



JIM HUYLEBROEK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Gul Makai and her newborn child were separated in Tuesday’s attack on a maternity clinic. They were reunited at another hospital.

Outsider Is Set To Battle Barr In Flynn Case

By KATIE BENNER

WASHINGTON — The federal judge overseeing the case against President Trump’s former national security adviser Michael T. Flynn appointed a hard-charging former prosecutor and judge on Wednesday to oppose the Justice Department’s effort to drop the case and to explore a perjury charge against Mr. Flynn.

Judge Emmet G. Sullivan’s appointment of the former judge, John Gleeson, was an extraordinary move in a case with acute political overtones. Mr. Flynn pleaded guilty twice to lying to investigators as part of a larger inquiry into Russia’s interference in the 2016 election.

Mr. Flynn later began fighting the charge and sought to withdraw his guilty plea. Then last



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Michael T. Flynn, the former national security adviser.

week, the Justice Department abruptly moved to the drop the charge after a long campaign by Mr. Trump and his supporters, prompting accusations that Attorney General William P. Barr had undermined the rule of law and further politicized the department.

Judge Sullivan also asked Judge Gleeson to explore the possibility that by trying to withdraw his pleas, Mr. Flynn opened himself to perjury charges.

The Justice Department declined to comment. Judge Gleeson did not respond to a request for comment. Judge Sullivan had said on Tuesday that he would consider briefs from outsiders known as amicus curiae, or “friend of the court,” who opposed the government’s request to dismiss the case against Mr. Flynn.

While judges do sometimes appoint such third parties to represent an interest they feel is not be-

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18 New Lives Born Into Carnage and Confusion

By MUJIB MASHAL

KABUL, Afghanistan — When the carnage was over, the bodies bagged and the guns put away, what was left behind spoke of the true extent of the tragedy: 18 newborn babies, many covered in blood and most now motherless — casualties of war before they had even left the hospital.

Even for a country steeped in violent death to the point of numbness, the assault on a maternity clinic in Kabul on Tuesday, which killed at least 25 people, was unfathomable in its cruelty.

Afghanistan is adept at the rituals of violent death. There are procedures for handling the victims, and even well-practiced routines for discarding the remains of the suicide bombers who come to kill and be killed.

Biden Struggles To Make a Mark From Seclusion

This article is by Katie Glueck, Lisa Lerer, Shane Goldmacher and Alexander Burns.

In his first weeks as the presumptive Democratic nominee, Joseph R. Biden Jr. went days at a time with no public events. His campaign staff in early April was about half the size of Hillary Clinton’s at the same time in 2016. A much-touted virtual rally last week was riddled with glitches. And Mr. Biden and his advisers remain stuck at home, uncertain if their Philadelphia headquarters will ever reopen.

Less than six months before Election Day, Mr. Biden finds himself in an extraordinary position: Party leaders have quickly united around him, and he has an edge over President Trump in most polls. But he has yet to prove himself as a formidable nominee who can set the political and policy agenda for Democrats and the nation, and his campaign has so far not solved the unprecedented challenges of running for the White House from the seclusion of his home.

Mr. Biden’s inability to influence the political or policy debate about the coronavirus and the nation’s economic collapse has worried some Democratic allies, donors and former Obama adminis-

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Scrambling to Reunite Babies With Families After Kabul Attack

But what do you do with so many babies, all too similar in their little shapes and raw faces, most of them now without the first people in their lives and evacuated from a blown-up hospital?

The oldest, born five days earlier, and the youngest, delivered in a safe room after the attack had begun, are lucky: Their mothers survived. Many of the others have barely completed a full 24 hours in this violent world, their mothers murdered next to them.

It was about now that a U.S. peace deal with the Taliban signed

in February was supposed to reduce the bloodshed and bring children like these hope that a war that has stretched over four decades in some shape or another might finally come to an end. But the deal seems stuck over a prisoner exchange that is moving at snail’s pace, and the insurgents have ramped up attacks across the country, killing dozens by the day.

No one has claimed responsibility for the hospital attack.

The assault has the hallmarks of the Islamic State, which in the past has gone after “soft” civilian targets in the largely Shiite neighborhood that is home to the clinic.

But across Afghanistan, anger was boiling at the Taliban, who are refusing to agree to a cease-fire and, by extension, creating space

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Shops Open in Texas, Aided by Crews With Rifles

By MANNY FERNANDEZ and DAVID MONTGOMERY

SHEPHERD, Texas — When Jamie Williams decided to reopen her East Texas tattoo studio last week in defiance of the state’s coronavirus restrictions, she asked Philip Archibald for help. He showed up with his dog Zeus, his friends and his AR-15 semiautomatic rifle.

Mr. Archibald established an armed perimeter in the parking lot outside Crash-N-Burn Tattoo, secured by five men with military-style rifles, tactical shotguns, camouflage vests and walkie-talkies. One of them already had a large tattoo of his own. “We the People,” it said.

“I think it should be a business’s right if they want to close or open,” said Mr. Archibald, a 29-year-old online fitness trainer from the Dallas area who lately has made it his personal mission to help Texas business owners challenge government orders to keep their doors shut during the coronavirus pandemic. “What is coming to arrest a person who is opening their business according to their constitutional rights? That’s confrontation.”

Call it the armed reopening.

While Gov. Greg Abbott this month allowed a wide range of malls, restaurants and other businesses to reopen after a coronavirus lockdown, bars, salons, tattoo parlors and other enterprises where social distancing is



ELI HARTMAN/ODESSA AMERICAN, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

A protester in Odessa. Armed groups have put officials in a bind.

more difficult were ordered to remain closed for a longer period.

