington Heights neighborhood; testing samples in Brooklyn; few commuters on the Staten Island Ferry. President Trump's rosy outlook for reopening is not shared by experts.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MISHA FRIEDMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

G.O.P. Aiming To Make China The Scapegoat

Bid to Shift Blame Off Trump for Response

By JONATHAN MARTIN and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — The strategy could not be clearer: From the Republican lawmakers blanketing Fox News to new ads from President Trump's super PAC to the biting criticism on Donald Trump Jr.'s Twitter feed, the G.O.P. is attempting to divert attention from the administration's heavily criticized response to the coronavirus by pinning the blame on China.

With the death toll from the pandemic already surpassing 34,000 Americans and unemployment soaring to levels not seen since the Great Depression, Republicans increasingly believe that elevating China as an archenemy culpable for the spread of the virus, and harnessing America's growing animosity toward Beijing, may be the best way to salvage a difficult election.

Republican senators locked in difficult races are preparing commercials condemning China. Conservatives with future presidential ambitions of their own, like Senators Tom Cotton and Josh Hawley, are competing to see who can talk tougher toward the country where the virus first emerged. Party officials are publicly and privately brandishing polling data in hopes Mr. Trump will confront Beijing.

Mr. Trump's own campaign aides have endorsed the strategy, releasing an attack ad last week depicting Joseph R. Biden Jr., the presumptive Democratic nominee, as soft on China. The ad relied heavily on images of people of Asian descent, including former Gov. Gary Locke of Washington, who is Chinese-American, and it was widely viewed as fanning the flames of xenophobia.

"Trump has always been successful when he's had a bogeyman and China is the perfect bogeyman," said Chris LaCivita, a longtime Republican strategist.

But there is a potential impediment to the G.O.P. plan — the leader of the party himself.

Eager to continue trade talks, uneasy about further rattling the markets and hungry to protect his relationship with President Xi Jinping at a moment when the United States is relying on China's manufacturers for lifesaving medical supplies, Mr. Trump has repeated

Continued on Page 6

RISING SHORTAGE OF DIALYSIS UNITS ALARMS DOCTORS

AN OVERLOOKED THREAT

Kidneys Failing in Large Percentage of Patients Sickest With Virus

This article is by Reed Abelson, Sheri Fink, Nicholas Kulish and Katie Thomas.

For weeks, U.S. government officials and hospital executives have warned of a looming shortage of ventilators as the coronavirus pandemic descended.

But now, doctors are sounding an alarm about an unexpected and perhaps overlooked crisis: a surge in Covid-19 patients with kidney failure that is leading to shortages of machines, supplies and staff required for emergency dialysis.

In recent weeks, doctors on the front lines in intensive care units in New York and other hard-hit cities have learned that the coronavirus isn't only a respiratory disease that has led to a crushing demand for ventilators.

The disease is also shutting down some patients' kidneys, posing yet another series of life-or-death calculations for doctors who must ferry a limited supply of specialized dialysis machines from one patient in kidney failure to the next. All the while fearing they may not be able to hook up everyone in time to save them.

It is not yet known whether the kidneys are a major target of the virus, or whether they're just one more organ falling victim as a patient's ravaged body surrenders. Dialysis fills the vital roles the kidneys play, cleaning the blood of toxins, balancing essential components including electrolytes, keeping blood pressure in check and removing excess fluids. It can be a temporary measure while the kidneys recover, or it can be used long-term if they do not. Another unknown is whether the kidney damage caused by the virus is permanent.

"The nephrologists in New York City are going slightly crazy making sure that everyone with kidney failure gets treatment," said Dr. David S. Goldfarb, chief of nephrology at the New York campus of the New York Harbor VA Health Care System. "We don't want people to die of inadequate

Continued on Page 13

Meat Producers Are Weak Link In Food Supply

By MICHAEL CORKERY and DAVID YAFFE-BELLANY

The modern American slaughterhouse is a very different place from the one that Upton Sinclair depicted in his early-20th-century novel, "The Jungle."

Many are giant, sleek refrigerated assembly lines, staffed mostly by unionized workers who slice, debone and "gut snatch" hog and beef carcasses, under constant oversight of government inspectors. The jobs are often grueling and sometimes dangerous, but pork and beef producers boast about having some of the most heavily sanitized work spaces of any industry.

Yet meat plants, honed over decades for maximum efficiency and profit, have become major "hot spots" for the coronavirus pandemic, with some reporting widespread illnesses among their workers. The health crisis has revealed how these plants are becoming the weakest link in the nation's food supply.

Continued on Page 18

Germany Tries Antibody Tests As a Way Back

By KATRIN BENNHOLD

BERLIN — Felix Germann was not expecting anyone when his doorbell rang. Outside was a doctor who looked like she had just stepped out of an operating theater, green scrubs, face mask and all — and a policeman.

"I didn't do it!" Mr. Germann said, throwing up his hands, and everybody laughed. The unusual visitors had come with an unusual proposal: Would he allow them to test his blood for Covid-19 antibodies? Every month? For a year? Starting next week?

He would be helping to further the science that would ultimately allow for a controlled lifting of social and economic restrictions and save lives.

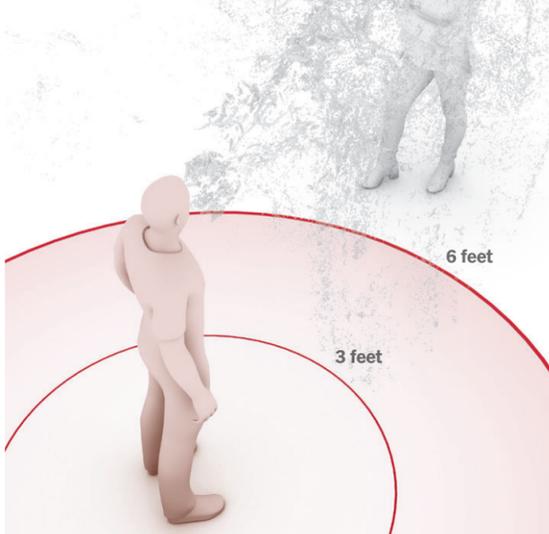
"Of course I said yes," said Mr. Germann, a 41-year-old project manager at a media company. "I want to help. This is a collective crisis. The government is doing what it can. Everyone needs to do

Continued on Page 5

Is Six Feet Enough?

A cough produces respiratory droplets of varying sizes. Inside a room, small droplets known as aerosols can remain suspended or travel through the air before they eventually settle on surfaces.

Read more on Page 10.



THE NEW YORK TIMES

When It Comes to 'Essential,' It's a Woman's World Today

By CAMPBELL ROBERTSON and ROBERT GEBELOFF

Every day, Constance Warren stands behind the cold cuts counter at a grocery store in New Orleans, watching the regular customers come and go.

They thank Ms. Warren and tell her they do not like being stuck indoors, waiting out the epidemic. She wraps their honey-smoked turkey and smiles.

It is good to have a job right now, the mixed fortune of being deemed an essential worker. But she wonders whether, once everyday life is safe again, people will remember the role she played when it was not.

"Don't forget that we were open to serve you in your time of need," she said on a break one recent afternoon. "You never know when you might need us again."

From the cashier to the emergency room nurse to the drug-store pharmacist to the home health aide taking the bus to check on her older client, the soldier on the front lines of the current na-



HANNAH YOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Andrea Lindley, 34, is an I.C.U. nurse in Philadelphia.

tional emergency is most likely a woman.

One in three jobs held by women has been designated as essential, according to a New York Times analysis of census data crossed with the federal government's essential worker guidelines. Nonwhite women are more likely to be doing essential jobs than anyone else.

The work they do has often been underpaid and undervalued

Continued on Page 17

NATIONAL 23-27

'The Woman in Michigan'

Gov. Gretchen Whitmer has her hands full these days, between the outbreak, gun-toting protesters and all the president's tweets. Not to mention the vice president talk. PAGE 23

Households Split by TV News

A pandemic has made avoiding political talk nearly impossible for families who see the danger of the virus differently based on whether they watch Fox News or MSNBC. PAGE 26

SUNDAY REVIEW

Viet Thanh Nguyen

PAGE 10



INTERNATIONAL 19-22

Brazil Tribes Fear 'Ethnocide'

President Jair Bolsonaro is moving aggressively to open up the Amazon to development. Promises Made. PAGE 20

'Indonesian Idol,' but for Birds

A fascination with songbird competitions contributes to poaching that devastates the wild population. PAGE 19

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Taking On Amazon

A monopoly critic knew she was fighting an uphill battle. But as the pandemic has made Amazon more essential, it has made it vulnerable. PAGE 1

A Changed Global Economy

The coronavirus may lead to "a rethink of how much any country wants to be reliant on any other country." PAGE 1

THE MAGAZINE

Diary From the Trenches

What an emergency room doctor saw as the pandemic engulfed New York's hospitals. PAGE 24



SUNDAYSTYLES

When Prom Is Canceled

We photographed 10 students from the Omaha area who had been looking forward to their last dance. PAGE 1

SPECIAL SECTION

Pandemic Parenting

How to stay healthy, busy and sane.

ARTS & LEISURE

The Lost Voices of War

Anne Frank wrote the most famous diary from the Netherlands, but there were others. Archivists are now dusting them off and putting them online. PAGE 6

TRAVEL

Postcards to Soothe a Plague

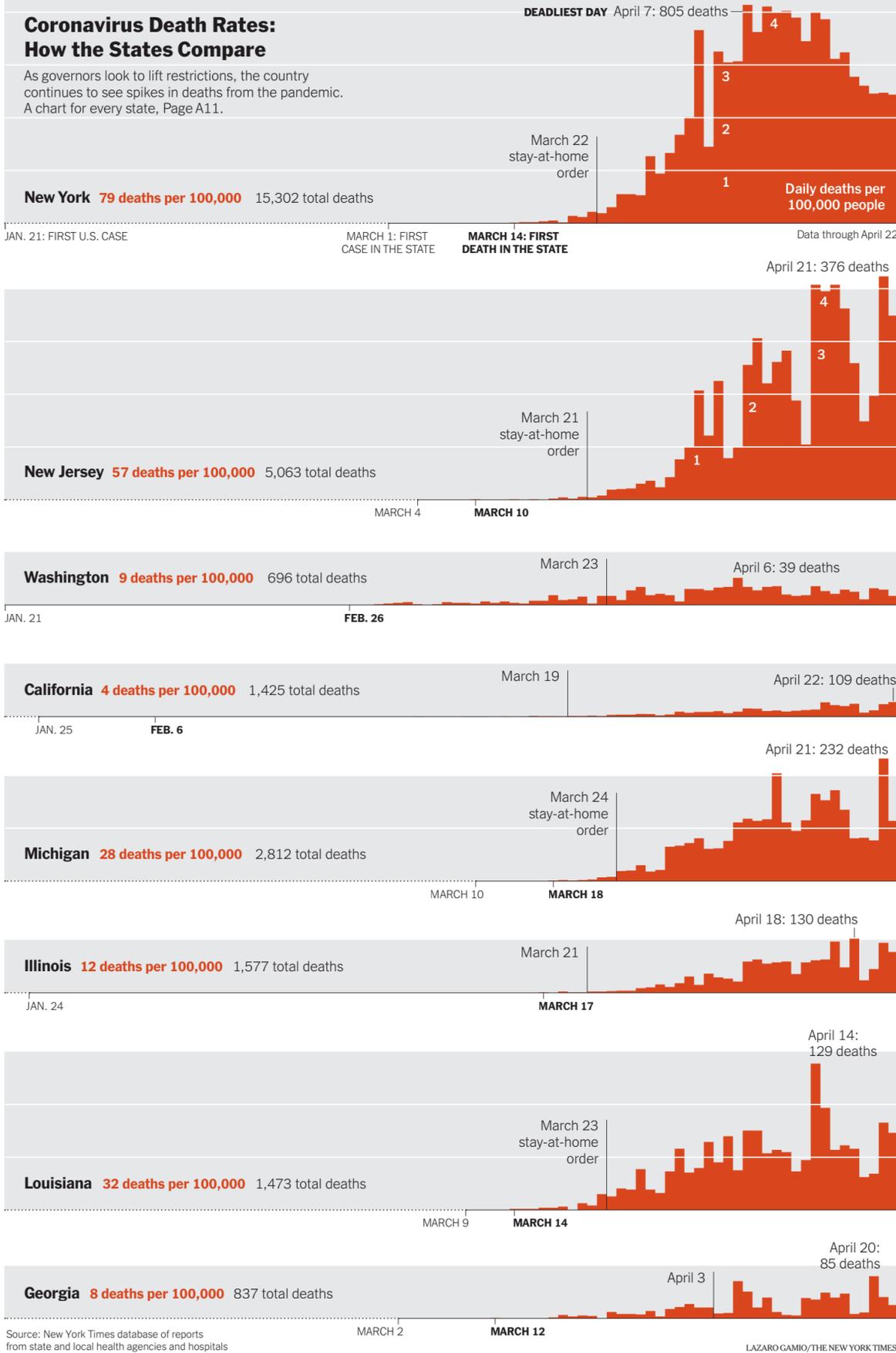
Our 52 Places traveler returned to isolation, but reaching out around the world, he feels far from alone. PAGE 1



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Coronavirus Death Rates: How the States Compare

As governors look to lift restrictions, the country continues to see spikes in deaths from the pandemic. A chart for every state, Page A11.



Source: New York Times database of reports from state and local health agencies and hospitals

STATES DROWNING BENEATH A DELUGE OF JOB LOSS CLAIMS

Delays in Paying Benefits Add Hardships That Could Hamper a Recovery

By PATRICIA COHEN

Nearly a month after Washington rushed through an emergency package to aid jobless Americans, millions of laid-off workers have still not been able to apply for those benefits — let alone receive them — because of overwhelmed state unemployment systems.

Across the country, states have frantically scrambled to handle a flood of applications and apply a new set of federal rules even as more and more people line up for help. On Thursday, the Labor Department reported that another 4.4 million people filed initial unemployment claims last week, bringing the five-week total to more than 26 million.

"gets deeper and deeper, and more difficult to crawl out of."

Hours after the Labor Department report, the House passed a \$484 billion coronavirus relief package to replenish a depleted small-business loan program and fund hospitals and testing. The Senate approved the bill earlier this week.

Even as Congress continues to provide aid, distribution has remained challenging. According to the Labor Department, only 10 states have started making payments under the federal Pandemic Unemployment Assistance program, which extends coverage to freelancers, self-employed workers and part-timers. Most states have not even completed the system needed to start the process.

Delays in delivering benefits, though, are as troubling as the sheer magnitude of the figures, he said. Such problems not only create immediate hardships, but also affect the shape of the recovery when the pandemic eases.

Laid-off workers need money quickly so that they can continue to pay rent and credit card bills and buy groceries. If they can't, Mr. Slok said, the hole that the larger economy has fallen into

Ohio, for example, will not start processing claims under the expanded federal eligibility criteria until May 15. Recipients whose state benefits ran out, but who can apply for extended federal benefits, will not begin to have their claims processed until next Friday. Pennsylvania opened its website for residents to file for the federal program a few days ago, but some applicants were mistakenly told that they were ineligible after filling out the forms. The state has

Continued on Page A10

Dying in Hotels After New York Tried Isolation

By ASHLEY SOUTHALL and NIKITA STEWART

When Robert Rowe Jr. was discharged from the hospital this month after testing positive for the coronavirus, he needed a place to stay so he would not put his 84-year-old father at risk. New York City health officials put him up at a three-star hotel in Midtown Manhattan.

The room was provided under a city program that was intended to protect recovering patients' families and roommates. Case workers are supposed to check on the patients twice a day by telephone.

But on Saturday, Mr. Rowe, 56, was found dead in his room at the Hilton Garden Inn on West 37th Street, nearly 20 hours after a city worker last phoned him, though it was unclear whether he picked up.

Two other men sent to the same hotel — Julio Melendez, 42, and Sung Mo Ping, 64 — also died last weekend, and a fourth man in the program died early this month at a Queens hotel.

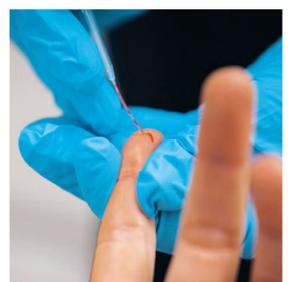
The deaths exposed holes in the way the city monitors isolated patients and underscored the difficulty in containing the outbreak in New York City: how to keep people who have been infected or exposed to the coronavirus from passing it on.

"This was his city, and it failed him," Mr. Rowe's sister, Andrea Rowe Crittenden, said. "New York failed him."

Borrowing from the experiences of some Asian cities, health officials in New York have made isolating infected people, especially those who live in cramped homes and homeless shelters, a critical part of their plan to combat the virus.

Since the three deaths at the Hilton Garden Inn, Mayor Bill de Blasio has stepped up efforts to

Continued on Page A13



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The presence of antibodies in blood can indicate immunity.

New York City Seen Having 1 in 5 Infected

By J. DAVID GOODMAN and MICHAEL ROTHFELD

One of every five New York City residents tested positive for antibodies to the coronavirus, according to preliminary results described by Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo on Thursday that suggested that the virus had spread far more widely than known.

If the pattern holds, the results from random testing of 3,000 people raised the tantalizing prospect that many New Yorkers — as many as 2.7 million, the governor said — who never knew they had been infected had already encountered the virus, and survived. Mr. Cuomo also said that such wide infection might mean that the death rate was far lower than believed.

While the reliability of some early antibody tests has been widely questioned, researchers in New York have worked in recent weeks to develop and validate their own antibody tests, with federal approval. State officials believe that accurate antibody testing is seen as a critical tool to help determine when and how to begin restarting the economy, and sending people back to work.

"The testing also can tell you

Continued on Page A16

Secretive Panel Guides Policy As Deaths Pile Up in Britain

By MARK LANDLER and STEPHEN CASTLE

LONDON — As the British government comes under mounting criticism for its response to the coronavirus — one that has left Britain ranking with Italy and Spain as the worst hit countries in Europe — Prime Minister Boris Johnson and his aides have defended themselves by saying they are "guided by the science."

The trouble is, nobody knows what the science is.

The government's influential Scientific Advisory Group for Emergencies — known by its soothing acronym, SAGE — operates as a virtual black box. Its list of members is secret, its meetings are closed, its recommendations are private and the minutes of its deliberations are published much later, if at all.

Yet officials invoke SAGE's name endlessly without ever explaining how it comes up with its advice — or even how these scien-

Government Criticized for Lockdown Delay

tists are.

That lack of transparency has become a point of contention, as officials struggle to explain why they waited until late March to shift from a laissez-faire approach to the virus to the stricter measures adopted by other European countries. Critics say the delay may have worsened a death toll now surging past 20,000, and they fault the government for leaving people in the dark about why it first chose this riskier path.

With all the secrecy, even some of Britain's top scientists say they don't know whether they can trust the government's approach.

"Is the science being followed by the government on coronavirus?" said David King, a former chief scientific adviser to the

Continued on Page A9

No Rallies and No Golf, Just the TV to Rankle Him

By KATIE ROGERS and ANNIE KARNI

WASHINGTON — President Trump arrives in the Oval Office these days as late as noon, when he is usually in a sour mood after his morning marathon of television.

He has been up in the White House master bedroom as early as 5 a.m. watching Fox News, then CNN, with a dollop of MSNBC thrown in for rage viewing. He makes calls with the TV on in the background, his routine since he first arrived at the White House.

But now there are differences. The president sees few allies no matter which channel he clicks. He is angry even with Fox, an old security blanket, for not portraying him as he would like to be seen. And he makes time to watch Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo's briefings from New York, closely monitoring for a

WHITE HOUSE MEMO

Feeling Alone, President Stews Over Image

sporadic compliment or snipe.

Confined to the White House, the president is isolated from the supporters, visitors, travel and golf that once entertained him, according to more than a dozen administration officials and close advisers who spoke about Mr. Trump's strange new life. He is tested weekly, as is Vice President Mike Pence, for Covid-19.

The economy — Mr. Trump's main case for re-election — has imploded. News coverage of his handling of the coronavirus has been overwhelmingly negative as Democrats have condemned him for a lack of empathy, honesty and competence. Even Republicans have criticized Mr. Trump's briefings as long-winded and his rough handling of critics

Continued on Page A5



INTERNATIONAL A18

U.S. Offers Aid to Greenland

The \$12.1 million proposal irritated some Danish officials, who recall President Trump's talk of buying the island.

Germany Tries Syrian Officers

Activists describe the case, which involves charges of crimes against humanity, as a first step toward justice.

NATIONAL A19-21, 24

Chores 1, Career 0

Women balancing careers with domestic necessities are finding to their dismay that by and large, gender disparities have not disappeared as the home has become the office.

An 18th Birthday Nightmare

Minors detained at the border are being transferred to crowded and dangerous ICE jails at high risk for coronavirus transmission when they age out of relatively benign shelters.

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

David Brooks

PAGE A23

BUSINESS B1-8

Is It Showtime? Not So Fast

Movie chains, with no new films and a desire to not become virus hot spots, don't want to reopen too early.

Workers Sue Pork Plant

A lawsuit filed against a Smithfield Foods plant claims it has created a public nuisance by failing to protect workers from the coronavirus.

SPORTSFRIDAY B9-13

The Draft, Decentralized

In an all-online event, the Bengals chose Joe Burrow at No. 1. The Giants and the Jets took offensive tackles.



WEEKEND ARTS C1-16

Virtual Visits, Real Inspiration

Museum websites are a terrific way to wander among the world's greatest art works. A guide.

Pass the Mic, and the Memories

The documentary "Beastie Boys Story," directed by Spike Jonze, looks back on the hip-hop trio with affection.

SPECIAL SECTION

Changing Course

Like a storm at sea, the coronavirus has brutally pushed schools in a new direction: providing quality online learning to students of all ages. A section on learning explores this new world.

OBITUARIES B14-16

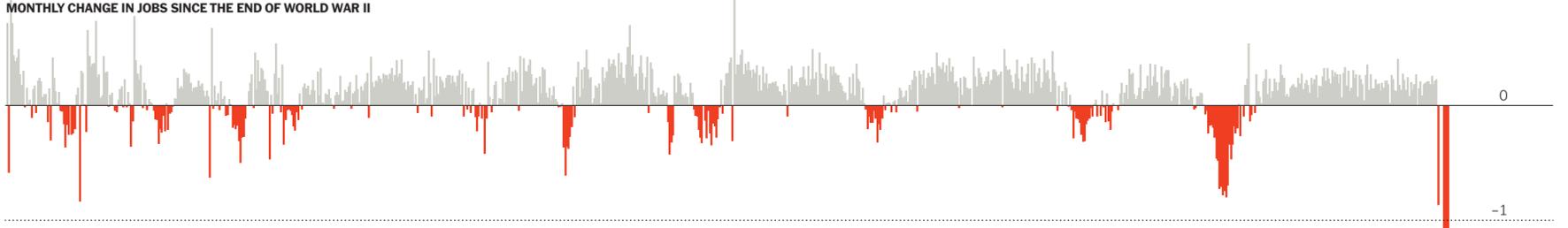
Indiana Jones in a Miniskirt

Iris Love, a celebrity archaeologist, had a second career breeding Westminster champions. She was 86.

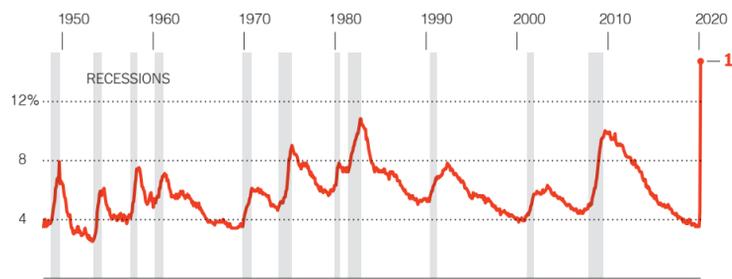


U.S. UNEMPLOYMENT IS WORST SINCE DEPRESSION

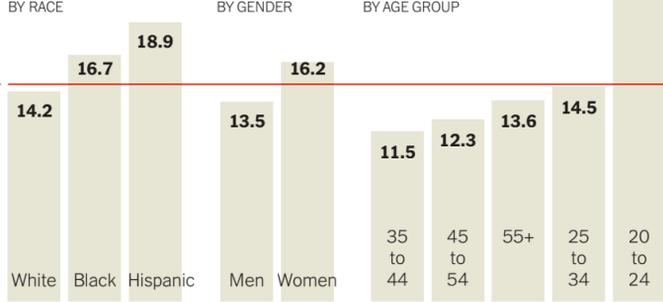
| 1946 | '50 | '55 | '60 | '65 | '70 | '75 | '80 | '85 | '90 | '95 | '00 | '05 | '10 | '15 | '20 | +1 million



NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE



APRIL UNEMPLOYMENT



Georgia Killing Puts Spotlight on a Police Force's Troubled History

This article is by Rick Rojas, Richard Fausset and Serge F. Kovaleski.

BRUNSWICK, Ga. — When the Glynn County Police Department arrived at the scene of a fatal shooting in February in southeastern Georgia, officers encountered a former colleague with the victim's blood on his hands.

They took down his version of events and let him and his adult son, who had fired the shots, go home.

Later that day, Wanda Cooper, the mother of the 25-year-old victim, Ahmaud Arbery, received a call from a police investigator. She recounted later that the investiga-

tor said her son had been involved in a burglary and was killed by "the homeowner," an inaccurate version of what had happened.

More than two months after that fatal confrontation, the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, which took over the case this week, arrested the former officer, Gregory McMichael, and his son, Travis McMichael, on charges of murder and aggravated assault.

The charges — which came after the release of a graphic video showing the killing as the two white men confront Mr. Arbery, who was African-American — made clear the depths of the local department's bungling of the

Long Path to Arrests of Ex-Officer and Son in Black Man's Death

case, which was just the latest in a series of troubling episodes involving its officers.

And it was one element of the broader potential breakdown of the justice system in South Georgia. Attorney General Chris Carr, through a spokeswoman, said on Friday that he planned to start a review of all of the relevant players in that system.

Mr. Carr's office has already determined that George E. Barnhill, a district attorney who was assigned the case in February but recused himself late last month, should have never taken it on. Among his many conflicts: His son once worked alongside one of the suspects at the local prosecutor's office.

S. Lee Merritt, a lawyer representing Mr. Arbery's family, has called for a federal civil rights investigation focused not only on the men who pursued Mr. Arbery, but the broader justice system.

"It's small-town America," Mr. Merritt said in an interview on

Continued on Page A21

April's Rate of 14.7% Touches All Parts of Economy

By NELSON D. SCHWARTZ and BEN CASSELMAN

The American economy plunged deeper into crisis last month, losing 20.5 million jobs as the unemployment rate jumped to 14.7 percent, the worst devastation since the Great Depression.

The Labor Department's monthly report on Friday provided the clearest picture yet of the breadth and depth of the economic damage — and how swiftly it spread — as the coronavirus pandemic swept the country.

Job losses have encompassed the entire economy, affecting every major industry. Areas like leisure and hospitality had the biggest losses in April, but even health care shed more than a million jobs. Low-wage workers, including many women and members of racial and ethnic minorities, have been hit especially hard.

"It's literally off the charts," said Michelle Meyer, head of U.S. economics at Bank of America. "What would typically take months or quarters to play out in a recession happened in a matter of weeks this time."

From almost any vantage point, it was a bleak report. The share of the adult population with a job, at 51.3 percent, was the lowest on record. Nearly 11 million people reported working part time because they couldn't find full-time work, up from about four million before the pandemic.

If anything, the numbers probably understate the economic distress.

Millions more Americans have filed unemployment claims since the data was collected in mid-April. What's more, because of issues with the way workers are classified, the Labor Department said the actual unemployment rate last month might have been closer to 20 percent.

It remains possible that the recovery, too, will be swift, and that as the pandemic retreats, businesses that were fundamentally healthy before the virus will reopen, rehire and return more or less to normal. The one bright spot in Friday's report was that nearly 80 percent of the unemployed said they had been temporarily laid off and expected to return to their jobs in the coming months.

President Trump endorsed this view in an interview Friday morning on Fox News. "Those jobs will all be back, and they'll be back

Continued on Page A13

THE FACES A look at 21 people in various fields who have lost their jobs during the pandemic. PAGE B5

NEWS ANALYSIS

In Flynn Case, Russia Inquiry Is Barr's Target

By MARK MAZZETTI

WASHINGTON — Shortly after admitting guilt to a federal judge in December 2017 for lying to the F.B.I., Michael T. Flynn issued a statement saying what he did was wrong, and "through my faith in God, I am working to set things right."

It turns out that the only higher power that Mr. Flynn needed was Attorney General William P. Barr.

Mr. Barr's extraordinary decision to drop the criminal case against Mr. Flynn shocked legal experts, won President Trump's praise and prompted a career prosecutor to quit the case. It was the latest in Mr. Barr's steady effort to undo the results of the investigation by Robert S. Mueller III, the special counsel. Mr. Barr has portrayed his effort as rectifying injustice, and the president more bluntly as an exercise in political payback.

In his decisions and public comments over the past year, Mr. Barr has built an alternate narrative to the one that Mr. Mueller laid out in his voluminous report. Where the special counsel focused on Russia's expansive effort to interfere in the 2016 election, the Trump campaign's openness to it and the president's determination to impede the inquiry, Mr. Barr has focused instead on the investigators. He has suggested that they were unleashed by law enforcement and intelligence officials bent on bringing political harm to Mr. Trump.

Continued on Page A20

WHITE HOUSE MEMO

If West Wing Still Isn't Safe, Is Any Office?

By PETER BAKER and MICHAEL CROWLEY

WASHINGTON — In his eagerness to reopen the country, President Trump faces the challenge of convincing Americans that it would be safe to go back to the workplace. But the past few days have demonstrated that even his own workplace may not be safe from the coronavirus.

Vice President Mike Pence's press secretary tested positive for the virus on Friday, forcing a delay in the departure of Air Force Two while a half-dozen other members of his staff were taken off the plane for further testing. That came only a day after word that one of the president's own military valets had been infected.

All of which raised an obvious question: If it is so hard to maintain a healthy environment at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, the most famous office address in the world, where staff members are tested regularly, some every day, then how can businesses across the country without anywhere near as much access to the same resources establish a safe space for their workers?

"The virus is in the White House, any way you look at it," said Juliette Kayyem, a former assistant secretary of homeland security under President Barack Obama. "Whether it's contained or not, we will know soon enough. But the fact that a place — secured, with access to the best means to mitigate harm — is not able to stop the virus has

Continued on Page A10



A Mexico City crematory. Regional virus deaths are officially low.

As Official Toll Ignores Reality, Mexico's Hospitals Are Overrun

By AZAM AHMED

MEXICO CITY — The Mexican government is not reporting hundreds, possibly thousands, of deaths from the coronavirus in Mexico City, dismissing anxious officials who have tallied more than three times as many fatalities in the capital than the government publicly acknowledges, according to officials and confidential data reviewed by The New York Times.

The tensions have come to a head in recent weeks, with Mexico City alerting the government to the deaths repeatedly, hoping it will come clean to the public about the true toll of the virus on the nation's biggest city and, by extension, the country at large.

But that has not happened. Doctors in overwhelmed hospitals in Mexico City say the reality of the epidemic is being hidden from the country. In some hospitals, pa-

tients lie on the floor, splayed on mattresses. Elderly people are propped up on metal chairs because there are not enough beds, while patients are turned away to search for space in less-prepared hospitals. Many die while searching, several doctors said.

"It's like we doctors are living in two different worlds," said Dr. Giovanna Avila, who works at Hospital de Especialidades Belisario Dominguez. "One is inside of the hospital with patients dying all the time. And the other is when we walk out onto the streets and see people walking around, clueless of what is going on and how bad the situation really is."

Mexico City officials have tabulated more than 2,500 deaths from the virus and serious respiratory illnesses that doctors suspect are related to Covid-19, the data re-

Continued on Page A7



TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-15

A Walk a Day to Get By

We asked readers to share their experiences with the walks they are taking while living under quarantine. PAGE A14

Moscow's Paused Celebration

As it prepared to honor those lost in World War II, Russia decided to protect lives against the current threat. PAGE A6

NATIONAL A18-21

G.O.P. Convention Qualms

The president craves a nationally televised coronation, but North Carolina may not be fully open by August. PAGE A18

Politics and the Justice Dept.

Across the country, rank-and-file prosecutors cringed at the pardon of Michael T. Flynn, another extraordinary intervention by the attorney general. PAGE A20

INTERNATIONAL A16-17

Banker Shakes Up Suriname

Steven Coutinho, railing against government theft, is insisting on accountability. The Saturday Profile. PAGE A16



SPORTSSATURDAY B9-11

A Good Walk, Unspoiled

Golf courses are open nationwide, providing a respite from the claustrophobia of stay-at-home orders. PAGE B9

Anyone Up to Shoot Hoops?

Half of the N.B.A.'s 30 teams were cleared to open for practice, but only two did as a league largely remained cautious. PAGE B10

ARTS C1-7

New York's Return to the Arts

Under the governor's reopening plan, theaters, museums and community art centers upstate will open well before city venues. Will visitors come? PAGE C1

A Shot at Stardom, Revised

"American Idol" and "The Voice," usually oversize spectacles, have become test cases for TV under lockdown. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Timothy Egan

PAGE A26



20,500,000 jobs lost in April



Where New Yorkers Moved to Escape Coronavirus

In April, when the coronavirus took hold in New York City, residents made twice as many mail-forwarding requests as a year earlier, including many in affluent neighborhoods. Arrows show the top destinations and indicate the proportion of requests to each place. Page A13.

Source: U.S. Postal Service

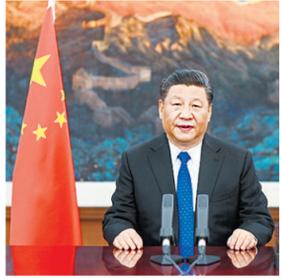
SCOTT REINHARD/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Virus Dispute Overshadows Health Forum

This article is by Andrew Jacobs, Michael D. Shear and Edward Wong.

A meeting of the World Health Organization that was supposed to chart a path for the world to combat the coronavirus pandemic instead on Monday turned into a showcase for the escalating tensions between China and the United States over the virus. President Xi Jinping of China announced at the start of the forum that Beijing would donate \$2 billion toward fighting the coronavirus and dispatch doctors and medical supplies to Africa and other countries in the developing world.

The contribution, to be spent over two years, amounts to more than twice what the United States



LI XUEREN/XINHUA, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS President Xi Jinping addressed the World Health Assembly.

had been giving the global health agency before President Trump cut off American funding last month, and it could catapult China to the forefront of international efforts to contain a disease that has claimed at least 315,000 lives.

But it was also seen — particularly by American officials — as an attempt by China to forestall closer scrutiny of whether it hid information about the outbreak to the world.

Mr. Xi made his announcement by videoconference to the World Health Assembly, an annual decision-making meeting of the W.H.O. that is being conducted virtually this year because of safety considerations during the pandemic. Mr. Trump declined to address the two-day gathering, providing the Chinese president an opening to be one of the first world leaders to address the 194 member states.

"In China, after making painstaking efforts and sacrifice, we

Continued on Page A9

Wary Treasury May Constrain Economy's Rise

By JEANNA SMIALEK and ALAN RAPPEPORT

As the United States plunges into the worst economic downturn in decades, there is growing concern that the Federal Reserve and the Treasury are being too timid and halting in their approach as they scramble to rescue the economy.

On Monday, a report from the congressional commission overseeing the Fed and Treasury's efforts pointed out that most of the \$500 billion that Congress allocated in March to the Treasury to support businesses and local governments had yet to be used and raised questions about how the rescue programs would work. The Treasury Department has yet to extend any of the \$46 billion it was given to support airlines and national security-related companies and the Fed, whose newer and riskier lending programs are meant to be backstopped with the remaining \$454 billion, has just one such program underway.

While the bipartisan report was more questioning than critical, it comes as lawmakers and economists are beginning to suggest that the two policymakers at the helm of saving the economy, Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin and the Fed chair, Jerome H. Powell, may be proceeding too cautiously.

Mr. Mnuchin and Mr. Powell have been given buckets of money to gird the economy as the coronavirus lockdowns continue, tanking revenues and heightening the risk of long-term economic damage. When the pandemic eventually recedes, the trajectory of the recovery will largely depend on whether the federal government went to the necessary lengths to keep businesses and households afloat.

Mr. Mnuchin has resisted taking on too much risk, mindful of the optics involved in bailing out large companies or those already heavily indebted. He has said he does not expect to lose the money that Congress has handed him to support emergency lending, which could be driving the Fed to be more cautious. While Mr. Mnuchin has said the Treasury could take losses if the economy worsens, his base case scenario is that it will return all \$454 billion.

"I think it's pretty clear if Congress wanted me to lose all of the money, that money would have been designed as subsidies and

Continued on Page A10

Young and Already Behind, Maybe for Life, in Job Market

By EDUARDO PORTER and DAVID YAFFE-BELLANY

Matthew Henderson couldn't be entering the job market at a worse time. As a senior at Loyola University, he spent the spring semester interning as a trade policy analyst at the British Consulate in Chicago. But his chances of turning that opportunity into a permanent job ran headlong into the coronavirus pandemic.

Now Mr. Henderson is at home with his family in South Bend, Ind., unemployed and considering jobs at Costco and Target to help pay off \$24,000 in student loans. "I'm in this bubble of anxiety," said Mr. Henderson, who just turned 21. "I have to pay these, but I have no money to pay them."

Saddled with debt, and entering a job market devastated by the pandemic, he and millions of his

contemporaries face an exceptionally dicey future.

Young adults, especially those without a college degree, are particularly vulnerable in recessions. They are new to the job market — with scant on-the-job experience and little or no seniority to protect them from layoffs. A large body of research — along with the experience of those who came of age in the last recession — shows that young people trying to start their careers during an economic crisis are at a lasting disadvantage. Their wages, opportunities and confidence in the workplace may never fully recover.

And in the worst downturn in generations — one with no bottom in sight — the pattern is beginning

Continued on Page A10



LAETITIA VANCON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Arriving by Airlift to Tend to the Fields

While land borders remain closed, German farmers are flying in thousands of workers. Page A16.

G.O.P. Plans Stronger Role in Who Gets to Vote

By MICHAEL WINES

WASHINGTON — Six months before a presidential election in which turnout could matter more than persuasion, the Republican Party, the Trump campaign and conservative activists are mounting an aggressive national effort to shape who gets to vote in November — and whose ballots are

counted.

Its premise is that a Republican victory in November is imperiled by widespread voter fraud, a baseless charge embraced by President Trump but repeatedly debunked by research. Democrats and voting rights advocates say the driving factor is politics, not fraud — especially since Mr. Trump's narrow win in 2016 undercut the potentially crucial

value of depressing turnout by Democrats, particularly minorities.

The Republican program, which has gained steam in recent weeks, envisions recruiting up to 50,000 volunteers in 15 key states to monitor polling places and challenge ballots and voters deemed suspicious. That is part of a \$20 million plan that also allots mil-

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Vaccine's Early Test Result Elevates Hopes and Stocks

Trial Appears Safe, but on Only 8 People — Wall Street Has Best Day in 6 Weeks

By DENISE GRADY

The first coronavirus vaccine to be tested in people appears to be safe and able to stimulate an immune response against the infection, the manufacturer, Moderna, announced on Monday, offering a glint of hope to a world desperate for ways to stop the pandemic.

The preliminary findings, in the first eight people who each received two doses of the experimental vaccine, must now be repeated in far larger tests in hundreds and then thousands of people, to find out if the vaccine can work in the real world. Moderna's technology, involving genetic material from the virus called mRNA, is relatively new and has yet to produce any approved vaccine.

The promising early news sent Moderna's stock soaring by more than 25 percent on Monday afternoon and helped drive Wall Street to its best day in six weeks. Stocks were also lifted by statements from the Federal Reserve chair, Jerome H. Powell, that the central bank would continue to support the economy and markets.

Trading on Monday had all of the characteristics of a rally focused on prospects for a return to normal: The S&P 500 rose more than 3 percent; stock benchmarks in Europe were 4 percent to 6 percent higher; and oil prices also jumped. Among the best performers in the S&P 500 were travel-related companies, like United Airlines, Expedia Group and Marriott International.

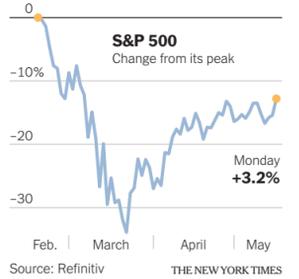
With the weather warming and state after state starting to lift lockdown restrictions, Americans are eager to regain their freedom to shop, go to the beach and enjoy bars and restaurants. Still, more than 1,000 people died most days last week in the United States.

Vaccines are now seen as the best and perhaps only hope of stopping or even slowing a disease that has sickened nearly five million people worldwide, killed 315,000 and locked down entire countries, paralyzing their economies.

Dozens of companies and uni-

versities are rushing to create coronavirus vaccines, and human trials have already started for several manufacturers, including Pfizer and its German partner BioNTech, the Chinese company CanSino and the University of Oxford, which is working with AstraZeneca.

Experts agree that it is essential to develop multiple vaccines, because the urgent global need for billions of doses will far outstrip the production capacity of any one manufacturer. But there is widespread concern among scientists that haste could compromise safety, resulting in a vaccine that does not work or even harms pa-



Source: Refinitiv THE NEW YORK TIMES

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tients. The potential strength of Moderna's mRNA approach to vaccine making is that it uses a genetic framework that can be quickly adapted for each new viral threat. The company has said that it is proceeding on an accelerated timetable, with a second phase of tests involving 600 people to begin soon, and a third phase to begin in July involving thousands of healthy people. The Food and Drug Administration gave Moderna the go-ahead this month for the second phase.

If those trials go well, some doses of a vaccine could become available for widespread use by the end of this year or early 2021, Dr. Tal Zaks, Moderna's chief medical officer, said in an interview.

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President Says He Takes Drug Deemed a Risk

By ANNIE KARNI and KATIE THOMAS

WASHINGTON — President Trump said on Monday that he had been taking hydroxychloroquine, an antimalarial drug the Food and Drug Administration warned could cause serious heart problems for coronavirus patients. He said he was taking the drug as a preventive measure and continued to test negative for the coronavirus.

"All I can tell you is so far I seem to be OK," Mr. Trump said, adding that he had been taking the drug for about a week and a half, with the approval of the White House physician. "I get a lot of tremendously positive news on the hydroxy," Mr. Trump continued, explaining that his decision to try the drug was based on one of his favorite refrains: "What do you have to lose?"

But Mr. Trump's announcement surprised many of his aides and drew immediate criticism from a range of medical experts, who warned not just of the dangers it posed for the president's health but also of the example it set.

"My concern would be that the public not hear comments about the use of hydroxychloroquine and believe that taking this drug to prevent Covid-19 infection is

Continued on Page A11

NATIONAL A19-25

Gunman Had Qaeda Links

A Saudi cadet who killed three sailors at a Florida military base in December had been in regular contact with the terrorist group, officials said. PAGE A21

Dismissing 'Obamagate' Plot

The attorney general said an investigation into the Russia inquiry was not focused on Barack Obama. PAGE A20

INTERNATIONAL A16-18

Israeli Settler Guilty of Murder

Amiram Ben-Uliel, 25, faces a life sentence for an arson assault widely condemned as terrorism. PAGE A16



TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-15

Bikes Are in Short Supply

The U.S. faces a bicycle shortage because of anxiety over public transportation and a thirst for exercise. PAGE A12

Our Cinematic Discomfort

If modern life in America were a movie, Dan Barry writes, it would be called "Closed Until Further Notice." PAGE A8

BUSINESS B1-6

TikTok Lures Disney Stalwart

Kevin Mayer will lead the popular Chinese-owned app for making and sharing short videos. PAGE B1

SPORTSTUESDAY B7-9

A Spring Training Home

Seth Blair opened his Scottsdale, Ariz., backyard to other players without access to baseball facilities. PAGE B7

OBITUARIES B10-12

The Face of Eddie Haskell

Ken Osmond, 76, played the smarmy friend on "Leave It to Beaver." PAGE B11

ARTS C1-7

Street Art for a Pandemic

Across the world, artists with spray cans and other tools of the trade are depicting an era of masks and handwashing. A recurrent theme: an appreciation of health care workers. PAGE C2

Habitually Oblivious

Fred Willard played daffy characters who were exaggerated extensions of himself, but he also excelled outside the comic realm. Jennifer Vineyard looks back at some of his best roles. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Richard Flanagan

PAGE A27



SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Don't Tread on Them

Vehicular traffic is way down during the shutdown, which is very good news for salamanders and other amphibians looking to migrate safely. PAGE D2





POOL PHOTO BY ANDY WONG

President Xi Jinping of China, maskless at left, in Beijing on Thursday. Protests in Hong Kong are seen as a direct challenge to Mr. Xi.

