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Weather map appears on Page C8.



Flags were planted outside the Holyoke Soldiers' Home, which has one of the highest death tolls of any end-of-life facility in the U.S.

Black Troops Fight at the Front, But Rarely Get Jobs at the Top

By HELENE COOPER

WASHINGTON — A photograph of President Trump and his top four-star generals and admirals, tweeted in October by Defense Secretary Mark T. Esper, was meant as a thank-you to the commander in chief. But it angered a lot of others, and not just those who erupted on Twitter.

"You would have thought it was 1950," said Lt. Col. Walter J. Smiley Jr., who is African-American and fought in Iraq and Afghanistan before retiring last year after 25 years in the Army. Dana Pittard, a retired major general, also



Walter J. Smiley Jr. retired from the Army as a lieutenant colonel after a 25-year career.

African-American, was equally frustrated. "It's America's military," he said. "Why doesn't this photo look like America?

Yet the picture of the president surrounded by a sea of white faces in full military dress is an accurate portrait of the top commanders who lead an otherwise diverse institution.

Some 43 percent of the 1.3 million men and women on active duty in the United States military are people of color. But the people making crucial decisions, such as how to respond to the coronavirus crisis and how many troops to send to Afghanistan or Syria, are almost entirely white and male.

Of the 41 most senior commanders in the military - those with four-star rank in the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines and Coast Guard - only two are black: Gen. Michael X. Garrett, who leads the Army's Forces Command, and Gen. Charles Q. Brown Jr, the commander of Pacific Air Forces.

Gen. Paul M. Nakasone, whose father is second-generation Japanese-American, leads the United States Cyber Command. The Army has sometimes counted Gen. Stephen J. Townsend, the head of Africa Command and the son of a German mother and an Afghan father, as a minority commander. There is only one woman in the group: Gen. Maryanne Continued on Page A20

Finding Bliss in New Schedule When Family Time Is All Day

By MICHAEL WILSON

The coronavirus has smothered New York City's economy and sealed off its museums and concert halls like crime scenes. Manv people have filled the void with something that has always been there, close at hand but often crowded out of reach: their fam-

What is known as "quality time," until recently carved out here and there, starts early now in the Milioto house in Brooklyn's Bath Beach section, right after Mom and Dad have their coffee. In Park Slope, a quarantined actress becomes an audience member as her two young children perform plays on the big coffee table. A high school freshman in Rego Park, Queens, pauses during his workout - he wants to join the

military someday — to change his niece's diaper.

Mother-daughter days for the Cedeños of Queens are now any day, each one tending to the other: hair, makeup, nails. In Windsor Terrace in Brooklyn, the shriek of a kitchen smoke alarm is the new dinner bell. And all over the city, there is dancing, every night — for the Pincays in Maspeth, it's Megan Thee Stallion; for the Ragusos in Bay Ridge, "Uptown

Apartments are crowded, with cranky kindergartners, sullen teenagers who would normally be off at college, graduates stalled on the shoulder of the road to inde-

But alongside the annoyances, Continued on Page A14

Veterans Were Left to Languish In a Home Ravaged by Illness

By ELLEN BARRY

HOLYOKE, Mass. — In 1945, James Leach Miller returned from the war and said nothing.

He said nothing about it to his wife, not for 64 years of marriage. He folded up his Army uniform, with the medals still pinned to it, and put it in the basement, where his older boy would sometimes take it out to play soldiers.

He joined the fire department. He went to church on Sundays. He never complained.

"That generation, they didn't air their problems," said his younger son, Michael. "He would say, 'It was not a good time. I've had better times.' He would not embellish?

Mr. Miller was already in his 70s when he began to tell Michael, an Air Force flight engineer, little bits about landing on Omaha Beach on D-Day. "Fragments would come out," his son said. The deafening roar as they waited for the beach to clear, crowded into a landing ship with other 21-year-olds. A blur that lasted 24 hours. The buzz-drone of Messerschmitts.

Dust clouds. Mud.

him back to Normandy - World War II veterans were making the journey — but his father shook his head and said, "I've been there

son. Mr. Miller, 96, who survived what was for Americans the bloodiest battle of World War II, died of complications from the coronavirus on March 30 inside the Holyoke Soldiers' Home. The virus has spread in more than 40 veterans' homes in more than 20 states, leading to the deaths of at least 300 people.

The conditions inside the 247bed, state-run home, where Mr. Miller had lived for five years, were so chaotic that his children cannot recount them without breaking down.

When Mr. Miller lay weak and gasping that weekend, his two daugnters, in a car in the parking lot, pleaded with a nurse on duty Continued on Page A9

Michael once offered to take

This story comes up for a rea-

Trump Stays Quiet on Toll As U.S. Nears a Milestone

Virus at Its Deadliest in the Strongholds of Democrats

By JENNIFER MEDINA and ROBERT GEBELOFF

The staggering American death toll from the coronavirus, now approaching 100,000, has touched every part of the country, but the losses have been especially acute along its coasts, in its major cities, across the industrial Midwest, and in New York City.

The devastation, in other words, has been disproportionately felt in blue America, which helps explain why people on opposing sides of a partisan divide that has intensified in the past two decades are thinking about the virus differently. It is not just that Democrats and Republicans disagree on how to reopen businesses, schools and the country as a whole. Beyond perception, beyond ideology, there are starkly different realities for red and blue America right now.