In at least a half dozen cases around the state in recent days, frustrated small-business owners have turned to heavily armed, militia-style protesters like Mr. Archibald’s group to serve as reopening security squads.

The showy displays of local fire-

FED CHAIR WARNS OF LASTING HARM WITHOUT NEW AID

Eyeing Huge Deficit, Republicans Balk at Sweeping Proposals by Democrats

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

The Federal Reserve chair, Jerome H. Powell, delivered a stark warning on Wednesday that the United States was experiencing an economic hit “without modern precedent,” one that could permanently damage the economy if Congress and the White House did not provide sufficient financial support to prevent a wave of bankruptcies and prolonged joblessness.

Mr. Powell’s blunt diagnosis was the latest indication that the trillions of dollars that policymakers have already funneled into the economy may not be enough to forestall lasting damage from a virus that has already shuttered businesses and thrown more than 20 million people out of work.

Yet the warning comes as discussions of additional rescue measures have run aground, with Democrats proposing sweeping new programs and Republicans voicing concerns over the swelling federal budget deficit, which is projected to hit \$3.7 trillion this year. President Trump and his economic advisers have pressed the pause button on negotiations for additional spending, waiting to see how much the economy rebounds as states begin lifting restrictions on business activity.

Mr. Powell lauded Congress for the more than \$2 trillion relief effort it had already funded, but he made clear that a rebound could take months to materialize, requiring more support.

“The recovery may take some time to gather momentum,” Mr. Powell said at a Peterson Institute for International Economics virtual event. “Additional fiscal support could be costly, but worth it if it helps avoid long-term economic damage and leaves us with a stronger recovery.”

Stock markets swooned after

Mr. Powell’s comments, as investors digested the likelihood of a sluggish recovery. The S&P 500 index closed down 1.75 percent.

As the virus persists and the number of unemployed grows, Mr. Powell and his central bank colleagues have begun trying to prod Congress and the White House into action by reminding them that the Fed alone cannot carry the burden of digging the economy out of its deep hole.

Fed officials have slashed interest rates to zero, purchased bonds



JACQUELYN MARTIN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Jerome H. Powell, chair of the Fed, prodded lawmakers to act.

at a record pace to restore order to roiled government bond markets and unveiled nine emergency lending programs in partnership with the Treasury Department. But Mr. Powell reiterated on Wednesday that the Fed’s programs, which will buy bonds from companies and local governments and make loans to midsize businesses, can only temporarily supply credit. The Fed lacks spending powers, which are reserved to Congress.

Mr. Powell characterized the Fed’s ability to help as a “bridge across temporary interruptions,” while suggesting that more may be needed for huge uncertainties, including the speed of reopening, the scope of testing and the timing of a vaccine.

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New York Gives Nursing Homes Liability Shield

This article is by Amy Julia Harris, Kim Barker and Jesse McKinley.

In the chaotic days of late March, as it became clear that New York was facing a catastrophic outbreak of the coronavirus, aides to Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo quietly inserted a provision on Page 347 of New York’s final, voluminous budget bill.

Many lawmakers were unaware of the language when they approved the budget a few days later. But it provided unusual legal protections for an influential industry that has been devastated by the crisis: nursing home operators.

The measure, lobbied for by industry representatives, shielded nursing homes from many lawsuits over their failure to protect residents from death or sickness caused by the coronavirus.

Now, weeks later, more than 5,300 residents of nursing homes in New York are believed to have died from the outbreak, and their relatives are finding that because of the provision, they may not be able to pursue legal action against the homes’ operators over allegations of neglect.

Several state lawmakers, besieged by complaints that poor staffing and shoddy conditions al-

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A Cautionary Visit to Israel
Secretary of State Mike Pompeo’s visit Wednesday was seen as a warning to Israeli leaders to move slowly on plans to annex West Bank territory. PAGE A14

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‘Unmasking’ Names Released
A list of Obama aides who sought information on Michael T. Flynn is fueling attacks on the Russia inquiry. PAGE A21

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Justices seem ready to allow states to require Electoral College members to vote as they have promised. PAGE A19



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The cancellation of county fairs is a blow to children who raise animals all year for a moment in the ring. PAGE A11

Stay-at-Home Order Voided

The Wisconsin Supreme Court, in a 4-to-3 vote, struck down an extension of the governor’s safety measure. PAGE A7

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Classes in the California state colleges will be almost entirely online in the fall, but there could be football. PAGE B10

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From lush forest to metropolis, the evolution of Lower Manhattan. A virtual tour, circa 1609, by Michael Kimmelman and a conservation ecologist. PAGE C1

The Rise and Fall of the Fact

In her podcast “The Last Archive,” Jill Lepore mixes history and 1930s-style radio drama to solve a mystery. PAGE C1

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Getaways Turn to Life in Limbo
Before the coronavirus lockdown took hold, some Americans escaped to island settings around the globe. Now that they can’t get home, some feel sheepish. Others have found it liberating. PAGE D1

Will Shopping Be the Same?

As luxury department stores prepare to reopen their doors, global retailers share their plans — with an emphasis on visible signs of safety — and their fears for an uncertain future. PAGE D1

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A Coal Country No More
Renewable sources are set to generate more American power than coal this year for the first time, in a milestone that was unthinkable a decade ago. PAGE B5