CHINA MAKES MOVE TO QUASH DISSENT INSIDE HONG KONG

Plan to Undercut Region's Civil Liberties Risks a Revival of Violent Protests

This article is by Keith Bradsher, Austin Ramzy and Tiffany May.

BEIJING — China signaled on Thursday that it would move forward with laws that would take aim at antigovernment protests and other dissent in Hong Kong. It is the clearest message yet that the Communist Party is moving to undermine the civil liberties the semiautonomous territory has known since the 1997 British handoff.

The proposal to enact new security laws affecting Hong Kong was announced ahead of the annual meeting of China's legislature, which is expected to approve a broad outline of the plan. While specifics of the proposal were not immediately disclosed, the rules could be harsher than anything Hong Kong's pro-Beijing government has done to curb opposition to the mainland.

The freedoms that have distinguished Hong Kong from the mainland, like an unfettered judiciary and freedom of assembly, have helped the former British colony prosper as a global city of commerce and capital. But the proposal raised the possibility that the Beijing government would damage the "one country, two systems" policy that has ensured such liberties since the territory was reclaimed by China.

The plan also revives the threat of violent demonstrations that convulsed the city for months and risks worsening China's deteriorating relationship with the Trump administration, which said the United States would respond strongly to any crackdown in Hong Kong.

In the Communist Party's view, tightened security laws in Hong Kong are necessary to protect China from external forces determined to impinge on its sovereignty. The legislation would give Beijing the power to counter the Hong Kong protests, which are seen as a blatant challenge to the party and to China's leader, Xi Jinping.

Security rules proposed by the Hong Kong government in 2003 would have empowered the authorities to close seditious newspapers and conduct searches without warrants. That proposal was abandoned after it set off large protests.

This time, China is effectively circumventing the Hong Kong government, undercutting the relative autonomy granted to the territory. Instead, it is going through China's rubber stamp legislature, the National People's Congress, which holds its annual session starting Friday.

Zhang Yesui, spokesman for the National People's Congress, said at a news briefing on Thursday that delegates would review a plan to create a legal framework and enforcement mechanism for safeguarding national security in Hong Kong. He did not elaborate.

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Another 2.4 Million Jobs Vanish, And Many May Be Gone Forever

By PATRICIA COHEN

Even as states begin to reopen for business, a further 2.4 million workers joined the nation's unemployment rolls last week, and there is growing concern among economists that many of the lost jobs are gone for good.

The Labor Department's report of new jobless claims, released Thursday, brought the total to 38.6 million since mid-March, when the coronavirus outbreak forced widespread shutdowns.

While workers and their employers have expressed optimism that most of the joblessness will be temporary, many who are studying the pandemic's impact are increasingly worried about the employment situation.

"I hate to say it, but this is going to take longer and look grimmer than we thought," Nicholas Bloom, an economist at Stanford University, said of the path to recovery.

Mr. Bloom is a co-author of an

Some Analysts Forecast a Fundamental Shift

analysis that estimates 42 percent of recent layoffs will result in permanent job loss.

"Firms intend to hire these people back," he said, referring to a recent survey of businesses by the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta. "But we know from the past that these aspirations often don't turn out to be true."

The precariousness of the path ahead was underscored Thursday by the Federal Reserve chair, Jerome H. Powell. "We are now experiencing a whole new level of uncertainty, as questions only the virus can answer complicate the outlook," he said in remarks for delivery at an online forum.

The economy that does come back is likely to look quite different from the one that closed. If so

Continued on Page A11

In Testing Chaos, Some Labs Drowned While Others Sat Idle

By KATIE THOMAS

When a stay-at-home order in March all but closed the revered labs of the gene-editing pioneer Jennifer Doudna, her team at the University of California, Berkeley, dropped everything and started testing for the coronavirus.

They expected their institute to be inundated with samples since it was offering the service at no charge, with support from philanthropies. But there were few takers.

Instead, the scientists learned, many local hospitals and doctors' offices continued sending samples to national laboratory companies — like LabCorp and Quest Diagnostics — even though, early on, patients had to wait a week or more for results. The bureaucratic hurdles of quickly switching to a new lab were just too high.

"It's still amazing to me, like, how can that be the case, that there is not a more systematic way to address a central need?"

Bureaucratic Obstacles Favor a Few Giants

said Fyodor Urnov, the scientist who oversaw the transformation of the Innovative Genomics Institute into a clinical laboratory.

The inability of the United States to provide broad diagnostic testing, widely seen as a pivotal failing in the nation's effort to contain the virus, has been traced to the botched rollout by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the tardy response by the Food and Drug Administration, and supply shortages of swabs and masks.

Yet one major impediment to testing has been largely overlooked: the fragmented, poorly organized American health care system, which made it difficult for hospitals and other medical providers to quickly overcome ob-

Continued on Page A5

The Racial Divide of Nursing Home Outbreaks

This article is a collaboration among The New York Times, The Baltimore Sun, KPPC/LAist and The Southern Illinoisian.

In the suburbs of Baltimore, workers at one nursing home said they were given rain ponchos to protect from infection. Twenty-seven employees at the facility, where most residents are African-American, tested positive for the coronavirus.

One of the many black residents of a nursing home in Belleville, Ill., died in April amid a coronavirus outbreak. But his niece complained that he was never tested for the virus.

In East Los Angeles, a staff member at a predominantly Latino nursing home where an outbreak emerged said she was given swimming goggles before professional gear could be obtained. She said she later tested positive for the virus.

The coronavirus pandemic has devastated the nation's nursing homes, sickening staff members, ravaging residents and contributing to at least 20 percent of the nation's Covid-19 death toll. The impact has been felt in cities and suburbs, in large facilities and small, in poorly rated homes and in those with stellar marks.



WHITNEY CURTIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Bria of Belleville, a rehabilitation and nursing facility in Illinois.

But Covid-19 has been particularly virulent toward African-Americans and Latinos: Nursing homes where those groups make up a significant portion of the residents — no matter their location, no matter their size, no matter their government rating — have been twice as likely to get hit by the coronavirus as those where the population is overwhelmingly

white. More than 60 percent of nursing homes where at least a quarter of the residents are black or Latino have reported at least one coronavirus case, a New York Times analysis shows. That is double the rate of homes where black and Latino people make up less than 5 percent of the population. And in

Continued on Page A8

No SAT or ACT For University Of California

By SHAWN HUBLER

SACRAMENTO — The University of California on Thursday voted to phase out the SAT and ACT as requirements to apply to its system of 10 schools, which include some of the nation's most popular campuses, in a decision with major implications for the use of standardized tests in college admissions.

Given the size and influence of the California system, whose marquee schools include the University of California, Los Angeles, and the University of California, Berkeley, the move is expected to accelerate the momentum of American colleges away from the tests, amid charges that they are unfair to poor, black and Hispanic students.

The school system's action, which follows many small liberal arts colleges, comes as the ACT and the College Board, a nonprofit organization that administers the SAT, are suffering financially from the cancellation of test dates during the coronavirus pandemic.

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KM ASAD/REUTERS

Cyclone Kills 80

Satkhira, Bangladesh, on Thursday. The worst damage from the storm was reported in the Indian state of West Bengal. Page A15.

Trump, Diverting Virus Blame, Points Finger at a Messenger

By JULIAN E. BARNES and ADAM GOLDMAN

WASHINGTON — President Trump has blamed many others for his administration's flawed response to the coronavirus: China, governors, the Obama administration, the World Health Organization. In recent weeks, he has also faulted the information he received from an obscure analyst who delivers his intelligence briefings.

Mr. Trump has insisted that the intelligence agencies gave him inadequate warnings about the threat of the virus, describing it as "not a big deal." Intelligence officials have publicly backed him, acknowledging that Beth Sanner, the analyst who regularly briefs the president, underplayed the dangers when she first mentioned

Intelligence Reports for a Restless Recipient

the virus to him on Jan. 23. But in blaming Ms. Sanner, a C.I.A. analyst with three decades of experience, Mr. Trump ignored a host of warnings he received around that time from higher-ranking officials, epidemiologists, scientists, biodefense officials, other national security aides and the news media about the virus's growing threat. Mr. Trump's own health secretary had alerted him five days earlier to the potential seriousness of the virus.

By the time of the Jan. 23 intelligence briefing, many government officials were already alarmed by

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NATIONAL A17-25

Dams vs. Climate Change

Engineers fear there may be more failures like the one this week in Michigan as the world gets warmer. PAGE A20

Trump to Leave Arms Pact

The president has decided to tell Russia that the United States will withdraw from the Open Skies Treaty. PAGE A20

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-13

Quiet Istanbul, but Busy Bakers

A strict weekend curfew leaves the Turkish city's streets mostly empty, but the ovens of the baklava makers are full of life. Istanbul Dispatch. PAGE A10

Distancing at the Jersey Shore

A 130-mile coastline that is an economic engine and a cultural touchstone has had its usual rhythms upended. PAGE A13

INTERNATIONAL A14-16

Saudi Intimidation Alleged

Relatives of an ex-intelligence official who has hidden in Canada since 2017 were arrested in Riyadh. PAGE A14

BUSINESS B1-7

Robots That Lean on Humans

A scientist argues that the quest for fully automated robots is misguided, perhaps even dangerous. His decades of warnings are gaining attention. PAGE B1

Facebook to Keep Remote Work

The move is a dramatic change from an office-centric culture. But there's a catch: Salaries are likely to change to match local costs of living. PAGE B1

Layoffs at The Atlantic

Despite the addition of 90,000 subscribers since March, the venerable publication said it would eliminate 68 jobs, or 17 percent of its staff. PAGE B1



WEEKEND ARTS C1-16

Pages That'll Take You Away

This summer's reading list will have to do a little more than usual to help us escape our surroundings. PAGE C1

Bringing Digital Plays to Life

Watching theater online can feel like a pale imitation of being there, but some technologies are changing that. PAGE C4

SPORTSFRIDAY B8-9

All Eyes Are on Woods's Back

Facing health questions and a shrinking window of opportunity, Tiger Woods is set to return to competition. PAGE B8

The Doubtful Games

With 14 months to go before the rescheduled Tokyo Olympics, everything about them is uncertain. PAGE B9

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Tim Morrison

PAGE A27



U.S. DEATHS NEAR 100,000, AN INCALCULABLE LOSS

They Were Not Simply Names on a List. They Were Us.

Numbers alone cannot possibly measure the impact of the coronavirus on America, whether it is the number of patients treated, jobs interrupted or lives cut short. As the country nears a grim milestone of 100,000 deaths attributed to the virus, *The New York Times* scoured obituaries and death notices of the victims. The 1,000 people here reflect just 1 percent of the toll. None were mere numbers.

Patricia Dowd, 57, San Jose, Calif., auditor in Silicon Valley • **Marion Krueger**, 85, Kirkland, Wash., great-grandmother with an easy laugh • **Jermaine Ferro**, 77, Lee County, Fla., wife with little time to enjoy a new marriage • **Cornelius Lawyer**, 84, Bellevue, Wash., sharecropper's son • **Loretta Mendoza Dionisio**, 68, Los Angeles, cancer survivor born in the Philippines • **Patricia Frieson**, 61, Chicago, former nurse • **Luis Juarez**, 54, Romeoville, Ill., traveled often in the United States and Mexico • **Merle C. Dry**, 55, Tulsa, Okla., ordained minister • **Alan Lund**, 81, Washington, conductor with "the most amazing ear" • **Black N Mild**, 44, New Orleans, bounce D.J. and radio personality • **Michael Mika**, 73, Chicago, Vietnam veteran • **John Cofrancesco**, 52, New Jersey, administrator at a nursing facility • **Donald Raymond Haws**, 88, Jacksonville, Fla., administered Holy Eucharist to hospital patients • **Fred Walter Gray**, 75, Benton County, Wash., liked his bacon and hash browns crispy • **JoAnn Stokes-Smith**, 87, Charleston, S.C., loved to travel and covered much of the globe • **Ronald W. Lewis**, 68, New Orleans, preserver of that city's performance traditions • **John-Sebastian Laird-Hammond**, 59, Washington, D.C., member of a Franciscan monastery • **Carl Redd**, 62, Chicago, squeezed in every moment he could with his only grandchild • **Larry Rathgeb**, 90, West Bloomfield Hills, Mich., engineer behind the first 200-m.p.h. stock car • **Alvin Elton**, 56, Chicago, followed in his father's footsteps as a pipefitter • **Arnold Obey**, 73, San Juan, Puerto Rico, educator and marathoner • **Donald J. Horsfall**, 72, Rydal, Pa., co-wrote nine books about computing • **Kevin Charles Patz**, 64, Seattle, active in the AIDS Foundation • **Mike Longo**, 83, New York City, jazz pianist, composer and educator • **Walter Robb**, 91, New York, former General Electric Co. executive • **Dave Edwards**, 48, New York City, college basketball assist wizard • **Dez-Ann Romain**, 36, New York City, innovative high school principal • **Laneeka Banksdale**, 47, Detroit, ballroom dancing star • **Carole Brookins**, 76, Palm Beach, Fla., early woman on Wall Street and a World Bank official • **George Freeman Winfield**, 72, Shelburne, Vt., could make anything grow • **Harold L. Upjohn**, 91, Burlingame, Calif., conducted clinical research at Walter Reed Army Medical Center • **Terrence McNally**, 81, Sarasota, Fla., Tony-winning playwright of gay life • **Joseph Graham**, 67, Chicago, school custodian • **Theresa Elloie**, 63, New Orleans, renowned for her business making detailed pins and corsages • **Sterling Maddox Jr.**, 78, Arlington, Va., developer known for his friendliness • **Alan Finder**, 72, Ridgewood, N.J., unflappable New York Times journalist • **Floyd Cardoz**, 59, Montclair, N.J., Indian chef of fine dining • **Kious Kelly**, 48, New York City, nurse in the Covid fight • **Romi Cohn**, 91, New York City, saved 56 Jewish families from the Gestapo • **Kenneth R. Going**, 87, Grafton, Wis., Green Bay Packers season ticket holder for 50 years • **Frederick Carl Harris**, 70, Massachusetts, an exuberant laugh • **Irvin Herman**, 94, Indianapolis, Army man modest about his service in the Pacific • **Ricardo Castaneda**, 64, New York City, caricaturist and psychiatrist who served his patients until the end • **Mark Blum**, 69, New York City, Obie Award-winning stage and screen actor • **Robert Earl Schaefer**, 87, Seattle, radiologist, woodworker, artist and scholar • **John C. West Jr.**, 71, Camden, S.C., avid observer and participant in South Carolina politics • **Gerald Anthony Morales**, 91, Louisiana, an encyclopedic knowledge of old Hollywood • **Landon Spradlin**, 66, Concord, N.C., preacher and blues guitarist • **Maria Linda Villanueva Sun**, 61, Newport News, Va., organized food programs for children in the Philippines • **Susan Rokus**, 73, Hamilton, Virginia, reading tutor focused on student success • **Freddy Rodriguez Sr.**, 89, Denver, played the saxophone at Denver's oldest jazz club for 40 years • **Christine McLaurin**, 66, Chicago, never at a loss for words • **Peggy Rakestraw**, 72, Matteson, Ill., loved reading, especially mystery novels • **Wanda Bailey**, 63, Crete, Ill., one of nine siblings • **Rocco Patrick Ursino**, 90, Bellevue, Wash., preceded in death by his wife of 65 years • **Sandy Pratt**, 92, Bellevue, Wash., engineer forever chasing the wind • **Leroy Perryman Jr.**, 74, Hazel Crest, Ill., ultimate entertainer • **Mary Virginia McKeon**, 65, Chicago, devoured art in every medium • **Roger Lehne**, 93, Fargo, N.D., could be a

real joker • **Michael Sorokin**, 71, New York City, champion of social justice through architecture • **George Valentine**, 66, Washington, D.C., lawyer who mentored others • **James Quigley**, 77, Chicago, rebel of the family • **Sherman Pittman**, 61, Chicago, dedicated his life to his church and his neighborhood • **Susan McPherson Gottsegen**, 74, Palm Beach, Fla., loyal and generous friend to many • **Andreas Koutsoudakis**, 59, New York City, trailblazer for TriBeCa • **Bob Barnum**, 64, St. Petersburg, Fla., leader in Florida Pride events • **Noel Sinkiat**, 64, Olney, Md., nurse planning for retirement • **Thomas E. Anglin**, 85, Cumming, Ga., created many wonderful memories for his family • **Robert Manley Argo Jr.**, 75, South Bay, Calif., member of Del Amo Flyers • **Michael McKinnell**, 84, Beverly, Mass., architect of Boston's monumental City Hall • **Huguette Dorsey**, 94, Somerville, N.J., coached several championship-winning junior high girls basketball teams • **Lynne Sierra**, 68, Roselle, Ill., grandmother who was always full of ideas • **Louvenia Henderson**, 44, Tonawanda, N.Y., proud single mother of three • **Carol Sue Rubin**, 69, West Bloomfield, Mich., loved travel, mahjong and crossword puzzles • **Marion Lucille Kujda**, 92, Royal Oak, Mich., would use chalk and oil paints to capture family portraits • **Alice Chavdarian**, 92, Michigan, loving, generous and adventurous spirit • **Bassey Offiong**, 25, Michigan, saw friends at their worst but brought out their best • **Bobby Joseph Hebert**, 81, Cut Off, La., a 33-year career with the Louisiana Department of Transportation • **Minette Goff Cooper**, 79, Louisiana, loved big and told people she loved them all the time • **Jéssica Beatriz Cortez**, 32, Los Angeles, immigrated to the United States three years ago • **Marie Conania**, 84, Inwood, N.Y., iconic figure in the Inwood community • **April Dunn**, 33, Baton Rouge, La., advocate for disability rights • **Cedric Dixon**, 48, New York City, police detective in Harlem with a gift for interrogation • **William Helmeich**, 74, Great Neck, N.Y., sociologist who walked New York City • **Harvey Bayard**, 88, New York, grew up directly across the street from the old Yankee Stadium • **Maxwell M. Mozell**, 90, Syracuse, N.Y., founded the Association for Chemoreception Sciences • **Timothy J. Liszewski**, 60, Columbia, S.C., active member of the South Carolina Progressive Network • **Eastern Stewart Jr.**, 71, Annapolis, Md., veteran with a gift for peacemaking • **Freda Ocran**, 51, New York City, nurse with a zest for travel and knowledge • **Douglas Hickok**, 57, Pennsylvania, military's first virus casualty • **Luiza Ogorodnik**, 84, Skokie, Ill., emigrated from Ukraine • **Thomas A. Real**, 61, Newtown, Pa., was at peace on his Harley • **Julian Anguiano-Maya**, 51, Chicago, life of the party • **Sandra Piotrowski**, 77, Tinley Park, Ill., worked as a meat-cutter for Jewel supermarkets • **Robert Rust**, 88, Greensburg, Ind., competitive athlete, up until his last years • **Melvin Pumphrey**, 80, Chicago Heights, Ill., rehired his role as a mentor • **Angel Escamilla**, 67, Naperville, Ill., assistant pastor • **Marguerite M. Horgus**, 86, Sweetgrass, Mont., her hospitality was known throughout Toole County and beyond • **Joseph Micajah Thomas II**, 88, New York City, represented theatrical, TV and movie personalities • **Beryl Bernay**, 94, New York City, actress and children's TV host • **John Joseph Reed Jr.**, 74, Edmonds, Wash., passionate about retaining his town's small-town atmosphere • **Sidney Siegel**, 92, Woodbury, N.Y., pioneer in the promotional products industry • **Robert M. Weintraub**, 96, New York, a long career in the import-export business • **Joe Diffie**, 61, Nashville, Grammy-winning country music star • **Herman Boehm**, 86, Florida, retired architect always eager to travel • **Horace Saunders**, 96, Mount Airy, Md., tailor • **Gary Holmberg**, 77, Mount Airy, Md., retired firefighter • **Chad Capule**, 49, Fond du Lac, Wis., I.T. project manager remembered for his love of trivia • **Robert Garff**, 77, Utah, former speaker of the Utah House, auto executive and philanthropist • **Phillip Thomas**, 48, Chicago, his Walmart co-workers were like family • **Alan Merrill**, 69, New York City, songwriter of "I Love Rock 'n' Roll" • **Peter Sakas**, 67, Northbrook, Ill., ran an animal hospital • **Joseph Yaggi**, 65, Indiana, mentor and friend to many • **Mary Roman**, 84, Norwalk, Conn., shot-put champion and fixture in local politics • **Lorena Borjas**, 59, New York City, transgender immigrant activist • **James T. Goodrich**, 73, New York City, surgeon who separated conjoined twins • **Janice Preschel**, 60, Teaneck, N.J., founded a food pantry • **Jean-Claude Henrion**, 72, Atlantis, Fla., always rode Harley-Davidsons • **Joseph J. Doren Jr.**, 75, Turners Falls, Mass., retired meter-reader • **Gerald Cassidy**, 66, Peachtree Corners, Ga., owner of Shamrock Salvage & Appraisal Inc. • **David Reissig**, 82, Vermont, retired from the U.S. Customs Agency after 28 years • **Angelo Piro**, 87, New York City, known for serenading friends with Tony Bennett songs • **Sandra Lee deBlecourt**, 61, Maryland, loved taking care of people • **Jose Vazquez**, 51, Chicago, husband and father • **Alberto Castro**, 86, Melrose Park, Ill., made time to create and listen to music • **Jerry Manley**, 58, Prince Frederick, Md., retired police sergeant • **Wallace Roney**, 59, Paterson, N.J.,

jazz trumpet virtuoso • **Cristina**, 64, New York City, downtown New York singer with a cult following • **Robert H. Westphal**, 95, Fond du Lac, Wis., statesman in the construction industry • **Clair Dunlap**, 89, Washington, pilot still teaching people to fly at 88 • **Marylou Armer**, 43, Sonoma Valley, Calif., veteran police detective • **Regina D. Cullen**, 81, Shrewsbury, Mass., small in stature but strong in spirit • **Sandra Santos-Vizcaino**, 54, New York City, beloved public school teacher • **Frank Gabrin**, 60, New York City, emergency room doctor who died in husband's arms • **Sterling E. Matthews**, 60, Midlothian, Va., cancer survivor who served as a deacon • **Alby Kass**, 89, California, lead singer of a Yiddish folk group • **Roger Eckart**, 78, Indiana, retired firefighter and old-school barber • **Martin Douglas**, 71, New York City, maestro of a steel-pan band • **Daniel Spector**, 68, Memphis, mentor to other Memphis artists • **Mary Minervini**, 91, Oak Lawn, Ill., sign-language interpreter • **Salomon S. Podgursky**, 84, Morristown, N.J., loved to figure out how things worked • **Dale E. Thurman**, 65, Lexington, Ky., tailor known for his exacting work and strong opinions • **Ellis Marsalis**, 85, New Orleans, jazz pianist and patriarch of a family of musicians • **Richard Passman**, 94, Silver Spring, Md., rocket engineer in the early days of hypersonic flight • **David Driskell**, 88, Hyattsville, Md., champion of African-American art • **Bucky Pizzarello**, 94, Saddle River, N.J., master of jazz guitar • **Tarlach MacNiallais**, 57, New York City, Belfast-born fighter for L.B.G.T. and disability rights • **Antonio Checo**, 67, New York City, social worker • **Albert Peter Rocelli**, 73, New York City, fire chief who answered the call on 9/11 • **Adam Schlesinger**, 52, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., songwriter for rock, film and the stage • **Frederick Brown Starr**, 87, Greensboro, N.C., liked the mental challenges of business • **Douglas Alan Roberts**, 69, Vancouver, Wash., authority on aviation • **Muriel M. Going**, 92, Cedarburg, Wis., taught her girls sheephead and canasta • **Beverly Collins**, 83, Portland, Maine, longtime registered nurse and hospital volunteer • **Scott Melter**, 60, Wyoming, Minn., worked as an engineer with Comcast • **Florencio Almazo Morán**, 65, New York City, one-man army • **Jennifer Robin Arnold**, 67, New York City, Broadway costume dresser • **John Nakawatase**, 62, Lincolnwood, Ill., coach and Scout leader • **Jesus Roman Melendez**, 49, New York, famous in family circles for his birria beef stew • **Ralph Plaisance**, 87, Massapequa, N.Y., "we called him the Grand Poobah" • **Audrey Malone**, 68, Chicago, sang gospel music as a member of the Malone Sisters • **Terrence George Driscoll**, 87, Plymouth, Mich., father figure • **Lucius Hall**, 87, Chicago, dubbed the "pistol-packing preacher" • **Ronnie Estes**, 73, Stevensville, Md., always wanted to be near the ocean • **Anita Fial**, 87, New York City, marketing expert who brought exotic foods to green grocers • **Patricia Bosworth**, 86, New York City, actress who wrote biographies of famous friends • **Azade Kilic**, 69, New York, two-time cancer survivor • **Marco DiFrancesco**, 50, Chicago, police officer who was never at a loss for words • **John E. Broadly**, 84, Scituate, Mass., honored to march with the American Legion in many parades • **Julia Maye Alexander**, 81, Upland, Calif., taught math, English and history for over 30 years • **Bruce W. Sowalski**, 68, Sand Lake, N.Y., found his special place at Big Bowman Pond • **Samuel Kramer**, 91, Potomac, Md., congregation's founding member • **Sean Boynes**, 46, Annapolis, Md., pharmacy manager with young daughters • **Norma Hoza**, 101, Wilmington, Ill., mom to six sons • **Nancy Ferguson**, 77, Chicago, true community activist • **Harold L. Hayes**, 96, Fort Wright, Ky., original member of the Navy's elite Underwater Demolition Team • **Glenn Daniel Bellitto**, 62, New York, town councilman • **Robert Lee Amos**, 66, Columbus, Ind., expert marksman and firearms instructor • **Lula Fitzpatrick**, 85, Dodon, Ill., part of a tightknit family • **Julith Plotkin-Goldberg**, 88, Massachusetts, noted voiceover artist for radio and TV • **Coby Adolph**, 44, Chicago, entrepreneur and adventurer • **Steven J. Huber**, 64, Jefferson City, Mo., loved creating perfect smiles • **Charles Miles**, 72, Chatham, Ill., retired therapist and mentor • **Don Whan**, 67, Indiana, sports fan who loved Purdue University • **Albert K. Webster**, 82, New York City, executive behind New York Philharmonic's economic growth • **Kevin Masterson**, 74, New York City, joined Goldman Sachs in 1975 • **Randy G. Addison**, 64, Carrollton, Ga., survived being shot in the line of duty in 1984 • **Ronald Willenkamp**, 75, Wisconsin, proud to have logged over five million miles behind the wheel • **Lloyd Paul Leftwich**, 91, Louisiana, inveterate harmonica player • **Helen Molina**, 85, Washington, all-around supporter of the Washington Huskies • **Ronald Burdette Culp**, 84, Redding, Calif., helped countless people by providing housing and support • **Norman Walker Jr.**, 80, China Township, Mich., shared his produce with food pantries and his neighbors • **Peter Bainum**, 82, Bethesda, Md., former aerospace engineering professor at Howard University • **Ann Kolb**, 78, New York, leader in integrating schools • **Helen Kafkis**, 91, Chicago, known for her Greek chicken and stuffed peppers • **John A.**

Bailargeon, 72, Dennisport, Mass., true outdoorsman • **Viraf Darukhanawala**, 77, Hoffman Estates, Ill., worker at O'Hare International Airport • **Chester Dwulet**, 68, Burlington, Mass., proud Union Ironworker of Local 7 for 45 years • **John Timothy Barr**, 76, Rochester Hills, Mich., trustee for the Retired Detroit Police and Firefighters Association • **Julie Butler**, 62, New York City, veterinarian who served Harlem • **Lila A. Fenwick**, 87, New York City, first black woman to graduate from Harvard Law School • **Vincent Lioni**, 60, New York City, Met Opera violist and youth orchestra conductor • **Ann Youngerman Smoler**, 87, New York City, had a passion for social justice • **Thomas Waters**, 56, New York City, armed the affordable housing movement with data and analysis • **Luke Workoff**, 33, Huntington, N.Y., his relentless passion was for his family and friends • **José Diaz-Ayala**, 38, Palm Beach, Fla., served with the Palm Beach County Sheriff's Office for 14 years • **Antonio Nieves**, 73, Chicago, always seemed to be busy with some home project • **Jeanne Hammond Byrnes**, 97, Danbury, Conn., received numerous awards for her accounting skills • **Alice Coopersmith Furst**, 87, Kentfield, Calif., in the first class of girls admitted to the Bronx High School of Science • **Bobby Lee Barber**, 84, Buckley, Wash., Seahawks season-ticket holder • **Thomas A. Ad-amavich**, 78, Sheboygan, Wis., especially proud of his Lithuanian heritage • **Kyra Swartz**, 33, New York, volunteered for pet rescue organizations • **Rhoda Hatch**, 73, Chicago, first in her family to graduate college • **Regina Dix-Parsons**, 75, Schenectady, N.Y., stalwart church gospel singer • **Lakisha Willis White**, 45, Orlando, Fla., was helping to raise some of her dozen grandchildren • **Barbara Yazbeck Vethacke**, 74, St. Clair Shores, Mich., she was known to many as Babs • **June Beverly Hill**, 85, Sacramento, no one made creamed potatoes or fried sweet corn the way she did • **Kim-ler Nguyen**, 33, Everett, Mass., writer who inspired her Brooklyn high school students • **Kamal Ahmed**, 69, New York City, hotel banquet worker and Bangladeshi leader • **Raymond Copeland**, 46, New York City, sanitation worker living his fullest days • **Israel Sauz**, 22, Broken Arrow, Okla., new father • **Lester Eber**, 82, New York, worked for over six decades in the wine and liquor industry • **Harry P. Mithos**, 87, San Francisco Bay Area, Calif., loved the ocean and enjoyed swimming and boating • **Leo Sreebny**, 98, Seattle, preferred bolo ties to neckties, suspenders to belts • **Robert Barghaan**, 88, New York City, could fix almost anything • **Patricia H. Thatcher**, 79, Clifton Park, N.Y., sang in her church choir for 42 years • **Howard Alexander Nelson Jr.**, 84, New Orleans, strong advocate for health care policy • **Allan Joseph Dickson Jr.**, 67, New Jersey, loved the Jersey Shore music scene • **John Cassano**, 70, Palms Park, Ill., family joker • **Eugene Lamos Limbrick**, 41, Colorado Springs, loved automobiles, especially trucks • **Jim J. Wolf Sr.**, 72, South Holland, Ill., known as "Big Wolf" to the basketball players he coached • **Robert LeBlanc**, 87, Cambridge, Mass., worked in construction and served in the Army • **Antoinette Marie Lutz**, 91, Chester, Conn., candy stripper at St. Raphael's Hospital • **Vincent G. Fraine**, 68, Redlands, Calif., owned Fraine Water Trucks for 44 years • **Andrew Kowalczyk**, 63, Coral Gables, Fla., a heart of service • **Jana Prince**, 43, Gretna, La., social worker who dedicated her life to others • **Joseph Migliucci**, 81, White Plains, N.Y., fourth-generation owner of Mario's restaurant, a Bronx institution • **Reuben Gutoff**, 92, New York City, founded Strategy Associates • **Gerard Rosenberg**, 85, New York City, retired New York Supreme Court justice • **Marty Derer**, 56, New Jersey, loved to referee basketball games • **Harold Reinsner**, 78, Pittsburgh, took furniture repair to the level of an art form • **Clark Osojnicki**, 56, Stillwater, Minn., well known in the world of agility dog training • **Kevin John Cahill**, 83, New York City, directed Alba House Cornerstone Bookstore in lower Manhattan • **Janissa Delacruz**, 31, Haverstraw, N.Y., known for having a smile on her face • **Clifford J. Williams**, 81, Schaghticoke, N.Y., member for over 46 years of the Operating Engineers Union, Local No. 106 • **Robert L. Crahen**, 87, Waunakee, Wis., nicknamed "Boxcar Bob" for his luck in shaking dice • **Elizabeth Batista**, 57, Waterbury, Conn., unwavering faith and dedication to the Catholic Church • **Timothy Branscomb**, 32, Chicago, always busy looking out for others • **Paul Warech**, 86, Vineland, N.J., widely surprised he could have played Major League Baseball • **Marlon Alston**, 46, Chicago, bus driver and school security guard • **Hailey Herrera**, 25, New York City, budding therapist with a gift for empathy • **James V. Walsh**, 78, New Jersey, volunteered his time to church car raffles, fund-raisers and picnics • **Liudas Karolis Mikalonis**, 86, Berkeley, Mich., immigrated to New York from a German refugee camp after World War II • **Gene Zahas**, 78, Oakland, Calif., fierce advocate for educational opportunity • **Mario Araujo**, 49, Chicago, Chicago firefighter • **William D. Greeke**, 55, Massachusetts, thought it was important to know a person's life story • **Beatrice Rubin**, 96, New Jersey, her size belied her strength and

spirit • **Jack Butler**, 78, Indiana, lived in the house he grew up in • **Susan Grey Hopp Crofoot**, 97, Westwood, N.J., took great joy in writing little ditties under her pen name, Penelope Pen-wiper • **James David Gewirtzman**, 72, New City, N.Y., spent some of his happiest hours hiking in the Adirondacks • **Henry F. Graff**, 98, Greenwich, Conn., Columbia University historian of U.S. presidents • **Mari Jo Davitto**, 82, Thornton, Ill., people were her hobby • **Yaakov Perlow**, 89, New York City, leader of the Novominsker Hasidic dynasty • **Joseph F. Kelly**, 81, New York City, did two tours through the Panama Canal to Antarctica • **John Prine**, 73, Nashville, country-folk singer who was a favorite of Bob Dylan • **Perry Buchalter**, 63, Florida, quiet hero • **Monica Maley**, 74, Rehoboth Beach, Del., loved animals, had dogs and cats, and rode horses • **Thomas Tarbell Russell**, 83, Longmeadow, Mass., mentored by the computer science pioneer Grace Hopper • **Ruth Skapinok**, 85, Roseville, Calif., backyard birds were known to eat from her hand • **Farylun Havir**, 92, Minnesota, her favorite thing was meeting new people • **Tor-rin Jamal Howard**, 26, Waterbury, Conn., gentle giant, athlete and musician • **James O'Brien Johnson**, 74, Joplin, Mo., pastor of Mt. Sinai Church of God in Christ • **Joseph W. Hammond**, 64, Chicago, stopped working to look after his aging parents • **Morris Loeb**, 90, Northbrook, Ill., endlessly curious, never really finished • **Dante Dennis Flagello**, 62, Rome, Ga., his greatest accomplishment was his relationship with his wife • **Tommie Adams**, 71, Chicago, moved antiques for more than 25 years • **Myra Helen Robinson**, 57, Detroit, more adept than many knew • **Roger McKinney-Wagner**, 73, Lowell, Mass., professor at the Salter School • **Sean Christian Keville**, 47, New Providence, N.J., enjoyed talking sports with family • **John Herman Clomax Jr.**, 62, Newark, one of the few African-American corporate bond traders on Wall Street • **José Torres**, 73, New York City, restaurateur favored by salsa music's stars • **Stuart Cohen**, 73, New York City, Brooklyn cabbie who found a home in Buddhism • **Johnnie D. Veasley**, 76, Country Club Hills, Ill., teacher's aide • **Mary M. Desole**, 93, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., member of the Liberty Volunteers of America • **Vera Flint**, 97, Beverly, Mass., face behind the counter at a family-owned grocery store • **Mike Field**, 59, Valley Stream, N.Y., first responder during the 9/11 attacks • **Chianti Jackson Harpool**, 51, Baltimore, social worker and then a political fundraiser • **Conrad Duncker**, 99, Chicago, longtime dentist • **Peter Kafkis**, 91, Chicago, worked mostly factory jobs to support his family • **Clara Louise Bennett**, 91, Albany, Ga., sang her grandchildren a song on the first day of school each year • **Iona Murai Ker-man**, 96, New York, featured in multiple Broadway productions • **Mauricio Valdivia**, 52, Chicago, wanted everyone to feel welcome • **Robert Dugal**, 58, Oak Park, Ill., advocate for others with disabilities • **Sharyn Lynn Vogel**, 74, Aurora, Colo., photographer, gourmet cook, sparkling hostess and traveler • **Robert Charles Bazzell**, 88, Novi, Mich., helped drive the family car along Route 66 • **Claudia Obermiller**, 73, Nebraska, deep-hearted country girl • **Reggie Bagala**, 54, Lockport, La., Republican freshman in the state Legislature • **Richard Joseph Lenihan Jr.**, 55, Pearl River, N.Y., man of faith and a proud Irish-American • **Deyrold Artega**, 66, Central Valley, N.Y., made friends everywhere he went • **Estelle Kestenbaum**, 91, Leonia, N.J., secretary to a New Jersey judge • **Artemis Nazarian**, 88, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., opened a Los Angeles preschool • **Myles Coker**, 69, New York City, freed from life in prison • **Richard Alexander Ross Jr.**, 66, Boynton Beach, Fla., lifelong karate instructor • **Helen Boles Dares**, 96, Wynnewood, Pa., made what she had work for her • **Marcus Edward Cooper Jr.**, 83, Louisiana, he loved his wife and said, "Yes, dear" a lot • **Nelson Perdomo**, 44, Middlesex County, N.J., veteran corrections officer and father of three • **Rosemarie Amerosi**, 87, New York City, retired bank teller • **Timothy H. Gray**, 66, Orleans, Ind., worked for the Orange County Highway Department • **Tommie Brown**, 82, Gary, Ind., security worker who died the same day as his wife • **Doris Brown**, 79, Gary, Ind., wife who died on the same day as her husband • **Marie Scanlan Walker**, 99, Louisiana, never drew attention to herself • **Frances M. Pilot**, 81, Wall, N.J., known as Big Momma to all who loved her • **George J. Foerst Jr.**, 99, New Jersey, called "The Captain" by friends and family • **John B. Ahrens**, 96, Newton, Mass., lifelong pacifist • **Parker Knoll**, 68, Indiana, a decades-long career in ministry • **Kerri Ann Kennedy-Tompkins**, 48, Garrison, N.Y., worked as a special education teacher for many years • **Rosemarie Franzese**, 70, Nevada, former hairstylist and avid New York Yankees fan • **Bernard David Seckler**, 95, Newton, Mass., math reader for Recordings for the Blind • **Samuel Hargress Jr.**, 84, New York City, owner of Paris Blues, a beloved Harlem jazz joint • **Michael Lee Jordan**, 69, McLeansville, N.C., retired from Sears Outlet Stores as an assistant manager • **Merrick Dowson**, 67, San Francisco Bay Area, Calif., nothing delighted him more than picking up the bill • **Wesley Richard Fahrback**

II, 69, Fremont, Ohio, known throughout Ohio for his knowledge of local history • **Harley E. Acker**, 79, Troupsburg, N.Y., discovered his true calling when he started driving a school bus • **Ar-lola Rawls**, 81, Chicago, caretaker of her neighborhood • **Roger Lidell**, 65, Flint, Mich., brought smiles to everyone he interacted with • **Luther Coleman**, 108, Evergreen Park, Ill., man who seemed to know everything • **Denise Camille Buczek**, 72, Bristol, Conn., loved writing birthday and holiday cards, poems and lists • **Charles Constantino**, 86, Menlo Park, N.J., worked 40 years for The New York Times • **Ben Doherty**, 83, Boston, stockbroker who founded Doherty Financial Services • **John Horton Conway**, 82, New Brunswick, N.J., mathematician known as the "magical genius" • **Stanley Chera**, 77, New York City, developer and friend of the president • **Robby Browne**, 72, New York City, Realtor and philanthropist who socialized with celebrities • **Wynn Handman**, 97, New York City, acting teacher and a founder of the American Place Theater • **Adam Kovacs**, 72, New York City, cartoonist and an expert on musicals • **Peter Brown**, 53, New Jersey, manager of the S.W. Brown & Son Funeral Home • **Irene Gasior**, 94, Pennsylvania, great-grandmother with a flair for pizzelles • **Stanley L. Morse**, 88, Stark County, Ohio, trombonist who once turned down an offer to join Duke Ellington's orchestra • **Margaret Laughlin**, 91, Massachusetts, had a mystic's direct sense of wonder and oneness • **Cynthia Whiting**, 66, La Plata, Md., retiree determined to spoil her granddaughter • **Steve Joltn**, 75, Rockville, Md., I.T. manager with "an eye for beautiful and unusual things" • **Gerald Glenn**, 66, Richmond, Va., police officer turned pastor • **Maclear Jacoby Jr.**, 93, Washington, D.C., inspiring math teacher • **Doris Mae Burkhardt Kale**, 98, Pennsylvania, excelled in the kitchen • **Josephine Posnanski**, 98, New Jersey, loved to dance • **Phil Langley**, 83, Frankfurt, Ill., member of Harness Racing Hall of Fame • **Vinton Timely Mason**, 86, Beaumont, Mich., co-owned the Bark-and-All logging company • **Maria Garcia-Rodolo**, 52, Nevada, would walk her children to school every morning • **Fernando Miteff**, 60, New York City, graffiti artist with a generous spirit • **John Watson**, 73, Philadelphia, anywhere he went, he took pictures • **Joyce Posson Winston**, 93, North Bergen, N.J., editor at the Ladies' Home Journal • **John B. Lynch**, 76, Wilmington, Mass., lifelong educator • **Oriando Moncada**, 56, Bronxville, N.Y., left Peru and grabbed hold of the American dream • **John Schoffstall**, 41, Terre Haute, Ind., volunteer youth football coach • **Theodore Gaffney**, 92, Washington, D.C., photographer of the Freedom Riders • **Alan A. Potanka**, 68, Berlin, Conn., collector of stamps and coins • **Harold Davis Jr.**, 63, Chicago, radio host and youth advocate • **Michael Giangrande Sr.**, 78, Bellmore, N.Y., "Mayor of Martin Avenue" • **Timothy Ross**, 68, Michigan, worked more than 30 years for General Motors • **Sherrell Stokes**, 54, Chicago, active in her church • **Larry Jones**, 61, Chicago, longtime high school referee • **Shirley S. D'Stefan**, 90, Florham Park, N.J., reader of books on birds and other wildlife • **Billy Ross**, 53, Milwaukee, staff member and mentor at the Milwaukee Rescue Mission • **Helen Siliva**, 96, Brockton, Mass., known as the "fashionista" in her nursing home • **Davis Begaye**, 48, Cudei, N.M., worked at the Home Depot • **Rose Mary Infantino**, 88, Rye Brook, N.Y., daughter of Italian immigrants • **Ann Sullivan**, 91, Woodland Hills, Calif., animator for Disney films, including "The Little Mermaid" • **Norman Gulamerian**, 92, New Providence, N.J., art supply businessman with a romantic streak • **Kenneth L. Jewel**, 78, Mountain Lakes, N.J., exceptional radiologist • **Jerzy Glowczewski**, 97, New York City, last of the WWII Polish fighter pilots • **Joan M. Heaney**, 77, Upper Brookville, N.Y., built the family heating-oil business into a successful company • **Delia Regina DiTullio**, 91, Jamaica Plain, Mass., always put her children first • **Jeanne Stone Rusnak**, 84, Endicott, N.Y., classy lady with style and elegance • **Anita Robinson**, 94, Minnesota, shared her knowledge and love of reading • **William U. Roulette III**, 93, Stroudsburg, Pa., enjoyed being a waterman on his work boat on Chesapeake Bay • **Antoinette Meyer**, 95, Crownsville, Md., trailblazing deputy sheriff • **Michael Wrotniak Jr.**, 92, Glen Cove, N.Y., brought the family to church every week • **Marvin L. Thomas**, 81, Sun Lakes, Ariz., a million-dollar smile • **Edmon C. Carmichael**, 79, Detroit, pillar in the Detroit community • **Linda Nute**, 61, Hazel Crest, Ill., home helper for many years • **Lela Reeder**, 95, Country Club Hills, Ill., babysitter for the local church • **Joan Cecile Berngen**, 69, Burbank, Ill., known for her amazing sense of humor • **Gwendolyn A. Carmichael**, 72, Detroit, definition of love, loyalty, and the ability to serve others • **James Lowell Miller Jr.**, 64, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, known as the bonfire builder • **Dolores A. Vail**, 89, Torrington, Conn., her hobbies included reading, especially

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PANDEMIC PUSHES E.U. TOWARD PLAN FOR FISCAL UNITY

FINANCING THE RECOVERY

Bloc Would Share Debt and Be Step Closer to Common Budget

By MATINA STEVIS-GRIDNEFF
BRUSSELS — For decades, even when the 2008 financial crisis threatened to blow the bloc apart, the European Union's wealthier nations resisted the notion of collective debt. But the coronavirus has so fundamentally damaged the bloc's economy that it is now forcing European leaders to consider the sort of unified and sweeping response once thought unworkable.

The European Commission, the bloc's executive branch, on Wednesday proposed that it raise 750 billion euros, or \$826 billion, on behalf of all members to finance their recovery from the economic collapse brought on by the virus, the worst crisis in the history of the European Union.