Democrats are far more likely to live in counties where the virus has ravaged the community, while Republicans are more likely to live in counties that have been relatively unscathed by the illness, though they are paying an economic price. Counties won by President Trump in 2016 have reported just 27 percent of the virus infections and 21 percent of the deaths — even though 45 percent of Americans live in these communities, a New York Times analysis has found.

The very real difference in death rates has helped fuel deep disagreement over the dangers of the pandemic and how the country should proceed. Right-wing media, which moved swiftly from downplaying the severity of the crisis to calling it a Democratic plot to bring down the president, has exacerbated the rift. And even as the nation's top medical experts note the danger of easing restrictions, communities across the country are doing so, creating a patchwork of regulations, often along ideological lines. Why has the virus slammed

some parts of the country so much harder than others? Part of the answer is population density. Nearly a third of Americans live in one of the 100 most densely populated counties in the United States Continued on Page A11

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Finding Time to Golf and Jab Enemies

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON - As President Trump's motorcade pulled into his golf club in Virginia on an overcast Sunday, a small group of protesters waited outside the entrance. One held up a

"I care do U?" it read. "100,000

Mr. Trump and his advisers have said that he does, but he has made scant effort to demonstrate it this Memorial Day weekend. He finally ordered flags lowered to half-staff at the White House only after being badgered to do so by his critics and otherwise took no public notice as the American death toll from the coronavirus pandemic approached a staggering 100,000.

While the country neared six digits of death, the president who repeatedly criticized his predecessor for golfing during a crisis spent the weekend on the links for the first time since March. When he was not zipping around on a cart, he was on social media embracing fringe conspiracy theories, amplifying messages from a racist and sexist Twitter account and lobbing playground insults at perceived enemies, including his own former attorney general.

This was a death toll that Mr. Trump once predicted would never be reached. In late February, he said there were only 15 coronavirus cases in the United States, understating even then the actual number, and declared that "the 15 within a couple of days is going to be down to close to zero." In the annals of the American presidency, it would be hard to recall a more catastrophically wrong prediction. Even after he later acknowledged that it would not be zero, he insisted the death toll would fall "substantially below the 100,000"

As it stands now, the coronavirus has infected 1.6 million and taken so many lives it is as if an entire midsize American city — say Boca Raton, Fla., just to pick an example - simply disappeared. The toll is about to match the 100,000 killed in the United

Continued on Page A10

For an Ascendant China, Reining In Hong Kong Is Just the Start

By STEVEN LEE MYERS

China's move to strip away another laver of Hong Kong's autonomy was not a rash impulse. It was a deliberate act, months in the making. It took

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into account the risks of international umbrage and

reached the reasonable assumption that there would not be a significant geopolitical price to pay.

As a provocative move, it is just the latest.

With the world distracted by the pandemic's devastating toll, China has taken a series of aggressive actions in recent weeks to flex its economic, diplomatic and military muscle across the region.

China's Coast Guard rammed and sank a fishing boat in disputed waters off Vietnam, and its ships swarmed an offshore oil rig operated by Malaysia. Beijing denounced the second inauguration of Taiwan's president, Tsai Ing-wen, and pointedly dropped the word peaceful from its annual call for unification with the island democracy.

Chinese troops squared off again last week with India along their contentious border in the



STREET ACTION Thousands gathered in Hong Kong Sunday to reject Beijing's influence. Page A15.

Himalayas.

All are longstanding tensions, but the decision to impose new national security laws on Hong Kong, bypassing the semiautonomous region's own legislative

process, shows what can happen with an unbridled China, no longer restrained by the fear of international rebuke. "There was this idea before

about China being cautious and

trying to cultivate its soft power around the world," said Jean-Pierre Cabestan, a professor at Hong Kong Baptist University and the author of "China Tomor-

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INTERNATIONAL A15-17

Netanyahu Trial Begins

The Israeli prime minister has long maintained his innocence, and the first witnesses are not expected to testify for months. PAGE A15

President's Office or Prison?

The leader of Suriname was convicted of murder in January, but is still standing for re-election on Monday. PAGE A17

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presence. He was 91.

Indispensable Bass 1,001 Times John Macurdy was admired for his rich, firm voice and poised, dignified stage

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-14

Bracing for Hurricane Season

Emergency managers are revising evacuation plans as they consider the risks of contagion in shelters. PAGE A10

Back to the Land

As society and economies shift, more Italians are returning to the agricultural work of their grandparents. PAGE A5



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Gaming Out an Electoral Crisis

How far would the president go to keep his job? Trump opponents in both parties try to plan for the worst. PAGE A18

Hey, Can You Give Me a Lift?

A Virgin Orbit rocket system that is undergoing tests is designed to hitch rides on a jumbo jet and send small PAGE A19 payloads into orbit.

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'He Had Victimized So Many'

A 1970s Michigan football player sees a link between a university doctor's assaults and a dire prognosis.

BUSINESS B1-8

Cutting Pay, Not People

Companies are turning to salary reduction as a way to survive the crisis, and employees don't seem to mind. PAGE B1

Cargo Enters Passenger Cabin

To offset lost revenue, airlines are hauling more supplies, stacking boxes where passengers used to sit. PAGE B1

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Give My Regards to 2020

Broadway and other live performances may not return until next year, many producers are saying.

Hip-Hop's Country Side

Breland's single "My Truck" is the most viable fusion of rural and urban music since "Old Town Road." PAGE C1

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Jennifer Senior

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