



**AUSTRIA** Thousands of hardware and home stores were permitted to reopen, as long as workers and customers wore masks.



**SPAIN** Workers were allowed to return to factories and construction sites, despite a daily death toll that remains over 500.



**GERMANY** A nearly deserted Munich subway station. Germany's reopening would have to be coordinated with others' in the bloc.



**ITALY** The epicenter of Europe's crisis reopened some bookshops and children's stores on Tuesday, amid confusion over travel.

## EUROPEAN NATIONS WARILY TEST A PATH TO REOPEN SOCIETY

### Early Bellwether of Reviving Economies While Minimizing New Illnesses

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

BERLIN — Slowly, tentatively, a handful of European countries began lifting constraints on daily life this week for the first time since the start of the coronavirus crisis, providing an early litmus test of whether Western democracies can gingerly restart their economies and restore basic freedoms without reviving the spread of the disease.

On Tuesday, Italy, the epicenter of Europe's crisis, reopened some bookshops and children's clothing stores. Spain allowed workers to return to factories and construction sites, despite a daily death toll that remains over 500. Austria allowed thousands of hardware and home improvement stores to reopen, as long as workers and customers wore masks.

In Denmark, elementary schoolteachers readied classrooms so young children could return to school on Wednesday, while in the Czech Republic, a restless public relished the reopening of sports centers and some shops.

been in place for nearly a month. "I cannot live without sports," Mr. Zchoval explained.

The easing of the lockdowns was watched with interest and trepidation across Europe and beyond, and posed profound and knotty questions.

"How much are we willing to pay in order to save people's lives?" asked Jana Puglierin, director of the Berlin office of the European Council on Foreign Relations, an independent research group. "And when do we do more damage — when we keep the lockdown in place, or when we open it up early?"

The fledgling, country-by-country loosening, enacted without any coordination between nations, underscored the absence of any common agreement, or even understanding, about the challenge of keeping economies alive while stemming the disease.

A similar debate over how to reopen society is taking place in the United States, where President Trump has insisted that he "calls the shots" on the matter, prompting objections from the leaders of several states.

Mr. Trump, under fire and his poll numbers falling as the dispute intensified, said Tuesday that he would halt funding to the World Health Organization, which he ac-

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## Feeling Stuck As Shutdowns Curb Abortion

By SABRINA TAVERNISE

The 31-year-old from Houston knew she did not want another baby. She already had three — her youngest, a boy, was just 6 months old. And she had just been laid off from her job in a medical billing office, another casualty of America's growing unemployment crisis.

So she scheduled an abortion at a local clinic. But when she arrived for her appointment four weeks ago, the doors were locked and a sign was taped inside the glass: The clinic was closed.

Abortions in Texas were off after the state included them on a list of medical procedures that were not essential and needed to be postponed during the coronavirus pandemic.

The woman, who asked that her name not be used to protect her privacy, walked back to her car, took out her phone and immediately started Googling her options.

Her search would eventually involve four states and six clinics. Last week, she was 18 weeks pregnant and considering driving nine hours to a clinic in Wichita, Kan., with her infant son in the back seat.

"I'm just kind of overwhelmed and frustrated and stressed," the woman said last week. "I just know I can't handle another baby. I just know. I know physically, emotionally, financially."

The fight over abortion rights, rather than receding into the background during the pandemic,

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## Review Bumps New York City Deaths Past 10,000

By J. DAVID GOODMAN and WILLIAM K. RASHBAUM

New York City, already a world epicenter of the coronavirus outbreak, sharply increased its death toll by more than 3,700 victims on Tuesday, after officials said they were now including people who had never tested positive for the virus but were presumed to have died of it.

The new figures, released by the city's Health Department, drove up the number of people killed in New York City to more than 10,000, and appeared to increase the overall United States death count by 17 percent to more than 26,000.

The numbers brought into

### Those Not Tested, but Presumed Positive, Are Added to Toll

clearer focus the staggering toll the virus has already taken on the largest city in the United States, where deserted streets are haunted by the near-constant howl of ambulance sirens. Far more people have died in New York City, on a per-capita basis, than in Italy — the hardest-hit country in Europe.

And in a city reeling from the overt danger posed by the virus, top health officials said they had

identified another grim reality: The outbreak is likely to have also led indirectly to a spike in deaths of New Yorkers who may never have been infected.

Three thousand more people died in New York City between March 11 and April 13 than would have been expected during the same time period in an ordinary year, Dr. Oxiris Barbot, the commissioner of the city Health Department, said in an interview. While these so-called excess deaths were not explicitly linked to the virus, they might not have happened had the outbreak not occurred, in part because it overwhelmed the normal health care system.

"This is yet another part of the

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## Governors Insist The Next Moves Belong to Them

By JULIE BOSMAN

CHICAGO — In Oregon, Gov. Kate Brown said the move toward reopening her state would be cautious and incremental, guided by data on transmission of the coronavirus, availability of personal protective equipment and testing capacity, among other factors.