The plan, which still requires approval from the 27 national leaders and their parliaments, would be the first time that the bloc raised large amounts of common debt in capital markets, taking the E.U. one step closer to a shared budget, potentially paid



KENZO TRIBOUILLARD/A.F.P. — GETTY IMAGES
Ursula von der Leyen, leader of the European Commission, in Brussels on Wednesday.

for through common taxes.

For those reasons, the proposal had all the hallmarks of a historic moment for the E.U., vesting greater authority in Brussels in ways that more closely than ever resembled a central government.

"This is about all of us and it is way bigger than any one of us," Ursula von der Leyen, the commission president, told European Parliament members in a speech in Brussels. "This is Europe's moment."

At another moment — one without a calamitous recession looming —
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LAM YIK FEI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
300 ARRESTS As officers faced a protest in Hong Kong, one student said it might be "the last chance we have to fight back." Page A16.

U.S. IS PREPARING TO PUNISH CHINA OVER HONG KONG

SEES AUTONOMY ERASED

Pompeo Hints at Actions That Could Shake Up Global Commerce

By EDWARD WONG
WASHINGTON — Secretary of State Mike Pompeo announced on Wednesday that the State Department no longer considered Hong Kong to have significant autonomy under Chinese rule, a move that indicated the Trump administration was likely to end some or all of the United States government's special trade and economic relations with the territory in southern China.

Mr. Pompeo's action came just hours before China was expected to pass a national security law that would allow Chinese security agencies to take broad actions limiting the liberties of Hong Kong residents, many of whom have protested the proposed law and clashed with police officers.

The United States and China appear to be on a collision course over the future of Hong Kong, a center of global capitalism and symbol of resistance to the Chinese Communist Party. Relations between the two nations are at their worst in decades, and disputes have flared over trade, national security and the origins of the coronavirus.

President Trump's foreign policy aides are discussing actions that would be among the harshest punishments taken against China over the past three years. The actions could have far-reaching consequences for global commerce and transform how Chinese and foreign companies operate, as well as upend the lives of many of Hong Kong's 7.5 million residents, who have been under enormous pressure from years of political crackdowns.

Hong Kong has been a financial and commercial hub since late last century. China relies on the bustling city of ports and skyscrapers on the edge of the South China Sea for transactions with other countries. Many Chinese and foreign firms use Hong Kong as an international or regional base, and members of elite Communist Party families or executives with ties to them do business and own property there. Many companies also raise capital by listing on the Hong Kong Stock
Continued on Page A18

Renters Out of Work, Money And, Very Soon, Their Homes

By SARAH MERVOSH
EUCLID, Ohio — The United States, already wrestling with an economic collapse not seen in a generation, is facing a wave of evictions as government relief payments and legal protections run out for millions of out-of-work Americans who have little financial cushion and few choices when looking for new housing.

The hardest hit are tenants who had low incomes and little savings even before the pandemic, and whose housing costs ate up more of their paychecks. They were also more likely to work in industries where job losses have been particularly severe.

Temporary government assistance has helped, as have government orders that put evictions on hold in many cities. But evictions will soon be allowed in about half of the states, according to Emily A. Benfer, a housing expert and associate professor at Columbia Law School who is tracking eviction policies.

"I think we will enter into a severe renter crisis and very quickly," Professor Benfer said. Without a new round of government intervention, she added, "we will have an avalanche of evictions across the country." That means more and more families may soon experience the dreaded eviction notice on the front door, the stomach-turning knock from sheriff's deputies, the possessions piled up on the sidewalk. They will face displacement at a time when people are still being urged to stay at home to keep themselves and their communities safe, with the death toll from the virus now having passed 100,000 in the United States.
Continued on Page A13

Fury in Minneapolis Over Latest In a Long Line of Police Killings

This article is by Matt Furber, John Eligon and Audra D. S. Burch.

MINNEAPOLIS — Earlier in his career, the African-American chief of the Minneapolis police sued his own department, accusing the leadership of tolerating racism. Once he took charge, he vowed to make mending relations with the city's black residents a priority.

But the department, with its long history of accusations of abuse, finds itself under siege again after a video captured a black man suffocating beneath the knee of a white officer, with three other officers failing to intervene.

Medaria Arradondo, the chief, swiftly fired all four men on Tuesday and called for an F.B.I. investigation once the video showed that the official police account of the arrest of the man, George Floyd, bore little resemblance to what actually occurred.
But Chief Arradondo, who as a

A Troubled Force Tries to Overcome the Past

lieutenant joined a lawsuit that portrayed his department as a caldron of racist behavior, has struggled to overhaul the department or quell the community rage.

When hundreds of residents poured into the streets on Tuesday night to protest Mr. Floyd's death, officers used tear gas and fired rubber bullets into the crowd, eliciting cries of biased policing. Community activists are calling for murder charges against the officers and a top-to-bottom federal review of Mr. Arradondo's department.

Mr. Floyd's death — and the recent shooting death of Ahmaud Arbery in Georgia — have drawn national outrage and prompted comparisons to previous killings
Continued on Page A23

With Classes or Without Them, Colleges Want to Play Football

By BILLY WITZ
As colleges and universities debate whether to reopen for the fall, athletic administrators face one of the thorniest decisions in sports, with millions of dollars and the health of thousands of young people at stake: Should there be a football season?

The sport is a lifeline to many colleges and their surrounding communities, with billions of dollars earned from television contracts and live games often supporting entire athletic programs, lifting businesses near stadiums and building prestige that attracts student applications and alumni donations.

To many players, the prospect of a season lost to the coronavirus pandemic would be crushing, especially to juniors and seniors whose dreams of jumping to the N.F.L. or having one last hurrah could be deferred for another year, much like athletes whose sports were halted in March. "Players have worked their whole

lives for this," said Camren McDonald, a junior tight end at Florida State, who called a lost season a worst-case scenario. For months, college sports leaders have declared that if classes do not resume on campus this fall, football and other sports would not be played. But even then, some believe exceptions can be made if there is other limited student activity, and there is increasing pressure to find ways to play. Though campuses remain largely shuttered for the summer, signs of reopening for football have emerged in the last two weeks. The Southeastern and Big 12 conferences voted Friday to open their training facilities in early June for voluntary workouts, following the end of an
Continued on Page A10

A Lost Season Could Be Crushing for Athletes

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Continued on Page A10

An Activist Who Gave People With AIDS a Voice. A Loud Voice.

By DANIEL LEWIS
Larry Kramer, the noted writer whose raucous, antagonistic campaign for an all-out response to the AIDS crisis helped shift national health policy in the 1980s and '90s, died on Wednesday morning in Manhattan. He was 84.

His husband, David Webster, said the cause was pneumonia. Mr. Kramer had weathered illness for much of his adult life. Among other things he had been infected with H.I.V., the virus that causes AIDS, contracted liver disease and underwent a successful liver transplant.

An author, essayist and playwright — notably hailed for his autobiographical 1985 play, "The Normal Heart" — Mr. Kramer had feet in both the world of letters and the public sphere. In 1981 he was a founder of the Gay Men's Health Crisis, the first service organization for H.I.V.-positive people, though his fellow directors effectively kicked him out a year later

for his aggressive approach. (He returned the compliment by calling them "a sad organization of sissies.") He was then a founder of a more militant group, Act Up (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power), whose street actions demanding a speed-up in AIDS drugs research and an end to discrimination against gay men and lesbians severely disrupted the operations of government offices, Wall Street and the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

"One of America's most valuable troublemakers," Susan Sontag called him.

Even some of the officials Mr. Kramer accused of "murder" and "genocide" recognized that his outbursts were part of a strategy to shock the country into dealing with AIDS as a public-health emergency.

In the early 1980s, he was among the first activists to foresee that what had at first caused alarm as a rare form of cancer among gay men would spread worldwide, like any other sexually transmitted disease, and kill millions of people without regard to sexual orientation. Under the circumstances, he said, "If you write a calm letter and fax it to nobody, it sinks like a brick in the Hudson."

The infectious-disease expert Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, longtime director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases,
Continued on Page A24

LARRY KRAMER, 1935-2020



JOSHUA BRIGHT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Larry Kramer, writer and activist, at home in Manhattan in 2017.

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The infectious-disease expert Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, longtime director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases,
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INTERNATIONAL A16-19

'Overtaken by Aliens' in India
Already plagued by the pandemic, mass unemployment and severe weather, India faces ravenous locusts. PAGE A16

Advance in Huawei Case
A Canadian court opens a path to extradition of the Chinese company's finance chief on U.S. fraud charges. PAGE A19

NATIONAL A20-25, 28
SpaceX Liftoff Is Delayed
Rainy conditions and choppy oceans pushed the launching of NASA astronauts to Saturday or Sunday. PAGE A21

Ex-Transit Chief Off to London
Despite clashes with the governor, Andy Byford was credited with helping revive the New York subway. PAGE A25

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-15
Solving the Supply Shortage
Several hospitals have turned to the industrial and reusable models of face masks to keep their doctors and nurses safe during the pandemic. PAGE A9



BUSINESS B1-8

High Stakes for Las Vegas
As the gambling mecca prepares to reopen with strict social distancing rules, will it still draw a crowd? PAGE B1

Big Drugstores' Opioid Role
CVS, Rite Aid and Walgreens are said to have sold millions of pills in small towns without raising flags. PAGE B3

SPORTSTHURSDAY B9-10
Premature Hoop Dreams?
As the N.B.A. moves forward with its plans to resume its season at Disney World, Marc Stein wonders if the league that was the first to suspend its season is moving too far, too fast. PAGE B9

ARTS C1-7
It Takes an Art Thief
Octave Durham, who went to prison for stealing two van Goghs in Amsterdam, talks about a big challenge of museum heists: selling a hot painting. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27
Gail Collins PAGE A27



THURSDAY STYLES D1-6

Tie-Dyeing With Vegetables
In the latest installment of the Designer D.I.Y. at Home series, Hillary Taymour, the creative director of Collina Strada, offers a creative use for beets. PAGE D2



Still Not Safe From the Spread

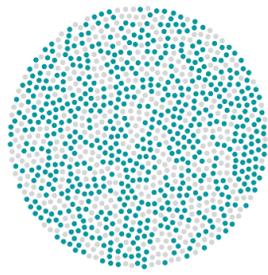
Even in cities hardest hit by the coronavirus, a vast majority of people remain vulnerable to it. New studies that look for antibodies in people's blood suggest that most places fall far short of the threshold known as herd immunity, the point at which the virus can no longer spread widely.

Herd immunity estimate At least 60% of population needed

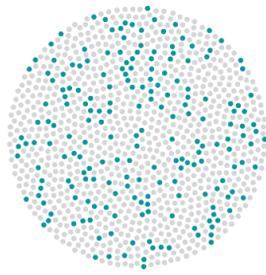
New York City 19.9% have antibodies May 2

London 17.5% have antibodies May 21

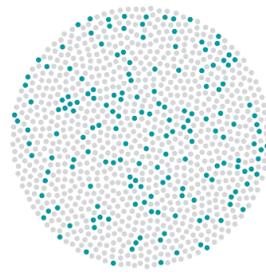
Madrid 11.3% have antibodies May 13



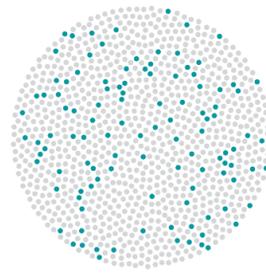
Wuhan (returning workers) 10% have antibodies April 20



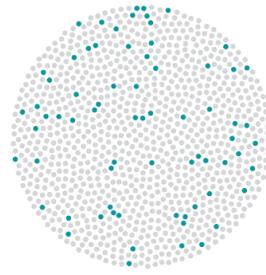
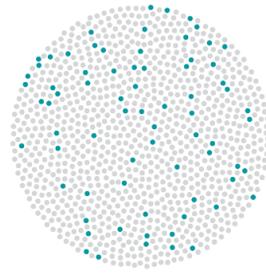
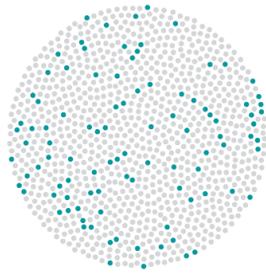
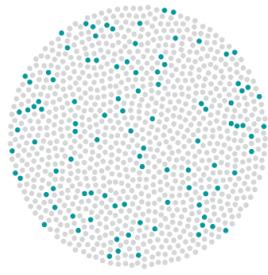
Boston 9.9% have antibodies May 15



Stockholm region 7.3% have antibodies May 20



Barcelona 7.1% have antibodies May 13



Note: Studies represent best current estimates, but are inexact and may overestimate immunity where coronavirus infections are low. Reported dates reflect when study results were publicly released. The study from Wuhan, China, evaluated immunity only among people returning to work, not in the general population. Sources: New York State; Public Health England; Carlos III Health Institute; Wu et al., Journal of Medical Virology; City of Boston; Public Health Agency of Sweden

NADJA POPOVICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES

In Battling Outbreak, Herd Immunity Remains Distant Objective

By NADJA POPOVICH and MARGOT SANGER-KATZ

The coronavirus still has a long way to go. That's the message from a crop of new studies across the world that are trying to quantify how many people have been infected.

Official case counts often substantially underestimate the number of coronavirus infections. But in new studies that test the population more broadly, the percentage of people who have been infected so far is still in the single digits. The numbers are a

fraction of the threshold known as herd immunity, at which the virus can no longer spread widely. The precise herd immunity threshold for the novel coronavirus is not yet clear; but several experts said they believed it would be higher than 60 percent.

Even in some of the hardest-hit cities in the world, the studies suggest, a vast majority of people still remain vulnerable to the virus.

Some countries — notably Sweden, and briefly Britain — have experimented with limited lockdowns in an effort to build up

Even Infection Rate of Ravaged New York Is Far Below Mark

immunity in their populations. But even in these places, recent studies indicate that no more than 7 to 17 percent of people have been infected so far. In New York City, which has had the largest coronavirus outbreak in the United States, around 20 percent of the city's residents

have been infected by the virus as of early May, according to a survey of people in grocery stores and community centers released by the governor's office.

Similar surveys are underway in China, where the coronavirus first emerged, but results have not yet been reported. A study from a single hospital in the city of Wuhan found that about 10 percent of people seeking to go back to work had been infected with the virus.

Viewed together, the studies show herd immunity protection is unlikely to be reached "any

Continued on Page A7

China Scorns U.S. Threats (Trade Aside)

By KEITH BRADSHER and STEVEN LEE MYERS

BEIJING — Ignoring threats from Washington, China stripped another layer of autonomy from Hong Kong on Thursday, plowing ahead with a plan that would ban any form of dissent deemed subversive in the territory reclaimed from Britain more than two decades ago.

But even as the plan was approved by China's top legislative body, and Chinese officials taunted the United States as an imperious meddler, Premier Li Keqiang struck a conciliatory tone. While offering no concessions to American demands, he called for close trade relations between the two countries.

The clash over Hong Kong and other issues points to the quandary facing China as it grows in power and contends with an increasingly aggressive Trump administration. The Chinese leadership does not want to incinerate the relationship with the United States, given the enormous economic benefits. Nor is it willing to back down, reflecting divisions in Beijing between hawks and more moderating forces.

"Anything the U.S. says or does or will do, China will refuse," Shi Yinzhong, a professor

Continued on Page A17



CARLOS BARRIA/REUTERS

The parking lot of a Target store in Minneapolis on Thursday as protests spread around the area.

National Guard Deployed as Minneapolis Erupts

This article is by Matt Furber, John Eligon and Audra D. S. Burch.

MINNEAPOLIS — Minnesota's governor activated the National Guard on Thursday as angry demonstrators took to the streets for a third straight night to protest the death of George Floyd, a black man who was pleading that he could not breathe as a white police officer pressed his knee into Mr. Floyd's neck.

The order by Gov. Tim Walz came as the city asked for help after vandalism and fires erupted during demonstrations and as the Justice Department announced

Outrage Over Death of Black Man in Custody

that a federal investigation into Mr. Floyd's death was a top priority.

At a news conference on Thursday evening, U.S. Attorney Erica MacDonald pledged a "robust and meticulous investigation" into the death but stopped short of announcing criminal charges against the four officers who were at the scene, all of whom were fired after Mr. Floyd's death was

captured in a haunting videotape. "My heart goes out to George Floyd," said Ms. MacDonald, a former judge. "My heart goes out to his family. My heart goes out to his friends. My heart goes out to the community."

South Minneapolis continued to seethe at the treatment of Mr. Floyd — and demonstrators railed against what they described as a city in which black lives are valued less than those of white residents.

"I want justice. I hope the continued pressure will get us charges, but we have to have some patience," said Jamar Nel-

Continued on Page A25

As Virus Aid Nears Cutoff, Millions Fear What's Next

New Federal Action May Be Limited Despite Economists' Pleas — Clashes Loom

By BEN CASSELMAN

For millions of Americans left out of work by the coronavirus pandemic, government assistance has been a lifeline preventing a plunge into poverty, hunger and financial ruin.

This summer, that lifeline could snap.

The \$1,200 checks sent to most households are long gone, at least for those who needed them most, with little imminent prospect for a second round. The lending program that helped millions of small businesses keep workers on the payroll will wind down if Congress does not extend it. Eviction moratoriums that are keeping people in their homes are expiring in many cities.

And the \$600 per week in extra unemployment benefits that have allowed tens of millions of laid-off workers to pay rent and buy groceries will expire at the end of July.

The latest sign of the economic strain and the government's role in easing it came Thursday when the Labor Department reported that millions more Americans applied for unemployment benefits last week. More than 40 million have filed for benefits since the crisis began, and some 30 million are receiving them.

The multitrillion-dollar patchwork of federal and state programs hasn't kept bills from piling up or prevented long lines at food banks. But it has mitigated the damage. Now the expiration of those programs represents a cliff they are hurtling toward, for individuals and for the economy.

"The CARES Act was massive, but it was a very short-term offset to what is likely to be a long-term problem," said Aneta Markowska, chief financial economist for the

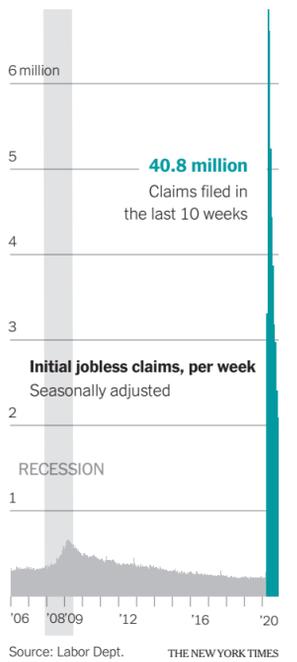
THE JOBLESS Another 2.1 million filed claims last week, but many may be going uncounted. PAGE B1

investment bank Jefferies, referring to the legislative centerpiece of the federal rescue. "This economy is clearly going to need more support."

Even the possibility that the programs will be allowed to expire could have economic consequences, Ms. Markowska said, as consumers and businesses gird for the loss of federal assistance.

President Trump and other Republicans have played down the need for more spending, saying the solution is for states to reopen businesses and allow companies to bring people back to work. So despite pleas from economists across the political spectrum — including Jerome H. Powell, the

Continued on Page A11



Source: Labor Dept. THE NEW YORK TIMES

Trump's Order Could Muzzle His Own Posts

By PETER BAKER and DAISUKE WAKABAYASHI

WASHINGTON — President Trump, who built his political career on the power of a flame-throwing Twitter account, has now gone to war with Twitter, angered that it would presume to fact-check his messages.

But the punishment he is threatening could force social media companies to crack down even more on customers just like Mr. Trump.

The executive order that Mr. Trump signed on Thursday seeks to strip liability protection in certain cases for companies like Twitter, Google and Facebook for the content on their sites, meaning they could face legal jeopardy if they allowed false and defamatory posts. Without a liability shield, they presumably would have to be more aggressive about policing messages that press the boundaries — like the president's.

That, of course, is not the outcome Mr. Trump wants. What he wants is to have the freedom to post anything he likes without the companies applying any judgment to his messages, as Twitter did this week when it began appending "get the facts" warnings to some of his false posts on voter fraud. Furious at what he called "censorship" —

Continued on Page A21

Biden Test Plan Rejects Strategy Of the President

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

WASHINGTON — Joseph R. Biden Jr. has proposed harnessing the broad powers of the federal government to step up coronavirus testing, with a public-private board overseeing test manufacturing and distribution, federal safety regulators enforcing testing at work and at least 100,000 contact tracers tracking down people exposed to the virus.

The presumptive Democratic nominee's plan, laid out in a little-noticed Medium post, stands in stark contrast to President Trump's leave-it-to-the-states strategy, detailed in an 81-page document released last weekend. And it presents voters in November with a classic philosophical choice over the role they want Washington to play during the worst public health crisis in a century.

With more than 100,000 Americans already dead from the coronavirus and at least 1.7 million infected, testing has emerged as a major campaign issue. Polls show that most people want better access to testing and believe that it is the job of the federal government. Like Mr. Biden, Democrats running for Congress have seized on testing as a prime example of what they view as Mr. Trump's incompetent response to the crisis.

In Michigan, Senator Gary Peters, an incumbent Democrat,

Continued on Page A6



SPORTSFRIDAY B8-10

Premier League's New Kickoff

The most-watched league in the world plans to return June 17, pending a sign-off from health authorities. PAGE B10

Boston Marathon Called Off

The race, which had been postponed to Sept. 14 from April 20, was canceled for the first time in its history. PAGE B8

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-13

Mexico Is Ill Prepared for Virus

Years of neglect had already hobbled Mexico's health care system, leaving it dangerously short of the doctors, nurses and equipment it needs. PAGE A8

3,700 Miles of the Surreal

A reporter and photographer witness the reopening of Europe while on a road trip across the Continent. PAGE A10

INTERNATIONAL A14-17

Art or 'Revenge Porn'?

Some feel that Kent Monkman, a Canadian Cree artist, goes too far with a new work targeting Justin Trudeau. PAGE A14

NATIONAL A18-25

2020, Viewed From 1991

Nearly three decades later, a scholar sees a generational realignment happening in American politics that does not bode well for Republicans. PAGE A18

House Pulls Bill on Spy Tools

A bipartisan compromise to reinstate expired F.B.I. powers to investigate terrorism and espionage collapsed in Congress. PAGE A23

Unity in a Crisis? Not Now

Insults, accusations and shaming characterize the political environment even as leaders on Capitol Hill must unite at some point, Carl Hulse writes. PAGE A19



WEEKEND ARTS C1-16

Architecture in Trying Times

Elizabeth Diller and her colleagues are striving to adjust to a world without brainstorming in person. PAGE C1

Urban Life, Animated

"Central Park," from the creator of "Bob's Burgers," is the joyful show we need right now, our critic says. PAGE C1

BUSINESS B1-7

Defiance on Tweet Labels

Twitter fact-checked more posts even as President Trump escalated his battle with social media companies. PAGE B1

A Bank Regulator's Battle

Joseph Otting rewrote the rules for the Community Reinvestment Act. Not everyone is on board. PAGE B1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

David Brooks

PAGE A27



SPREADING UNREST LEAVES A NATION ON EDGE



VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Protests in Minneapolis continued with new ferocity on Friday night, as the governor said the authorities had been overwhelmed.

President Needles as America Burns In the Flames, a Fear of Spiraling Chaos

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — With a nation on edge, ravaged by disease, hammered by economic collapse, divided over lockdowns and even face masks and now convulsed once again by race, President Trump's first instinct has been to look for someone to fight.

Over the past week, America reeled from 100,000 pandemic deaths, 40 million people out of work and cities in flames over a brutal police killing of a subdued black man. But Mr. Trump was on the attack against China, the World Health Organization, Big Tech, former President Barack Obama, a cable television host and the mayor of a riot-torn city.

While other presidents seek to cool the situation in tinderbox moments like this, Mr. Trump plays with matches. He roars into any melee he finds, encouraging street uprisings against public health measures advanced by his own government, hurling made-up murder charges against a critic, accusing his predecessor of unspecified crimes, vowing to crack down on a social media company that angered him and then seemingly threatening to meet violence with violence in Minneapolis.

As several cities erupted in street protests after the killing of George Floyd, some of them resulting in clashes with the police, Mr. Trump made no appeal for calm. Instead in a series of tweets and comments to reporters on Saturday, he blamed the unrest on Democrats, called on "Liberal Governors and Mayors" to get "MUCH tougher" on the crowds, threatened to intervene with "the unlimited power of our Military" and even suggested his own supporters mount a counterdemonstration.

The turmoil came right to Mr. Trump's doorstep on Friday night as hundreds of people protesting Mr. Floyd's death and the president's response gathered outside the White House.

Continued on Page 23

This article is by John Eligon, Matt Furber and Campbell Robertson.

MINNEAPOLIS — The nation was rocked again on Saturday as demonstrators clashed with police from outside the White House gates to the streets of more than three dozen besieged cities, as outrage over the death of George Floyd in Minneapolis traversed a razor's edge between protest and civic meltdown.

Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota activated thousands of National Guard troops — up to 13,200 — to control protesters in Minneapolis who turned out in droves for the fifth consecutive night on Saturday after burning buildings to the ground, firing guns near the police and overwhelming officers the night before. But he declined the Army's offer to deploy military police units.

Rallies, looting and unrest expanded far beyond Minneapolis, with protesters destroying police vehicles in Atlanta and New York and blocking major streets in Detroit and San Jose, Calif. Crowds in Milwaukee chanted, "I can't breathe," and demonstrators in Portland, Ore., lit a fire inside the Multnomah County Justice Center.

On Saturday, demonstrators amassed outside City Hall in San Francisco, shut down highway traffic in Miami and attempted to topple a statue in Philadelphia. Curfews were imposed in some of America's largest cities, including Los Angeles, Chicago and Atlanta.

The chaos and rage on such a broad scale evoked the Black Lives Matter demonstrations of recent years; the Los Angeles riots that followed the 1992 acquittal of four police officers charged in connection with the beating of Rodney King the year before; and even the racial strife of the 1960s, when the fury and despair of inner-city African-Americans over racism and poverty erupted in scores of cities, reaching a climax in 1967 and 1968, two years that saw more than 150 riots.

This moment has not produced anything close to the violence of
Continued on Page 26

A Look Inside Twitter's Move To Flag Trump

By KATE CONGER

OAKLAND, Calif. — Jack Dorsey was up late Thursday at his home in San Francisco talking online with his executives when their conversation was interrupted: President Trump had just posted another inflammatory message on Twitter.

Tensions between Twitter, where Mr. Dorsey is chief executive, and Mr. Trump had been running high for days over the president's aggressive tweets and the company's decision to begin labeling some of them. In his latest message, Mr. Trump weighed in on the clashes between the police and protesters in Minneapolis, saying, "when the looting starts, the shooting starts."

A group of more than 10 Twitter officials, including lawyers and policymakers, quickly gathered virtually to review Mr. Trump's post and debate over the messaging system Slack and Google Docs whether it pushed people toward violence.

They soon came to a conclusion. And after midnight, Mr. Dorsey gave his go-ahead: Twitter would hide Mr. Trump's tweet behind a warning label that said the message violated its policy against glorifying violence. It was the first time Twitter applied that specific warning to any public figure's tweets.

The action has prompted a broad fight over whether and how social media companies should be held responsible for what appears on their sites, and was the culmination of months of debate inside Twitter. For more than a year, the company had been building an infrastructure to limit the impact of objectionable messages from world leaders, creating rules on what would and would not be allowed and designing a plan for when Mr. Trump inevitably broke them.

But the path to that point was not smooth. Inside Twitter, dealing with Mr. Trump's tweets — which are the equivalent of a pres-
Continued on Page 21

Heaps of Complaints, but Police Resist Change

By SHAILA DEWAN
and SERGE F. KOVALESKI

In nearly two decades with the Minneapolis Police Department, Derek Chauvin faced at least 17 misconduct complaints, none of which derailed his career.

Over the years, civilian review boards came and went, and a federal review recommended that the troubled department improve its system for flagging problematic officers.

All the while, Mr. Chauvin tussled with a man before firing two shots, critically wounding him. He was admonished for using derogatory language and a demeaning tone with the public. He was named in a brutality lawsuit. But

he received no discipline other than two letters of reprimand.

It was not until Mr. Chauvin, 44, was seen in a video with his left knee pinned to the neck of a black man, prone for nearly nine minutes and pleading for relief, that the officer, who is white, was suspended, fired and then, on Friday, charged with murder.

His case is not unusual. Critics say the department, despite its long history of accusations of abuse, never fully put in place federal recommendations to overhaul the way in which it tracks complaints and punishes officers — with just a handful over the years facing termination or severe punishment.

Even as outrage has mounted over deaths at the hands of the po-

lice, it remains notoriously difficult in the United States to hold officers accountable, in part because of the political clout of police unions, the reluctance of investigators, prosecutors and juries to second-guess an officer's split-second decision and the wide latitude the law gives police officers to use force.

Police departments themselves have often resisted civilian review or dragged their feet when it comes to overhauling officer disciplinary practices. And even change-oriented police chiefs in cities like Baltimore and Philadelphia — which over the last few years have been the sites of high-profile deaths of black men by white officers — have struggled to

Continued on Page 24

'Godspeed': SpaceX Lifts NASA Crew Into Orbit

By KENNETH CHANG

KENNEDY SPACE CENTER, Fla. — The United States opened a new era of human space travel on Saturday as a private company for the first time launched astronauts into orbit, nearly a decade after the government retired the storied space shuttle program in the aftermath of national tragedy.

Two American astronauts lifted off at 3:22 p.m. from a familiar setting, the same Florida launchpad that once served Apollo missions and the space shuttles. But the rocket and capsule that lofted them out of the atmosphere were a new sight for many — built and operated not by NASA but SpaceX, the company founded by the billionaire Elon Musk to pursue his dream of sending colonists to Mars.

Crowds of spectators including President Trump and Vice President Mike Pence watched and cheered as the countdown ticked to zero, and the engines of a Falcon 9 rocket roared to life.

Rising slowly at first, the rocket then shot like a sleek, silvery javelin into humid skies, three days after an earlier launch was canceled because of concerns about lightning and other unsafe weather.



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

SpaceX will deliver its crew to the International Space Station.

It was a moment of triumph and perhaps nostalgia for the country, a welcome reminder of America's global pre-eminence in science, technological innovation and private enterprise at a time its prospects and ambitions have been clouded by the coronavirus pandemic, economic uncertainty and political strife. Millions around the world watched the launch online and on television, many from self-imposed quarantine in their homes.

Mr. Trump, who watched from a rooftop at the space center, called it "an inspiration for our country" after the ship lifted off.

"Today's launch makes clear the commercial space industry is the future," Mr. Trump said in later remarks in the giant Vehicle Assembly Building where the Saturn 5 moon rocket was once stacked.

"We have created the envy of the world and will soon have the landing on Mars and soon have the great-
Continued on Page 28

Greeting the Future, Gingerly, With Mortarboards and Masks

By JOHN BRANCH
and CAMPBELL ROBERTSON

Charlie Forster was at the library one afternoon in March when he ran into a friend from Allerdice High School in Pittsburgh.

"I was like, 'Do you want to come over to my house?'" he said. "So we took the bus home and made grilled cheeses and watched that movie 'Her,'" which explores isolation and relationships nurtured via electronic devices.

Little did he know that the coronavirus that was spreading across the country would give him and his friends their own lesson in being alone. Their new life started to become clear not long after, when Charlie checked in with another friend about plans to meet for lunch.

"She was like, 'My parents — my mom just read an article about social distancing and is outlawing any get-togethers,'" he recalled.

And so that was it. That bland Friday afternoon of grilled cheese sandwiches and "Her" was the last social occasion of senior year, and filling in for graduation, prom,
Continued on Page 10



Maya Srinivasan and Brice Patterson graduated from high school without any fanfare.

senior signing day, the band trip, the musical (it was to be "Curtains"), the lingering in late-night diners each night after the musical performances, the house parties, the mindless banter between classes — all of it.

Instagram was all they would get.

Years from now, generations from now, this senior class's brush with a pandemic may prove a lasting bond. Some among the 3.7 million high school seniors who are expected to graduate this year will tell people, "Yes, I was in the class of 2020," and people will nod, knowingly — oh, that year — and
Continued on Page 10

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK 4-13

Trump Delays G7 Meeting

The president, who plans to have the gathering in September, says he wants to include Russia, along with some other nonmember countries. PAGE 9

INTERNATIONAL 14-19

'Facing the Darkest Hour'

Pro-democracy protesters in Hong Kong are reckoning with how to fight Beijing's tightening grip as the virus keeps crowds from gathering. PAGE 18

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Screened Out

Flawed software that scans everything from terror watch lists to eviction records wrongfully denies housing to renters. PAGE 1

ARTS & LEISURE

Channel Surf's Up!

Our summer television preview gives a remake of "Perry Mason" its day in court and offers advice for 99 days' worth of binge-watching. PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Thomas L. Friedman

PAGE 4



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Esper at Odds With President On Army's Use

White House Angry — Military in Turmoil

This article is by Eric Schmitt, Helene Cooper, Thomas Gibbons-Neff and Maggie Haberman.

WASHINGTON — Defense Secretary Mark T. Esper broke with President Trump on Wednesday and said that active-duty military troops should not be sent to control the wave of protests in American cities, at least for now. His words were at odds with his commander in chief, who on Monday threatened to do exactly that.

Mr. Esper's comments reflected the turmoil within the military over Mr. Trump, who in seeking to put American troops on the streets alarmed top Pentagon officials fearful that the military would be seen as participating in a move toward martial law.

Speaking at a news conference at the Pentagon, the defense secretary said that the deployment of active-duty troops in a domestic law enforcement role "should only be used as a matter of last resort and only in the most urgent and dire of situations."

The president was angered by Mr. Esper's remarks, and excoriated him later at the White House, an administration official said. Asked on Wednesday whether Mr. Trump still had confidence in Mr. Esper, the White House press secretary, Kayleigh McEnany, said that "as of right now, Secretary Esper is still Secretary Esper," but that "should the president lose faith, we will all learn about that in the future."

Senior Pentagon leaders are now so concerned about losing public support — and that of their active-duty and reserve personnel, 40 percent of whom are people of color — that Gen. Mark A. Milley, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, released a message to top military commanders on Wednesday affirming that every member of the armed forces swears an oath to defend the Constitution, which he said "gives Americans the right to freedom of speech and peaceful assembly."

Mr. Esper and General Milley acted after they came under sharp criticism, including from retired military officers, for walking with Mr. Trump to a church near the White House after peaceful protesters had been forcibly cleared.

As anger mounted over the president's photo op at the church, former Defense Secretary Jim Mattis offered a withering denunciation of the president's leadership.

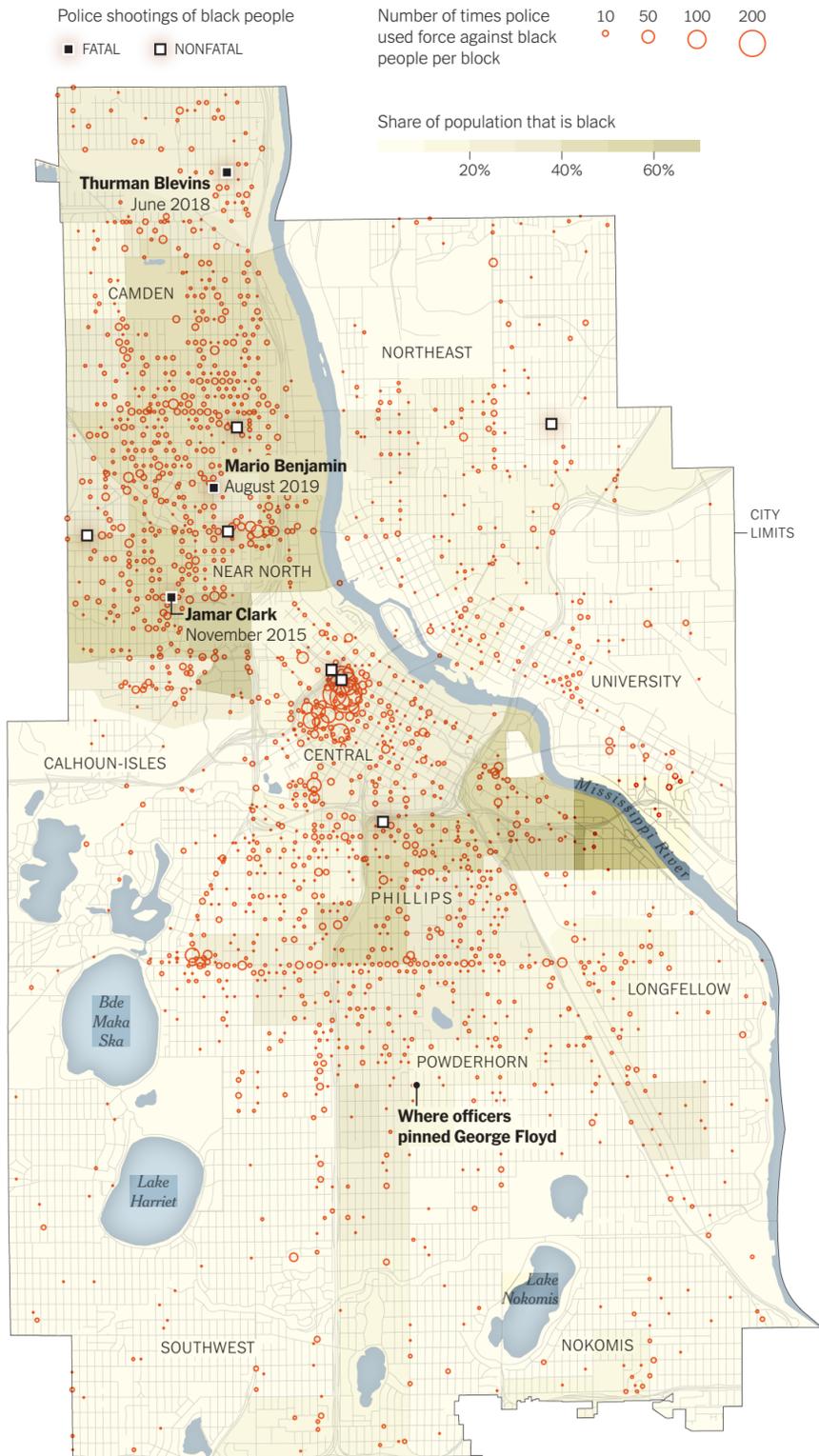
"Donald Trump is the first president in my lifetime who does not try to unite the American people — does not even pretend to try," Mr. Mattis said in a statement. "Instead he tries to divide us. We

Continued on Page A20

Where the Minneapolis Police Used Force Against Black People

Only 20 percent of Minneapolis's population is black. But since 2015, when officers have gotten physical — with kicks, neck holds, punches, shoves, takedowns, Mace, Tasers or other forms of muscle — the person subject to that force has been black nearly 60 percent of the time. This map shows the sites of those nearly 6,700 instances.

Article and more graphics, Page A14.



Sources: City of Minneapolis, U.S. Census Bureau. Note: Police use-of-force data was retrieved on May 29, 2020, and shows cases up to May 26, 2020. Data on officer-involved shootings is recorded separately and shows cases through 2019. Cases for which location was not listed or that occurred outside city limits are not shown.

LAZARO GAMIO AND RICHARD A. OPPEL JR. / THE NEW YORK TIMES

3 MORE CHARGED, ACCUSED OF AIDING IN FLOYD'S KILLING

On Day 9 of Unrest, First Officer's Case Is Raised to Second-Degree Murder

This article is by John Eligon, Richard A. O'Connell and Sarah Mervosh.

ST. PAUL, Minn. — The three Minneapolis police officers who failed to intervene while George Floyd was killed were charged on Wednesday with aiding in his death, and officials pressed a more severe charge — second-degree murder — against Derek Chauvin, the officer who pinned Mr. Floyd to the ground with a knee for nearly nine minutes while he pleaded, "I can't breathe."

Announcing the charges, Keith Ellison, Minnesota's attorney general, who was assigned by the governor to handle the closely watched case, asked for patience during what he said would be a lengthy investigation and cautioned that history revealed serious challenges in prosecutions of police officers.

"We're here today because George Floyd is not here. He should be here," said Mr. Ellison, a former Democratic congressman and civil rights lawyer, adding later: "Trying this case will not be an easy thing. Winning a conviction will be hard."

"I take no joy in this," Mr. Ellison said. "But I feel a tremendous sense of duty and responsibility."

On a ninth straight night of demonstrations, thousands of people amassed on Wednesday, including on the streets of West Hollywood, Calif., and outside the Colorado State Capitol. Issuing in-

tensifying calls for changes to American policing, the protesters showed no signs of calling off their activism, and in New York City, a rally was planned outside the mayor's official residence.

The fallout from Mr. Floyd's death continued unabated on Wednesday as his official autopsy, released for the first time, revealed that he was known to have had the coronavirus in early April, though he was believed to be asymptomatic at the time of his death. Demonstrators have regularly pointed out that police violence and Covid-19 are disproportionately affecting African-Americans.

Former President Barack Obama called on every mayor in the nation to review use-of-force policies and make reforms. Officials in Virginia announced plans

Continued on Page A15



Keith Ellison, Minnesota's attorney general, urged patience.

Mom-and-Pop Stores in Bronx Reel From Looters' Crowbars

By WINNIE HU and NATE SCHWEBER

The looters attacked with crowbars and bolt cutters.

They broke open stores in the Fordham neighborhood of the Bronx until they came to two glass doors side by side. The door to the left led to a tattoo parlor, the one to the right to a watch and jewelry store. They smashed the right door and ducked around the sharp glass teeth left along the edges.

Inside, they found a treasure case filled with gold and silver watches and laptop computers. They swung again, sending glass flying. They quickly grabbed what they could, missing a couple of watches in the back. Then they reached above and pulled down

Blow to Immigrant and Minority Businesses

displays of diamond necklaces, earrings, bracelets and rings.

They were long gone by the time the store owner, Francisco Araujo, arrived hours later on Tuesday to find his family business gutted. By his count, he lost \$150,000 of merchandise. Only a rack of tacky T-shirts with drinking and sex sayings was left behind.

Mr. Araujo said he was just beginning to get his life back after the coronavirus exploded across

Continued on Page A18

As Poll Numbers Dive, Trump Spends to Hold States He Won

By ALEXANDER BURNS and MAGGIE HABERMAN

President Trump is facing the bleakest outlook for his re-election bid so far, with his polling numbers plunging in both public and private surveys and his campaign beginning to worry about his standing in states like Ohio and Iowa that he carried by wide margins four years ago.

The Trump campaign has recently undertaken a multimillion-dollar advertising effort in those two states as well as Arizona in hopes of improving his standing, while also shaking up his political operation and turning new attention to states like Georgia that were once considered reliably Republican. In private, Mr. Trump has expressed concern that his

Ad Barrages in Ohio, Iowa and Arizona

campaign is not battle-ready for the general election, while Republicans are concerned about whether the president can emerge in a strong position from the national crises battering the country.

Mr. Trump has been consistently unpopular as president with a majority of Americans; his advisers have long seen his effort to win a new term as depending on the loyalty of his conservative base and the Republican-friendly tilt of the Electoral College — factors that could allow the president

Continued on Page A23

Britain Would Take In 3 Million From Hong Kong, Johnson Says

By MARK LANDLER

LONDON — Prime Minister Boris Johnson raised the stakes in a brewing confrontation with China on Wednesday, promising to allow nearly three million people from Hong Kong to live and work in Britain if Beijing moves forward with a new national security law for the former British colony.

Mr. Johnson's offer, made in a column in The Times of London, opens the door to a significant influx of people fleeing Hong Kong, should the situation in the territory deteriorate further. But it leaves unanswered thorny questions about how difficult it would be for those arrivals to obtain British citizenship.

Growing Tensions Over China's Security Law

Describing it as one of the biggest changes in visa regulations in British history, Mr. Johnson said the roughly 350,000 Hong Kong residents who hold British overseas passports, as well as 2.5 million who are eligible to apply for one, would be granted 12-month renewable visas that would allow them to work in Britain and put them on a path to citizenship.

"Many people in Hong Kong fear that their way of life — which China pledged to uphold — is under threat," Mr. Johnson wrote. "If

Continued on Page A12

Picture Venice Bustling Again, Not With Tourists, but Italians

By JASON HOROWITZ

VENICE — For a crowd, it was the Venetians who clogged the square.

Days before Italy lifted coronavirus travel restrictions on Wednesday that had prevented the usual crush of international visitors from entering the city, hundreds of locals gathered on chalk asterisks drawn several feet apart. They had come to protest a new dock that would bring boatloads of tourists through one of Venice's last livable neighborhoods, but also to seize a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to show that another, less tourist-addled future was viable.

"This can be a working city, not just a place for people to visit," said the protest's organizer, An-

A Post-Pandemic Vision of What Could Be

drea Zorzi, a 45-year-old law professor who frantically handed out hundreds of signs reading, "Nothing Changes if You Don't Change Anything." He argued that the virus, as tragic as it was, had demonstrated that Venice could be a better place. "It can be normal," he said.

The coronavirus has laid bare the underlying weaknesses of the societies it has ravaged, whether economic or racial inequality, an overdependence on global production chains, or rickety health

Continued on Page A5



INTERNATIONAL A11-13

Echoes of 1989 in Hong Kong At Tiananmen Square, change seemed unstoppable. China's furious response casts a long shadow today. PAGE A12

U.S. to Bar Chinese Airlines

A retaliatory ban on passenger flights to and from American airports would take effect on June 16. PAGE A13

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-10

5 Vaccine Candidates Tapped The Trump administration has selected five companies as the most likely to produce a vaccine for the coronavirus, senior officials said. PAGE A9

Scenes From Atlantic City

A visit to the gambling mecca looks at how it is weathering the pandemic when it was already hurting. PAGE A6

BUSINESS B1-6

Snapchat Joins Trump Fray

The service said it would stop promoting the president's account because of his comments off the site. PAGE B1



NATIONAL A14-25

Rosenstein in Spotlight In a hearing, Rod Rosenstein, the former deputy attorney general, defended appointing a special counsel. PAGE A22

A Presidential Checkup

President Trump "remains healthy" after taking hydroxychloroquine, the White House physician said. PAGE A23

THURSDAY STYLES D1-6

This Is Not the End of Fashion History and human nature prove that we will dress up again. What that will look like is the real question, Vanessa Friedman writes. PAGE D1

OBITUARIES B9-10

A Savage Social Satirist

Bruce Jay Friedman, 90, skipped back and forth between literature and pop culture, including movies, to acclaim. Then he seemed to vanish. PAGE B10

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Nicholas Kristof PAGE A26



ARTS C1-7

A Dance About a Tense Time Jamar Roberts's short video "Cooped" is a powerful artistic response to the Covid-19 crisis, with added resonance after George Floyd's killing. PAGE C1



LANDMARK RULING PROTECTS L.G.B.T. WORKERS



ANNA MONEYMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Citing the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Supreme Court said Monday that people could not be fired for being gay, bisexual or transgender.

NEWS ANALYSIS

A 6-to-3 Decision Few Expected

By ADAM NAGOURNEY and JEREMY W. PETERS

When Donald J. Trump was elected president, gay and lesbian leaders warned that their far-reaching victories under Barack Obama — including the Supreme Court's decision legalizing same-sex marriage in 2015 — were in peril, endangered by the imminent arrival of scores of conservative judges and full Republican control of the federal government.

So it would be an understatement to say that gay rights leaders and supporters were surprised by the court's ruling on Monday that the 1964 Civil Rights Act protects gay and transgender Americans from workplace discrimination. They were stunned. Stunned that two conservative justices had sided with them. Stunned that this happened on top of a Republican appointee writing the marriage ruling, too.

In many ways, the decision is the strongest evidence yet of how fundamentally, rapidly and, to some degree, unpredictably American views about gay and transgender people have changed across the ideological spectrum in less than 20 years. It is all the more striking after the Trump administration moved last week to erase protections for transgender patients against discrimination by doctors, hospitals and health insurance companies.

The 6-to-3 ruling is the latest in a swift series of legal and political advances for gay Americans after several decades where gains came in fits and starts after the uprising at the Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village helped usher in the modern gay rights movement 51 years ago this month. But this ruling could well be remembered as one of the last big legal battles, the achievement of a major priority of gay and lesbian people since gay activists gathered across

Continued on Page A22

Court Guarantees Rights Pursued for Decades

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court ruled on Monday that a landmark civil rights law protects gay and transgender workers from workplace discrimination, handing the movement for L.G.B.T. equality a long-sought and unexpected victory.

"An employer who fires an individual merely for being gay or transgender defies the law," Justice Neil M. Gorsuch wrote for the majority in the 6-to-3 ruling.

That opinion and two dissents, spanning 168 pages, touched on a host of flash points in the culture wars involving the L.G.B.T. community — bathrooms, locker rooms, sports, pronouns and religious objections to same-sex marriage. The decision, the first major case on transgender rights, came amid widespread demonstrations, some protesting violence aimed at transgender people of color.

Until Monday's decision, it was legal in more than half of the states to fire workers for being gay, bisexual or transgender. The vastly consequential decision thus extended workplace protections to millions of people across the nation, continuing a series of Supreme Court victories for gay rights even after President Trump transformed the court with his two appointments.

The decision achieved a decades-long goal of gay rights proponents, one they had initially considered much easier to achieve than a constitutional right to same-sex marriage. But even as the Supreme Court established that right in 2015, workplace discrimination remained lawful in most of the country. An employee who married a same-sex partner in the morning could be fired that afternoon for being gay.

Monday's lopsided ruling, coming from a fundamentally conservative court, was a surprise. Justice Gorsuch, who was Mr. Trump's first appointment to the court, was joined by Chief Justice

Continued on Page A21

THE IMPACT Legal scholars see a ruling's language expanding protections in other areas of daily life like health care and housing. PAGE A21

As War Abates, Financial Ruin Looms in Syria

By BEN HUBBARD

BEIRUT, Lebanon — President Bashar al-Assad, who has mostly won Syria's civil war, now faces an acute economic crisis that has impoverished his people, brought about the collapse of the currency and fueled a rare public rift in the ruling elite.

Government salaries have become nearly worthless. Protests against falling living standards have broken out in the southeast.

The Syrian pound is worth so little that people have posted images on social media of bank notes used to roll cigarettes.

The government is so strapped for cash that it is squeezing wealthy businessmen to help fund the state, a move that prompted a powerful Syrian tycoon to openly criticize the government.

For nine years, Mr. al-Assad has relied on brute force to crush the rebels who sought to end his family's decades-old grip on power. But now, with the war's biggest battles behind him, he faces new threats that he cannot bomb his way out of or count on his few allies to help him surmount.

That the tycoon, a member of Mr. al-Assad's inner circle, had the temerity to go public with his dispute suggests a weakening of his power. And strict United States economic sanctions that take effect Wednesday are likely to make matters worse.

"The problem for al-Assad is that he does not have a solution," said Danny Makki, a Syria analyst at the Middle East Institute in Washington. "It is going to create a high intensity crisis, and he either has to talk to the Americans and make concessions or endure what could be a major economic collapse."

The war has throttled Syria's economy, reducing it to a third the size it was before the conflict and taking a toll thought to be in the hundreds of billions of dollars.

An estimated 80 percent of Syrians live in poverty. About 40 percent were unemployed at the end of 2019, the latest figures available, and joblessness has only increased because of government restrictions to control the coronavirus.

The collapse of Syria's currency has compounded the crisis. Continued on Page A11

Propping Up a City They Couldn't Afford to Flee

By WINNIE HU and NATE SCHWEBER

The sidewalks of Mount Hope fill up early with essential workers.

The health care and construction workers come out first, followed by the delivery drivers, grocery store clerks, security guards, building porters and countless others.

They make their home in this hilltop neighborhood of 53,000 in the Bronx that has been an anchor against the coronavirus. From there, they disperse to all corners of the borough, the city and beyond to provide the services that other people count on in a global health crisis.

As New York City begins reopening, nothing has really changed in Mount Hope. Many residents never stopped going to

Invaluable Commuters Flow In From Edges of New York

their jobs. Not when confronted by the dangers of the virus. Not when looting broke out during the protests for racial justice over the death of George Floyd. Not when many other New Yorkers began working from home, and others altogether fled the wealthiest neighborhoods in Manhattan.

The only time that Albertha Johnson, 47, has been able to stay home from her job as a supervisor for the city's Human Resources Administration, the nation's largest social services agency, was when she got the virus in April. After two weeks off to recover, it

was back to her office in Harlem where people come in for help, from domestic abuse victims to those suffering from mental illness who may become violent.

"The type of work I decided to do requires hands-on," she said. "You can't tell somebody 'stop hitting somebody' from home. I choose it because I like what I do."

The sheer number of essential workers in Mount Hope who cannot work from home is most likely why it was the only neighborhood in the city where the total number of commuting trips actually increased during the height of the pandemic, when New York came to a virtual standstill.

The average number of weekday commutes in Mount Hope, which sits about a mile and a half north of Yankee Stadium, rose 4 percent in April from the same month the previous year, according to

Continued on Page A5

Russia Exploits Conspiracy Mill Americans Built

By NICOLE PERLROTH

The night of the Iowa caucuses in February, Robby Mook, Hillary Clinton's 2016 campaign manager, logged into Twitter to find the hashtag #RobbyMookCaucusApp trending across the country. Pundits on both sides of the aisle accused him of developing a mobile app to rig the Democratic primary against Senator Bernie Sanders.

Soon his phone was buzzing with calls from reporters demanding to know what role he had played in creating the app, a flawed vote-reporting system that delayed caucus results for days.

But he had never even heard of the app, which was developed by a company called Shadow Inc. This mattered little to the thousands of Twitter users attacking him online. Four months later, Mr. Mook said with a sigh, "There are still people out there who believe I developed that app."

Mr. Mook was the target of an American-made social media conspiracy theory that was picked up by Americans and quickly amplified by accounts with Russian links. What happened to him in February — though just a sliver of the enormous amounts of misinformation — Continued on Page A8



RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



LAURA MCKENZIE/BRYAN-COLLEGE STATION EAGLE

A MOVEMENT THAT SWEEPED THE NATION

Within 24 hours of the killing of George Floyd, protests erupted in a half-dozen cities across the country. Then the number of places doubled. Then they tripled. Now, they encompass all 50 states. Pages A13-20.

The Minneapolis Corner Store Forever Linked to Floyd's Killing

By NICHOLAS BOGEL-BURROUGHS and JACK HEALY

MINNEAPOLIS — Scorn for the brown-brick corner store keeps pouring in: "They call the cops on black people," one person says in an online business review. "Racially profiled a man." "Disgusting."

The outrage is aimed at Cup Foods, a neighborhood market in

South Minneapolis where a teenage clerk called 911 to report that George Floyd had bought cigarettes using a fake \$20 bill. Mr. Floyd was sitting in a parked car just outside the store when a white police officer responding to the call pinned Mr. Floyd's neck to the asphalt for nearly nine minutes.

"People were saying we were responsible for his death, that we had blood on our hands, that we're

the reason he died," said Mahmoud Abumayyaleh, an owner of the market.

Now, Cup Foods has become indelibly connected to the police killing of a black man that set off weeks of protests and a national reckoning over racism in policing and in many other parts of American life.

On Monday, Cup Foods reopened its doors for the first time since protesters poured into the

neighborhood. The deli was again stocked with fresh vegetables and meat, but the newspapers on the rack were precisely three weeks old — the last editions before Mr. Floyd's death began to dominate every front page.

The air inside was still, and customers were scarce in the morning. A newly hired security guard paced in and out of the building. Inside, signs commemorated

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NATIONAL A12-29

Running Dry in the West

A canal that began watering the Montana prairie a century ago may dry up without a \$200 million revamp. PAGE A12

The Lawyer Reshaping Voting

A Trump lawyer, William Consovoy, has taken a leading role as Republicans push voting restrictions. PAGE A26

INTERNATIONAL A10-11

A Persecuted Lesbian's Undoing

Charged with "inciting debauchery" in Egypt after waving a rainbow flag, Sarah Hegazi was jailed and tortured. She killed herself at 30. PAGE A10

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-9

Pence's Claim on New Cases

The vice president misleadingly played down surges, saying the numbers were the result of more testing. PAGE A8

Cuomo Warns New York City

The governor said that lax adherence to social-distancing rules could slow the next phase of reopening. PAGE A5



ARTS C1-7

All the World's a Stage: Drive-In

"Horrible Histories" was meant to be in London's West End in July. Now it'll be in a parking lot 200 miles away. PAGE C2

Art Therapy in Unsettled Times

Several museums are preparing to reopen, with an awareness of a new mission as people struggle. PAGE C1

BUSINESS B1-7

An eBay Harassment Case

Six former employees of the company threatened, stalked and sent disturbing packages to a couple after their online newsletter covered a lawsuit involving eBay, prosecutors alleged. PAGE B1

SPORTS TUESDAY B8-10

U.S. Open Moves Forward

Plans to hold the Grand Slam tennis tournament, probably on its scheduled dates, are set to be announced. Government approval is still needed. PAGE B8

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A30-31

Ali Drucker

PAGE A31



SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Jaguar Poaching on the Rise

A new study links the slaughter of the big cats in Central and South America to corruption as well as investment from Chinese companies. PAGE D1



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Houston Surge Fills Hospitals With the Young

Race to Find Bed Space Before the Peak Hits

By SHERI FINK

HOUSTON — Melissa Estrada had tried to be so careful about the coronavirus. For months she kept her three children at home, and she always wore a mask at the grocery store. She and her daughter even stitched face coverings for relatives and friends.

But over the weekend Ms. Estrada, 37, was fighting the virus at Houston Methodist Hospital after a week of treatments that included an experimental drug, steroids, intensive care and high doses of oxygen. She probably contracted the virus while attending a dinner with relatives who had also been cautious, she said. Within days, all four adults and several children who had been at the gathering tested positive for the coronavirus.

"It was really, really scary," Ms. Estrada said of her illness. She worried constantly about leaving her children motherless. "You hear about it and you think it's the older people or the people with underlying issues," she said. "And I'm healthy. I don't understand how I got this bad."

Coronavirus cases are rising quickly in Houston, as they are in other hot spots across the South and the West. Harris County, which includes most of Houston, has been averaging more than 1,100 new cases each day, among the most of any American county. Just two weeks ago, Harris County was averaging about 313 new cases daily.

Measures to cope with the surge and to plan for its peak were evident over the weekend at Methodist, which called nurses to work extra shifts, brought new laboratory instruments on line to test thousands more samples a day and placed extra hospital beds in an empty unit about to be

Continued on Page A8



CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

50 Years of Pride

People celebrated a milestone for Pride in the pouring rain, though festivities were scaled back because of the pandemic. Page A13.

Obama Is Drawn Back to a Political Battlefield He Wanted to Quit

By GLENN THRUSH and ELAINA PLOTT

Just after Donald J. Trump was elected president, Barack Obama slumped in his chair in the Oval Office and addressed an aide standing near a conspicuously placed bowl of apples, emblem of a healthy-snacking policy soon to be swept aside, along with so much else.

"I am so done with all of this," Mr. Obama said of his job, according to several people familiar with the exchange.

Yet he knew, even then, that a

conventional White House retirement was not an option. Mr. Obama, 55 at the time, was stuck holding a baton he had wanted to pass to Hillary Clinton, and saddled with a successor whose fixation on him, he believed, was rooted in a bizarre personal animus and the politics of racial backlash exemplified by the birther lie.

"There is no model for my kind of post-presidency," he told the aide. "I'm clearly renting space inside the guy's head."

Which is not to say that Mr. Obama was not committed to his pre-Trump retirement vision — a

Tougher Line on Trump Marks New Phase in Unique Retirement

placid life that was to consist of writing, sun-flecked fairways, policy work through his foundation, producing documentaries with Netflix and family time aplenty at a new \$11.7 million spread on Martha's Vineyard.

Still, more than three years after his exit, the 44th president of

the United States is back on a political battlefield he longed to leave, drawn into the fight by an enemy, Mr. Trump, who is hellbent on erasing him, and by a friend, Joseph R. Biden Jr., who is equally intent on embracing him.

The stakes of that re-engagement were always going to be high. Mr. Obama is nothing if not protective of his legacy, especially in the face of Mr. Trump's many attacks. Yet interviews with more than 50 people in the former president's orbit portray a conflicted combatant, trying to balance deep

Continued on Page A16



WILLIAM DESHAZER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Delirium overtook Kim Victory during a 3-week hospital stay.

As Body Fights, Virus Splinters Patients' Minds

By PAM BELLUCK

Kim Victory was paralyzed on a bed and being burned alive.

Just in time, someone rescued her, but suddenly, she was turned into an ice sculpture on a fancy cruise ship buffet. Next, she was a subject of an experiment in a lab in Japan. Then she was being attacked by cats.

Nightmarish visions like these plagued Ms. Victory during her hospitalization this spring for severe respiratory failure caused by the coronavirus. They made her so agitated that one night, she pulled out her ventilator breathing tube; another time, she fell off a chair and landed on the floor of the intensive care unit.

"It was so real, and I was so scared," said Ms. Victory, 31, now back home in Franklin, Tenn.

To a startling degree, many coronavirus patients are reporting

Continued on Page A7

Flynn's Lawyer Enlisted Allies in High Places

This article is by Mark Mazzetti, Charlie Savage and Adam Goldman.

WASHINGTON — Sidney Powell, a firebrand lawyer whose pugnacious Fox News appearances had earned her numerous private phone conversations with President Trump, sent a letter last year to Attorney General William P. Barr about her soon-to-be new client, Michael T. Flynn.

Asking for "utmost confidentiality," Ms. Powell told Mr. Barr that the case against Mr. Flynn, the president's former national security adviser who had pleaded guilty to lying to the F.B.I., smacked of "corruption of our beloved government institutions for what appears to be political purposes." She asked the attorney general to appoint an outsider to review the case, confident that such scrutiny would justify ending it.

Mr. Barr did what she wanted. He appointed a U.S. attorney six months later to scour the Flynn case file with a skeptical eye for documents that could be turned over as helpful to the defense. Ultimately, Mr. Barr directed the department to drop the charge, one of his numerous steps undercutting the work of the Russia investigation and the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III.

The private correspondence between Ms. Powell and Mr. Barr, disclosed in a little-noticed court filing last fall, was the first step to

Continued on Page A14



ROGELIO V. SOLIS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Retiring a Flag in Mississippi

State senators embraced after passing a bill to remove an emblem of the Confederacy. Page A19.

Does N.Y.P.D. Get Too Much? Perhaps It's Asked to Do Too Much

By MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ and ALI WATKINS

When someone in the grip of a mental health emergency behaves erratically in New York City, it is the Police Department that is often called in. When there are serious disciplinary problems in the schools, or when homeless people are found sleeping in the subways, police officers are asked to take over.

The Police Department's purview is so vast that elite officers trained for hostage situations sometimes find themselves assigned to animal control duties, chasing a runaway deer through the Bronx or corralling an escaped boa constrictor, as they did recently at the height of the coronavirus pandemic.

For decades, a succession of city governments have turned to the department as a catchall fix

Money to Fight Crime, and to Chase Deer

for many of society's ills, outside of traditional crime-fighting. That has meant deploying a force of 36,000 officers with a paramilitary approach that at times can be unnecessarily confrontational.

Now, after weeks of protests

against police brutality spurred by the killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis, a political movement has gathered momentum to curtail the New York Police Department's size and mission creep.

Calls to "defund the police" have resonated with the City Council, where the speaker has proposed cutting \$1 billion from the department's \$6 billion budget

Continued on Page A18



INTERNATIONAL A9-12

'They Did It to the Chief'

The Indigenous leader and activist Allan Adam's beating by the police spurred outrage in Canada. PAGE A9

India Grapples With Colorism

Worldwide racism protests have focused attention on the country's long-held biases over skin tone. PAGE A10

NATIONAL A13-19

Trump Retweets Racist Post

The president later deleted the tweet, which showed a heated exchange between retirees, with one Trump supporter yelling "White power!" PAGE A15

Leveraging Judges

President Trump has used judicial appointments to his advantage. Should Democrats run on the courts? PAGE A15

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-8

'Scary' Surge in Florida

A fivefold increase over two weeks prompted officials to impose limits for the coming July 4 holiday. PAGE A7



BUSINESS B1-9

Hoping for Magic

Florida workers are nervous as Disney World and other destinations start to reopen amid surging infections. PAGE B1

737 Max Will Get Test Flights

The flights, which could begin as soon as Monday, are a major step in getting Boeing's plane flying again. PAGE B1

SPORTSMONDAY D1-6

A Season Under Dark Clouds

Major League Baseball is set to have a 60-game schedule. But that is not likely to help with labor strife or with questions of a sport's relevance. PAGE D1

OBITUARIES B10-11

He Captured Horrors in China

Li Zhenheng's powerful photographs remain a rare visual testament to the brutality of Mao Zedong's Cultural Revolution. He was 79. PAGE B10

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Jamelle Bouie PAGE A20



ARTS C1-8

Change at the Ballot Box

A new documentary followed the campaigns of female politicians of color and found much reason for hope. Above, Representative Rashida Tlaib. PAGE C1



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PRESIDENT IS NOT 'ABOVE THE LAW,' JUSTICES DECIDE

Schools Facing Crush of Costs To Open Safely

By DANA GOLDSTEIN

Bus monitors to screen students for symptoms in Marietta, Ga.: \$640,000. Protective gear and classroom cleaning equipment for a small district in rural Michigan: \$100,000. Disinfecting school buildings and hiring extra nurses and educators in San Diego: \$90 million.

As the White House, the nation's pediatricians and many worn-down, economically strapped parents push for school doors to swing open this fall, local education officials say they are being crushed by the costs of getting students and teachers back in classrooms safely.

President Trump threatened this week to cut off federal funding to districts that do not reopen, though he controls only a sliver of money for schools. But administrators say they are already struggling to cover the head-spinning logistical and financial challenges of retrofitting buildings, adding staff members and protective gear, and providing students with the academic and emotional support that many will need after a traumatic disruption to their lives.

The federal relief package passed in March dedicated \$13.5 billion to K-12 education — less than 1 percent of the total stimulus. But education groups estimate that schools will need many times that, and with many local and state budgets already depleted by the economic impact of the coronavirus, it is unclear where it will come from.

"If Congress doesn't do something in the summer, there is going to be a big mess," said John Lee Evans, president of the San Diego Board of Education.

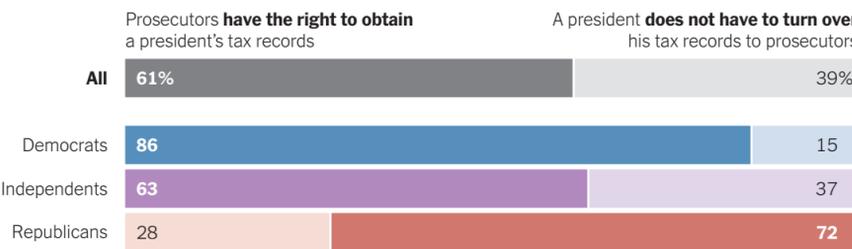
Dr. Evans, a psychologist, said his district hoped to physically reopen five days a week, starting Aug. 31, for families that want their children to attend in-person

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In Trump v. Vance, the court ruled, 7 to 2, that New York prosecutors could seek Mr. Trump's financial records.



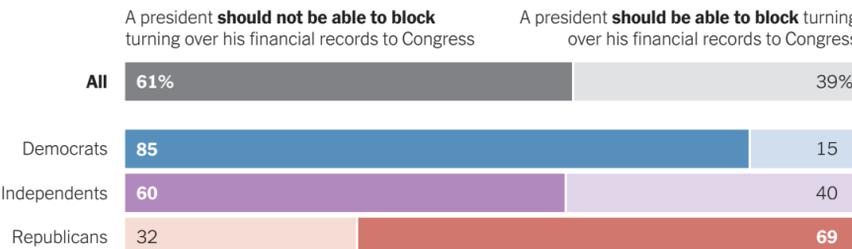
WHERE THE PUBLIC STANDS New York state prosecutors are conducting a criminal investigation of President Trump. They have requested financial records related to Mr. Trump's taxes and finances from his activities prior to becoming president from his accounting firm and other companies. What do you think?



In Trump v. Mazars USA, the same majority ruled that Mr. Trump could for now block disclosure of his financial records to House committees, returning the case to lower courts to narrow the scope of the records sought.



WHERE THE PUBLIC STANDS A congressional committee has requested records related to President Trump's taxes and finances from his activities prior to becoming president from his accounting firm and other companies. What do you think?



Source: Polling questions and data come from the SCOTUSPoll project by Stephen Jessee, University of Texas at Austin; Neil Malhotra, Stanford Graduate School of Business; and Maya Sen, Harvard Kennedy School. They are based on a survey conducted online by YouGov from April 29 to May 12 using a representative sample of 2,000 American adults. The survey has a margin of error of 2.2 pct. pts.

Court Backs a Subpoena on Trump's Tax Records, With Some Limits

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court cleared the way on Thursday for prosecutors in New York to seek President Trump's financial records in a stunning defeat for Mr. Trump and a major statement on the scope and limits of presidential power.

The decision in the case said Mr. Trump had no absolute right to block release of the papers and would take its place with landmark rulings that required President Richard M. Nixon to turn over tapes of Oval Office conversations and that forced President Bill Clinton to provide evidence in a sexual harassment suit.

"No citizen, not even the president, is categorically above the common duty to produce evidence when called upon in a criminal proceeding," Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. wrote for the majority. He added that Mr. Trump might still raise objections to the scope and relevance of the subpoena requesting the records.

In a separate decision, the court ruled that Congress could not, at least for now, see many of the same records. It said the case should be returned to lower courts to examine whether Congress should narrow the parameters of the information it sought, meaning that the practical effect of the two decisions is that the records will not be made public before the elections this fall.

The chief justice wrote the majority opinions in both cases, and both were decided by 7-to-2 votes. The court's four-member liberal wing voted with him, as did Mr. Trump's two appointees, Justices

Neil M. Gorsuch and Brett M. Kavanaugh.

Justices Clarence Thomas and Samuel A. Alito Jr. dissented in both cases.

Mr. Trump immediately attacked the outcome on Twitter. "This is all a political prosecution," he wrote. "I won the Mueller Witch Hunt, and others, and now I have to keep fighting in a politically corrupt New York. Not fair to this Presidency or Administration!"

Chief Justice Roberts implicitly addressed that question in his opinion. There were "200 years of precedent establishing that presidents, and their official communications, are subject to judicial process, even when the president is under investigation," he said.

Justice Kavanaugh put it another way: "In our system of government, as this court has often stated, no one is above the law. That principle applies, of course, to a president."

Mr. Trump had asked the court

Continued on Page A18



ANNA MONEYMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES The Supreme Court ruled 7-2 in both cases on Thursday.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Declaring Independence With a Show of Legal Force

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — At his campaign rally last month in Tulsa, Okla., President Trump ranked his Supreme Court appointments among his biggest achievements. "Two great Supreme Court judges!" he boasted. "So, we have two justices of the Supreme Court, Justice Gorsuch, Justice Kavanaugh, they're great. They are — they're great."

He might not have felt so warmly on Thursday after Justices Neil M. Gorsuch and Brett M. Kavanaugh categorically dismissed his claim to "absolute immunity" from investigators seeking his tax returns. In a pair of far-reaching rulings, Mr. Trump's two appointees joined a unanimous conclusion that the

president went too far by pronouncing himself exempt from legal scrutiny.

The forceful decisions represented a declaration of independence not only by Mr. Trump's own justices but by the Supreme Court as an institution, asserting itself as an equal branch of government in the Trump era. No matter how often Mr. Trump insists that he has complete authority in this instance or that, the justices made clear on Thursday that there were in fact limits, just as they did in landmark executive power cases involving Presidents Richard M. Nixon and Bill Clinton.

That a conservative court

Continued on Page A18

Scientists Felt Heat as Virus Crept Closer

By KATIE THOMAS

In January, as a frightening new virus filled hospital wards in Wuhan, China, Stephanie Giordano, a 25-year-old researcher at the drugmaker Regeneron, in a suburb of New York City, began working on a treatment for the disease.

By March, the deadly coronavirus had hit home. Fearing she would get infected on the train that took her to the lab every day, she moved from her apartment in East Harlem to an Airbnb five minutes from the company's headquarters in Tarrytown, in Westchester County.

Then her mother, a nurse's assistant who cared for newborn babies at a Long Island hospital, was reassigned to a Covid-19 ward where she tended to older people struggling to breathe. No drug could help these patients — or her, if she were to get sick, too. "I had somebody on the line that I really cared about," Ms. Giordano said recently. "And I wanted to see her make it through this."

Ms. Giordano, the youngest member of the company's five-person rapid response team for infectious diseases, helped develop what many consider one of the most promising new treatments for Covid-19, which has now infected more than 12 million people around the world, and killed more than 549,000.

She worked in the lab until 10

Continued on Page A7



The Word on the Street

Trump Tower, site of the latest clash between the president and Mayor Bill de Blasio. Page A23.

Biden Puts Economy at the Center of His Attack

By SHANE GOLDMACHER and JIM TANKERSLEY

Joseph R. Biden Jr. laid out a populist economic vision to revive and reinvest in American manufacturing on Thursday, calling for major spending and stricter rules to "Buy American" as part of an effort to more aggressively challenge President Trump on two of his signature issues: the economy and nationalism.

In a speech in the battleground

A 'Buy American' Pitch in Pennsylvania

state of Pennsylvania, Mr. Biden lacerated Mr. Trump for a bungled response to the coronavirus pandemic that has deepened the economic crisis and a misplaced focus on the stock market, while framing his own economic agenda around a new campaign tagline,

"Build Back Better."

In some ways, Mr. Biden was seizing the "Buy American" message from Mr. Trump himself, who campaigned on an "America First" agenda in 2016 and wrote on Twitter on his Inauguration Day that "Buy American" and "Hire American" were "two simple rules" that would guide his administration.

Mr. Biden said his plans would leverage trade, tax and investment

Continued on Page A15

Vast Chunk of Oklahoma Is Part Of Indian Territory, Court Rules

By JACK HEALY and ADAM LIPTAK

The Supreme Court on Thursday ruled that much of eastern Oklahoma falls within an Indian reservation, a decision that could reshape the criminal justice system by preventing state authorities from prosecuting offenses there that involve Native Americans.

The 5-to-4 decision, potentially one of the most consequential legal victories for Native Americans in decades, could have far-reaching implications for the people who live across what the court affirmed was Indian Country. The lands include much of Tulsa, Oklahoma's second-biggest city.

The case was steeped in the United States government's long

history of brutal removals and broken treaties with Indigenous tribes, and grappled with whether lands of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation had remained a reservation after Oklahoma became a state.

The decision puts in doubt hundreds of state convictions of Native Americans and could change the handling of prosecutions across a vast swath of the state. Lawyers were also examining whether it had broader implications for taxing, zoning and other government functions. But many of the specific impacts will be determined by negotiations between state and federal authorities and

Continued on Page A17



INTERNATIONAL A10-13

A Welcome Timeout for Cairo

Three months of lockdown slowed its pulse, stripped its grit and exposed a new side to a weary city. PAGE A10

Seoul Mayor Is Found Dead

Mayor Park Won-soon, who vanished after leaving a cryptic message, faced a harassment complaint. PAGE A11

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-9

Who Gets Vaccinated First?

Federal health officials are debating giving early access to groups that face a high risk of infection when a vaccine reaches the market. PAGE A8

Hot Spots and Another Wave

Data from those tested at a Queens clinic adds to a deeper analysis of the pandemic's scope in New York. PAGE A9

SPORTSFRIDAY B9-11

Backlash for W.N.B.A. Owner

Kelly Loeffler, a U.S. senator who criticizes Black Lives Matter, has been denounced by many players. PAGE B9

NATIONAL A14-23

Cohen Sent Back to Jail

Michael D. Cohen, President Trump's former personal lawyer, rejected terms of home confinement that were said to include not speaking to the press and not publishing a book. PAGE A23

Feud Could Hinder Convention

Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida is said to be quietly discouraging donors from giving to the Republican convention in his state because of a personal dispute with an unpaid Trump adviser. PAGE A15

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

Tammy Duckworth

PAGE A25



WEEKEND ARTS C1-14

Art You Can See in Person

Storm King, the sculpture park in the Hudson Valley, has reopened. Above, "Eyes" by Louise Bourgeois. PAGE C7

All the Right Moves

Sex may sell the stripper drama "P-Valley," but it's really a story about hard work, our critic says. PAGE C1

BUSINESS B1-8

A Promotion at MSNBC

The new leadership at NBC News is making Joy Reid, a sharp critic of the president, one of the few Black women to anchor a major American evening news program. PAGE B1

Hiring Outlook Remains Dim

As another 1.3 million unemployment claims poured in last week, new job postings in a scarred economy are lacking, and an end to some pandemic benefits is approaching. PAGE B1



CHILD CARE CRISIS THREATENS PLANS FOR A RECOVERY

BARRIERS FOR NEW YORK

Part-Time Schedule for Schools Puts Workers in a Tight Spot

By ELIZA SHAPIRO and PATRICK MCGEEHAN

When New York City decided to reopen its school system, the nation's largest, on a part-time basis in September, it set off a new child care crisis that could seriously threaten its ability to restart the local economy and recover from the coronavirus outbreak.

Business and union leaders say the city needs to mount a kind of Marshall Plan-like effort to find child care for many of the system's 1.1 million students when they are not in classrooms. They said there was no way the economy — from conglomerates in Midtown Manhattan to small businesses in Queens — could fully return to normal if parents had no choice but to stay at home to watch their children.

The concerns reflected a growing recognition across the nation that the reopening of schools could be the linchpin in the broader effort to undo the severe economic damage from the outbreak. New York City alone is facing its worst financial crisis since the 1970s, with an unemployment rate hovering near 20 percent.

"There is no discussion of this right now that's serious," said Kathryn S. Wyde, chief executive of the Partnership for New York City, whose members include the city's biggest private-sector employers. "There is not a serious solution. Which means that people will not be able to go back to work."

Under the plan announced by Mayor Bill de Blasio this week, classroom attendance would be limited to only one to three days a week in an effort to protect public health. The city's approach is similar to that being followed by many school districts, which are concerned that crowded schools

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Pace of Deaths Is Accelerating In Large States

This article is by Farah Stockman, Mitch Smith and Giulia McDonnell Nieto del Rio.

The daily number of deaths from the coronavirus has risen recently in some of the nation's most populous states, leaving behind grieving families and signaling a possible end to months of declining death totals nationally.

In Texas, officials announced 119 deaths on Wednesday, surpassing a daily record for deaths in the pandemic that the state had set only a day earlier. In Arizona, more than 200 deaths have been announced already this week, and the daily virus death toll in the state reached higher than ever. Mississippi, Florida and Tennessee also set single-day death records this week.

Among those who died of the virus in recent days was a 30-year-old man from Nashville who played the organ in church; a 39-year-old mother from St. Augustine, Fla., who told her six children goodbye on a hospital speaker phone; and a 91-year-old grandmother from Dallas, who played a mean game of dominoes.

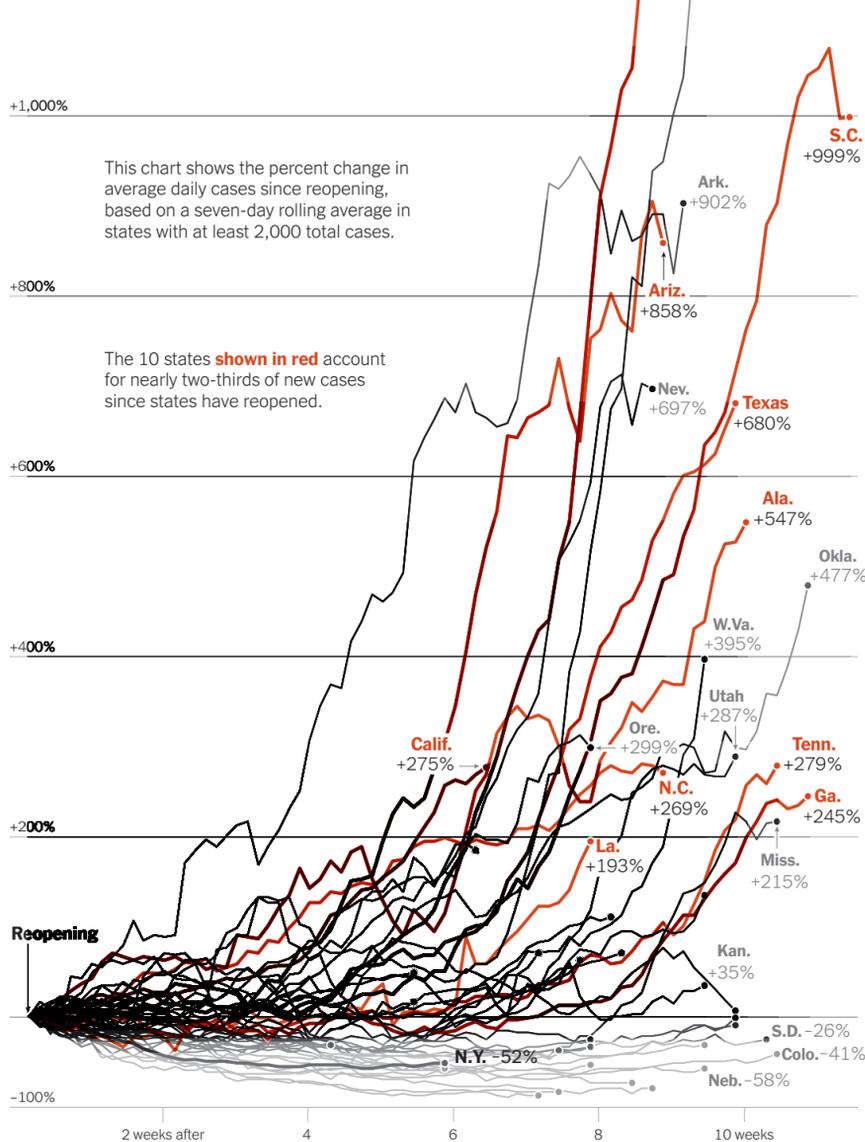
The seven-day death average in the United States reached 608 on Thursday, up from 471 earlier in

Continued on Page A6

How Coronavirus Cases Have Changed Since Each State Reopened

The current surge in cases in the United States is being driven by states that were among the first to reopen their economies, decisions that epidemiologists warned could lead to a wave of infections.

Article and a chart for every state: Page A8.



Source: New York Times database of reports from state and local health agencies and hospitals through July 8. LAZARO GAMIO / THE NEW YORK TIMES

TRUMP COMMUTES STONE'S SENTENCE ON SEVEN FELONIES

Friend Requested Help From President After Lying to Congress in Inquiry

This article is by Peter Baker, Maggie Haberman and Sharon LaFraniere.

WASHINGTON — President Trump commuted the sentence of his longtime friend Roger J. Stone Jr. on seven felony crimes on Friday, using the power of his office to spare a former campaign adviser days before Mr. Stone was to report to a federal prison to serve a 40-month term.

In a lengthy written statement punctuated by the sort of inflammatory language and angry grievances characteristic of the president's Twitter feed, the White House denounced the "overzealous prosecutors" who convicted Mr. Stone on "process-based charges" stemming from the "witch hunts" and "Russia hoax" investigation.

The statement did not assert that Mr. Stone was innocent of the false statements and obstruction counts, only that he should not have been pursued because prosecutors ultimately filed no charges of an underlying conspiracy between Mr. Trump's campaign and Russia. "Roger Stone has already suffered greatly," it said. "He was treated very unfairly, as were many others in this case. Roger Stone is now a free man!"

The commutation, announced late on a Friday when potentially damaging news is often released, was the latest action by the Trump administration upending the justice system to help the president's convicted friends. The Justice Department moved in May to dismiss its own criminal case against Mr. Trump's former national security adviser Michael T. Flynn, who had pleaded guilty to lying to the F.B.I. And last month, Mr. Trump fired Geoffrey S. Berman, the United States attorney whose office prosecuted Michael D. Cohen, the president's former personal lawyer, and has been investigating Rudolph W. Giuliani, another of his lawyers.

Democrats quickly condemned the president's decision, characterizing it as an abuse of the rule of law. "With this commutation, Trump makes clear that there are two systems of justice in America: one for his criminal friends, and one for everyone else," said Representative Adam B. Schiff, Democrat of California and a leader of the drive to impeach Mr. Trump



YARA NARDI/REUTERS

Roger J. Stone Jr. was set to begin serving a 40-month term.

last year for pressuring Ukraine to incriminate his domestic rivals.

Two House committee chairmen quickly announced that they would investigate the circumstances of the commutation, suggesting that it was a reward for Mr. Stone's silence protecting the president. "No other president has exercised the clemency power for such a patently personal and self-serving purpose," said a statement issued by Representatives Jerrold Nadler and Carolyn B. Maloney, both New York Democrats.

Mr. Stone, 67, a longtime Republican. Continued on Page A20

As Paper Withers, a Reporter Dares to Ask Why

By DAN BARRY

POTTSTOWN, Pa. — An essential worker drove his cluttered Toyota Corolla through the early spring emptiness, past a sign outside a closed parochial school asking people to pray. Time to bear witness in a pandemic.

He pulled up to the closed Lower Pottsgrove Elementary School, where masked employees were distributing bags and boxes of food. Dozens of cars waited in line for curbside pickup, many with children eager to spot their teachers.

In the global context of the coronavirus, the moment was small. But to those who live around a Pennsylvania place called Pottstown, the scene reflected both the dependence on subsidized school meals and the yearning to connect in an unsettling time of isolation. It was a story.

Evan Brandt, proud reporter for a once-proud newspaper — The Mercury — emerged from his Toyota with press identification dangling from his neck, the photo old enough to be of someone else. The newspaper's last staff photographer left years ago, and Mr. Brandt, grayer and heavier at 55, had not updated his image.

After snapping smartphone photos with a forefinger protruding from a cut in his latex glove, he interviewed several people, including a counselor dressed as a kid-friendly Tyrannosaurus. Dinosaur to dinosaur.



HARUKA SAKAGUCHI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Evan Brandt of The Mercury in Pottstown, Pa., which was facing an uncertain future long before the pandemic's economic fallout.

Forget dashing foreign correspondents and "All the President's Men": Daily journalism often comes down to local reporters like Mr. Brandt. Overworked, underpaid and unlikely to appear as cable-news pundits, they report the day's events, hold officials accountable and capture those mo-

ments — a school honor, a retirement celebration — suitable for framing. But they are an endangered species being nudged toward extinction by the most important news story in decades. The coronavirus.

Continued on Page A14

Scandal Taints A Political Star At His Suicide

By CHOE SANG-HUN

SEOUL, South Korea — Mayor Park Won-soon of Seoul spoke passionately at a news conference on Wednesday about his vision to create jobs and fight climate change in a post-pandemic world, part of his broader, socially conscious campaign that also called for building a city that was more innovative and safer for women.

The same day, one of his secretaries went to the police, accusing him of sexual harassment. She described how Mr. Park made unwanted physical contact and sent sexually suggestive, dehumanizing texts to her on the encrypted messaging service Telegram, usually late at night, according to local media outlets.

The next day, Mr. Park called in sick. He canceled his entire schedule.

At his desk in the two-story official residence, he wrote a note to his family, asking them to cremate his body and scatter the ashes around the graves of his parents in his hometown.

"I'm sorry to everyone, and I thank everyone who has been with me in my life," he wrote in longhand in the note, which was released by his aide. "I remain always sorry to my family, to whom

Continued on Page A11

Alliance Brings The Flag Down In Mississippi

By RICK ROJAS

JACKSON, Miss. — The activists were infants when two-thirds of Mississippians voted in 2001 to keep the state flag embedded with the battle emblem of the Confederacy. They grew up pledging allegiance to it in school, where they also learned about a history of segregation and oppression associated with the banner.

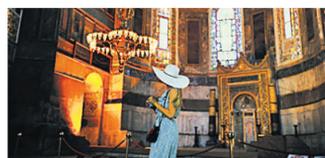
The activists, a band of Black Lives Matter organizers, marched last month through the streets of Jackson, the flag's removal among their demands. But despite the fury, it seemed a false hope in a state that had proudly flown it for 126 years.

"The state flag, we thought, was a constant," Calvert White, 20, said on a recent afternoon.

But in a matter of days, something that had seemed impossible was suddenly inevitable. State troopers folded the flag at the Capitol for the last time, a turnaround that was powered by a coalition of seemingly unlikely allies, including business-minded conservatives, Baptist ministers and the Black Lives Matter activists.

They were bound by a mutual affection for a state not always understood by the rest of the world

Continued on Page A18



INTERNATIONAL A9-11

Erdogan's Explosive Decree

Turkey's president ordered that Hagia Sophia, built as an Orthodox cathedral, again host Muslim prayers. PAGE A9

Damage at Iran's Nuclear Sites

Some officials say an American-Israeli strategy is evolving to a series of short-of-war clandestine strikes. PAGE A11

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-8

Trump vs. Top Universities

Harvard and M.I.T. want a court to protect foreign students' visas, and the president threatened certain universities' tax-exempt status. PAGE A6

NATIONAL A12-20

Trump Insider Was Kept Out

Elaine Duke, who briefly led homeland security, said she was cut out of real decision-making on DACA. PAGE A17

She 'Is Not Jeffrey Epstein'

Lawyers for Ghislaine Maxwell seek to distance her from her disgraced longtime companion. PAGE A16



BUSINESS B1-7

Different Work for Idle Hands

When the pandemic kept European laborers from coming to harvest produce, Britons responded. PAGE B1

Possible Ban of Political Ads

Under pressure, Facebook is said to be weighing the change across its network before the November election. PAGE B1

SPORTS SATURDAY B8-10

What's in a Name? Money

Long defiant, the Redskins' owner, Dan Snyder, quickly changed course on a name change after FedEx threatened to withdraw its sponsorship. PAGE B9

OBITUARIES A21

Saks Fashion Executive

Helen O'Hagan promoted designers as the store's head of publicity and lived a glamorous life as the actress Claudette Colbert's friend. She was 89.