Gov. J. B. Pritzker of Illinois said he has begun reaching out to leaders of other Midwestern states to form a regional coalition to help make decisions on opening businesses and schools when the time comes.

In Mississippi, where a state-wide shelter-in-place order is set to expire on Monday, Gov. Tate Reeves said parts of the state could soon prepare to see other restrictions lifted.

The nation's governors and mayors on Tuesday proceeded with their own plans for how communities will reopen public life, in many cases ignoring President Trump's declaration that he alone has the authority to decide when to "open up the states."

Just as the governors were the ones who shut the country down, they will be the ones to decide when to open it, they indicated.

"He might want to read the Constitution," Mr. Pritzker, a Democrat, said of Mr. Trump.

In many parts of the country, governors from both parties said they were a long way off from telling Americans to go back to work and to their normal lives, but they also said it was not too early to make plans for that eventuality.

"We have some very difficult days and weeks ahead," said Gov. Charlie Baker of Massachusetts, a Republican.

Gov. Gavin Newsom of California avoided providing any timeline, but he offered a glimpse of what his state's "new normal" would be like. Face coverings are

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President Trump has ordered a halt to funding for the World Health Organization. Page A7.

### NEWS ANALYSIS

## Experts Reject Trump Claim

By CHARLIE SAVAGE

WASHINGTON — President Trump's claim that he wielded "total" authority in the pandemic crisis prompted rebellion not just from governors. Legal scholars across the ideological spectrum on Tuesday rejected his declaration that ultimately he, not state leaders, will decide when to risk lifting social distancing limits in order to reopen businesses.

"When somebody's the president of the United States, the authority is total," Mr. Trump asserted at a raucous press briefing on Monday. "And that's the way it's got to be."

But neither the Constitution nor any federal law bestows that power upon Mr. Trump, a range of legal scholars and government officials said.

"We don't have a king in this country," Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo of New York said on Tuesday, adding, "There are laws and facts — even in this wild political environment." He rebutted Mr. Trump's claim by citing a line from Alexander Hamilton, observing that presidential en-

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## Invisible Hand of Obama Nudged Primary Toward Amicable End

By GLENN THRUSH

Over the past year, Joseph R. Biden Jr. and former President Barack Obama practiced a political distancing of sorts, with Mr. Obama maintaining a posture of public neutrality in the Democratic primaries, offering counsel to any candidate who called (most did), and Mr. Biden saying he wanted to win on his own.

But with calibrated stealth, Mr. Obama has been considerably more engaged in the campaign's denouement than has been previously revealed, even before he endorsed Mr. Biden on Tuesday.

For months, Mr. Obama had kept in close contact with senior party officials, in hopes of preventing a repeat of the protracted and nasty 2016 primary race.

Then, in the weeks after it became clear that Mr. Biden was the

### Subtle Mediation From a Political Distance

party's near-certain nominee, Mr. Obama — telling a friend he needed to "accelerate the endgame" — had at least four long conversations with his former vice president's remaining rival,

Senator Bernie Sanders. Mr. Obama's efforts to ease the senator out of the race played a significant role in Mr. Sanders's decision to end his bid and endorse Mr. Biden, according to people close to the Vermont independent.

By that time, Mr. Biden and Mr. Obama had already begun hashing out the thorny questions of how, when and where to deploy a former president thrust into an

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### A Tradition in Peril

Every year, students in a central Japan village put on an elaborate Kabuki show. But it could vanish soon. PAGE A16

### The Kremlin's Play for Libya

Russia wanted more control over a Libyan strongman. The White House helped by allowing a civil war. PAGE A17

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### School Meal Rollbacks Voided

A federal judge ruled that the administration's easing of nutritional standards violated regulatory law. PAGE A18

### Warnings From Wisconsin

The surprise defeat of a conservative justice buoyed Democrats, but there is little reason to doubt that President Trump retains strong support. PAGE A18

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### Doping Tests by Video Chat

Instead of a knock at the door, athletes will get a call from U.S. antidoping officials during the outbreak. PAGE B7

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### Seeing a Big Downturn Ahead

The International Monetary Fund expects the coronavirus crisis to push the global economy into its worst slump since the Great Depression. PAGE B1

### Requiem for a Whistle-Blower

Dr. Li Wenliang tried to warn China about the coronavirus but was silenced. People now mourn him online. PAGE B1

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### An Heir to the Yankees

Hank Steinbrenner had his father's bluster but ultimately ceded the spotlight to his brother. He was 63. PAGE B9



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### Pasta for Your Shelter

Want something good, fast and easy for the lockdown? Here are five recipes to twirl around a fork. PAGE D8

### Behind Those Expiration Dates

Digging deep into the food pantry lately? Maybe it's time to trash that paprika you bought in 1983. PAGE D1

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### Artist Remains Missing

No answers have surfaced to explain what happened to Peter Beard, 82, last seen at his Long Island home. PAGE C1

### Pirouetting in Place

For the dancer Megan Fairchild, working remotely isn't as simple as moving from office desk to home laptop. PAGE C1

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### Amy Klobuchar

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