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Dave Eggers

PAGE A23

THIS WEEKEND



JOHN LEWIS, 1940-2020

Civil Rights Icon Turned Conscience of Congress

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

Representative John Lewis, a son of sharecroppers and an apostle of nonviolence who was bloodied at Selma and across the Jim Crow South in the historic struggle for racial equality, and who then carried a mantle of moral authority into Congress, died on Friday. He was 80.

His death was confirmed in a statement by Nancy Pelosi, the speaker of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Lewis, a Georgia Democrat, announced on Dec. 29 that he had Stage 4 pancreatic cancer and vowed to fight it with the same passion with which he had battled racial injustice. "I have been in some kind of fight — for freedom, equality, basic human rights — for nearly my entire life," he said.

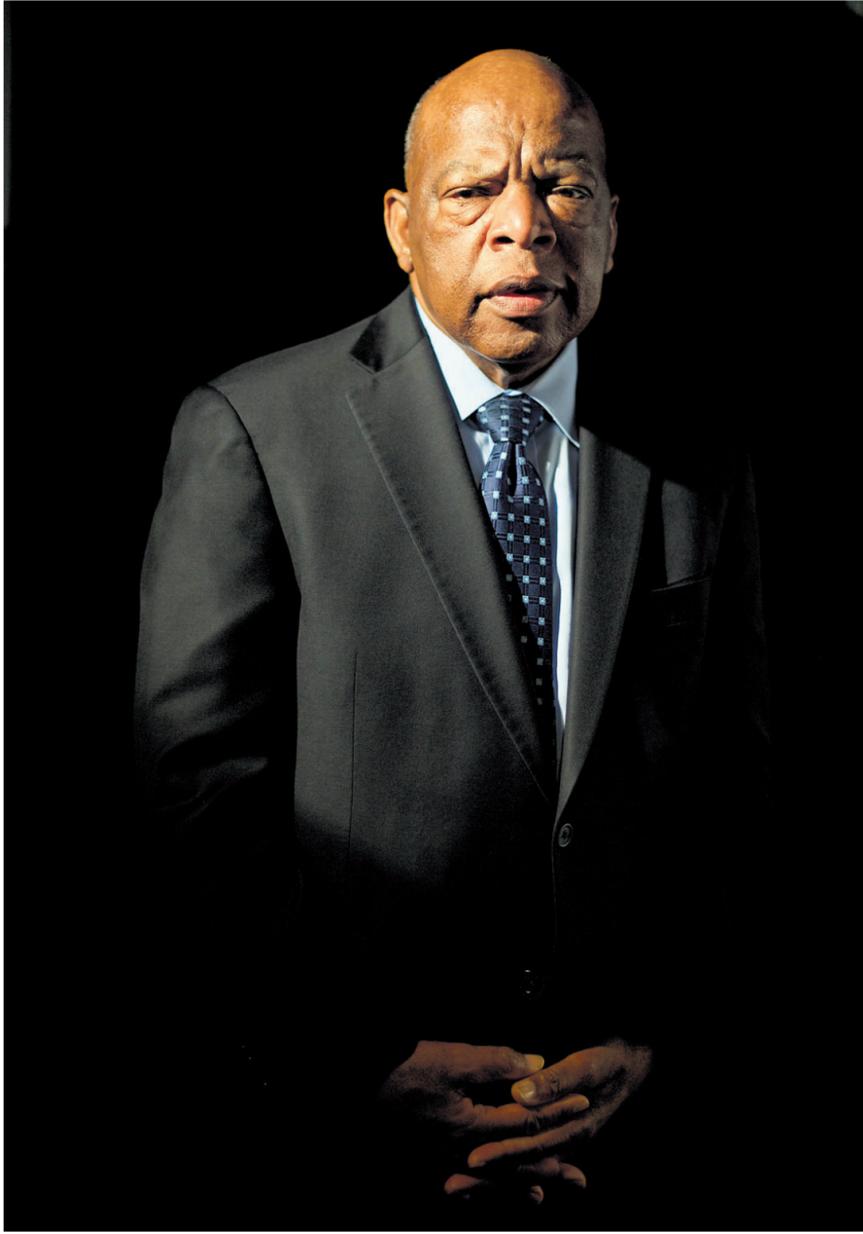
On the front lines of the bloody campaign to end Jim Crow laws, with blows to his body and a fractured skull to prove it, Mr. Lewis was a valiant stalwart of the civil rights movement and the last surviving speaker from the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963.

More than a half-century later, after the killing in May of George Floyd, a Black man in police custody in Minneapolis, Mr. Lewis welcomed the resulting global demonstrations against police killings of Black people and, more broadly, against systemic racism in many corners of society. He saw those protests as a continuation of his life's work, though his illness had left him to watch from the sidelines.

"It was very moving, very moving to see hundreds of thousands of people from all over America and around the world take to the streets — to speak up, to speak out, to get into what I call 'good trouble,'" Mr. Lewis told "CBS This Morning" in June.

"This feels and looks so different," he said of the Black Lives Matter movement, which drove the anti-racism demonstrations. "It is so much more massive and all inclusive." He added, "There will be no turning back."

He died on the same day as did
Continued on Page 20



MARK MAKELA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Representative John Lewis in Philadelphia in 2013. "I have been in some kind of fight — for freedom, equality, basic human rights — for nearly my entire life," he said in December.

Passing Off Virus Burden, White House Fueled Crisis

Eager to Shed Blame for Failures, Trump's Team Embraced Rosiest Projections

This article is by Michael D. Shear, Noah Weiland, Eric Lipton, Maggie Haberman and David E. Sanger.

WASHINGTON — Each morning at 8 as the coronavirus crisis was raging in April, Mark Meadows, the White House chief of staff, convened a small group of aides to steer the administration through what had become a public health, economic and political disaster.

Seated around Mr. Meadows's conference table and on a couch in his office down the hall from the Oval Office, they saw their immediate role as practical problem solvers. Produce more ventilators. Find more personal protective equipment. Provide more testing.

But their ultimate goal was to shift responsibility for leading the fight against the pandemic from the White House to the states. They referred to this as "state authority handoff" and it was at the heart of what would become at once a catastrophic policy blunder and an attempt to escape blame for a crisis that had engulfed the country — perhaps one of the greatest failures of presidential leadership in generations.

Over a critical period beginning in mid-April, President Trump and his team convinced themselves that the outbreak was fading, that they had given state governments all the resources they needed to contain its remaining "embers" and that it was time to ease up on the lockdown.

In doing so, he was ignoring warnings that the numbers would continue to drop only if social distancing were kept in place, rushing instead to restart the economy and tend to his battered re-election hopes.

Casting the decision in ideological terms, Mr. Meadows would tell people: "Only in Washington, D.C., do they think that they have the answer for all of America."

For scientific affirmation, they turned to Dr. Deborah L. Birx, the sole public health professional in the Meadows group. A highly regarded infectious diseases expert, she was a constant source of upbeat news for the president and his aides, walking the halls with charts emphasizing that outbreaks were gradually easing. The country, she insisted, was likely to resemble Italy, where virus cases declined steadily from frightening heights.

On April 11, she told the coronavirus task force in the Situation Room that the nation was in good shape. Boston and Chicago are two weeks away from the peak, she cautioned, but the numbers in Detroit and other hard-hit cities are heading down.

A sharp pivot soon followed, with consequences that continue to plague the country today as the virus surges anew.

Even as a chorus of state officials and health experts warned that the pandemic was far from
Continued on Page 6



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump's bet that the crisis would disappear proved catastrophically wrong.

Rising Mistrust of 'Warp Speed' Vaccine May Prolong Pandemic

By JAN HOFFMAN

Almost daily, President Trump and leaders worldwide say they are racing to develop a coronavirus vaccine, in perhaps the most urgent mission in the history of medical science. But the repeated assurances of near-miraculous speed are exacerbating a problem that has largely been overlooked and one that public health experts say must be addressed now: persuading people to actually get the shot.

A growing number of polls find so many people saying they would not get a coronavirus vaccine that its potential to shut down the pandemic could be in jeopardy. Dis-

trust of it is particularly pronounced in African-American communities, which have been disproportionately devastated by the virus. But even many staunch supporters of immunization say they are wary of this vaccine.

"The bottom line is I have absolutely no faith in the F.D.A. and in the Trump administration," said Joanne Barnes, a retired fourth-grade teacher from Fairbanks, Alaska, who said she was otherwise always scrupulously up-to-date on getting her shots, including those for shingles, flu and pneumonia. "I just feel like there's a rush to get a vaccine out, so I'm very hesitant."

Mistrust of vaccines has been

Black Communities, Hit Hard, Are Skeptical

on the rise in the U.S. in recent years, a sentiment that resists categorization by political party, educational background or socio-economic demographics. It has been fanned by a handful of celebrities. But now, anti-vaccine groups are attracting a new type of clientele altogether.

Jackie Schlegel, founder of Texans for Vaccine Choice, which presses for school vaccine exemptions, said that her group's mem-

bership had skyrocketed since April. "Our phones are ringing off the hook with people who are saying, 'I've gotten every vaccine, but I'm not getting this one,'" she said. "How do I opt out?" She said she often had to assure callers, "They're not coming to your home to force-vax you."

The fastidious process to develop a safe, effective vaccine typically takes a decade; some have taken far longer. But the administration of Mr. Trump, himself once an outspoken vaccine skeptic, has been saying recently that a coronavirus vaccine could be ready this fall. While it has removed certain conventional barriers, such
Continued on Page 9

For Bikini Hub In China, July Isn't the Same

By RAYMOND ZHONG

There may be no place on earth that had been looking forward to summer more than Xingcheng, a laid-back seaside town dotted with the occasional high rise.

Hot sun, cold drinks. Long, languorous days at the beach. But, most important, swimsuits.

Xingcheng (pronounced SHING-chung), an out-of-the-way factory town on China's northeastern coast, makes swimwear that is exported to the United States, Germany, Australia and dozens of other countries — in total, a quarter of the world's swimwear, it estimates. This year, though, when China forced its people to stay home to stop the coronavirus, Xingcheng's production of trunks, bikinis and one-pieces ground to a halt.

Then, just as China started getting back to work, the epidemic became a pandemic, and the rest of the world began shutting down. Demand for Xingcheng's swimsuits dried up. Factories and workshops that reopened — masks, disinfectant and temperature checks in place — had very little to do.

Some thought about making other stretchy products instead: yoga clothes, scuba diving suits, wrestling outfits. But that would have meant buying new material, finding new suppliers, maybe even investing in new machines.
Continued on Page 9

In Minneapolis, A Rigid Officer Many Disliked

By KIM BARKER and SERGE F. KOVALESKI

MINNEAPOLIS — The four teenagers drove around playing a game of Nerf Gun Assassin on a May evening before graduation in 2013. One of them randomly fired an orange dart out the window.

It was a stupid teenager move. What happened next was deadly serious: Two Minneapolis police officers pulled up, pointed their guns at the teenagers and shouted orders laced with expletives, two of them later recalled.

Kristofer Bergh, then 17, said he kept telling himself not to move suddenly or give the police any reason to shoot him. The youth who had fired the dart was put into their cruiser for what seemed like an hour, and the officers seized everyone's Nerf guns. One officer made a lasting impression; in fact, Mr. Bergh and another passenger said they would never forget him, nor what he said as he gave them back their guns.

"Most of you will be 18 by the end of the year," the officer said, before letting them go. "That means you'll be old enough for 'big boy jail.'"

It was Derek Chauvin, the white police officer who, seven years later, would become known around the world for putting his knee on the neck of a Black man named George Floyd during an arrest and holding it there for more than eight minutes, until he no longer
Continued on Page 17

FATHER SOLDIER SON



PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES, LEFT, MARCUS YAM/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Brian Eisch was a single father of two boys when he left for Afghanistan in 2010. The Times chronicled their lives for a decade. We watched as the family was tested through his deployment, his homecoming and the aftermath.

SPECIAL SECTION

INTERNATIONAL 11-13

A Cemetery Created by Covid

None of Iraq's graveyards wanted the bodies of coronavirus victims. So Shiite leaders built a burial place for them all, no matter their faith or sect. PAGE 11

Nile Feud Comes to a Head

Ethiopia is nearly done building Africa's largest dam, which Egypt calls a threat to its national security. PAGE 13

NATIONAL 14-22

Untrained for Street Protests

In Portland, Ore., federal agents who are not used to controlling crowds have relied on militarized tactics. PAGE 18

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Like Family, Until the Layoffs

Airbnb celebrated its tight-knit work force. But the pandemic disrupted its mission to change capitalism. PAGE 1

Death Becomes Them

The pandemic has been a boom time for start-ups offering end-of-life services, from funeral to final tweet. PAGE 1



ARTS & LEISURE

Diversity in the Concert Hall

Nine Black performers describe steps needed to push past lip service and truly transform classical music, a field that's dominated by white people. Our critics weigh in, too. PAGE 6

AT HOME

Keeping Class on the Couch

Despite the challenges of teaching their children, some parents think home is their best option for the fall, with school district plans uncertain. PAGE 3

SUNDAY REVIEW

Seyward Darby

PAGE 6

SUNDAY STYLES

What's a Fan to Do Now?

The Washington Redskins' decision to rebrand turns decades of memorabilia into artifacts of a racist name. PAGE 1

Angst, Just Where They Left It

Those who moved back to their childhood bedrooms during the pandemic found relics of their past selves. PAGE 1



SPORTS 26-28

No Blue Jays Home Games

Canada's government said the risk of having Major League Baseball teams visiting Toronto from the United States was too great. PAGE 28

BOOK REVIEW

When Shakespeare's Son Died

The plague killed the playwright's son at 11. Maggie O'Farrell's novel "Hamnet" considers the death's reverberations on his family and his work. PAGE 1





An emergency crew rushed José de Almeida Rocha, 62, from his home to the hospital in Manacapuru, Brazil, last month, using his hammock as a stretcher.

HAWKS SET CHINA AND U.S. ON PATH TO LASTING DIVIDE

HARD TURN IN RELATIONS

Aides to Trump, Fearing 2020 Defeat, Seek an Irreversible Shift

By EDWARD WONG and STEVEN LEE MYERS

WASHINGTON — Step by step, blow by blow, the United States and China are dismantling decades of political, economic and social engagement, setting the stage for a new era of confrontation shaped by the views of the most hawkish voices on both sides.

With President Trump trailing badly in the polls as the election nears, his national security officials have intensified their attack on China in recent weeks, targeting its officials, diplomats and executives. While the strategy has reinforced a key campaign message, some American officials, worried Mr. Trump will lose, are also trying to engineer irreversible changes, according to people familiar with the thinking.

China's leader, Xi Jinping, has inflamed the fight, brushing aside international concern about the country's rising authoritarianism to consolidate his own political power and to crack down on basic freedoms, from Xinjiang to Hong Kong. By doing so, he has hardened attitudes in Washington, fueling a clash that at least some in China believe could be dangerous to the country's interests.

The combined effect could prove to be Mr. Trump's most consequential foreign policy legacy, even if it's not one he has consistently pursued: the entrenchment of a fundamental strategic and ideological confrontation between the world's two largest economies.

A state of broad and intense competition is the end goal of the president's hawkish advisers. In their view, confrontation and coercion

Continued on Page 14

The Amazon, Giver of Life, Unleashes the Pandemic

Photographs by TYLER HICKS | Written by JULIE TURKEWITZ and MANUELA ANDREONI

The pandemic is battering Brazil, overwhelming it with more infections and deaths than any country except for the United States. And the Amazon region, as isolated as it may seem, has been hit particularly hard, with cities along the river suffering far higher death rates than the national average. Even in remote towns, people have been as likely to get sick as in New York City.

Since the 1500s, waves of explorers have traveled the river,

seeking gold, land and converts — and later, rubber, helping to fuel the Industrial Revolution and change the world. But they have also brought smallpox, measles and other diseases, killing millions and wiping out entire communities. Now the virus, introduced to the region by a traveler from England, is spreading along the Amazon River, the region's most vital artery — and its biggest source of contagion. SPECIAL REPORT, PAGES 15-18

Lost Swagger Turns Midtown Into an Omen

By MICHAEL WILSON

Editors and account managers at the Time & Life Building in Midtown Manhattan could once walk out through the modernist lobby and into a thriving ecosystem that existed in support of the offices above. They could shop for designer shirts or shoes, slide into a steakhouse corner booth for lunch and then return to their desks without ever crossing the street.

To approach this block today is like visiting a relative in the hospital. The building, rebranded a few years ago and renovated to fit 8,000 workers, now has just 500 a day showing up. The steakhouse dining rooms are dark.

On a sidewalk once lined with food carts, a lone hot-dog vendor stood one recent Friday on a corner below the building. His name is Ahmed Ahmed, and he said he used to sell 400 hot dogs a day.

How many now? "Maybe 10." Midtown Manhattan, the muscular power center of New York City for a century, faces an economic catastrophe, a cascade of loss upon loss that threatens to alter the very identity of the city's corporate base. The coronavirus's toll of lost professions, lost profes-

Continued on Page 9

Anatomy of an Election 'Meltdown' in Georgia

This article is by Danny Hakim, Reid J. Epstein and Stephanie Saul.

Last month, Daryl Marvin got his first taste of voting in Georgia.

Mr. Marvin had previously lived in Connecticut, where voting was a brisk process measured in minutes. But on the day of the primary, June 9, he and his wife waited four hours to vote at Park Tavern, an Atlanta restaurant where more than 16,000 voters were consolidated into a single precinct. An electrical engineer by training, Mr. Marvin was baffled by what he saw when he finally got inside: a station with 15 to 20 touch screens on which to vote but only a single scanner to process the printed ballots.

"The scanner was the choke point," he said. "Nobody thought about it, and this is Operations Research 101. It's not very difficult to figure it out."

Captured in drone footage, beamed across airwaves and internet, the interminable lines at Atlanta polling sites became an instant and indelible omen of a voting breakdown in this pandemic-challenged presidential election year.

Election workers described a cascade of failures as they struggled to activate and operate Georgia's new high-tech voting system. Next came a barrage of partisan blame-throwing: The Republican secretary of state, Brad Raf-



NICOLE CRAINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Giant's Last Journey Home

A string of memorials for Representative John Lewis began Saturday in Troy, Ala., the town where he grew up. Page 24.

fensperger, accused the liberal-leaning Fulton County, which includes most of Atlanta, of botching the election, while Democratic leaders saw the fiasco as just the latest episode in Republicans' yearslong effort to disenfranchise the state's minority voters.

Six weeks later, as the political calendar bends toward November and the presidential campaigns look to Georgia as a possible battleground, the faults in the state's balky elections system remain

largely unresolved. And it has become increasingly clear that what happened in June was a collective collapse.

On-the-ground planning deficiencies emerged across the state, though they were far and away direst in Fulton County, the state's most populous. With a history of difficulty administering elections, Fulton showed little ability to adjust three months into the pandemic, struggling to process an

Continued on Page 22

With Well-Timed Bets, Insiders Cash In on Sprint for a Vaccine

By DAVID GELLES and JESSE DRUCKER

On June 26, a small South San Francisco company called Vaxart made a surprise announcement: A coronavirus vaccine it was working on had been selected by the U.S. government to be part of Operation Warp Speed, the flagship federal initiative to quickly develop drugs to combat Covid-19.

Vaxart's shares soared. Company insiders, who weeks earlier had received stock options worth a few million dollars, saw the value of those awards increase six-fold. And a hedge fund that partly controlled the company walked away with more than \$200 million in instant profits.

The race is on to develop a coronavirus vaccine, and some companies and investors are betting that the winners stand to earn vast profits from selling hundreds of millions — or even billions — of doses to a desperate public.

Across the pharmaceutical and medical industries, senior executives and board members are capitalizing on that dynamic.

They are making millions of dollars after announcing positive developments, including support from the government, in their efforts to fight Covid-19. After such announcements, insiders from at least 11 companies — most of them

smaller firms whose fortunes often hinge on the success or failure of a single drug — have sold shares worth well over \$1 billion since March, according to figures compiled for The New York Times by Equilar, a data provider.

In some cases, company insiders are profiting from regularly scheduled compensation or automatic stock trades. But in other situations, senior officials appear to be pouncing on opportunities to cash out while their stock prices are sky high. And some companies have awarded stock options to executives shortly before market-moving announcements about their vaccine progress.

The sudden windfalls highlight the powerful financial incentives for company officials to generate positive headlines in the race for coronavirus vaccines and treatments, even if the drugs might never pan out.

Some companies are attracting government scrutiny for potentially using their associations with Operation Warp Speed as marketing ploys.

For example, the headline on Vaxart's news release declared: "Vaxart's Covid-19 Vaccine Selected for the U.S. Government's

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TRACKING AN OUTBREAK 4-10

North Korea Suspects First Case

Kim Jong-un, the nation's leader, declared an emergency and locked down a border city where a possible case of Covid-19 was being investigated. PAGE 6

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Tech Aims to Teach Regulators

Amazon, Google and Qualcomm are financing a George Mason University institute that pushes a hands-off approach to antitrust issues. PAGE 1

THE MAGAZINE

The Great Climate Migration

New research suggests climate change will cause major human movement. We teamed up with ProPublica and data scientists to understand how.

OBITUARIES 25-27

TV Host Extraordinaire

Regis Philbin used spontaneous wit to enliven some 17,000 hours of airtime on his morning show and "Who Wants to Be a Millionaire." He was 88. PAGE 25

SUNDAY REVIEW

Michelle Cottle

PAGE 4



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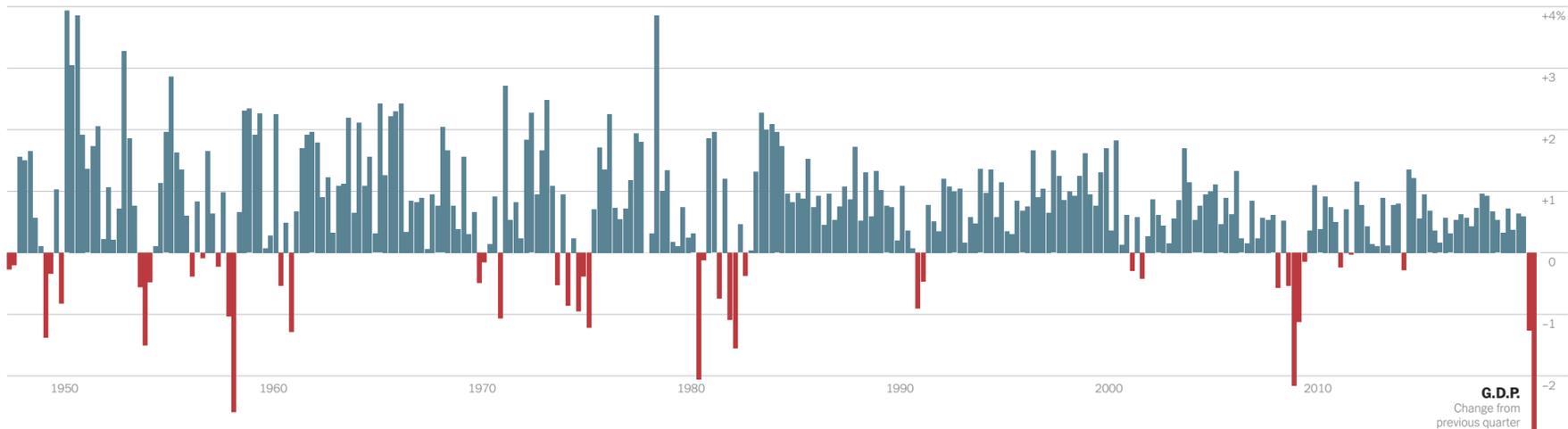
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VIRUS WIPES OUT 5 YEARS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH



NEWS ANALYSIS

Crises Abound, Yet Trump Chooses to Attack Election

By ALEXANDER BURNS

For several years, it has been the stuff of his opponents' nightmares: that President Trump, facing the prospect of defeat in the 2020 election, would declare by presidential edict that the vote had been delayed or canceled.

Never mind that no president has that power, that the timing of federal elections has been fixed since the 19th century and that the Constitution sets an immovable expiration date on the president's term.

But when the moment came on Thursday, with Mr. Trump suggesting for the first time that the election could be delayed, his proposal appeared as impotent as it was predictable — less a stunning assertion of his authority than yet another lament that

his political prospects have dimmed amid a global public-health crisis. Indeed, his comments on Twitter came shortly after the Commerce Department reported that American economic output contracted last quarter at the fastest rate in recorded history, underscoring one of Mr. Trump's most severe vulnerabilities as he pursues a second term.

Far from a strongman, Mr. Trump has lately become a heckler in his own government, promoting medical conspiracy theories on social media, playing no constructive role in either the management of the coronavirus pandemic or the negotiation of an economic rescue plan in Congress — and complaining endlessly about the unfairness of it all.

"It will be a great embarrassment to the USA," Mr. Trump tweeted of the election, asserting without evidence that mail-in

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Second-Quarter Contraction Sets a Grim Record

By BEN CASSELMAN

The coronavirus pandemic's toll on the nation's economy became emphatically clearer Thursday as the government detailed the most devastating three-month collapse on record, which wiped away nearly five years of growth.

Gross domestic product, the broadest measure of goods and services produced, fell 9.5 percent in the second quarter of the year as consumers cut back spending, businesses pared investments and global trade dried up, the Commerce Department said.

The drop — the equivalent of a 32.9 percent annual rate of decline — would have been even more severe without trillions of dollars in government aid to households and businesses.

But there is mounting evidence that the attempt to freeze the economy and defeat the virus has not produced the rapid rebound that many envisioned. A surge in coronavirus cases and deaths across the country has led to a renewed pullback in economic activity, reflecting consumer unease and renewed shutdowns.

And much of the government support is on the verge of running out, with Washington at an impasse over

Stalled Rebound in U.S. Makes Outlook Bleak for Coming Months

next steps.

"In another world, a sharp drop in activity would have been just a good, necessary blip while we addressed the virus," said Heather Boushey, president of the Washington Center for Equitable Growth, a progressive think tank. "From where we sit in July, we know that this wasn't just a short-term blip. We did not get the virus under control."

Data from Europe shows what might have been. Germany on Thursday reported a drop in second-quarter G.D.P. that was even steeper than the U.S. decline. But in Germany, coronavirus cases fell sharply and remain low, which has allowed a much stronger economic rebound in recent weeks.

In the United States, the rebound appears to have stalled. More than 1.4 million Americans filed new claims for state unemployment benefits last week, the Labor Department said Thursday. It was the 19th straight week that

the tally exceeded one million, an unheard-of figure before the pandemic. A further 830,000 people filed for benefits under the federal Pandemic Unemployment Assistance program, which supports freelancers, the self-employed and other workers not covered by traditional unemployment benefits. In total, some 30 million people are receiving unemployment benefits, a number that has come down only slowly as new layoffs — many of them permanent job losses, as opposed to the spring's temporary furloughs — offset gradual rehiring. Some economists now fear that the monthly jobs report coming next week will show that total employment fell in July after two months of strong gains. The slow recovery, and signs of backsliding, are taking a toll on consumer confidence, which fell in July after rising in June.

"Not only have we plateaued, but we may be losing ground," said Diane Swonk, chief economist at the accounting firm Grant Thornton in Chicago. "To have these kinds of numbers in July when many in Congress hoped this would be over by summer underscores how unique and persistent the Covid crisis is."

The economic collapse in the

second quarter was unrivaled in its speed and breathtaking in its severity. The decline was more than twice as large as in the Great Recession a decade ago, but occurred in a fraction of the time. The only possible comparisons in modern American history came during the Great Depression and the demobilization after World War II, both of which predated

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Wielding Fear, Wallace's Way

The Politics of Division Echo in Trump's Words

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — The nation's cities were in flames amid protests against racial injustice and the fiery presidential candidate vowed to use force. He would authorize the police to "knock somebody in the head" and "call out 30,000 troops and equip them with two-foot-long bayonets and station them every few feet apart."

The moment was 1968 and the "law and order" candidate was George C. Wallace, the former governor of Alabama running on a third-party ticket. Fifty-two years later, in another moment of social unrest, the "law and order" candidate is already in the Oval Office and the politics of division and race ring through the generations as President Trump tries to do what Wallace could not.

Comparisons between the two men stretch back to 2015 when Mr. Trump ran for the White House denouncing Mexicans illegally crossing the border as rapists and pledging to bar all Muslims from entering the country. But the parallels have become even more pronounced in recent weeks after the killing of George Floyd as Mr. Trump has responded to demonstrations by sending federal forces into the streets to take down "anarchists

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POOL PHOTO BY ALYSSA POINTER

An honor guard carried the body of John Lewis out of Ebenezer Baptist Church on Thursday.

In Atlanta, a Final Salute to an American Giant

By RICHARD FAUSSET and RICK ROJAS

ATLANTA — Three former presidents and dozens of other dignitaries were drawn to Ebenezer Baptist Church on Thursday to bid farewell to John Lewis, a giant of Congress and the civil rights era whose courageous protests guaranteed him a place in American history. But even as the funeral looked back over Mr. Lewis's long life, it also focused very much on the tumultuous state of affairs in the country today.

The most pointed eulogy came from former President Barack Obama, who issued a blistering critique of the Trump administra-

At Lewis Funeral, Calls to Defend the Vote

tion, the brutality of police officers toward Black people and efforts to limit the right to vote that Mr. Lewis had shed his blood to secure.

The political tone of the ceremony came as little surprise. Mr. Lewis, who died July 17 at the age of 80 after a battle with pancreatic cancer, had spent more than three decades in Congress as a thorn in the side of Republican administrations. And he and President Trump had traded public slights

since before Mr. Trump took office.

Mr. Obama compared Mr. Lewis to an Old Testament prophet and credited him with directly paving the way for the nation's first Black president. He also took aim at the forces that he said were working against the equality for Black Americans and other oppressed people that Mr. Lewis had spent a lifetime championing.

"Bull Connor may be gone," Mr. Obama said, referring to the 1960s-era public safety commissioner of Birmingham, Ala., who turned fire hoses and dogs on civil rights protesters. "But today, we witness, with our own eyes, police

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Europe Tries New Strategy To Limit Tech

By ADAM SATARIANO

LONDON — European Union leaders are pursuing a new law to make it illegal for Amazon and Apple to give their own products preferential treatment over those of rivals that are sold on their online stores.

In Britain, officials are drawing up a law to force Facebook to make its services work more easily with rival social networks, and to push Google to share some search data with smaller competitors.

And in Germany, authorities are debating a rule that would let regulators essentially halt certain business practices at the tech companies during an antitrust investigation.

Europe's lawmakers and regulators have shifted to a new stage in their battle to limit the power of the world's biggest tech companies. The region has long been at the forefront of using existing antitrust laws and levying multi-billion dollar penalties against the tech giants, but officials now say that those tactics have not gone far enough in altering the behavior of Apple, Amazon, Google and Facebook. So they are drafting at least half a dozen new laws and regulations to aim at the heart of how those tech companies' businesses work.

Europe has embarked on its legal blitz just as the United States has started flexing its own tech regulatory muscles. On Wednesday, the chief executives of Ama-

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MOHAMMAD PONIR HOSSAIN/REUTERS

Jamalpur in flooding that has killed dozens in Bangladesh.

Torrent of Rain Floods a Fourth Of Bangladesh

By SOMINI SENGUPTA and JULFIKAR ALI MANIK

Torrential rains have submerged at least a quarter of Bangladesh, washing away the few things that count as assets for some of the world's poorest people — their goats and chickens, houses of mud and tin, sacks of rice stored for the lean season.

It is the latest calamity to strike the delta nation of 165 million people. Only two months ago, a cyclone pummeled the country's southwest. Along the coast, a rising sea has swallowed entire villages.

While it's too soon to ascertain what role climate change has played in these latest floods, Bangladesh is already witnessing a pattern of more severe and more frequent river flooding than in the past along the mighty Brahmapu-

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NATIONAL A15-21

Mars-Bound, With Helicopter

NASA's Perseverance rover lifted off with its own four-pound experimental Marscopter on board. PAGE A21

No Charges in Ferguson Killing

A new prosecutor had reopened the inquiry into a police officer's shooting of Michael Brown in 2014. PAGE A18

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-10

Blind Spot on Native Americans

There's no doubt the virus has hit Native Americans hard, but statistical gaps make it difficult to properly allocate resources to fight back. PAGE A5

Prisoners Could Be Freed Early

A Covid-19-related bill in New Jersey would free more than 3,000 inmates who are within a year of release. PAGE A6

INTERNATIONAL A11-14

Darfur's Woes Outlast Dictator

Despite the ouster last year of the Sudanese ruler Omar Hassan al-Bashir, militia violence has surged. PAGE A11

BUSINESS B1-7

Big Tech Turns Up the Gaslight

Now that lawmakers have begun doing their homework, it is unclear if the tech executives' strategy of giving evasive answers will continue to work on Capitol Hill, Kevin Roose writes. PAGE B1

Profiting From a U.S. Crisis

Foreign investors have found a way to put money into the Federal Reserve's emergency lending program, though the rules stipulate that only American companies can participate. PAGE B1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

David Brooks PAGE A25



WEEKEND ARTS C1-14

The 1964 Olympics Revisited

But for the pandemic, the world's elite athletes would again be in Tokyo, transformed by design decades ago. PAGE C10

Reimagining Audubon's Birds

Kerry James Marshall explores the societal "pecking order" and the Black experience in his paintings. PAGE C1

OBITUARIES A22-23

A 2012 Presidential Hopeful

Herman Cain, who ran a pizza chain before entering politics, became an early supporter of Donald J. Trump's 2016 campaign. He was 74. PAGE A23

SPORTSFRIDAY B9-12

Safely Bubble-Wrapped

For some leagues, a restricted environment has proved mostly impervious to an outbreak. But for other leagues, it's not as feasible. PAGE B9





HUSSEIN MALLA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Beirut's port on Wednesday, a day after an explosion that killed 135 people and wounded at least 5,000. Many in the Lebanese capital blamed government dysfunction.

DE BLASIO'S PUSH TO OPEN SCHOOLS FINDS RESISTANCE

TEST CASE FOR BIG CITIES

Teachers' Demands and Clashes With Cuomo Threaten Plan

By ELIZA SHAPIRO

With about a month to go before New York City schools are scheduled to reopen, the city is confronting a torrent of logistical issues and political problems that could upend Mayor Bill de Blasio's ambition to make New York one of the few major districts in the country to bring students back into classrooms this fall.

There are not yet enough nurses to staff all city school buildings, and ventilation systems in aging buildings are in urgent need of upgrades. There may not even be enough teachers available to offer in-person instruction.

Some teachers are threatening to stage a sickout, and their union has indicated it might sue over reopening. Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, who has contradicted the mayor on every major issue related to schools during the pandemic, has spent the last several days loudly noting that Mr. de Blasio's plan is not yet complete.

And the parents of the city's 1.1 million public school students, exhausted after nearly four excruciating



CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The entrance of an elementary school in the Bronx this week.

ating months of remote learning, are desperate for answers and still unsure if they will send their children back into classrooms.

Despite all that, the city believes it can safely reopen schools on Sept. 10 because New York has maintained a low infection rate. If it succeeds, it will accomplish something almost no other big city district is even attempting. In recent days, Los Angeles, Miami, Houston and Washington, D.C., not to mention scores of smaller suburban and rural districts, have opted to start the school year remote-only.

On Wednesday, Chicago, facing a teachers strike over health fears and an uptick in infections in the city, joined the list. The district, the nation's third-largest, had

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Biden Will Skip Party Conclave In Milwaukee

By REID J. EPSTEIN and KATIE GLUECK

WASHINGTON — Joseph R. Biden Jr. acknowledged on Wednesday that he would not appear in Milwaukee to accept the presidential nomination he has sought on and off since the 1980s, bowing to the realities of a pandemic that has altered every aspect of life in 2020, including the November contest.

The decision to cancel major in-person appearances at the Democratic National Convention 90 days before the election, at the recommendation of health officials, was the final blow to the prospect that the fall campaign would resemble anything remotely like a traditional presidential contest, as the country confronts more than 150,000 deaths from the virus and cases continue to rise in parts of the country.

"The conventions as we traditionally have known them are no more," said Terry McAuliffe, the former Democratic National Committee chairman who oversaw the party's 2000 and 2004 conventions. "They will be more interac-

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Lebanon Knew of Danger for Years. It Didn't Act.

By BEN HUBBARD

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Since an orphaned shipment of highly explosive chemicals arrived at the port of Beirut in 2013, Lebanese officials treated it the way they have dealt with the country's lack of electricity, poisonous tap water and overflowing garbage: by bickering and hoping the problem might solve itself.

But the 2,750 tons of high-density ammonium nitrate combusted Tuesday, officials said, unleashing a shock wave on the Lebanese capital that gutted landmark buildings, killed 135 people, wounded at least 5,000 and rendered hundreds of thousands of

Anger at Officials After Deadly Port Blast — 'Country Is Broken'

residents homeless.

The government has vowed to investigate the blast and hold those responsible to account. But as residents waded through the warlike destruction on Wednesday to salvage what they could from their homes and businesses, many saw the explosion as the culmination of years of mismanagement and neglect by the coun-

try's politicians.

Nada Chemali, an angry business owner, urged her fellow Lebanese to confront the political leaders, the "big ones" she accused of driving the country to ruin. "Go to their homes!" she shouted.

Her housewares shop and her home had been destroyed and she expected no government aid to fix them.

"Who from the big ones is going to help us?" she yelled. "Who is going to reimburse us?"

The toll from the blast came into stark relief across Beirut and beyond on Wednesday, the day after it left a smoldering crater where

Continued on Page A12

U.S. Examines Nuclear Goals Of the Saudis

This article is by Mark Mazzetti, David E. Sanger and William J. Broad.

American intelligence agencies are scrutinizing efforts by Saudi Arabia to build up its ability to produce nuclear fuel that could put the kingdom on a path to developing nuclear weapons.

Spy agencies in recent weeks circulated a classified analysis about the efforts underway inside Saudi Arabia, working with China, to build industrial capacity to produce nuclear fuel. The analysis has raised alarms that there might be secret Saudi-Chinese efforts to process raw uranium into a form that could later be enriched into weapons fuel, according to American officials.

As part of the study, they have identified a newly completed structure near a solar-panel production area near Riyadh, the Saudi capital, that some government analysts and outside experts suspect could be one of a number of undeclared nuclear sites.

American officials said that the Saudi efforts were still in an early stage and that intelligence analysts had yet to draw firm conclusions about some of the sites under scrutiny. Even if the kingdom has decided to pursue a military nuclear program, they said, it would be years before it could have the ability to produce a single nuclear warhead.

Saudi officials have made no secret of their determination to keep pace with Iran, which has accelerated

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PETE HAMILL, 1935-2020

The streetwise writer's blunt style and bold storytelling epitomized New York journalism. Page A21.

McConnell Hit Pause on Pandemic Relief, and Now He's in a Jam

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — Senator Mitch McConnell has put himself in one of the toughest spots of a political life that has seen plenty of them.

Up for re-election in the middle of an unforgiving pandemic, the Kentucky Republican and majority leader is caught in a family feud between a group of endan-

CONGRESSIONAL MEMO

gered incumbents in his party who are desperate for pandemic relief legislation that is tied up in slogging negotiations, and a significant portion of Senate Republicans who would rather do nothing at all.

He is also up against Democratic leaders who do not see the

Caught in a G.O.P. Feud as Benefits Run Dry

need to give an inch on their own sweeping coronavirus relief priorities, administration negotiators who badly want a deal that boosts President Trump — even

if it ends up being one that most Senate Republicans oppose — and the president himself, who has played his usual role of undercutting the talks at every turn.

All that is at stake is the health and economic state of the nation, control of the Senate and Mr. McConnell's own reputation and future.

Continued on Page A19

Trump's Bank Was Subpoenaed, Signaling Broader Criminal Case

This article is by David Enrich, Ben Protess, William K. Rashbaum and Benjamin Weiser.

The New York prosecutors who are seeking President Trump's tax records have also subpoenaed his longtime lender, a sign that their criminal investigation into Mr. Trump's business practices is more wide-ranging than previously known.

The Manhattan district attorney's office issued the subpoena last year to Deutsche Bank, which has been Mr. Trump's primary lender since the late 1990s, seeking financial records that he and his company provided to the bank, according to four people familiar with the inquiry.

The criminal investigation initially appeared to be focused on hush-money payments made in 2016 to two women who have said they had affairs with Mr. Trump.

But in a court filing this week, prosecutors who the district attorney's office cited "public reports of possibly extensive and protracted criminal conduct at the Trump Organization" and suggested that they were also investigating possible crimes involving bank and insurance fraud.

Because of its longstanding and multifaceted relationship with Mr. Trump, Deutsche Bank has been a frequent target of regulators and lawmakers digging into the presi-

Continued on Page A18



TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-8

Do-Over for Students in Kenya

The government scrapped the entire school year, but the move could make educational inequality worse. PAGE A7

Checkpoints in New York

Mayor Bill de Blasio is sending the sheriff to bridges and tunnels to try to ward off a second wave. PAGE A4

INTERNATIONAL A9-14

Message of Peace at Hiroshima

Survivors of the atomic blast were a diminished presence at a 75th anniversary event because of advancing age and the coronavirus. PAGE A11

NATIONAL A15-20

The Dark After the Storm

The New York region raced to restore power to millions, but officials warned it may take several days. PAGE A15

Progressives' Staying Power

The sting of Bernie Sanders's primary loss has been salved by a string of victories in congressional races. PAGE A16



ARTS C1-7

The Bronx Before the Bombers

Forests thrived, and Yankee Stadium was a salt marsh. Michael Kimmelman walks with an ecologist. PAGE C1

Lincoln Library Cancels Exhibit

The library said Black community leaders voiced concern displays were outdated and lacked context. PAGE C3

BUSINESS B1-6

A Pandemic Insurance Boon

Major U.S. health insurers are taking in such an embarrassment of profits that they will most likely have to return some to consumers. PAGE B1

SPORTS THURSDAY B7-10

College Football Teeters

Connecticut canceled its season and more athletes opted out of playing, raising questions about whether any games will be played at all. PAGE B7

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Gail Collins

PAGE A23



THURSDAY STYLES D1-6

Selling Prints That Say Africa

Black-owned businesses make amazing clothes inspired by African patterns. What happens when, inevitably, everyone else starts buying them? PAGE D1



HARRIS JOINS BIDEN TICKET, ACHIEVING A FIRST

Political Warrior Shaped by Life In 2 Worlds

By MATT FLEGENHEIMER and LISA LERER

Kamala Harris's first act as a political candidate was knocking out a former boxer: the progressive San Francisco district attorney who had been her boss.

Her freshman Senate term has been defined by committee performances so lacerating that Trump administration officials have complained of her lawyerly velocity. "I'm not able to be rushed this fast," a flustered Jeff Sessions once said to her. "It makes me nervous."

And in Ms. Harris's most memorable turn as a presidential contender, speaking with practiced precision to the man who on Tuesday chose her as his running mate, she began with a less than charitable disclaimer — "I do not believe you are a racist" — before flattening him with the "but . . ."

"It was a debate," she has said repeatedly since then, offering no apology for campaign combat.

That is San Francisco politics, friends say. That is Kamala Devi Harris.

In announcing Ms. Harris, 55, as his vice-presidential nominee, Joseph R. Biden Jr. told supporters she was the person best equipped to "take this fight" to President Trump, making space in a campaign premised on restoring American decency for a willing brawler who learned early in her career that fortune would not favor the meek among Black women in her lines of work.

"She had to be savvy to find a way," said Senator Cory Booker of New Jersey, who has known Ms. Harris for more than two decades. "There was no path laid out for her. She had to find her way through the kind of set of obstacles that most people in the positions that she's held have not had to ever deal with."

It is this dexterity, people close to her say, that has most powered Ms. Harris's rise — and can be most frustrating to those who wish her electoral fearlessness were accompanied by policy audacity to match.

Caustic when she needs to be but cautious on substantive issues more often than many liberals would like, Ms. Harris has spent her public life negotiating disparate orbits, fluent in both activism and pragmatism.

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DANIEL ACKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator Kamala Harris, an establishment-friendly Democrat, has long been considered a rising star.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Pick Seen as Safe but Energizing

By JONATHAN MARTIN and ASTEAD W. HERNDON

WASHINGTON — In naming Kamala Harris as his running mate, Joseph R. Biden Jr. made a groundbreaking decision, picking a woman of color to be vice president and, possibly, a successor in the White House someday. Yet in some ways, Mr. Biden made a conventional choice: elevating a senator who brings generational and coastal balance to the Democratic ticket and shares his center-left politics at a time of progressive change in the party.

Unlike Barack Obama and George W. Bush, who selected veteran Washington hands as their vice presidents, Mr. Biden, 77, is opting for a time-honored model in which running mates are not just governing partners but political understudies of sorts. Pegged as a rising star for a decade, but with less than four years of experience in the Senate — she was 8 years old when Mr. Biden was first elected to the chamber — Ms. Harris, 55, reflects a traditional archetype in an election year that has been anything but normal.

She is also a thoroughly establishment-friendly figure, as is Mr. Biden: Both have hewed closely to their party's mainstream for years, shifting left with the times but always with an eye on the broader electorate and higher office. He long said he wanted someone "simpatico" with him and, in Ms. Harris, he found that person, at least when it comes to ideology.

Progressive Democrats now find themselves led by two moderates with relatively cautious political instincts, even as activist energy courses through the party and left-wing challengers unseat some incumbents. The mostly young protesters filling the streets of nearly every American city to decry police brutality and President Trump are represented by two figures who have offered sympathetic words and proposals but whose careers have been shaped by their relationship with law enforcement.

"She's not of the far left of the party, she's a former prosecutor," Janet Napolitano, the former Arizona governor and Homeland Security secretary, said of Ms. Harris.

Continued on Page A15

Woman of Color in No. 2 Slot of Major Party

By ALEXANDER BURNS and KATIE GLUECK

Joseph R. Biden Jr. selected Senator Kamala Harris of California as his vice-presidential running mate on Tuesday, embracing a former rival who sharply criticized him in the Democratic primaries but emerged after ending her campaign as a vocal supporter of Mr. Biden's and a prominent advocate of racial-justice legislation after the killing of George Floyd in late May.

Ms. Harris, 55, is the first Black woman and the first person of Indian descent to be nominated for national office by a major party, and only the fourth woman in U.S. history to be chosen for a presidential ticket. She brings to the race a far more vigorous campaign style than Mr. Biden's, including a gift for capturing moments of raw political electricity on the debate stage and elsewhere, and a personal identity and family story that many find inspiring.

Mr. Biden announced the selection over text message and in a follow-up email to supporters: "Joe Biden here. Big news: I've chosen Kamala Harris as my running mate. Together, with you, we're going to beat Trump." The two are expected to appear together in Wilmington, Del., on Wednesday.

After her own presidential bid disintegrated last year, many Democrats regarded Ms. Harris as all but certain to try for another run for the White House in the future. By choosing her as his political partner, Mr. Biden, if he wins, may well be anointing her as the de facto leader of the party in four or eight years.

A pragmatic moderate who spent most of her career as a prosecutor, Ms. Harris was seen throughout the vice-presidential search as among the safest choices available to Mr. Biden. She has been a reliable ally of the Democratic establishment, with flexible policy priorities that largely mirror Mr. Biden's, and her supporters argued that she could reinforce Mr. Biden's appeal to Black voters and women without stirring particularly vehement opposition on the right or left.

While she endorsed a number of other candidates, Ms. Harris said she would support Mr. Biden if he wins.

Continued on Page A14

Bible-Burning Video Goes Viral, A Win for Russia Disinformation

By MATTHEW ROSENBERG and JULIAN E. BARNES

WASHINGTON — For some of President Trump's loudest cheerleaders, it was a story too good to check out: Black Lives Matters protesters in Portland, Ore., had burned a stack of Bibles, and then topped off the fire with American flags. There was even a video to prove it.

The story was a near-perfect fit for a central Trump campaign talking point — that with liberals and Democrats comes godless disorder — and it went viral among Republicans within hours of appearing this month. The New York Post wrote about it, as did The Federalist, saying that the protesters had shown "their true colors." Senator Ted Cruz, the Texas Republican, said of the protesters, "This is who they are." Donald Trump Jr., the president's son, tweeted that antifa had moved to "the book burning phase."

The truth was far more mundane. A few protesters among the many thousands appear to have burned a single Bible — and possibly a second — for kindling to start

Early Evidence Moscow Has 2020 Campaign Up and Running

A bigger fire. None of the other protesters seemed to notice or care.

Yet in the rush to paint all the protesters as Bible-burning zealots, few of the politicians or commentators who weighed in on the incident took the time to look into the story's veracity, or to figure out that it had originated with a Kremlin-backed video news agency. And now, days later, the Portland Bible burnings appear to be one of the first viral Russian disinformation hits of the 2020 presidential campaign.

With Election Day drawing closer, the Russian efforts to influence the vote appear to be well underway. American intelligence officials said last week that Russia was using a range of techniques to denigrate Democrats and their presumptive presidential nominee.

Continued on Page A22

In a Black Chicago Community, Doubt Defies Hope for Change

By ASTEAD W. HERNDON

CHICAGO — The old guard of this city's Roseland neighborhood, a community on the South Side famous for molding a young Barack Obama and infamous for its current blight, has never forgotten the fruit trees.

Back in the 1970s, before the full exodus of white residents, the erosion of local businesses, the crack epidemic of the 1980s and the disinvestment that followed, it was the trees that signaled the societal elevation of Black families — separating those who moved here from the urban high rises they fled. An apple tree greeted Antoine Dobine's family in 1973, he said. The tree meant a yard. A yard meant a home. And a home meant a slice of the American dream, long deferred for Black Americans.

"Pear trees, peaches, apples, it was beautiful," Mr. Dobine recalled. "Before the white people left."

Today, as activism against racial inequities raises questions of whether anything will actually change for many Black Americans, Mr. Dobine's street in Rose-

Historic Shift on Race or Just 'the Topic of the Moment'?

land tells a different story about that same American dream, and the place for Black people within it. The fruit trees have been replaced with overgrown lots. Residents say gangs use the abandoned areas to stockpile weapons, which children sometimes find. The police are omnipresent, a source of comfort for those who believe they deter crime, and an instigator for others who say they perpetuate abuse.

But more than anything, it's the consistency of the neighborhood's struggle that bothers its tight-knit group of activists, who are skeptical that the nation's current focus on racial injustice will mean tangible improvements in the lives of those who most need it.

White Democrats have often been the opponents of these local leaders in the deep-blue world of

Continued on Page A21

Two Leagues Decide Not to Play, Roiling College Football Season

By ALAN BLINDER and BILLY WITZ

Two of the nation's wealthiest, most powerful college football conferences, the Big Ten and the Pac-12, abandoned their plans to play this fall over coronavirus concerns, a move that fractured the season and promised repercussions far beyond the playing field, even as other top leagues were publicly poised to begin games next month.

The decisions by the two conferences extended the greatest crisis in the history of college athletics, a multibillion-dollar industry that depends heavily on football to underwrite lower-profile sports and which provides universities with a national profile they use to recruit students and attract donations.

By canceling games this autumn, the two conferences defied calls by coaches, players and President Trump to mount a season in the face of the virus's largely unchecked spread. The plans of other leading leagues to start playing by late September could now quickly change, and the Big Ten and Pac-12 may ultimately move their seasons to the spring.

Other Top Conferences Planning to Compete in the Fall, for Now

Playing at this stage of the pandemic, though, presented "too much uncertainty, too much risk," Kevin Warren, the Big Ten commissioner, said in an interview on Tuesday.

"You have to listen to your medical experts," Warren said. "There's a lot of emotion involved with this, but when you look at the health and well-being of our student-athletes, I feel very confident that we made the right decision."

The moves by both leagues came after intense deliberations among university presidents and chancellors, but the decisions were not universally supported by administrators, coaches and players.

"This is an incredibly sad day for our student-athletes, who have worked so hard and been so vigilant fighting against this pandemic," said Warren.

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NATIONAL A13-23

Seattle Police Chief Resigns

After city officials approved drastic cuts to the force, its top officer, Carmen Best, said she "can't do it."

PAGE A19

Smelling Blood on Payroll Tax

The president's call to cut taxes that fund Social Security has opened a line of attack for Democrats.

PAGE A20

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-9

Putin Says Russia Has a Vaccine

The country is the first to approve a possible vaccine against the virus, despite warnings from global authorities against cutting corners.

PAGE A6

Retail Chains Exit Manhattan

Restaurants and stores are closing in the city, which has been emptied of office workers and tourists.

PAGE A8

INTERNATIONAL A10-12

Thai Students Protest Military

Thousands of young people are channeling Harry Potter as they call on the army to get out of politics.

PAGE A10

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B8-10

Finding Refuge in a Game

Bergamo, a proud Italian city hit hard by the coronavirus, has found unity and solace in its overachieving and title-chasing soccer team.

PAGE B8

BUSINESS B1-7

The Risk of Eating Out

Bars and restaurants have become a focal point for clusters of Covid-19 infections across the country.

PAGE B1

Taking On a Workplace Taboo

Zomato, a global food-delivery company based in India, drew praise for introducing paid leave for periods.

PAGE B6



ARTS C1-7

A Full-Body Scream

Jonathan Majors stars in HBO's horror series "Lovecraft Country," which isn't afraid to take on racial injustice.

PAGE C1

Rescuing a W.P.A. Mural

A Black nurse who saved lives in 19th century California may now be saving a piece of art in San Francisco.

PAGE C1

FOOD D1-8

Far More Than Grilled Meat

In the Mexican state of Sonora, carne asada is a weekly ritual, a tight-knit gathering of friends and family.

PAGE D1

Not Giving Up on 2020

There's no indoor dining yet, but the Miami chef Niven Patel has opened a Caribbean-inspired restaurant.

PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

Frank Bruni

PAGE A25



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Bahrain Moves To Normalize Ties to Israel

Deal Backed by Trump Signals Shift in Gulf

By MICHAEL CROWLEY and DAVID M. HALBFINGER

WASHINGTON — President Trump announced on Friday that Bahrain would establish full diplomatic relations with Israel, following the United Arab Emirates, in another sign of shifting Middle East dynamics that are bringing Arab nations closer to Israel.

Mr. Trump announced the news on Twitter, releasing a joint statement with Bahrain and Israel and calling the move "a historic breakthrough to further peace in the Middle East." Speaking to reporters, the president said the anniversary of the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks was a fitting day for the announcement.

"There's no more powerful response to the hatred that spawned 9/11," he said.

The announcement came after a similar one last month by Israel and the United Arab Emirates that they would normalize relations, on the condition that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel not follow through with plans to annex portions of the West Bank. Trump administration officials said they hoped that agreement would encourage other Arab countries with historically hostile — though recently thawing — relations with Israel to take similar steps.

The deal, which isolates the Palestinians, comes as Mr. Trump tries to position himself as a peacemaker before the elections in November.

Bahrain's move was not unexpected: The tiny Persian Gulf kingdom was widely seen as the low-hanging fruit to be picked if all went well in the aftermath of the Emiratis' announcement, analysts said. Bahrain, strategically important as the home port for the U.S. Navy's Fifth Fleet, had already opened its airspace to new commercial passenger flights between Tel Aviv and Abu Dhabi;

Continued on Page A10

Time of Unrest Adds to Burden On Black Chiefs

By JOHN ELIGON

Sitting in a church service several years back, listening to his pastor speak of the obligation to confront what is wrong in society, Branville G. Bard Jr. thought about being a Black man and a top police official too.

"I know some of you think you're helping," Mr. Bard recalled his pastor telling parishioners that morning. "But you can't actually help and be silent."

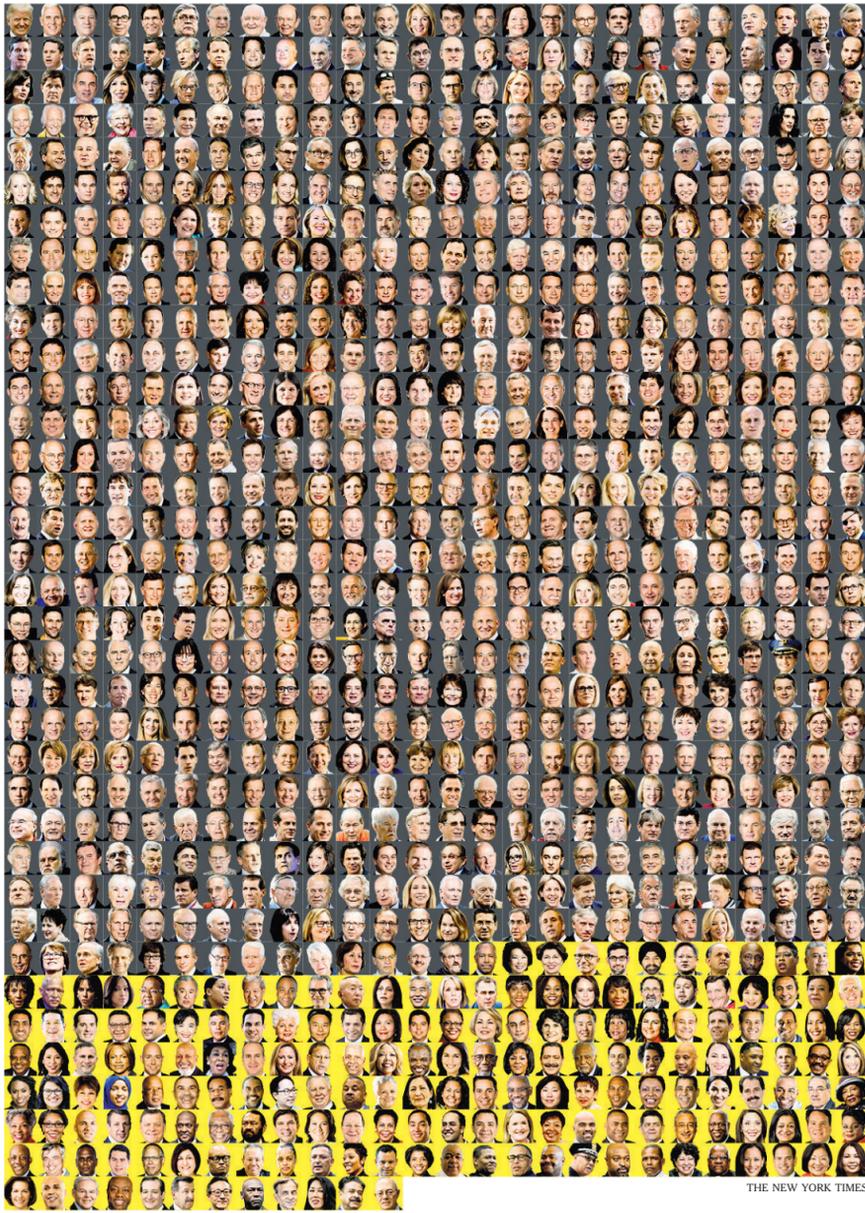
That remark moved Mr. Bard to openly confront what he considered an agonizing truth: He was part of a system "built on oppression and, structurally, on racism," he said.

"Not to acknowledge that means a failure to acknowledge the past," said Mr. Bard, who became the police commissioner in Cambridge, Mass., in 2017. "Folks are just going to continue to resent your failure to acknowledge that."

As police chiefs struggle to reform their departments amid a national reckoning over police abuse, those African-American officers who have risen to the top say they face particular challenges. The expectations they face are outsize, coming from those chanting "Black lives matter!" as well as those subbing out the word Black for blue.

Some Black chiefs have had negative interactions with police officers while out of uniform, and

Continued on Page A17



THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Faces of Power

A review of officials and executives in prominent positions found that about 20 percent identify as Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, multiracial or otherwise a person of color. Pages A14-16.

Fraud Entangles Lifeline to Pandemic's Jobless

This article is by Ben Casselman, Patricia Cohen, Conor Dougherty and Nelson D. Schwartz.

Two weeks ago, shortly after she advertised an apartment for rent in the Bay Area, Barbara Lamb found five envelopes from the state's unemployment office in the building's communal mail slot. They kept coming, day after day, until a stack of more than 30 piled up, bulging with notices of benefit approvals, questionnaires about job status — and debit cards with money.

"They could barely get them through the mail slot, they were so thick," she said.

Rushed Process Made System Vulnerable to Schemes

But Ms. Lamb had not applied for benefits, and had never heard of the people to whom the envelopes were sent. Fearing the address of the vacant unit was being used as part of a fraud scheme to collect the money, she contacted the F.B.I.

California is at the center of increasing concerns about extensive fraud in a federal program to

push unemployment benefits to freelancers, part-timers and others lacking a safety net in the coronavirus pandemic.

At the same time, there is growing evidence of problems keeping track of how many people are being paid through the program. The Labor Department reports about 15 million claims for benefits nationwide. A comparison of state and federal records by The New York Times suggests that total may overstate the number of recipients by five million or more.

If the number of people getting unemployment benefits is lower than officially reported, it could affect thinking about the pandemic.

Continued on Page A8



TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Remembrance, 19 Years On

Mercedes Arias, whose father died in the 2001 attacks, at the 9/11 Memorial on Friday. Page A19.

BLAZES UNTAMED, OFFICIALS PREPARE FOR 'MASS' DEATHS

Officials Scramble to House Evacuees — 500,000 at Risk in Oregon

This article is by Jack Healy, Jack Nicas and Mike Baker.

SALEM, Ore. — A 36-mile-wide line of flames edged into the towns around Portland, Ore., and cities along the West Coast were smothered in acrid smoke and ash on Friday as history-making wildfires remained unchecked, killing at least 15 and leaving dozens of people missing.

"We are preparing for a mass fatality incident based on what we know and the numbers of structures that have been lost," Andrew Phelps, director of the Oregon Office of Emergency Management, said as firefighters struggled to contain blazes that have spread across millions of acres of the Pacific Northwest.

Fires in California, Oregon and Washington have torn through idyllic mountain towns, reduced neighborhoods to ash and spewed so much smoke that pilots were unable to pursue aerial attacks that can be critical in preventing such mass wildfires from encroaching on communities. Portland's mayor, fearing the possibility that fires could start and spread in the city, has declared a state of emergency.

Combined, the states have seen nearly five million acres consumed by fire — a land mass approaching the size of New Jersey — in a record-setting year that scientists think portends the types of disasters that will become more common on a warming planet.

The flames also left a humanitarian disaster in their wake, including another death, east of Eugene, Ore., that was confirmed on Friday. Hundreds, if not thousands, of homes have been lost, most of them in Oregon, where an estimated 40,000 people have been evacuated and as many as 500,000 live in evacuation alert zones, poised to flee with a change

in the winds.

Tens of thousands of people have sought refuge in shelters, with friends and in parking lots up and down Interstate 5 — with emergency responders struggling to create safe shelter for all of them in the middle of the coronavirus pandemic.

On the outskirts of Portland, a site set up to shelter evacuees had to be evacuated itself as the fire line continued expanding toward suburban towns south of the city.

State fire officials said winds had pressed a 36-mile-wide wildfire front toward those outlying Portland suburbs on Thursday, with fire jumping over the community of Estacada and the community of Estacada and threat.

Continued on Page A21

ANOTHER THREAT Some in Oregon have refused to evacuate as falsehoods spread. PAGE A22



DAVID RYDER/GETTY IMAGES

A mobile home park in Phoenix, Ore., was destroyed.

U.S. Campuses See Explosion Of Virus Cases

By SHAWN HUBLER and ANEMONA HARTOCOLLIS

It began last month with a trickle of coronavirus infections as college students arrived for the fall semester. Soon that trickle became a stream, with campuses reporting dozens, and sometimes hundreds, of new cases each day.

Now that stream feels like a flood. In just the past week, a New York Times survey has found, American colleges and universities have recorded more than 36,000 additional coronavirus cases, bringing the total of campus infections to 88,000 since the pandemic began.

Not all of those cases are new, and the increase is partly the result of more schools beginning to report the results of increased coronavirus testing. But The Times survey of 1,600 institutions also shows how widely the contagion has spread, with schools of every type and size, and in every state, reporting infections.

Public health experts say the rising number also underscores an emerging reality of the pandemic: Colleges and universities have, as a category, become hot spots for virus transmission, much as hospitals, nursing homes and meatpacking plants were earlier in the year.

"This is completely predictable," said William Hanage, associate professor of epidemiology at

Continued on Page A6

How Beijing Got 195 Million Back to School

By JAVIER C. HERNÁNDEZ

Under bright blue skies, nearly 2,000 students gathered this month for the start of school at Hanyang No. 1 High School in Wuhan, the Chinese city where the coronavirus first emerged.

Medical staff stood guard at school entrances, taking temperatures. Administrative officials reviewed the students' travel histories and coronavirus test results. Local Communist Party cadres kept watch, making sure teachers followed detailed instructions on hygiene and showed an "anti-epidemic spirit."

"I'm not worried," a music teacher at the school, Yang Meng, said in an interview. "Wuhan is now the safest place."

As countries around the world struggle to safely reopen schools this fall, China is harnessing the power of its authoritarian system to offer in-person learning for about 195 million students in kindergarten through 12th grade at public schools.

While the Communist Party has adopted many of the same sanitation and distancing procedures used elsewhere, it has rolled them out with a characteristic all-out, command-and-control approach that brooks no dissent. It has mobilized battalions of local officials and party cadres to inspect classrooms, deployed apps and other

Continued on Page A11

BUSINESS B1-6

Glitz? Gone. Buzz? Hmm.

The pandemic has upended the film festival circuit, meaning smaller movies face greater challenges in attracting distributors. PAGE B1



Trump Acts; Firms Shrug

Big companies say the president's directive to delay collection of the tax that funds Social Security is more trouble than it is worth. Federal employees are upset to be stuck with it. PAGE B1

INTERNATIONAL A9-12

Once a Casualty, Now a Baron

Britain's former envoy to Washington was undone by a leak of his explosive views of President Trump. He recovered. The Saturday Profile. PAGE A9

A Regulator Is Tested

As technology wars heat up between China and the U.S., Europe finds it harder to set rules of the road. PAGE A10

NATIONAL A13-23

Veterans Boost Militias' Ranks

Analysts say veterans and active-duty military members may make up at least 25 percent of militia rosters. PAGE A13

OBITUARIES A24-25

Challenged Sex Myths

Shere Hite's 1976 book about female sexuality, "The Hite Report," touched off "a revolution in the bedroom." She was 77. PAGE A25



Architect of March Madness

Tom Jernstedt, known as the "father of the Final Four," helped transform the N.C.A.A. men's basketball tournament into one of the biggest events in sports. He was 75. PAGE A24

SPORTS SATURDAY B7-12

A Champion's Fire Still Burns

Serena Williams's quest for a 24th Grand Slam singles title was thwarted once more, and time may be running short as she approaches 39 years old. But nobody is counting her out. PAGE B7

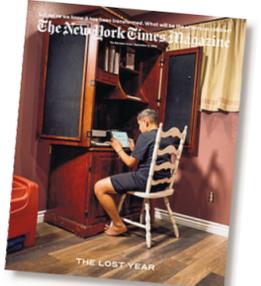
Surprise in the A.L. East

The Baltimore Orioles were not expected to do much this season. And yet, entering a weekend series in the Bronx, they were making a run at the Yankees for a wild-card spot. PAGE B11

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Roger Cohen PAGE A27

THIS WEEKEND



JUSTICE RUTH BADER GINSBURG IS DEAD AT 87



TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg was part of the Supreme Court's liberal wing throughout her tenure, and in her last decade was the most prominent member.

'Jurist of Historic Stature' Is Lost to Cancer

By LINDA GREENHOUSE

Ruth Bader Ginsburg, the second woman to serve on the Supreme Court and a pioneering advocate for women's rights, who in her ninth decade became a much younger generation's unlikely cultural icon, died at her home in Washington on Friday. She was 87.

The cause was complications of metastatic pancreatic cancer, the Supreme Court said.

By the time two small tumors were found in one of her lungs in December 2018, during a follow-up scan for ribs broken in a fall, Justice Ginsburg had beaten colon cancer in 1999 and early-stage pancreatic cancer 10 years later. She received a coronary stent to clear a blocked artery in 2014.

Barely five feet tall and weighing 100 pounds, Justice Ginsburg drew comments for years on her fragile appearance. But she was tough, working out regularly with a trainer, who published a book about his famous client's challenging exercise regime.

As Justice Ginsburg passed her 80th birthday and 20th anniversary on the Supreme Court bench during President Barack Obama's second term, she shrugged off a chorus of calls for her to retire in order to give a Democratic president the chance to name her replacement. She planned to stay "as long as I can do the job full steam," she would say, sometimes adding, "There will be a president after this one, and I'm hopeful that that president will be a fine president."

When Justice Sandra Day O'Connor retired in January 2006, Justice Ginsburg was for a time the only woman on the Supreme Court — hardly a testament to the revolution in the legal status of women that she had helped bring about in her career as a litigator and strategist.

Her years as the solitary female justice were "the worst times," she recalled in a 2014 interview. "The image to the public entering the courtroom was eight men, of a certain size, and then this little woman sitting to the side. That was not a good image for the public to see." Eventually she was joined by two other women, both named by Mr. Obama: Sonia Sotomayor in 2009 and Elena Kagan in 2010.

After the 2010 retirement of Justice John Paul Stevens, whom Justice Ginsburg succeeded, Justice Ginsburg became the senior member and de facto leader of a four-justice liberal bloc, consisting of the three female justices and Justice Stephen G. Breyer. Unless they could attract a fifth vote, which Justice Anthony M.

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Election Jolted as McConnell Vows a Vote on a Trump Pick

By PETER BAKER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — The death of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg on Friday instantly upended the nation's politics in the middle of an already bitter campaign, giving President Trump an opportunity to try to install a third member of the Supreme Court with just weeks before an election that polls show he is currently losing.

The White House had already made quiet preparations in the days before Justice Ginsburg's death to advance a nominee without waiting for voters to decide whether to give Mr. Trump another four years in the White House. Senator Mitch McConnell, the Republican leader, vowed Friday night to hold a vote on a Trump nominee but would not say whether he would try to rush it through before the Nov. 3 vote in what would surely be a titanic partisan battle.

The sudden vacancy on the court abruptly transformed the presidential campaign and under-

scored the stakes of the contest between Mr. Trump and former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr., his Democratic challenger. It also bolstered Mr. Trump's effort to shift the subject away from his handling of the coronavirus pandemic and remind Republicans why it matters whether he wins or not, while also potentially galvanizing Democrats who fear a change in the balance of power on the Supreme Court.

If Mr. Trump were able to replace Justice Ginsburg, a liberal icon, it could cement a conservative majority for years to come, giving Republican appointees six of the nine seats. While Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. lately has sided at times with the four liberals on issues like immigration, gay rights and health care, he would no longer be the swing vote on a court with another Trump appointee.

The justice's death presents a

Continued on Page A19

A Progressive Who Turned Dissent Into Victory

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — There was a framed copy of the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009 on the wall of the chambers of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, who died on Friday. She counted the law among her proudest achievements, even as it illustrated her limited power. As part of the Supreme Court's four-member liberal wing, she did her most memorable work in dissent.

The law was a reaction to her minority opinion in *Ledbetter v. Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company*, the 2007 ruling that said Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 imposed strict time limits for bringing workplace discrimination suits. She called on Congress to overturn the decision, and it did.

On the court, however, her notable victories were few. As she put it in a 2013 interview in her chambers, she was fully engaged in her work as the leader of the liberal opposition on what she called "one of the most activist courts in history."

There were exceptions, of

course. One of her favorite majority opinions, she often said, ruled that the Virginia Military Institute's male-only admissions policy violated the Equal Protection clause.

When President Bill Clinton put Justice Ginsburg on the Supreme Court in 1993, some liberals feared she would turn out to be a moderate.

She had, for instance, voiced doubts about the court's reasoning in *Roe v. Wade*, saying it had moved too fast in establishing a nationwide right to abortion.

The fears were misplaced. Over her 27 years on the court, she emerged as a champion of progressive causes. By the time her

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STEPHEN CROWLEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ruth Bader Ginsburg at her Senate confirmation hearings in 1993. Some liberals initially feared she would be a moderate.

U.S. Set to Ban 2 Popular Apps, Escalating a Dispute With China

This article is by Ana Swanson, David McCabe and Jack Nicas.

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration said on Friday it would ban the Chinese-owned mobile apps WeChat and TikTok from U.S. app stores as of midnight on Sunday, a significant escalation in America's tech fight with Beijing that takes aim at two popular services used by more than 100 million people in the United States.

In a series of moves designed to render WeChat essentially useless within the United States, the government will also ban American companies from processing transactions for WeChat or hosting its internet traffic.

Similar restrictions will also go into effect for TikTok on Nov. 12 unless the company can assuage

the administration's concerns that the popular social media app poses a threat to U.S. national security. TikTok, which is owned by China's ByteDance, is currently in talks with Oracle about a deal that could transfer some control to the American software maker. The Commerce Department said the prohibitions could be lifted if TikTok resolves the administration's national security concerns by the November deadline.

The actions follow an Aug. 6 executive order in which President Trump argued that TikTok and WeChat collected data from American users that could be retrieved by the Chinese government. The administration has threatened fines of up to \$1 million and up to 20 years in prison for violations of the order.

TikTok, which does not directly

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How Cash-Card Idea Derailed White House Drug-Price Deal

By JONATHAN MARTIN and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — After months of heated accusations and painstaking negotiations, the White House and the pharmaceutical industry neared agreement late last month on a plan to make good on President Trump's longstanding promise to lower drug prices.

The drug companies would spend \$150 billion to address out-of-pocket consumer costs and would even pick up the bulk of the co-payments that older Americans shoulder in Medicare's prescription drug program.

Then the agreement collapsed. The breaking point, according to four people familiar with the discussions: Mark Meadows, Mr. Trump's chief of staff, insisted the drug makers pay for \$100 cash

cards that would be mailed to seniors before November — Trump Cards, some in the industry called them.

Some of the drugmakers bristled at being party to what they feared would be seen as an 11th-hour political boost for Mr. Trump, the people familiar with the matter said.

White House officials insist they didn't plan to emblazon the president's name on the cards, which they envisioned sending to tens of millions of Americans to use for prescriptions. Mr. Trump, of course, has a long history of branding everything from skyscrapers to stimulus checks.

Regardless, one drug company executive said they worried about

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Emails Describe Long Campaign To Muzzle Doctors at the C.D.C.

By NOAH WEILAND

WASHINGTON — On June 30, as the coronavirus was cresting toward its summer peak, Dr. Paul Alexander, a new science adviser at the Department of Health and Human Services, composed a scathing two-page critique of an interview given by an experienced scientist at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Dr. Anne Schuchat, a 32-year veteran of the C.D.C. and its principal deputy director, had appealed to Americans to wear masks and warned, "We have way too much virus across the country." But Dr. Alexander, a part-time assistant professor of health research methods, appeared sure he understood the coronavirus better.

"Her aim is to embarrass the

president," he wrote, commenting on Dr. Schuchat's appeal for face masks in an interview with *The Journal of the American Medical Association*.

"She is duplicitous," he also wrote in an email to his boss, Michael R. Caputo, the Department of Health and Human Services's top spokesman who went on medical leave this week. He asked Mr. Caputo to "remind" Dr. Schuchat that during the H1N1 swine flu outbreak in 2009, thousands of Americans had died "under her work."

Of Dr. Schuchat's assessment of the dangers of Covid-19, the disease caused by the coronavirus, he fumed, wrongly, "The risk of death in children 0-19 years of age

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TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-8

Warnings Missed by de Blasio

New York's mayor repeatedly appeared to misjudge how difficult reopening schools would be, dismissing mounting concerns from staff members. PAGE A6

INTERNATIONAL A9-12

Iran Cracks Encrypted Apps

Researchers said hackers had gathered intelligence on the regime's opponents through apps like Telegram. PAGE A12

China Sends Warning Skyward

Beijing flew 18 aircraft into the Taiwan Strait as a senior American diplomat held meetings on the island. PAGE A12



NATIONAL A13-21

Fires Imperil Young Lungs

Wildfires could hinder developing lungs, worsen asthma and bring it on in those genetically disposed to it. PAGE A13

Virus's Effect on Campaign

A survey shows that President Trump's response has hurt not only him but also several G.O.P. senators. PAGE A21

BUSINESS B1-6

The Rise of 'Money Mules'

Swindlers are finding that the pandemic has made it easier to recruit people to unknowingly help criminal rings move their ill-gotten gains. They often do it by posing as employers. PAGE B1

Small Tech, Soaring Stocks

Several software, streaming, security and e-commerce firms have posted eye-popping gains as the pandemic has kept millions home, causing the future to arrive sooner. PAGE B1

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Roger Cohen

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Governors Island's Future

A proposal for a new climate research center on the island is just what New York needs, our critic writes. PAGE C1

When a Pedestal Isn't Enough

Ephemeral artworks — a banana taped to a wall, for instance — pose conservation challenges for museums. PAGE C1

SPORTS SATURDAY B7-10

Possible Snag in Mets Sale

As M.L.B. owners consider whether to approve Steven A. Cohen as the new owner of the club, complaints filed by women at his company loom as potential sticking points. PAGE B7

Vying for a 2nd Stanley Cup

Dallas and Tampa Bay, who are about to square off in Game 1, have each won the National Hockey League championship only once before. PAGE B9



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TRUMP PICK FOR COURT OPENS DASH TO VOTE



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Judge Amy Coney Barrett before President Trump announced her as his Supreme Court nominee on Saturday at the White House.

Solidly Conservative Record on Rulings

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — Judge Amy Coney Barrett, President Trump's pick for the Supreme Court, has compiled an almost uniformly conservative voting record in cases touching on abortion, gun rights, discrimination and immigration. If she is confirmed, she would move the court slightly but firmly to the right, making compromise less likely and putting at risk the right to abortion established in *Roe v. Wade*.

Judge Barrett's judicial opinions, based on a substantial sample of the hundreds of cases that she has considered in her three years on the federal appeals court in Chicago, are marked by care, clarity and a commitment to the interpretive methods used by Justice Antonin Scalia, the giant of conservative jurisprudence for whom she worked as a law clerk from 1998 to 1999.

But while Justice Scalia's methods occasionally drove him to liberal results, notably in cases on flag burning and the role of juries in criminal cases, Judge Barrett could be a different sort of justice.

"There may be fewer surprises from someone like her than there were from Justice Scalia," said Brian T. Fitzpatrick, a former law clerk to the justice and a law professor at Vanderbilt University. "She is sympathetic to Justice Scalia's methods, but I don't get the sense that she is going to be a philosophical leader on how those methods should be executed."

One area in which almost no one expects surprises is abortion. Mr. Trump has vowed to appoint justices ready to overrule *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 decision that established a constitutional right to abortion. Groups opposing abortion have championed Judge Barrett's nomination. And her academic and judicial writings have been skeptical of broad interpretations of abortion rights.

Judge Barrett will doubtless tell senators that the *Roe* decision is a settled precedent, as she did when Mr. Trump nominated her to the appeals court in 2017. And the Supreme Court may not hear a direct challenge to *Roe* anytime soon, preferring instead to consider cases that could chip away at

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For Barrett, Partisan Battle Awaits

By PETER BAKER and NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — President Trump introduced Judge Amy Coney Barrett as his nominee to the Supreme Court on Saturday, presenting her as a champion of conservative judicial principles and igniting a partisan and ideological battle to confirm her before the election in just 38 days.

During an early evening ceremony in the Rose Garden with Judge Barrett at his side and her husband and seven children in the audience, Mr. Trump said she would make decisions "based on the text of the Constitution as written" much as her mentor, Justice Antonin Scalia, the icon of legal conservatives for whom she once clerked, had done.

"She is a woman of unparalleled achievement, towering intellect, sterling credentials and unyielding loyalty to the Constitution," Mr. Trump said, making his third Supreme Court nomination in his nearly four years in office. At stake in her nomination is the future of gun rights, religious liberty and public safety, he added, as he pressed for historically rapid action by the Senate. "This should be a straightforward and prompt confirmation," he said.

In her own remarks, Judge Barrett directly aligned herself with Justice Scalia, who died in 2016 and whose widow, Maureen Scalia, was in the audience. "His judicial philosophy is mine, too — a judge must apply the law as written," Judge Barrett said. "Judges are not policymakers, and they must be resolute in setting aside any policy views they might hold."

The president and Judge Barrett herself emphasized her role as a mother in an effort to humanize her in anticipation of attacks on her philosophy and her religious convictions. Mr. Trump noted that she would be "the first mother of school-aged children ever to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court," and Judge Barrett called herself "a room parent, car pool driver and birthday party planner" who adopted two children from Haiti and, like so many in recent months, has had to learn the vicissitudes of online education.

She also sought to address "my

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HEIR APPARENT Conservatives hope Judge Amy Coney Barrett will follow the path of Justice Antonin Scalia, her former mentor. PAGE 19

FRAMING THE DEBATE Wary of being seen as making personal attacks, Democrats are objecting to the nominee on policy grounds. PAGE 27

A Quiet Retreat From 'Defund' In Minneapolis

By ASTEAD W. HERNDON

MINNEAPOLIS — Over three months ago, a majority of the Minneapolis City Council pledged to defund the city's Police Department, making a powerful statement that reverberated across the country. It shook up Capitol Hill and the presidential race, shocked residents, delighted activists and changed the trajectory of efforts to overhaul the police during a crucial window of tumult and political opportunity.

Now some council members would like a do-over.

Councilor Andrew Johnson, one of the nine members who supported the pledge in June, said in an interview that he meant the words "in spirit," not by the letter. Another councilor, Phillipe Cunningham, said that the language in the pledge was "up for interpretation" and that even among council members soon after the promise was made, "it was very clear that most of us had interpreted that language differently." Lisa Bender, the council president, paused for 16 seconds when asked if the council's statement had led to uncertainty at a pivotal moment for the city.

"I think our pledge created confusion in the community and in our wards," she said.

The regrets formalize a retreat that has quietly played out in Minneapolis in the months since George Floyd was killed by the police and the ensuing national uproar over the treatment of Black Americans by law enforcement and the country at large. After a summer that challenged society's commitment to racial equality and raised the prospect of sweeping political change, a cool autumn reality is settling in.

National polls show decreasing support for Black Lives Matter since a sea change of good will in June. In Minneapolis, the most far-reaching policy efforts meant to address police violence have all but collapsed.

In interviews this month, about two dozen elected officials, protesters and community leaders described how the City Council members' pledge to "end policing as we know it" — a mantra to meet the city's pain — became a case study in how quickly political winds can shift, and what happens

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Court Tilt Will Test Biden's Appetite for Hardball

This article is by Matt Flegenheimer, Alexander Burns and Katie Glueck.

Joseph R. Biden Jr. was trying to demonstrate the lasting power of the federal judiciary. So he did the math.

Addressing a Michigan law school audience in April 1991, Mr.

THE LONG RUN

A Conflicted Combatant

Biden, then a senator, said that if trends in life expectancy held, a justice freshly confirmed around that time would "be making landmark decisions in the year 2020."

"I'll be dead and gone, in all

probability," Mr. Biden told the crowd.

He was half right. Nearly three decades later, the man whom the Senate confirmed that year, Justice Clarence Thomas, is still rendering decisions — the eldest jurist, if President Trump has his way, of a soon-to-be 6-to-3 conservative majority.

But Mr. Biden is indeed alive, left to consider what the court's emerging tilt would mean for the Democratic agenda if he wins the White House — and for his own attachment to the Capitol's bygone harmony and mores.

After a half-century in public life, with a lead role in several indelible confirmation dramas through the years, Mr. Biden could, if elected, be saddled with a

Supreme Court primed to counteract his policy aims on health care, abortion and other defining issues.

Many Democrats now believe that adding seats to the court is the urgent remedy, an extraordinary step that has not been seriously contemplated since the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. They argue that the court's legitimacy has already eroded amid the Republican confirmation maneuvers of the last four years.

Yet for Mr. Biden, a proud man of the Senate, such an effort would amount to the sort of norm-raising exercise that might strike him as an escalation too many.

"My inclination is to think that he would just see that as making it

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HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The number of available single-family homes in Winhall and Stratton, Vt., dropped to 29 from 129.

City Folks Flee the Virus, and the Bears Rejoice

By ELLEN BARRY

WINHALL, Vt. — From his post at the town dump, Scott Bushee spent the summer observing his new neighbors, transplants who pulled into his compound with heads full of rustic fantasy and license plates from New York and New Jersey.

Mr. Bushee is one of the half-dozen or so people who run the town of Winhall, with a year-round population, before Covid-19,

of 769. He is a cranky dude. That is his brand.

At the entrance to his compound, above the sign that warns his fellow residents that they cannot enter after 3:50 NO EXCEPTION, he has affixed a demented-looking baby doll, blank-eyed and with one hand replaced by a plastic fork.

Despite this clear warning, this summer's population explosion has tried his last nerve, as he explained to one flatlander after another how things are done in Ver-

mont. Yes, the dump attendant, a heavily bearded man named Jody, carries a firearm. And no, you cannot mix your magazines with your cans and bottles.

"Now you've got to deal with Vermonters," he said. "They will tell you straight up. I try to do it as politely as I can, but if you push the envelope, things are going to go sideways. I'm sure that they're looking at Jody and I and saying, 'Oh my God, I've landed in Russia.'"

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China, in Vaccine Wager, Gives Unproven Shots to Thousands

By SUI-LEE WEE

First, workers at state-owned companies got dosed. Then government officials and vaccine company staff. Up next: teachers, supermarket employees and people traveling to risky areas abroad.

The world still lacks a proven coronavirus vaccine, but that has not stopped Chinese officials from trying to inoculate tens of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands, of people outside the traditional testing process. Three vaccine candidates are being injected into workers whom the government considers essential, along with many others, including employees of the pharmaceutical firms themselves.

Officials are laying out plans to give shots to even more people, citing emergency use, amounting to a big wager that the vaccines will eventually prove to be safe and effective.

China's rush has bewildered global experts. No other country has injected people with unproven

vaccines outside the usual drug trial process to such a huge scale.

The vaccine candidates are in Phase 3 trials, or the late stages of testing, which are mostly being conducted outside China. The people in those trials are closely tracked and monitored. It is not clear that China is taking those steps for everyone who is getting the shots within the country.

The unproven vaccines could have harmful side effects. Ineffective vaccines could lead to a false sense of security and encourage behavior that could lead to even more infections.

The wide use of vaccines also raises issues of consent, especially for employees of Chinese vaccine makers and state-owned companies who might feel pressure to roll up their sleeves. The companies have asked people taking the vaccines to sign a nondisclosure agreement preventing them from talking about it to the news media.

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Job Gap Widens for Mothers

Gains in gender equality may be another casualty of the virus, as women with children at home risk losing their place in the work force. PAGE 10

A Racism Lesson in Canada

The creator of the hit TV show "Schitt's Creek" has inspired thousands to take an Indigenous studies course. PAGE 13

THE MAGAZINE

Feeling the 'Glow' in the Tetons

How a globe-trotting photographer and mountaineer grounded by the pandemic found a challenge in his own backyard.



SPECIAL SECTION

The New York Times for Kids

Illustrated stories of the fight for civil rights, choreographing for a pop star, the search for a missing plane and quarantining with a ghost. And more!

SUNDAY REVIEW

Frank Bruni

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A Referendum on a Senator

Voters in Maine focus on whether Susan Collins has sold her soul to President Trump's Republican Party. PAGE 14

Battleground Dispatches

With 37 days until the election, The Times looks at some states that President Trump and Joseph R. Biden Jr. are seriously contesting. PAGE 22

AT HOME

Lessons From a Learning Pod

Managing your child's remote learning in conjunction with other parents can ignite a variety of tensions. PAGE 5



ARTS & LEISURE

Dark Stages Mean Sad Stories

Who is affected when so many shows shut down? So many people. PAGE 7

SUNDAY STYLES

Intimate Objects Auctioned Off

Judging by what's online, there's nothing too personal to sell. PAGE 1

SUNDAY BUSINESS

eBay vs. the Blogger

"People are basically good" was eBay's founding principle. But in 2019 the company became involved in a lurid stalking scandal. PAGE 1

BOOK REVIEW

The Power Broker

Peter Baker and Susan Glasser's "The Man Who Ran Washington" tells the story of James A. Baker III, an unusual influential statesman. PAGE 1



PRESIDENT'S TAXES CHART CHRONIC LOSSES, AUDIT BATTLE AND INCOME TAX AVOIDANCE

Ransomware May Threaten Election Night

Officials Fear Hackers Will Sow Chaos

By NICOLE PERLROTH and DAVID E. SANGER

A Texas company that sells software that cities and states use to display results on election night was hit by ransomware last week, the latest of nearly a thousand such attacks over the past year against small towns, big cities and the contractors who run their voting systems.

Many of the attacks are conducted by Russian criminal groups, some with shady ties to President Vladimir V. Putin's intelligence services. But the attack on Tyler Technologies, which continued on Friday night with efforts by outsiders to log into its clients' systems around the country, was particularly rattling less than 40 days before the election.

While Tyler does not actually tally votes, it is used by election officials to aggregate and report them in at least 20 places around the country — making it exactly the kind of soft target that the Department of Homeland Security, the F.B.I. and United States Cyber Command worry could be struck by anyone trying to sow chaos and uncertainty on election night.

Tyler would not describe the attack in detail. It initially appeared to be an ordinary ransomware attack, in which data is made inaccessible unless the victim pays the ransom, usually in harder-to-trace cryptocurrencies. But then some of Tyler's clients — the company would not say which ones — saw outsiders trying to gain access to their systems on Friday night, raising fears that the attackers might be out for something more than just a quick profit.

That has been the fear haunting federal officials for a year now: that in the days leading up to the election, or in its aftermath, ransomware groups will try to freeze voter registration data, election poll books or the computer systems of the secretaries of the state who certify election results.

With only 37 days before the election, federal investigators still do not have a clear picture of whether the ransomware attacks clobbering American networks are purely criminal acts, seeking a quick payday, or Trojan horses for more nefarious Russian interference. But they have not had much success in stopping them. In just the first two weeks of September, another seven American government entities have been hit with ransomware and their data stolen.

"The chance of a local govern-
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President Trump paid no U.S. income tax for much of the past two decades.

Tax returns that the president fought to keep secret and were examined by The New York Times cast a harsh light on his finances. He regularly reported losing far more than he made, allowing him to reduce his federal income tax bill many years to zero. The year he became president, he paid \$750.



The president is locked in an audit battle with the I.R.S.

Mr. Trump claimed a \$72.9 million tax refund as his Atlantic City casino business collapsed.

The move effectively erased the taxes he had paid on hundreds of millions earned from "The Apprentice" and from branding deals. The I.R.S. has been auditing the refund for a decade and could force him to pay it back with interest and penalties: a sum that could exceed \$100 million.



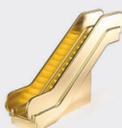
Financial pressure on the president is only growing.

Mr. Trump has reported losses at many of his signature properties, including \$55.5 million at his Washington hotel since it opened in 2016, and \$315.6 million at his prized golf resorts since 2000. He appears to have sold off most of his stocks and has relied heavily on debt. More than \$300 million in loans he personally guaranteed will soon come due.



He received more money from foreign sources than was known.

With financial challenges mounting, Mr. Trump depends increasingly on businesses that can pose a conflict of interest. His properties have become bazaars for collecting money from foreign officials. And he earned millions in licensing fees from international projects in his first two years in office, including \$3 million from the Philippines, \$2.3 million from India and \$1 million from Turkey.



Vast write-offs help fuel a gilded life.

Though declaring big losses, Mr. Trump can live a life of wealth and write it off. His image is central to his business, and he has taken tax deductions on residences, table linens, private air travel and over \$70,000 in hairstyling for TV. On many projects, he also wrote off about 20 percent of his income for unexplained "consulting fees," some of which match payments to Ivanka Trump.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY JUSTIN METZ

YEARS OF TRUMP RECORDS

Long-Concealed Returns Point to Looming Financial Threats and Direct Conflicts of Interest

This article is by Russ Buettner, Susanne Craig and Mike McIntire.

Donald J. Trump paid \$750 in federal income taxes the year he won the presidency. In his first year in the White House, he paid another \$750.

He had paid no income taxes at all in 10 of the previous 15 years — largely because he reported losing much more money than he made.

As the president wages a re-election campaign that polls say he is in danger of losing, his finances are under stress, beset by losses and hundreds of millions of dollars in debt coming due that he has personally guaranteed. Also hanging over him is a decade-long audit battle with the Internal Revenue Service over the legitimacy of a \$72.9 million tax refund that he claimed, and received, after declaring huge losses. An adverse ruling could cost him more than \$100 million.

The tax returns that Mr. Trump has long fought to keep private tell a story fundamentally different



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The president has flouted White House tradition in shielding his finances from the public.

from the one he has sold to the American public. His reports to the I.R.S. portray a businessman who takes in hundreds of millions of dollars a year yet racks up chronic losses that he aggressively employs to avoid paying taxes. Now, with his financial challenges mounting, the records show that he depends more and more on making money from businesses that put him in potential and often direct conflict of interest with his job as president.

The New York Times has obtained tax-return data extending over more than two decades for Mr. Trump and the hundreds of companies that make up his business organization, including detailed information from his first two years in office. It does not include his personal returns for 2018 or 2019. This article offers an overview of The Times's findings; additional articles will be published in the coming weeks.

The returns are some of the most sought-after, and speculated-about, records in recent memory. In Mr. Trump's nearly four years in office — and across his endlessly hyped decades in the public eye — journalists, prosecutors, opposition politicians and conspiracists have, with limited success, sought to excavate the enigmas of his finances. By their very nature, the filings will leave many questions unanswered, many questioners unfulfilled. They comprise information that Mr. Trump has disclosed

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Voters Want Pause on Court Seat, Highlighting Risk in G.O.P. Push

By JONATHAN MARTIN and ALEXANDER BURNS

WASHINGTON — A clear majority of voters believes the winner of the presidential election should fill the Supreme Court seat left open by the death of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, according to a national poll conducted by The New York Times and Siena College, a sign of the political peril President Trump and Senate Republicans are courting by attempting to rush through an appointment before the end of the campaign.

In a survey of likely voters tak-

en in the week leading up to Mr. Trump's nomination on Saturday of Judge Amy Coney Barrett to the high court, 56 percent said they preferred to have the election act as a sort of referendum on the vacancy. Only 41 percent said they wanted Mr. Trump to choose a justice before November.

More striking, the voters Mr. Trump and endangered Senate Republicans must reclaim to close the gap in the polls are even more opposed to a hasty pick: 62 percent

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Virus Closed Schools, and World's Poorest Children Went to Work

By JEFFREY GETTLEMAN and SUHASINI RAJ

TUMAKURU, India — Every morning in front of the Devaraj Urs public housing apartment blocks on the outskirts of the city of Tumakuru, a swarm of children pours into the street.

They are not going to school. Instead of backpacks or books, each child carries a filthy plastic sack.

These children, from 6 to 14 years old, have been sent by their parents to rummage through garbage dumps littered with broken glass and concrete shards in search of recyclable plastic. They earn a few cents per hour and most wear no gloves or masks.

Many cannot afford shoes and make their rounds barefoot, with bleeding feet.

"I hate it," said Rahul, an 11-year-old boy praised by his teacher as bright. But in March, India closed its schools because of the coronavirus pandemic, and Rahul had to go to work.

In many parts of the developing world, school closures put children on the streets. Families are desperate for money. Children are an easy source of cheap labor. While the United States and other developed countries debate the effectiveness of online schooling, hundreds of millions of children in poorer countries lack computers or the internet and have no school-

Taking Dangerous and Illegal Jobs, and Not Likely to Go Back

ing at all.

United Nations officials estimate that at least 24 million children will drop out and that millions could be sucked into work. Ten-year-olds are now mining sand in Kenya. Children the same age are chopping weeds on cocoa plantations in West Africa. In Indonesia, boys and girls as young as 8 are painted silver and pressed into service as living statues who

beg for money.

The surge in child labor could erode the progress achieved in recent years in school enrollment, literacy, social mobility and children's health.

"All the gains that have been made, all this work we have been doing, will be rolled back, especially in places like India," said Cornelius Williams, a high-ranking UNICEF official.

Child labor is just one piece of a looming global disaster. Severe hunger is stalking children from Afghanistan to South Sudan. Forced marriages for girls are rising across Africa and Asia, according to U.N. officials, as is child

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INTERNATIONAL A6-8

Britons' New Gold Rush

With prices for the precious metal surging, amateur prospectors are flooding the Scottish countryside. PAGE A6

Grappling With Hate

Survivors of a Paris attack said the hostage-taker's callous anti-Semitism was still hard to process. PAGE A8

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-5

Another Symptom: Hair Loss

Doctors are seeing an increase in patients who are shedding clumps of hair, a phenomenon they believe is related to the coronavirus pandemic. PAGE A4

BUSINESS B1-6

How Amazon Won Over Italy

The e-commerce giant had struggled to get Italians to embrace online shopping. Then the pandemic happened. PAGE B1

Health Insurance Cutoffs Loom

Many small businesses, financially hurt by the pandemic, may not be able to renew employee coverage. PAGE B1

NATIONAL A10-21

Whispers of a Past Revolution

Indigenous groups in the Southwest are imbuing their activism this year with commemorations of the 340-year-old Pueblo Revolt. PAGE A10

A Self-Made Debate Trap?

President Trump has worked to convince followers that Joseph R. Biden Jr. is added. That could backfire if Mr. Biden doesn't fit the caricature. PAGE A17

Pencils Down and Masks Up

The virus presents a daunting new test for SAT takers, including our reporter, whose Princeton Review guides haven't been cracked in years. PAGE A21



ARTS C1-8

An Architectural Journey

Michael Kimmelman and Jerold S. Kayden take a virtual tour of 42nd Street. Above, Grand Central. PAGE C1

Revisiting a Brutal Crime

An FX series looks at the case of Jeffrey MacDonald, convicted in the 1970 killing of his wife and children. PAGE C1

SPORTSMONDAY D1-8

Jackson Versus Mahomes

The N.F.L.'s best current quarterback rivalry will be on display when the Ravens take on the Chiefs. PAGE D1

Agony as Enticement

A promotional video posted by the N.H.L. glorified the pain of its players, Kurt Streeter writes. PAGE D1

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Charles M. Blow

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TRUMP ESCALATES PUSH TO ERODE TRUST IN VOTE

G.O.P. Distressed by Failure to Disavow a Racist Group

This article is by Alexander Burns, Jonathan Martin and Maggie Haberman.

President Trump's refusal to condemn an extremist right-wing group in his first debate with Joseph R. Biden Jr. sent a shudder through the Republican Party at a critical moment in the 2020 campaign on Wednesday, as prominent lawmakers expressed unease about Mr. Trump's conduct amid mounting fears that it could damage the party on Election Day.

It was the second time in two weeks that a collection of party leaders broke with Mr. Trump over behavior they regarded as beyond the pale. Last week, Republicans distanced themselves from Mr. Trump's unwillingness to promise a peaceful transfer of power if he loses the election.

This time, the subject was racist extremism and the president's response to a demand from Mr. Biden during Tuesday night's debate that he denounce the Proud Boys, an organization linked with white supremacy and acts of violence. Mr. Trump answered by telling the group to "stand back and stand by," a message taken by members of the organization as a virtual endorsement.

On Wednesday, Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the majority leader, called it "unacceptable not to condemn white supremacists," without criticizing Mr. Trump by name, while Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina said the president should "make it clear Proud Boys is a racist organization antithetical to American ideals."

The exchange on white supremacy provided one of the most inflammatory moments of a debate that unfolded as a chaotic spectacle, as Mr. Trump hijacked the proceedings with interruptions and mockery that left elected officials, foreign observers, business leaders, rank-and-file voters, the moderator and one of the two candidates onstage agog at the unseemly antics of a sitting president. The behavior prompted the commission that oversees presidential debates to say it would make changes to the format for this year's remaining matchups, including, potentially, the ability to shut off a candidate's microphone.

Mr. Trump's unruliness — which provoked Mr. Biden into calling the president a "clown" and telling him to "shut up" — threatened to tear new schisms in

Continued on Page A17



RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump's repeated and unfounded attacks on election integrity date back to at least 2012.

SEPT. 29, ASKED IF HE WOULD URGE CALM IF THE ELECTION WAS NOT DECISIVE: 'I am urging my supporters to go into the polls and watch very carefully, because that's what has to happen. I am urging them to do it.' **ASKED TO EXPLAIN:** 'I'll tell you what it means — it means you have a fraudulent election.'

SEPT. 24, TO REPORTERS: 'We want to make sure the election is honest, and I'm not sure that it can be.' **SEPT. 17, IN A TWEET:** 'Because of the new and unprecedented massive amount of unsolicited ballots which will be sent to "voters", or wherever, this year, the Nov 3rd Election result may NEVER BE ACCURATELY DETERMINED, which is what some want. Another election disaster yesterday. Stop Ballot Madness!' **NOV. 9, 2018,**

IN A TWEET, AS A SENATE RACE IN ARIZONA REMAINED TOO CLOSE TO CALL: 'Just out — in Arizona, SIGNATURES DON'T MATCH. Electoral corruption - Call for a new Election? We must protect our Democracy!' **NOV. 8, 2016, IN AN ELECTION DAY INTERVIEW ON FOX NEWS:** 'There are reports that, when people vote for Republicans, the entire ticket switches over to Democrats — you've seen that — it's happening at various places today, it's been reported.'

FEB. 3, 2016, IN A TWEET: 'Based on the fraud committed by Senator Ted Cruz during the Iowa Caucus, either a new election should take place or Cruz results nullified.' **NOV. 6, 2012, IN A TWEET AFTER PRESIDENT OBAMA'S VICTORY:** 'We can't let this happen. We should march on Washington and stop this travesty. Our nation is totally divided!'

NEWS ANALYSIS

Baseless Attacks Threaten Process in Place Since 1788

By DAVID E. SANGER

President Trump's angry insistence in the last minutes of Tuesday's debate that there was no way the presidential election could be conducted without fraud amounted to an extraordinary declaration by a sitting American president that he would try to throw any outcome into the courts, Congress or the streets if he was not re-elected.

His comments came after four years of debate about the possibility of foreign interference in the 2020 election and how to counter such disruptions. But they were a stark reminder that the most direct threat to the electoral process now comes from the president of the United States himself.

Mr. Trump's unwillingness to say he would abide by the result, and his disinformation campaign about the integrity of the American electoral system, went beyond anything President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia could have imagined. All Mr. Putin has to do now is amplify the president's message, which he has already begun to do.

Everything Mr. Trump said in his face-off with Joseph R. Biden Jr., the Democratic presidential nominee, he had already delivered in recent weeks, in tweets and at rallies with his faithful. But he had never before put it all together in front of such a large audience as he did on Tuesday night.

The president began the debate with a declaration that balloting already underway was "a fraud and a shame" and proof of "a rigged election."

It quickly became apparent that Mr. Trump was doing more than simply trying to discredit the mail-in ballots that are being used to ensure voters are not disenfranchised by a pandemic — the same way of voting that five states have used for years with minimal fraud.

He followed it by encouraging his supporters to "go into the polls" and "watch very carefully," which seemed to be code words for voter intimidation, aimed at those who brave the coronavirus risks of voting in person.

Continued on Page A18

President's Call to Monitor Polls Raises Voter Intimidation Fears

This article is by Danny Hakim, Stephanie Saul, Nick Corasaniti and Michael Wines.

The group of Trump campaign officials came carrying cellphone cameras and a determination to help the president's re-election efforts in Philadelphia. But they were asked to leave the city's newly opened satellite election offices on Tuesday after being told local election laws did not permit them to monitor voters coming to request and complete absentee ballots.

On social media and right-wing news sites and in the presidential debate on Tuesday night, President Trump and his campaign quickly suggested nefarious intent in the actions of local election officials, with the president claiming during the debate that "bad things happen in Philadelphia" and urging his supporters everywhere to "go into the polls and watch very carefully."

The baseless descriptions of the voting process in Philadelphia

were the latest broad-brush attempt by the Trump campaign to undermine confidence in this year's election, a message delivered with an ominous edge at the debate when he advised an extremist group, the Proud Boys, to "stand back and stand by" in his remarks about the election.

The calls for his followers to monitor voting activity are clear. What's less apparent is how the Trump campaign wants this to play out.

Mr. Trump and his campaign often seem to be working on two tracks, one seemingly an amped-up version of mostly familiar election procedures like poll watching, the other something of a more perilous nature for a democracy.

In the first, Justin Clark, a lawyer for the Trump campaign, told a conservative group this year of plans to "leverage about 50,000 volunteers all the way through, from early vote through Election Day, to be able to watch the polls."

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From Austria Ski Resort, Virus Hitched a Ride Around the World

This article is by Selam Gebrekidan, Katrin Bennhold, Matt Apuzzo and David D. Kirkpatrick.

ISCHGL, Austria — They came from across the world to ski in the most famous resorts of the Austrian Alps.

Jacob Homiller and his college friends flew in from the United States. Jane Witt, a retired lecturer, arrived from London for a family reunion. Annette Garten, the youth director at a tennis club in Hamburg, was celebrating her birthday with her husband and two grown children.

They knew in late February and early March that the coronavirus was spreading in nearby northern Italy, and across the other border in Germany, but no one was alarmed. Austrian officials downplayed concerns as tourists crowded into cable cars by day, and après-ski bars at night.

"The whole world meets in Ischgl," said Ms. Garten.

Then they all went home, unwittingly taking the virus with them. Infected in Ischgl (pronounced "ISH-gul") or in surrounding vil-

lages, thousands of skiers carried the coronavirus to more than 40 countries on five continents. Many of Iceland's first known cases were traced to Ischgl. In March, nearly half the cases in Norway were linked to Austrian ski holidays.

Nine months into an outbreak

that has killed a million people worldwide, Ischgl is where the era of global tourism, made possible by cheap airfares and open borders, collided with a pandemic. For decades, as trade and travel drew the world closer, public health policy, enshrined by treaty, encouraged global mass tourism

by calling for open borders, even during outbreaks.

When the coronavirus emerged in China in January, the World Health Organization didn't flinch in its advice: Do not restrict travel.

But what is now clear is that the

Continued on Page A6



ANDREA MANTOVANI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A dance floor on top of a slope in Ischgl, Austria, where unimpeded tourism ran into a pandemic.

White House Kills C.D.C. Plan To Extend Ban on Cruise Ships

By SHEILA KAPLAN

The White House has blocked a new order from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to keep cruise ships docked until mid-February, a step that would have displeased the politically powerful tourism industry in the crucial swing state of Florida.

The current "no sail" policy, which was originally put in place in April and later extended, is set to expire on Wednesday. Dr. Robert R. Redfield, the director of the C.D.C., had recommended the extension, worried that cruise ships could become viral hot spots, as they did at the beginning of the pandemic.

But at a meeting of the coronavirus task force on Tuesday, Dr. Redfield's plan was overruled, according to a senior federal health official who was not authorized to comment and so spoke on condition of anonymity. The administration will instead allow the ships to sail after Oct. 31, the date the industry had already agreed to in its



ANGEL VALENTIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Carnival Cruise Lines ships in the Port of Miami in April.

own, voluntary plan. The rejection of the C.D.C.'s plan was first reported by Axios.

Dr. Redfield, who has been scolded by President Trump for promoting mask wearing and cautioning that vaccines won't be widely available until next year, worried before the Tuesday decision that he might get fired, and had considered resigning if he

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TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-10

Indoor Dining Returns to City

The restaurant industry hopes to ease months of hardship, but is unsure if customers will come back. PAGE A4

Indian Health Service Woes

The agency providing health care to tribal communities struggled to meet challenges of the pandemic. PAGE A8



INTERNATIONAL A11-13

Parade Is Off, and Rio Is Glum

Wars have never prevented the city from putting on its famous carnival. But the pandemic has forced a suspension of the parade, at great cost. PAGE A11

Pleas for Intelligence on China

Reports by House Democrats and Republicans asked spy agencies to focus more on pandemic and trade. PAGE A12

ARTS C1-6

'Ma Rainey's Black Bottom'

Opposite Chadwick Boseman in his final film, Viola Davis delivers a star turn in this August Wilson adaptation. PAGE C1

BUSINESS B1-7

Investors Fret Over Election

Stock market volatility is increasing as investors worry about the outcome of the presidential race. PAGE B1

For Women, a Tenure Crisis

Even as tenure deadlines are eased, many faculty members say they are getting less work done because of child care needs. PAGE B1

SPECIAL SECTION

Emboldened Design

From outdoor pavilions to a wardrobe worthy of Narnia, designers are taking creative leaps during challenging times.

NATIONAL A14-23

Comey Defends Wiretap Move

Senate Republicans used a hearing with James B. Comey, the ex-F.B.I. head, to undercut the Russia inquiry. PAGE A22

Denver Aims at Leafy Equality

The city is buying parkland and planting trees in areas where people of color have long been underserved. PAGE A23



SPORTSTHURSDAY B8-10

All Baseball, All the Time

The major league playoffs had a full slate as all 16 teams in the postseason were scheduled to play. PAGE B8

Ready for Finals and Election

Breanna Stewart plays through the W.N.B.A. postseason while continuing her social justice advocacy. PAGE B10

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Nicholas Kristof

PAGE A27



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PRESIDENT IN HOSPITAL AS HE BATTLES COVID

POLITICAL MEMO

Now There's No Spinning Away Pandemic's Toll

By ALEXANDER BURNS

The 2020 election was always going to end like this. Perhaps not precisely like this. Perhaps not with the president and the first lady contracting the coronavirus, along with the head of the Republican National Committee and members of the White House staff.

But if the nature of this October climax was unpredictable, it seemed all but foreordained that the coronavirus pandemic would dominate the campaign to the end. And for all of the tumult of the race between President Trump and Joseph R. Biden Jr. — for all of the other currents battering the country and its leaders in an election year — the issue of the virus has never retreated as the overwhelming factor.

As a singular force in the country's political life, the pandemic has resisted Mr. Trump's efforts to change the subject and quashed the wishful thinking of countless voters who shared his hope it would fade quickly. It has endured through a season of racial justice protests and spasms of vandalism and violence, through the death of a Supreme Court justice and the revelations of Mr. Trump's personal tax returns and a fiasco of a presidential debate just this week.

And after all of the efforts by Mr. Trump to dismiss the disease as a threat, and all of the angst among his opponents that he might manage to convince voters he was right, his diagnosis confirmed with a neon exclamation point the impossibility of that goal.

Anne-Marie Slaughter, the head of New America, a liberal-leaning think tank, said the "omnipresence" of the pandemic had

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Dueling Camps Face Unknown In Final Stretch

By JONATHAN MARTIN and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — President Trump's announcement on Friday that he had contracted the coronavirus upended the presidential race in an instant, leaving both sides to confront a wrenching set of strategic choices and unexpected questions that will help shape the final month before Election Day.

As the president boarded Marine One to fly to the Walter Reed National Military Medical Center for treatment, his aides announced that they were suspending his campaign events and those of his family members, who are his most ubiquitous surrogates. Privately, his top advisers expressed shock at the turn of events and hope that Mr. Trump's symptoms would remain mild and he could at least begin appearing on television next week.

At the same time, Joseph R. Biden Jr., Mr. Trump's Democratic rival, disclosed that he had tested negative for the virus and continued to campaign, beginning with a campaign trip on Friday to Michigan.

With Mr. Biden already leading in the polls, and Mr. Trump's electoral prospects dependent on his ability to campaign, the president has little time to change the trajectory of the race. The fate of his re-

Continued on Page A9



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Friday Oct. 2 At about 1 a.m., President Trump announced on Twitter that he and his wife, Melania, had tested positive. Late in the day, he was taken to Walter Reed Hospital for several days. His campaign canceled all in-person events.

Thursday Oct. 1 Mr. Trump held a fund-raiser at his golf course in Bedminster, N.J., and, after returning to the White House, confirmed on Twitter at 10:44 p.m. that Hope Hicks, a close personal adviser, had tested positive for the virus.



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Wednesday Sept. 30 Ms. Hicks began feeling ill after traveling with Mr. Trump to a rally in Duluth, Minn., and a fund-raiser in Shorewood, Minn. She was isolated aboard Air Force One on the trip back to Washington.

Tuesday Sept. 29 Debating Joseph R. Biden Jr. in Cleveland, Mr. Trump mocked Mr. Biden for frequently wearing a mask. When Mr. Biden said experts advocated using them, Mr. Trump responded, "They've also said the opposite."

Monday Sept. 28 Mr. Trump met on the South Lawn with workers from the Lordstown (Ohio) Motors plant, then held an event in the Rose Garden to announce a new virus testing strategy. "I say it all the time, we are rounding the corner."

Sunday Sept. 27 After visiting his golf course in Sterling, Va., Mr. Trump held a news conference at the White House and a reception for Gold Star families attended by his wife, Melania, and Vice President Mike Pence and his wife, Karen.



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Saturday Sept. 26 Mr. Trump introduced Judge Amy Coney Barrett as his Supreme Court pick. Senators Mike Lee and Thom Tillis were among attendees who tested positive days later. Mr. Trump also held a rally in Middletown, Pa.

Experimental Treatment Given — Stay to Last for a 'Few Days'

By PETER BAKER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — President Trump was hospitalized on Friday evening after learning he had the coronavirus and experiencing what aides called coughing, congestion and fever, throwing the nation's leadership into uncertainty and destabilizing an already volatile campaign only 32 days before the election.

Mr. Trump was flown to Walter Reed National Military Medical Center after being given an experimental antibody treatment as the White House rushed to cope with a commander in chief infected by a virus that has killed more than 208,000 people in the United States. Officials said he would remain in the hospital for several days and canceled upcoming campaign events.

The White House shrouded Mr. Trump's condition in secrecy, saying little more than that he had "mild symptoms," and officials characterized the hospital stay as a precautionary measure. But the normally voluble president remained almost entirely out of public view, skipped a telephone call with governors at the last minute and uncharacteristically stayed

off Twitter nearly all day while people close to the situation said his fever and other symptoms worsened as the hours wore on.

"I want to thank everybody for the tremendous support," Mr. Trump, wearing a suit and tie but appearing unusually pale and lethargic, said in an 18-second video taped just before getting on the Marine One helicopter and then posted on Twitter in his first public comment of the day. "I'm going to Walter Reed hospital. I think I'm doing very well, but we're going to make sure that things work out."

The president donned a black face mask and emerged from the White House shortly after 6 p.m., giving a perfunctory thumbs up to reporters without stopping to speak as he walked unassisted to the helicopter. He was accompanied by Mark Meadows, the White House chief of staff, who was also wearing a mask.

The hospital trip was an abrupt change in plans after Vice President Mike Pence had told governors earlier in the day that the president would remain at the White House. One administration

Continued on Page A6

Where the President Traveled



THE NEW YORK TIMES

Over Several Days and Events, The Virus Swirled Around Trump

This article is by Michael D. Shear, Maggie Haberman and Kenneth P. Vogel.

WASHINGTON — Marine One, its engines roaring, was waiting on the South Lawn of the White House Thursday afternoon when President Trump walked out of the Oval Office, offering a brief wave but skipping his usual verbal combat with reporters.

As he lifted off and banked toward the Washington Monument, his aides were scrambling. Hope Hicks, his closest confidante in the West Wing, was supposed to have been on board, but she had just tested positive for the coronavirus after falling ill the evening before while traveling with the president to Minnesota. Two other senior aides who had been in close con-

tact with Ms. Hicks were quickly pulled from the president's trip to New Jersey, where he planned to schmooze with at least 200 campaign donors.

During Mr. Trump's 14-minute flight to Joint Base Andrews, the home of Air Force One, the White House had a choice to make, officials said: Cancel the president's trip, or shrug off the threat and move forward as planned — even though Mr. Trump had been in frequent contact with Ms. Hicks during the previous two days, when doctors say she would have been most contagious.

The decision to go ahead with the trip was emblematic of Mr. Trump's approach to the raging pandemic since the beginning.

Continued on Page A12

Three Biggest Risks for Trump: He's 74, Overweight and Male

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

WASHINGTON — President Trump, like many men in his 70s, has mild heart disease. He takes a statin drug to treat high cholesterol and aspirin to prevent heart attacks. And at 244 pounds in a health summary released in June, he has crossed the line into obesity.

All of that, experts say, puts him at greater risk for a serious bout of Covid-19. So far, White House officials say Mr. Trump's symptoms are mild — a low-grade fever, fatigue, nasal congestion and a cough — but it is far too soon to tell how the disease will progress.

"He is 74, he's hefty and he's male, and those three things to-

gether put him in a higher-risk group for a severe infection," said Dr. William Schaffner, an infectious disease specialist at Vanderbilt University, adding: "Although he is being watched meticulously and may well do fine for a few days, he is not out of the woods, because people can crash after that period of time. This is a very sneaky virus."

Mr. Trump will no doubt benefit from the best medical care the United States has to offer. On Friday evening, he was taken to Walter Reed National Military Medical Center in Bethesda, Md., the nation's premier military hospital,

Continued on Page A7

INTERNATIONAL A15-17

Ending 'Islamist Separatism'

France's president addressed the country's difficulty integrating its population of Muslim immigrants. PAGE A17

Egypt's #MeToo Leader

On Instagram, Nadeen Ashraf named a man accused of sexual assault. She lit a fire. The Saturday Profile. PAGE A15



NATIONAL A18-21, 24

Not the Bottle You Imagined

"Biodegradable" or "compostable" on a product's packaging might not mean it is as environmentally friendly as you had hoped. PAGE A18

Grand Jury Tapes Made Public

Recordings in the Breonna Taylor case include witness interviews and 911 calls, but little from prosecutors. PAGE A21

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-14

With Indoor Dining, Risks Rise

As indoor dining returns to New York City, restaurant workers face new dangers. Critic's Notebook. PAGE A4

BUSINESS B1-5

A Blow to Economic Recovery

Payrolls grew last month, but permanent layoffs are rising, the labor force is contracting, and fewer women are employed. PAGE B1

More Uncertainty for Markets

News that President Trump tested positive for the coronavirus jolted the markets. "It's just par for the course this year," one expert said. PAGE B1

Auto Industry Rebounds

Tesla reported record deliveries in the third quarter as growing interest in electric vehicles and other cars boosted sales across the industry. PAGE B1

SPORTS SATURDAY B6-10

Not Covering Their Game Face

Mask wearing among college football coaches has been irregular, and there has not been enforcement. PAGE B6

The Stormiest Season

Coronavirus and conflict, protest and mourning: a look at a turbulent year that changed the N.B.A. PAGE B6



ARTS C1-6

1988 Was a Rough Year

In many movies of the time, characters were loud, neurotic and mean. These days, the edges are sanded off. PAGE C1

Orchestras Add Black Artists

Ensembles shut by the pandemic are shaking up programming. Composers of color hope it's for the long haul. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Roger Cohen

PAGE A22



CONFUSION AND CONCERN AS PRESIDENT AILS



Dr. Sean P. Conley briefing reporters on President Trump's health at Walter Reed National Military Medical Center on Saturday.

Medical Spin in Past Undermines Trust

By ANNIE KARNI
WASHINGTON — When Dr. Sean P. Conley stepped in front of the cameras at Walter Reed National Military Medical Center on Saturday, he delivered a briefing that seemed intended less to inform the American public than to satisfy the public relations demands of a famous and famously demanding patient — President Trump.

Seeking to Reassure in 4-Minute Video

By PETER BAKER and MAGGIE HABERMAN
WASHINGTON — The White House offered a barrage of conflicting messages and contradictory accounts about President Trump's health on Saturday as he remained hospitalized with the coronavirus for a second night and the outbreak spread to a wider swath of his political allies.



President Trump's remarks on Saturday sent mixed messages.

In West Wing, Fear of Boss, Not Infection

By ANNIE KARNI and MAGGIE HABERMAN
WASHINGTON — As America locked down this spring during the worst pandemic in a century, inside the Trump White House there was the usual defiance.

Nation Stays Divided, Even Over Trump's Illness

By JENNIFER MEDINA and TRIP GABRIEL
PHOENIX — Soon after he woke up on Friday morning, Cruz Zepeda, a 54-year-old Trump supporter, received a text from a life-long friend eager to share a sentiment he found on Twitter: "Looks like RBG successfully argued her first hearing with the Lord."

Some Extend Sympathy, Others Cite Karma

and a growing number of people in his inner circle, has deepened divisions rather than united the country.

Now, a month before Election Day and with the president in the hospital, interviews with voters in some of the most contested battleground states make clear that the divisions that the president himself has stoked in the country are being reflected back at him, with his supporters defiantly insisting he will hold rallies again before Nov. 3 and Democrats, if not wishing him a turn for the worse, certainly not shedding any tears.

For Many Jobless, 'Short-Term' No Longer Fits

This article is by Jeanna Smialek, Ben Casselman and Gillian Friedman.

The United States economy is facing a tidal wave of long-term unemployment as millions of people who lost jobs early in the pandemic remain out of work six months later and job losses increasingly turn permanent.



MacKenzie Nicholson of Nottingham, N.H., lost her job with the American Cancer Society in June as the pandemic hurt funding.

back to a job. To be sure, the labor market has bounced back more quickly than most forecasters expected in the spring. The unemployment rate dropped to 7.9 percent in September from 14.7 percent in April. But progress has slowed, and there are signs of more lasting damage.

struggling to fully reopen as the coronavirus continues to spread, leaving many workers out of jobs. Disney announced this past week that it would lay off 28,000 U.S. employees as its theme parks struggle.

Hazing Death of Black Student Bares Racism's Rise in Belgium

By MATT APUZZO and STEVEN ERLANGER

Ghent, Belgium — Sanda Dia saw a fraternity as a doorway into a different life. The son of an immigrant factory worker, he was an ambitious 20-year-old Black student at one of Belgium's most prestigious universities.



Sanda Dia in a family photo. He joined an almost entirely white fraternity in Antwerp.

friend, Hitler." A video showed them singing a racist song. And deleted WhatsApp messages, recovered by the police, show fraternity members — the sons of judges, business leaders and politicians — scrambling to cover their tracks.

INTERNATIONAL 12-16
Reunification's Dark Side
Thirty years after Germany came back together, the former East has emerged as the stronghold of once-marginalized far-right extremists. PAGE 12

SPORTS 28-31
Virus Delays a Big Game
The Patriots placed quarterback Cam Newton on the Covid-19 injury list as the challenges to the N.F.L. season grew more daunting. PAGE 28

OBITUARIES 25-27
A Feared Flamethrower
Bob Gibson, who won two Cy Young Awards with St. Louis, was one of baseball's most dominating and intimidating pitchers. He was 84. PAGE 25

SPECIAL SECTION
Captain Chain Saw's Delusion
The myth of the Amazon as "a land without men for men without land" has ravaged a region and its people. But Brazil's president sees wasted space.

SUNDAY REVIEW
Maureen Dowd PAGE 5

Jewelry Maker & Community Builder
Local businesses mean much more than what they sell. That's why Mastercard® is helping to prepare businesses like Diana's for the digital age. Learn more at [mastercard.us/localbiz](https://www.mastercard.us/localbiz)
Together, let's Start Something Priceless®
Mastercard and Priceless are registered trademarks, and Start Something Priceless and the circles design are trademarks, of Mastercard International Incorporated. ©2020 Mastercard. All rights reserved. www.roughlovejewelry.com

Cuts Hit Bone As Pandemic Saps Colleges

Even Tenured Positions Are Not Off Limits

By SHAWN HUBLER

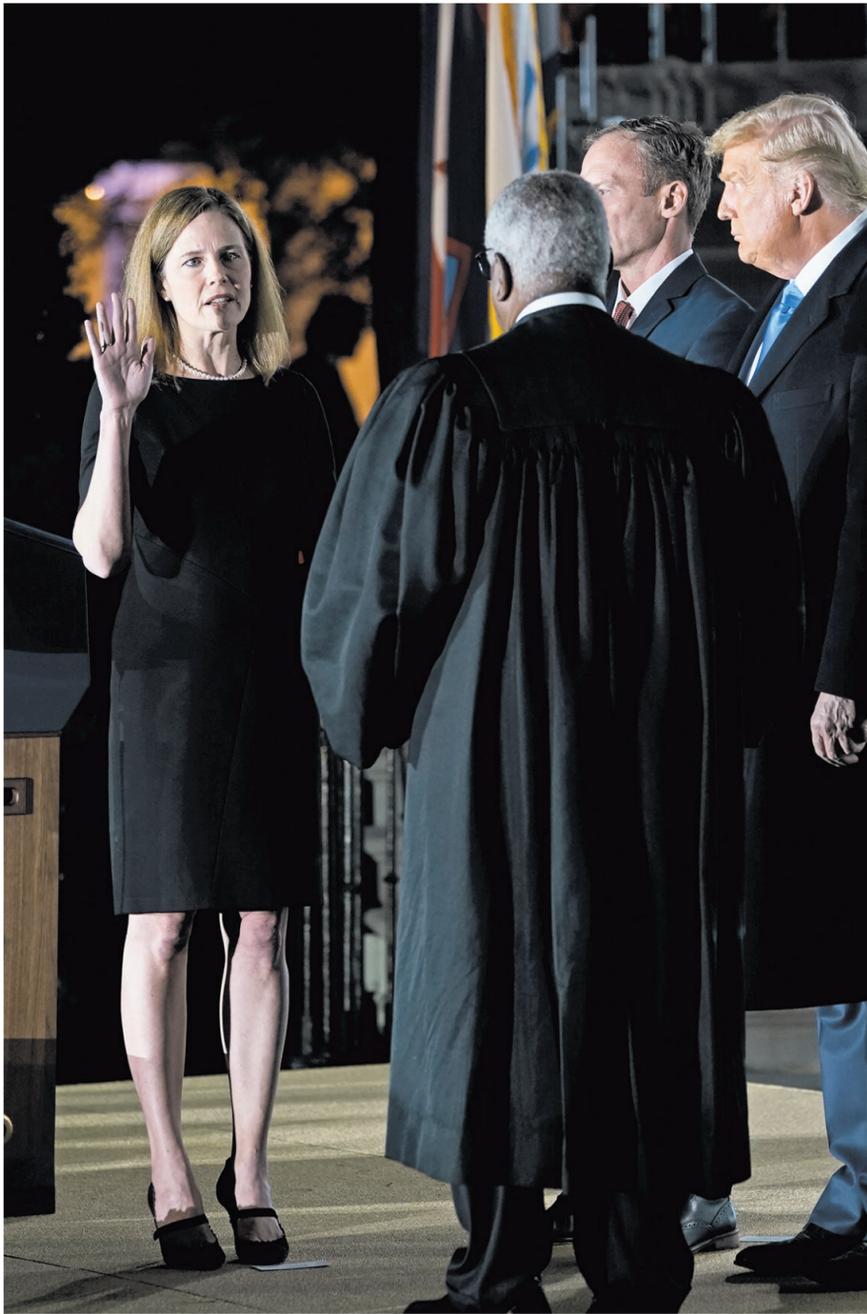
Ohio Wesleyan University is eliminating 18 majors. The University of Florida's trustees this month took the first steps toward letting the school furlough faculty members. The University of California, Berkeley, has paused admissions to its Ph.D. programs in anthropology, sociology and art history.

As it resurges across the country, the coronavirus is forcing universities large and small to make deep and possibly lasting cuts to close widening budget shortfalls. By one estimate, the pandemic has cost colleges at least \$120 billion, with even Harvard University, despite its \$41.9 billion endowment, reporting a \$10 million deficit that has prompted belt tightening.

Though many colleges imposed stopgap measures such as hiring freezes and early retirements to save money in the spring, the persistence of the economic downturn is taking a devastating financial toll, pushing many to lay off or furlough employees, delay graduate admissions and even cut or consolidate core programs like liberal arts departments.

The University of South Florida announced this month that its college of education would become a graduate school only, phasing out undergraduate education degrees to help close a \$6.8 million budget gap. In Ohio, the University of Akron, citing the coronavirus, successfully invoked a clause in its collective-bargaining agreement in September to supersede tenure rules and lay off 97 unionized faculty members.

"We haven't seen a budget crisis like this in a generation," said Robert Kelchen, a Seton Hall University professor. *Continued on Page A10*



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Amy Coney Barrett became the 115th Supreme Court justice in an unusual ceremony late Monday.

BARRETT SWORN IN TO SUPREME COURT AFTER A 52-48 VOTE

A Scalia Protégée Tilts a Bench Remade by Trump Further to the Right

By NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — Judge Amy Coney Barrett, a conservative appeals court judge and protégée of former Justice Antonin Scalia, was confirmed on Monday to the Supreme Court, capping a lightning-fast Senate approval that handed President Trump a victory ahead of the election and promised to tip the court to the right for years to come.

Inside a Capitol mostly emptied by the resurgent coronavirus pandemic and an election eight days away, Republicans overcame unanimous Democratic opposition to make Judge Barrett the 115th justice of the Supreme Court and the fifth woman. The vote was 52 to 48, with all but one Republican, Susan Collins of Maine, who is battling for re-election, supporting her.

It was the first time in 151 years that a justice was confirmed without a single vote from the minority party, a sign of how bitter Washington's war over judicial nominations has become.

The vote concluded a brazen drive by Republicans to fill the vacancy created by the death of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg just six weeks before the election. They shredded their own past pronouncements and bypassed rules in the process, even as they stared down the potential loss of the White House and the Senate.

Democrats insisted Republicans should have waited for voters to have their say on Election

Day. They warned of a disastrous precedent that would draw retaliation should they win power, and in a last-ditch act of protest, they unsuccessfully tried to force the Senate to adjourn before the confirmation vote.

Republicans said it was their right as the majority party and exulted in their win. In replacing Justice Ginsburg, a liberal icon, the court is gaining a conservative who could sway cases in every area of American life, including abortion rights, gay rights, business regulation and the environment.

"The reason this outcome came about is because we had a series of successful elections," said Senator Mitch McConnell, Republican of Kentucky and the majority leader, who was the architect of the strategy. "What this administration and this Republican Senate has done is exercise the power that was given to us by the American people in a manner that is entirely within the rules of the Senate and the Constitution of the United States."

The new justice's impact could be felt right away. There are major election disputes awaiting immediate action by the Supreme Court from the battleground states of North Carolina and Pennsylvania. Both concern the date by which absentee ballots may be accepted.

Soon after, Justice Barrett will confront a docket studded with

Continued on Page A23

DÉJÀ VU The swearing-in ceremony for Justice Amy Coney Barrett mimicked a superspreader event, but with more masks. *PAGE A23*

New York City Falling Behind In Its Recovery

By PATRICK MCGEEHAN

New York, whose diversified economy had fueled unparalleled job growth in recent years, is now facing a bigger challenge in recovering from the pandemic than almost any other major city in the country. More than one million residents are out of work, and the unemployment rate is nearly double the national average.

The city had tried to insulate itself from major downturns by shifting from tying its fortunes to the rise and fall of Wall Street. A thriving tech sector, a booming real estate industry and waves of international tourists had helped Broadway, hotels and restaurants prosper.

But now, as the virus surges again in the region, tourists are still staying away and any hope that workers would refill the city's office towers and support its businesses before the end of the year is fading. As a result, New York's recovery is very likely to be slow and protracted, economists said.

"This is an event that struck right at the heart of New York's comparative advantages," said Mark Zandi, chief economist for Moody's Analytics, a Wall Street research firm. "Being globally oriented, being stacked up in skyscrapers and packed together in stadiums: The very thing that made New York New York was undermined by the pandemic, was upended by it."

Mr. Zandi said he expected that it would take New York about two years longer than the rest of the

Continued on Page A8

Trump, Bolsonaro and a Virus-Ravaged Region

By DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK
and JOSÉ MARÍA LEÓN CABRERA

The coronavirus was gathering lethal speed when President Trump met his Brazilian counterpart, Jair Bolsonaro, on March 7 for dinner at Mar-a-Lago. Mr. Bolsonaro had canceled trips that week to Italy, Poland and Hungary, and Brazil's health minister had urged him to stay away from Florida, too.

But Mr. Bolsonaro insisted, eager to burnish his image as the "Trump of the Tropics." His grinning aides posed at the president's resort in green "Make Brazil Great Again" hats. Mr. Trump declared he was "not concerned at

How Defenses Eroded in Latin America

all" before walking Mr. Bolsonaro around the club shaking hands.

Twenty-two people in Mr. Bolsonaro's delegation tested positive for the virus after returning to Brazil, yet he was not alarmed. Mr. Trump had shared a cure, Mr. Bolsonaro told advisers: a box of the anti-malaria drug hydroxychloroquine, the unproven treatment that Mr. Trump was then promoting as a remedy for Covid-19.

"He said the trip was wonderful,

that they had a great time, that life was normal at Mar-a-Lago, everything was cured, and that hydroxychloroquine was the medicine that was supposed to be used," recalled the health minister, Luiz Henrique Mandetta, who was fired by Mr. Bolsonaro the next month for opposing reliance on the drug.

"From that time on, it was very hard to get him to take the science seriously."

The Mar-a-Lago dinner, which would become infamous for spreading infection, cemented a partnership between Mr. Trump and Mr. Bolsonaro rooted in a shared disregard for the virus.

Continued on Page A6



DANIEL BEREHLAK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Dr. Galo Martínez recalled crowds "crying out for help" as the virus spread in Guayaquil, Ecuador.

They Passed Up Voting in 2016, And Will Again

By SABRINA TAVERNISE
and ROBERT GEBELOFF

EAST STROUDSBURG, Pa. — Like nearly half of all the eligible voters in her county in 2016, Keyana Fedrick did not vote.

Four years later, politics has permeated her corner of northeastern Pennsylvania. Someone sawed a hole in a large Trump sign near one of her jobs. The election office in her county is so overwhelmed with demand that it took over the coroner's office next door. Her parents, both Democrats born in the 1950s, keep telling her she should vote for Joseph R. Biden Jr. Anything is better than President Trump, they say.

But Ms. Fedrick, who works two jobs, at a hotel and at a department store, does not trust either of the two main political parties, because nothing in her 31 years of life has led her to believe that she could. She says they abandon voters like "a bad mom or dad who promises to come and see you, and I'm sitting outside with my bags packed and they never show up."

That is why Ms. Fedrick does not regret her decision in 2016 to skip the voting booth. In fact, she plans to repeat it this year — something that she and a friend have started to hide from people they know.

"We said we're just going to lie, like, 'Oh yeah, I voted,'" she said. "I don't feel like getting crucified for what I think."

As the presidential campaign reaches its final week, early-vot-

Continued on Page A15

In Senate Runs, Black Hopefuls Delve Into Race

By JONATHAN MARTIN
and ALEXANDER BURNS

HORN LAKE, Miss. — Mike Espy and Jaime Harrison, two of the five Black Senate candidates in the South this year, may belong to different political generations, but they both came up in a Democratic Party where African-American politicians didn't talk directly about race in campaigns against white opponents.

But there was Mr. Harrison this month, speaking before more than 250 cars at a drive-in rally in South Carolina's Lowcountry, explicitly urging a mix of white and Black supporters to right the wrongs of the state's past.

"The very first state to secede from the union," Mr. Harrison said to a cacophony of blaring horns, is about to make history "because we will be the very first state in this great country of ours that has two African-American senators serving at the very same time — and you will make that happen."

A day later, speaking to an equally diverse audience in northern Mississippi, Mr. Espy called his Republican opponent, Senator Cindy Hyde-Smith, "an anachronism."

"She is someone who believes in going back to the old days," he said, lashing his Republican rival for hailing the Civil War-era South and refusing to take a stand in the debate over Mississippi's state flag, which until this summer included the Confederate battle emblem. "We need a Mississippi that's more inclusive, that's more

Continued on Page A20

DISTORTIONS

Twitter has become an up-to-the-minute source for news and current events, but also a ground zero for the spread of viral, potentially harmful false information. **As the election approaches, Twitter is "prebunking."**

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BUSINESS B1-7

Trump's Factory Promises

The president's manufacturing renaissance push has not always brought the pledged jobs or investments. *PAGE B1*

Renewable Energy Slows

Developers have struggled to finish projects as the pandemic disrupts construction and supply chains. *PAGE B1*



NATIONAL A14-24

A Font of Misinformation

A recent campaign rally by President Trump in Wisconsin was typical: In 90 minutes, he made 131 false or inaccurate statements. *PAGE A22*

Unexpected Lunar Water

NASA discovers that astronauts may not need to delve into dangerous polar craters on the moon to find it. *PAGE A24*

SPORTSTUESDAY B8-10, 12

Rugby's 'Cement Ceiling'

The sport's world governing body recently barred transgender women from global women's competitions. *PAGE B10*

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Rehab With Incentives

An approach called contingency management rewards drug users with cash and prizes for staying clean. *PAGE D1*

Saving Endangered Lemurs

Climate change is shifting habitats and requiring conservation scientists to think outside park boundaries. *PAGE D1*



ARTS C1-8

A Crisis Point for Museums?

New York galleries are at 25 percent capacity in the pandemic, and leaders worry it will persist far into 2021. *PAGE C1*

Behind (and Beyond) the Music

Netflix's "Song Exploder" explores the making of hits by R.E.M., Alicia Keys, Lin-Manuel Miranda and more. *PAGE C1*

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

John F. Kerry

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BIDEN BEATS TRUMP

RACE IS FINALLY CALLED AFTER RECORD TURNOUT; CHAOTIC TERM ENDS WITH RARE INCUMBENT LOSS



Kamala Harris and Joseph R. Biden Jr. addressed the nation Saturday night from Wilmington, Del., after the election was called. Page 11.

Harris Will Become the Country's First Female Vice President

By JONATHAN MARTIN and ALEXANDER BURNS

Joseph Robinette Biden Jr. was elected the 46th president of the United States on Saturday, promising to restore political normalcy and a spirit of national unity to confront raging health and economic crises, and making Donald J. Trump a one-term president after four years of tumult in the White House.

Mr. Biden's victory amounted to a repudiation of Mr. Trump by millions of voters exhausted with his divisive conduct and chaotic administration, and was delivered by an unlikely alliance of women, people of color, old and young voters and a sliver of disaffected Republicans. Mr. Trump is only the third elected president since World War II to lose re-election, and the first in more than a quarter-century.

The result also provided a history-making moment for Mr. Biden's running mate, Senator Kamala Harris of California, who will become the first woman to serve as vice president.

With his triumph, Mr. Biden, who turns 78 later this



Results as of Saturday at 10:33 p.m. Eastern. Map shows Maine and Nebraska statewide vote. THE NEW YORK TIMES

month, fulfilled his decades-long ambition in his third bid for the White House, becoming the oldest person elected president. A pillar of Washington who was first elected amid the Watergate scandal, and who prefers political consensus over combat, Mr. Biden will lead a nation and a Democratic Party that have become far more ideological since his arrival in the capital in 1973.

He offered a mainstream Democratic agenda, yet it was less his policy platform than his biography to which many voters gravitated. Seeking the nation's highest office a half-century after his first campaign, Mr. Biden — a candidate in the late autumn of his career — presented his life of setback and recovery to voters as a parable for a wounded country.

Appearing Saturday night before supporters at a drive-in rally in Wilmington, Del., and speaking against the din of enthusiastic honking, Mr. Biden claimed the presidency and called on the country to reunite after what he described as a toxic political interlude.

"Let this grim era of demonization in America begin to end here and now," he said.

Without addressing Mr. Trump, the president-elect spoke directly to the president's supporters and said he recognized their disappointment. "I've lost a couple of times myself," he recalled of his past failures to win the presidency, before adding: "Now let's give each other a chance."

In a statement earlier in the day, Mr. Trump insisted
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THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

A Politician Shaped by Tragedy And Decades of Bipartisanship

By KATIE GLUECK and THOMAS KAPLAN

Thirty-three years ago, he was the fast-talking junior senator from Delaware with a chip on his shoulder, desperate to prove his gravitas during a brief, ill-fated presidential run.

The next time around, in 2008, he was the seasoned foreign policy hand and veteran lawmaker who strained to capture the imagination of Democratic presidential primary voters.

As he weighed a third attempt at the presidency last year, many Democrats feared he was too late. Too old, too moderate, too meandering to excite ascendant voices in his party, too rooted in the more civil politics of the past to nimbly handle Donald Trump.

Joseph Robinette Biden Jr. ran anyway. He ran as a grieving father who connected with a country in pain. As a relative centrist who emphasized character, stability and belief in bipartisanship over the particulars of a policy agenda. As a flawed, uneven cam-



Mr. Biden entered the Senate during the Nixon presidency.

aigner whose vulnerabilities were ultimately drowned out by his opponent's outside weaknesses, and eclipsed by the seismic issues at stake, as the nation confronted the ravages of a deadly pandemic.

In many ways, he ran as the politician he has always been. And for one extraordinary election, that was enough.

"They're not so much saying, 'I'm investing in Joe Biden because of his philosophy,'" said former Senator William S. Cohen, Republican of Maine, who served

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THE VICE PRESIDENT-ELECT

Historic Milestone for Woman Steeped in Civil Rights Battles

By LISA LERER and SYDNEY EMBER

From the earliest days of her childhood, Kamala Harris was taught that the road to racial justice was long.

She spoke often on the campaign trail of those who had come before her, of her parents, immigrants drawn to the civil rights struggle in the United States — and of the ancestors who had paved the way.

As she took the stage in Texas shortly before the election, Ms. Harris spoke of being singular in her role but not solitary.

"Yes, sister, sometimes we may be the only one that looks like us walking in that room," she told a largely Black audience in Fort Worth. "But the thing we all know is we never walk in those rooms alone — we are all in that room together."

With her ascension to the vice presidency, Ms. Harris will become the first woman and first woman of color to hold that office, a milestone for a nation in upheav-



Ms. Harris was elected to the Senate from California in 2016.

al, grappling with a damaging history of racial injustice exposed, yet again, in a divisive election. Ms. Harris, 56, embodies the future of a country growing more racially diverse, even if the person voters picked for the top of the ticket is a 77-year-old white man.

In her victory speech Saturday, Ms. Harris spoke of her mother and the generations of women of all races who paved the way for this moment. "While I may be the first woman in this office, I will not be the last," she told a cheering and honking audience in Wilming-

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Dealmaker From Old School Inherits Fractured Washington

By MATT FLEGENHEIMER

Joseph R. Biden Jr., distinguished backslapper and inveterate deal-seeker, has spent most of his last 50 years in the middle of things.

As a presidential candidate, he urged moderation, suggesting that the country was not as progressive as some Democratic rivals insisted.

As vice president, he was the White House emissary dispatched to negotiate with unbending Republicans in Congress, at times with too little success and too willing capitulation in the eyes of liberals.

And across his decades in the Senate, Mr. Biden tended to find his way to the center of the fray — civil rights debates, judicial hearings, the crime bill, the Iraq war — priding himself on a reputation as the lawmaker most likely to befriend Ted Kennedy and Strom Thurmond in the same lifetime.

"For the man who will see,



Mr. Biden says he'll work with Senator Mitch McConnell.

time heals," Mr. Biden said in a generous 2003 eulogy for Mr. Thurmond, the avowed South Carolina segregationist whom he saluted for moving to "the good side" eventually. "Time changes."

Now, as Mr. Biden prepares to assume the presidency in a divided Washington, he will confront the ultimate test of how much times have changed, and how much he has. While Democrats have retained hope that two runoff elections in Georgia might deliver them narrow control of the Senate after all, Biden

Continued on Page 13

WEST WING REACTION

'Far From Over,' Trump Says

Aides to President Trump said he would press forward with legal challenges to the result, and had no immediate plans to deliver a concession speech. PAGE 11

OVERCOMING CHALLENGES

A Smooth Election After All

Despite a nightmare scenario of voting in a pandemic with threats of interference and violence, the machinery of democracy held up well. PAGE 10

SPONTANEOUS CELEBRATIONS

Jubilation in the Streets

Across the country, people cheered the Biden-Harris ticket's victory, shouting from their windows, ringing cowbells and blaring car horns. PAGE 19

'WELCOME BACK AMERICA!'

Overseas, Signs of Relief

Foreign leaders showered the president-elect with congratulatory messages, expressing optimism he would bring a return to normalcy. PAGE 18

SUNDAY REVIEW

Emily Dreyfuss



ELECTION OFFICIALS NATIONWIDE FIND NO FRAUD

Justices Signal Likely Reprieve For Health Act

Two Conservatives Side With Liberal Faction

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — At least five Supreme Court justices, including two members of its conservative majority, indicated on Tuesday that they would reject attempts by Republicans and the Trump administration to kill the Affordable Care Act.

It was not clear whether the court would strike down a provision of the act that initially required most Americans to obtain insurance or pay a penalty, a requirement that was rendered toothless in 2017 after Congress zeroed out the penalty. But the bulk of the sprawling 2010 health care law, President Barack Obama's defining domestic legacy, appeared likely to survive its latest encounter with the court.

Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. and Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh said striking down the so-called individual mandate did not require the rest of the law to be struck down as well.

"Congress left the rest of the law intact when it lowered the penalty to zero," Chief Justice Roberts said.

Justice Kavanaugh made a similar point. "It does seem fairly clear that the proper remedy would be to sever the mandate provision and leave the rest of the act in place — the provisions regarding pre-existing conditions and the rest," he said.

The court's three-member liberal wing — Justices Stephen G. Breyer, Sonia Sotomayor and Elena Kagan — also indicated their support for the law. That suggested there were at least five votes to uphold almost all of it.

Three members of the court's conservative majority, Justices Clarence Thomas, Samuel A. Alito Jr. and Neil M. Gorsuch, seemed poised to vote to strike down the law. The court's newest member, Justice Amy Coney Barrett, was harder to read, though she has been publicly critical of earlier rulings. *Continued on Page A16*

Vatican Inquiry Says John Paul Knew of Abuse

By JASON HOROWITZ

VATICAN CITY — A highly anticipated Vatican report found on Tuesday that Pope John Paul II had rejected explicit warnings about sexual abuse by Theodore E. McCarrick, now a disgraced former cardinal, choosing to believe the American prelate's denials and misleading accounts by bishops as he elevated him to the highest ranks of the church hierarchy.

As Washington's archbishop, Mr. McCarrick was one of the most powerful leaders of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, a media darling and prodigious fund-raiser with deep connections in the Vatican. But he became the highest-ranking American official to be removed for sexual abuse when the pope kicked him out of the priesthood in 2019.

Given Mr. McCarrick's long career — as a priest in New York, archbishop of Newark and a Washington cardinal with a national and international profile — the 449-page report had the potential to engulf three separate papacies in scandal. Since the abuse carried out by Mr. McCarrick be- *Continued on Page A10*

Fighting a False Claim

The president and his allies have baselessly claimed that rampant voter fraud stole victory from him. State officials say there were no irregularities that affected the outcome.

KANSAS TRUMP +15



'Kansas did not experience any widespread, systematic issues with voter fraud, intimidation, irregularities or voting problems.'

The office of Secretary of State Scott Schwab, a Republican

MICHIGAN BIDEN +3



'We have not seen any evidence of fraud or foul play in the actual administration of the election. What we have seen is that it was smooth, transparent, secure and accurate.'

The office of Secretary of State Jocelyn Benson, a Democrat

MINNESOTA BIDEN +7



'I don't know of a single case where someone argued that a vote counted when it shouldn't have or didn't count when it should. There was no fraud.'

Secretary of State Steve Simon, a Democrat

OHIO TRUMP +8



'There's a great human capacity for inventing things that aren't true about elections. The conspiracy theories and rumors and all those things run rampant.'

Secretary of State Frank LaRose, a Republican

PENNSYLVANIA BIDEN +0.67



'Many of the claims against the commonwealth have already been dismissed, and repeating these false attacks is reckless. No active lawsuit even alleges, and no evidence presented so far has shown, widespread problems.'

The office of Attorney General Josh Shapiro, a Democrat

WASHINGTON BIDEN +20



'It's just throwing grass at the fence at this point. See what sticks.'

The office of Secretary of State Kim Wyman, a Republican

Results as of Tuesday at 6:40 p.m. Eastern.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

El Paso Buckles Under Strain as Infections Soar

By J. DAVID GOODMAN

EL PASO — Coronavirus patients filled beds on one floor. Then two. Then the University Medical Center, a teaching hospital in El Paso, set up tents to care for patients in a parking lot. A downtown convention center became a field hospital. To free up even more space, the state began airlifting dozens of intensive care patients to other cities.

Local leaders clashed over what to do to quell the spiraling coronavirus crisis. The top county official ordered a lockdown and curfew. But the mayor disagreed, and the police said they would not

U.S. Hits Record High for Hospitalizations

enforce it. Then the state attorney general weighed in — a lockdown was unnecessary and illegal, he said.

And the patients kept coming. "We discharge one patient, and there are two that come in," said Wanda Helgesen, executive director of the local council on emergency and disaster preparedness.

El Paso, a border city of 680,000, now has more people hospitalized with Covid-19 than most states —

1,076 as of Tuesday — and is more than doubling its supply of mobile morgues, to 10 from four.

The strain on the city, as it grapples with the pandemic's deadly third wave, is mirrored across the country. The number of Covid-19 hospitalizations in the United States hit a record high of 61,964 on Tuesday, surpassing the horrific early days of the spring in New York and the summer in the South and West.

Hospitalizations have more than doubled since September, according to the Covid Tracking Project, passing the previous peak of 59,940 patients hospitalized in mid-April. But while the *Continued on Page A6*



JOEL ANGEL JUAREZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

In El Paso, medical centers are overrun by Covid-19 patients and have had to use field hospitals.

Members of Both Parties Praise Process — Rejection of the President's Narrative

This article is by Nick Corasaniti, Reid J. Epstein and Jim Rutenberg.

PHILADELPHIA — Election officials in dozens of states representing both political parties said that there was no evidence that fraud or other irregularities played a role in the outcome of the presidential race, amounting to a forceful rebuke of President Trump's portrait of a fraudulent election.

Over the last several days, the president, members of his administration, congressional Republicans and right wing allies have put forth the false claim that the election was stolen from Mr. Trump and have refused to accept results that showed Joseph R. Biden Jr. as the winner.

But top election officials across the country said in interviews and statements that the process had been a remarkable success despite record turnout and the complications of a dangerous pandemic.

"There's a great human capacity for inventing things that aren't true about elections," said Frank LaRose, a Republican who serves as Ohio's secretary of state. "The conspiracy theories and rumors and all those things run rampant. For some reason, elections breed that type of mythology."

Steve Simon, a Democrat who is Minnesota's secretary of state,

said: "I don't know of a single case where someone argued that a vote counted when it shouldn't have or didn't count when it should. There was no fraud."

"Kansas did not experience any widespread, systematic issues with voter fraud, intimidation, irregularities or voting problems," a spokeswoman for Scott Schwab, the Republican secretary of state in Kansas, said in an email Tuesday. "We are very pleased with how the election has gone up to this point."

The New York Times contacted the offices of the top election officials in every state on Monday and Tuesday to ask whether they suspected or had evidence of illegal voting. Officials in 45 states responded directly to The Times. For four of the remaining states, The Times spoke to other state-wide officials or found public comments from secretaries of state; none reported any major voting issues.

Statewide officials in Texas did not respond to repeated inquiries. But a spokeswoman for the top elections official in Harris County, the largest county in Texas with a population greater than many states, said that there were only a few minor issues and that "we had a very seamless election." On Tuesday, the Republican lieutenant *Continued on Page A15*

Trump Marshals Federal Power To Overturn His Election Defeat

By PETER BAKER and LARA JAKES

WASHINGTON — President Trump, facing the prospect of leaving the White House in defeat in just 70 days, is harnessing the power of the federal government to resist the results of an election that he lost, something that no sitting president has done in American history.

In the latest sign of defiance, the president's senior cabinet secretary fueled concerns on Tuesday that Mr. Trump would resist handing over power to President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr. after legal challenges to the vote. "There will be a smooth transition to a second Trump administration," Secretary of State Mike Pompeo said.

Mr. Trump's attorney general has at the same time authorized investigations into supposed vote fraud, his general services administrator has refused to give Mr. Biden's team access to transition offices and resources guaranteed under law and the White House is preparing a budget for next year as if Mr. Trump will be around to present it.

The president has also embarked on a shake-up of his administration, firing Defense Secretary Mark T. Esper as well as



POOL PHOTO BY JACQUELYN MARTIN

Secretary of State Mike Pompeo expects a Trump victory.

the heads of three other agencies while installing loyalists in key positions at the National Security Agency and the Pentagon. Allies expect more to come, including the possible dismissals of the directors of the F.B.I. and the C.I.A.

But the rest of the world increasingly moved to accept Mr. Biden's victory and prepared to work with him despite Mr. Trump's refusal to acknowledge the results. Speaking with journalists, Mr. Biden called the president's actions since Election Day "an embarrassment" that will not serve him well in the long run. *Continued on Page A13*

Black Voters Went for Biden. Now They Hope He'll Deliver.

By JOHN ELIGON and AUDRA D. S. BURCH

When President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr. thanked Black voters in his victory speech on Saturday night for rescuing his campaign when it was at its lowest point and declared "you've always had my back, and I'll have yours," Kourtney Neloms did not cheer like the hundreds in attendance.

Instead, listening to Mr. Biden speak in Wilmington, Del., from her hometown, Detroit, she felt somewhat skeptical.

"OK, let's see if he's really being honest about this," Ms. Neloms, 42, who is Black, recalled thinking. "My prayer is that it's not just lip service."

While Black voters across the country celebrated the election of Mr. Biden and his vice president, Senator Kamala Harris of California, many said in recent days that the administration would have to prove its sincerity when it came to addressing the country's vast inequalities and systemic barriers.

"I am hopeful and willing to give Biden a chance but am not completely sold," said Geary Woolfolk, 53, who is Black and lives in suburban Atlanta.

In this year's election, Mr. Biden attracted about 87 percent of the Black vote. At the same time, Mr. *Continued on Page A17*

INTERNATIONAL A9-11

Flight of the Fraudsters

While New Zealand slept, hackers threw the Bird of the Year contest into chaos with 1,500 fake votes. PAGE A9

Nagorno-Karabakh Fallout

Russia and Turkey emerged as power brokers in a dispute that Azerbaijan won against Armenia. PAGE A9



NATIONAL A12-20

A Telling Blow to Populism?

Movement leaders may have lost their champion, President Trump, but their economic, social and political grievances remain potent. PAGE A18

The Polls Just Didn't Add Up

Did political surveys fail to learn from the errors of 2016, or did this election reflect new problems? PAGE A14

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-8

The \$1,944 Coronavirus Test

Some Connecticut patients were shocked by their bill for "super Covid tests" and \$480 follow-up calls. PAGE A7

BUSINESS B1-7

Biden's Back; Tech Trembles

The Obama administration gave the tech industry a lot of leeway. But that seems like a long time ago. PAGE B1

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B8-11

Augusta National and Race

An honor for Lee Elder, the first Black golfer in the Masters, epitomizes the glacial changes at the club. PAGE B8

OBITUARIES A21-23

Heart of the Celtics

Tom Heinsohn, a champion, Hall of Famer and announcer, was 86. PAGE A23

FOOD D1-10

Avoiding Kitchen Burnout

Forget the idea of a "perfect" Thanksgiving, and celebrate the one that's possible, Tejal Rao says. PAGE D1

A Buttermilk-Brined Bird

Every November, Samin Nosrat is asked if her roast chicken recipe works with turkey. Now she knows. PAGE D1



ARTS C1-8

The Sounds of Hyperpop

Ben Dandridge-Lemco takes a look at how the small Spotify playlist has grown into such a big deal. PAGE C1

Doing the Biden Boogie

Afer a certain announcement was made Saturday, there just had to be dancing in the streets, Gia Kourlas says. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

Thomas L. Friedman PAGE A25



JUSTICES DENY BID BY TEXAS TO SUBVERT VOTE

Pfizer Vaccine Gets Clearance By the F.D.A.

About 3 Million Doses Ready for Shipping

This article is by Katie Thomas, Sharon LaFraniere, Noah Weiland, Abby Goodnough and Maggie Haberman.

The Food and Drug Administration authorized Pfizer's Covid-19 vaccine for emergency use on Friday, clearing the way for millions of highly vulnerable people to begin receiving the vaccine within days.

The authorization is a historic turning point in a pandemic that has taken more than 290,000 lives in the United States. With the decision, the United States becomes the sixth country — in addition to Britain, Bahrain, Canada, Saudi Arabia and Mexico — to clear the vaccine. Other authorizations, including by the European Union, are expected within weeks.

The F.D.A.'s decision followed an extraordinary sequence of events on Friday morning when the White House chief of staff, Mark Meadows, told the F.D.A. commissioner, Dr. Stephen Hahn, to consider looking for his next job if he didn't get the emergency approval done on Friday, according to a senior administration official who spoke on condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to discuss the matter. Dr. Hahn then ordered vaccine regulators at the agency to do it by the end of the day.

The authorization set off a complicated coordination effort from Pfizer, private shipping companies, state and local health officials, the military, hospitals and pharmacy chains to get the first week's batch of about three million doses to health care workers and nursing home residents as quickly as possible, all while keeping the vaccine at ultracold temperatures.

Pfizer has a deal with the U.S. government to supply 100 million
Continued on Page A8

DISTRIBUTION A breakdown of how many doses each state is expecting. PAGE A9

AN AIR RESCUE Airlines prepared for months for their role in the vaccine supply chain. PAGE B1



ANNA MONEYMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

In a brief unsigned order Friday, the Supreme Court said Texas lacked standing to pursue the case.

Refusal to Nullify Biden Victories in 4 States Blocks Trump's Search for Relief in Courts

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court on Friday rejected a lawsuit by Texas that had asked the court to throw out the election results in four battleground states that President Trump lost in November, ending any prospect that a brazen attempt to use the courts to reverse his defeat at the polls would succeed.

The court, in a brief unsigned order, said Texas lacked standing to pursue the case, saying it "has not demonstrated a judicially cognizable interest in the manner in which another state conducts its elections."

The order, coupled with another one on Tuesday turning away a similar request from Pennsylvania Republicans, signaled that a conservative court with three justices appointed by Mr. Trump refused to be drawn into the extraordinary effort by the president and many prominent members of his party to deny his Democratic opponent, former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr., his victory.

It was the latest and most significant setback for Mr. Trump in a litigation campaign that was rejected by courts at every turn.

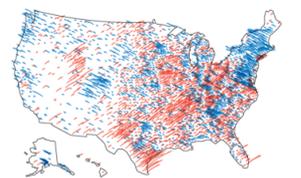
Texas' lawsuit, filed directly in the Supreme Court, challenged election procedures in four states: Georgia, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. It asked the court to bar those states from casting their electoral votes for Mr. Biden and to shift the selection of electors to the states' legislatures. That would have required the justices to throw out millions of votes.

Mr. Trump has said he expected to prevail in the Supreme Court, after rushing the confirmation of Justice Amy Coney Barrett in October in part in the hope that she would vote in Mr. Trump's favor in election disputes.

"I think this will end up in the Supreme Court," Mr. Trump said of the election a few days after Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg's death in September. "And I think it's very important that we have nine justices."

He was right that an election dispute would end up in the Supreme Court. But he was quite wrong to think the court, even after he appointed a third of its members, would do his bidding. And with the Electoral College set to meet on Monday, Mr. Trump's efforts to change the outcome of the election will soon be at an end.

Mr. Trump's campaign did not immediately issue a statement. In an appearance on the conservative talk show "Fox News Sunday," he said he would continue to fight in court.
Continued on Page A18



SHIFTING MAP Suburban voters swung to Democrats and flipped the Blue Wall states. PAGE A14

A Divided and Distrustful U.S. Awaits Vaccines

By SIMON ROMERO and MIRIAM JORDAN

As the Lopez family of Truckee, Calif., gathered to prepare dinner on a recent evening, one subject dominated the conversation: the coronavirus vaccine that will soon be shipped out across the country, giving Americans the first concrete hope that the pandemic will eventually end.

Enrique Lopez, 46, who runs a snow-removal business, explained how he was trying to persuade his skeptical employees that the vaccine was safe. His wife, Brienne, 41, a middle school teacher, said she was desperate for the vaccine after a September

Many Are Eager, but a Push Is On to Win Over the Wary

about with Covid-19 sickened her for weeks. Their two daughters just wanted to know if the vaccine would enable them to return to their pre-pandemic lives.

"I know a lot of people are scared. They don't know what the side effects are going to be," said Mr. Lopez, who had seen half his work force stricken with the virus. "It's a risk we have to take. It's go-

ing to make us safer and go back to normal."

After months of anticipation, the first vaccine has arrived. It lands in a country that is both devastated by the virus and deeply divided over almost everything concerning it.

The first Americans will most likely receive shots of the Pfizer-BioNTech vaccine in the coming days, and the government is expected to approve other vaccines as well. Health officials are working to ease public doubts about the safety of the injections, emphasizing that large numbers of Americans — perhaps between 60 to 70 percent — must get vaccinated to
Continued on Page A8

Cuomo Pivots On State Plan To Quell Virus

By J. DAVID GOODMAN and JESSE MCKINLEY

With coronavirus cases surging, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo of New York has shifted his strategy sharply away from tackling local clusters and toward protecting the state's health system in a bid to avoid a return to the worst days of spring, when hospitals were stretched to the limit.

The virus statistic that had transfixed New Yorkers — the rate of tests that come back positive — is no longer the primary driver of state action, as it was when Mr. Cuomo sought to quash viral outbreaks in designated areas. That effort did not stem a rising tide of infections statewide, and the focus now is on hospital capacity.

Far from hastening a broad new round of business closings, the governor's shift is likely to delay by weeks a potential return of the most stringent restrictions from earlier in the year. A rise in the number of hospitalizations follows an increase in positive cases, and the state has anticipated several steps hospitals can take to expand capacity before a shutdown is needed.

Still, there was one area where Mr. Cuomo was taking no chances. On Friday, he ordered a halt to indoor dining in New York City starting Monday, saying that the ban was necessary to curb the surging outbreak. But the move prompted a backlash from the struggling restaurant industry, one of the city's economic engines, with owners saying the governor had not proved that restaurants were a significant factor in spreading the virus.

After months of low positive test rates, New York is now in the same position as other states amid a worsening national outbreak: watching with increased
Continued on Page A6

New York D.A. Is Stepping Up Trump Inquiry

This article is by William K. Rashbaum, Ben Protess and David Enrich.

State prosecutors in Manhattan have interviewed several employees of President Trump's bank and insurance broker in recent weeks, according to people with knowledge of the matter, significantly escalating an investigation into the president that he is powerless to stop.

The interviews with people who work for the lender, Deutsche Bank, and the insurance brokerage, Aon, are the latest indication that once Mr. Trump leaves office, he still faces the potential threat of criminal charges that would be beyond the reach of federal pardons.

It remains unclear whether the office of the Manhattan district attorney, Cyrus R. Vance Jr., will ultimately bring charges. The prosecutors have been fighting in court for more than a year to obtain Mr. Trump's personal and corporate tax returns, which they have called central to their investigation. The issue now rests with the Supreme Court.

But lately, Mr. Vance's office has stepped up its efforts, issuing new subpoenas and questioning witnesses, including some before a grand jury, according to the people with knowledge of the matter, who requested anonymity because of the sensitive nature of the investigation.

The grand jury appears to be serving an investigative function, allowing prosecutors to authenticate documents and pursue other leads, rather than considering any charges.

When Mr. Trump returns to private life in January, he will lose the protection from criminal prosecution that his office has afforded him. While The New York Times has reported that he discussed granting pre-emptive pardons to his eldest children before leaving office — and has claimed that he
Continued on Page A20

After Azerbaijan War, a Scarcity of Life, Let Alone Forgiveness

By CARLOTTA GALL and ANTON TROIANOVSKI

FIZULI, Azerbaijan — Crossing into territory that Azerbaijan recently recaptured from Armenia is a journey into a devastated wasteland reminiscent of a World War I battlefield. The road passes miles of abandoned trenches and bunkers, and village after village of ruins, the white stones of homesteads scattered, every movable item — roofs, doors, window frames — picked clean.

The absence of life is eerie. Wrecked Armenian tanks and armor lay beside the road and in hilltop positions, testament to the devastating power of Azerbaijani drones. Abandoned uniforms and equipment signal a panicked retreat by Armenian soldiers as Azerbaijani forces seized control of the district in early November.

Decades after the surrounding territory was seized by Armenia, the town of Fizuli, once a prosperous agricultural settlement of some 30,000 people, has become a forest, its ruined public buildings smothered by trees and undergrowth. The fate of the larger town of Aghdam, farther north, is



IVOR PRICKETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Aghdam, a devastated town that Azerbaijan reclaimed from Armenia after a six-week offensive.

even more stark, its buildings split open to the skies on a desiccated plain, its main bridge destroyed.

"It's going to be very hard for me to forgive them," Elmaddin Safarov, 47, an army veteran, said of the Armenians, as he gazed at the wreckage of Aghdam, where 17 of

his relatives died.

The conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh, an ethnically Armenian enclave within Azerbaijan, has been one of the world's most intractable territorial disputes. A six-year war ended in 1994 with Armenia claiming not just Nagor-

no-Karabakh but also great swaths of surrounding territory, and driving more than 800,000 Azerbaijanis into exile.

Azerbaijan regained control of Fizuli and Aghdam, part of the territory that Armenia had con-
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Argentina's Abortion Fight
Fulfilling a campaign promise, the country's president is backing a bill that would legalize the procedure. PAGE A10

Hong Kong Charges Mogul
Jimmy Lai's case was followed by reports that Beijing was holding a Bloomberg News staff member. PAGE A11

NATIONAL A14-23

Veto-Proof Move by Senate
Lawmakers overwhelmingly passed a military policy bill that strips military bases of Confederate names, defying the president. PAGE A20

The Perils of Crossing Trump
Brian Kemp became governor with the help of the president, but his refusal to try to reverse Georgia's election has drawn his ire. PAGE A19

2 Take Steps for Mayoral Run
Andrew Yang, a former presidential candidate, and Max Rose, who lost re-election to Congress, signal they will enter the New York race. PAGE A23

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-9

Rethinking Routine Care
All this year, patients stayed away from doctors' offices in droves, postponing routine tests and treatments. Maybe there's a silver lining. PAGE A4

BUSINESS B1-6
A Climate-Forward Cabinet
Several of President-elect Joseph R. Biden's choices have emphasized clean energy and reduced emissions. PAGE B1

Forced to Pay for States' Errors
A pandemic relief program allows no forgiveness of overpayments, even when recipients are not at fault. PAGE B1



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Virus Cases by the Thousands
A New York Times analysis shows the pandemic's largely unreported toll across college athletics. PAGE B7

Army-Navy Classic at Army
The annual football showdown will not be at a neutral site for the first time in 77 years. PAGE B10

ARTS C1-6

Black Dancer, White Makeup
Chloé Lopes Gomesa says she was told to color her skin for a "Swan Lake" role with the Staatsballett Berlin. PAGE C1

Actor Is Accused of Abuse
The singer FKA twigs has sued Shia LaBeouf, alleging sexual battery, assault and emotional distress. PAGE C1

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Jamelle Bouie PAGE A24



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'HEALING IS COMING': U.S. VACCINATIONS BEGIN

ELECTORS AFFIRM BIDEN'S VICTORY; VOTE IS SMOOTH

'Time to Turn the Page,' Winner Says

By NICK CORASANITI and JIM RUTENBERG

It began at 10 a.m. in New Hampshire, where electors met in a statehouse chamber festooned with holiday decorations and gave their four votes to Joseph R. Biden Jr. By noon on Monday, the battleground states of Arizona, Georgia and Pennsylvania, ground zero for many of President Trump's fruitless lawsuits, had backed Mr. Biden too. In New York, Bill and Hillary Clinton voted for Mr. Biden along with 27 other electors.

And when California cast its 55 votes for Mr. Biden around 5:30 p.m. Eastern time, it pushed him past the threshold of 270 Electoral College votes needed to win the presidency, putting the official seal on his victory after weeks of efforts by Mr. Trump to use legal challenges and political pressure to overturn the results.

With the Electoral College vote behind him, Mr. Biden called for unity while forcefully denouncing

the president and his allies for their assault on the nation's voting system. In an address in Wilmington, Del., Monday night, he said the Republican efforts to get the Supreme Court to undo the result represented a "position so extreme we've never seen it before," and called the attacks on election officials at the local level "unconscionable."

Mr. Biden said that "it is time to turn the page" on the election. Praising officials who stood up for the integrity of the system, he added: "It was honest, it was free and it was fair. They saw it with their own eyes. And they wouldn't be bullied into saying anything different." [Page A19.]

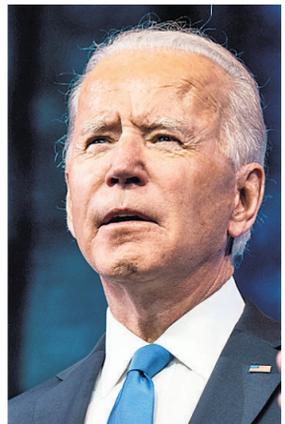
For all of the turmoil that Mr. Trump had stirred with his conspiracy theories, lawsuits and baseless claims of fraud, the Electoral College vote that sealed Mr. Biden's victory was mostly a staid, formal affair, devoid of drama. As it always is.

Though supporters of Mr. Trump had promised to mount protests outside the statehouses in battlegrounds that the president had lost, Monday's voting went largely smoothly; there were no demonstrations that disrupted the proceedings, and in some states, police presence outnumbered protesters.

After Hawaii cast its four votes for Mr. Biden, he finished with 306 Electoral College votes, with no electors defecting from the slate.

The vote follows six weeks of unprecedented efforts by Mr. Trump to intervene in the electoral

Continued on Page A20



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Joseph R. Biden Jr. said on Monday the election "was honest, it was free and it was fair."

Barr to Quit Next Week
Attorney General William P. Barr lost favor after long bolstering President Trump. Page A25.

Agencies Race to Assess Damage After Being Hacked by Russia

This article is by David E. Sanger, Nicole Perlroth and Eric Schmitt.

WASHINGTON — The scope of a hack engineered by one of Russia's premier intelligence agencies became clearer on Monday, when the Trump administration acknowledged that other federal agencies — the Department of Homeland Security and parts of the Pentagon — had been compromised. Investigators were struggling to determine the extent to

which the military, intelligence community and nuclear laboratories were affected by the highly sophisticated attack.

United States officials did not detect the attack until recent weeks, and then only when a private cybersecurity firm, FireEye, alerted American intelligence that the hackers had evaded layers of defenses.

It was evident that the Treasury and Commerce Departments, the first agencies reported to be breached, were only part of a far larger operation whose sophistication stunned even experts who have been following a quarter-century of Russian hacks on the Pentagon and American civilian agencies.

About 18,000 private and government users downloaded a Russian tainted software update — a Trojan horse of sorts — that gave its hackers a foothold into victims' systems, according to SolarWinds, the company whose software was compromised.

Among those who use SolarWinds software are the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the State Department, the Justice Department, parts of the Pentagon and a number of utility companies. While the presence of the software is not by itself evi-

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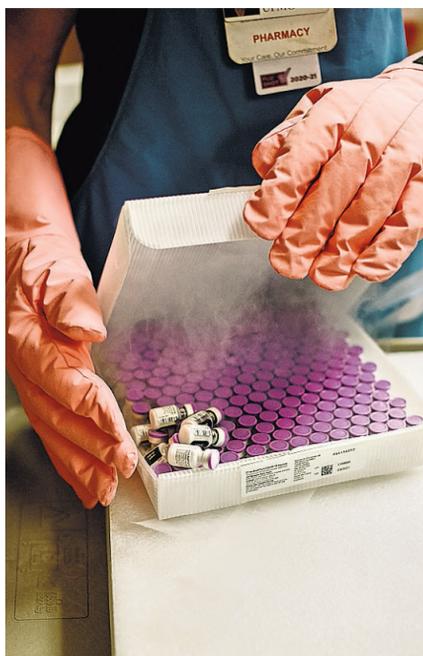


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The Department of Homeland Security was compromised.



POOL PHOTO BY MARK LENNIHAN



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Sandra Lindsay, top, the director of critical care nursing at Long Island Jewish Medical Center in Queens, was among the first health workers on Monday to receive the Pfizer-BioNTech coronavirus vaccine. Workers in Pittsburgh, left, and Miramar, Fla., were also part of the inoculation effort.

Hope at Last for Those in the Medical Trenches

This article is by Jack Healy, Lucy Tompkins and Audra D. S. Burch.

FARGO, N.D. — As Dr. Rishi Seth rolled up his left sleeve on Monday to receive one of the United States' first Covid-19 vaccines, he thought of his patients back in the Special Care Unit.

There was the Uber driver who had walked out of the hospital after being on a ventilator. The dying father who said goodbye to his two college-age daughters on a video chat. The four coronavirus patients Dr. Seth had treated just on Monday morning, checking their oxygen levels and reviewing treatment plans before he stripped off his protective gear and joined a first wave of health care workers to be vaccinated in

Getting Shots, but Not Relief From Stress and Suffering

hospitals across the country.

"That's why today is so emotional," said Dr. Seth, an internal-medicine physician with Sanford Health in North Dakota, a state that has been ravaged by the virus. "You're still fighting a battle, but you're starting to see the horizon."

Monday's vaccinations, the first in a staggeringly complicated national campaign, were a moment infused with hope and pain for hundreds of America's health care

workers.

Even as doctors and nurses lined up for the first shots, cheered on their colleagues and joked about barely feeling the prick of the syringe, they also reflected on their grueling months in the trenches of the country's coronavirus nightmare. They have scrounged for protective gear and tried treatment after treatment. They have coordinated final phone calls and held patients' hands when families could not visit. They have come running when alarms warned that a patient was on the edge of dying.

"This is really for all of those patients that unfortunately didn't make it, all those patients still coming through the doors," Mona

Continued on Page A7

It's a Made-in-China Holiday Season for Cooped-Up Americans

By ANA SWANSON

WASHINGTON — American imports from China are surging as the year draws to a close, fueled by stay-at-home shoppers who are snapping up Chinese-made furniture and appliances, along with Barbie Dream Houses and bicycles for the holidays.

The surge in imports is another byproduct of the coronavirus, with Americans channeling

money they might have spent on vacations, movies and restaurant dining to household items like new lighting for home offices, workout equipment for basement gyms, and toys to keep their children entertained.

That has been a boon for China, the world's largest manufacturer of many of those goods. In November, China reported a record trade surplus of \$75.43 billion, propelled by an unexpected 21.1 percent surge in exports compared with

Pandemic, Expected to Cut Trade, Boosts It

the same month last year. Leading the jump were exports to the United States, which climbed 46.1 percent to \$51.98 billion, also a record.

That surge has defied the expectations of American politicians

Dread Persists as Death Toll Tops 300,000

This article is by Campbell Robertson, Amy Harmon and Mitch Smith.

PITTSBURGH — Some of the very medical centers that have endured the worst of the coronavirus outbreak in the United States found the gloom that has long filled their corridors replaced by elation and hope on Monday as health care workers became the first to take part in a mass vaccination campaign aimed at ending the pandemic.

Hundreds of those who have been on the front lines of fighting Covid-19 — a nurse from an intensive care unit in New York, an emergency room doctor from Ohio, a hospital housekeeper in Iowa — received inoculations in emotional ceremonies watched by people around the country.

"I feel like healing is coming," said Sandra Lindsay, an intensive care nurse who was among the first health care workers to be vaccinated on Monday morning, at Long Island Jewish Medical Center in Queens, an early center of the virus.

But the vaccinations came as the nation surpassed 300,000 coronavirus deaths, a toll larger than any other country. Even as applause rang out at hospitals nationwide, many intensive care units remained near capacity and public health experts warned that life would not return to normal until well into next year.

Plunking down in wooden chairs and rolling up their sleeves were physicians, nurses, aides, cleaners and at least one chief executive who said he was getting the vaccine early to encourage everyone on his staff to do the same.

Dr. Jason Smith, the first Kentuckian to receive the Covid-19 vaccine, showed off the smiley-face Band-Aid a health care worker applied to his arm. "Didn't even feel it," he said. A group of nuns in Sioux Falls, S.D., blessed the vaccine as it arrived, before it was whisked into a freezer.

Seth Jackson, a nurse in Iowa City, found himself crying on the way to the hospital to get his shot. Robin Mercier, a Rhode Island nurse, rejoiced in feeling one step closer to being able to kiss her grandchild.

"This is the marking of getting back to normal," said Angela Mattingly, a housekeeper at the University of Iowa Hospital, who was fifth in line as shots were dispensed on the 12th floor.

One of those who had spent months studying the safety of the vaccine was herself vaccinated.

"This is the culmination of a lot of hard work in our clinical trials," said Dr. Patricia Winokur, 61, the principal investigator of the clinical trial of the vaccine and a professor at the University of Iowa.

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FIRST SHOT A nurse at a Queens hospital wanted to lead by example and persuade others. PAGE A8

MANDATE Businesses are reluctant to require the vaccine, but they might have to. PAGE B6

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-11

Setback for Restaurants

Everything seemed to conspire against New York City's food and drink businesses. Now, indoor dining has been taken away again. PAGE A4

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A Legacy of the Trump Voter

A growing and broadly held distrust of the electoral system has important implications for democracy. PAGE A18

Favorite for E.P.A. Hits a Wall

Objections to her policies' effects on minorities may derail Mary D. Nichols, an expected Biden pick. PAGE A25



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Losing Caffeine and Friendship

Regulars at Turkey's coffeehouses fear losing "our jokes, our laughter" as pandemic restrictions linger. PAGE A12

Report Links Spies to Navalny

An investigative group provided evidence of Moscow's role in the poisoning of Russia's opposition leader. PAGE A16

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CNN and MSNBC, Post-Trump

Ratings have hit new highs, but executives and journalists at both cable news outlets are uneasy about what the next year will bring. PAGE B1

When the Checks Run Out

Millions face a steep and immediate drop in spending power when federal jobless benefits end this month. PAGE B1

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A \$3 Million Error Made Right

The agent Bill Duffy paid back his client Anthony Carter over 17 years after costing him an N.B.A. contract. PAGE B8

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A Gift to Dementia Studies

Alzheimer's researchers are hoping to better understand the disease by studying a Colombian woman who had a rare genetic mutation, and who donated her brain to science. PAGE D1

What to Know About Testing

Long lines, slow results and inconsistent advice have left many confused about when and how to get tested for Covid. We talked to the experts to answer your questions. PAGE D4

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Bret Stephens

PAGE A26



ARTS C1-6

Charley Pride's Legacy

The singer put himself on the line as country music's first Black superstar. He died after performing at a largely mask-free awards ceremony. PAGE C1



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