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NEW YORK, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 2020

Today, sunshine, not as cool, high 72. Tonight, mainly clear, not as cool, low 58. Tomorrow, mostly sunny, becoming breezy, warmer, high 77.

Weather map appears on Page B8.

\$3.00



Is That a Smile I Don't See?

Mayor Bill de Blasio greeted pre-K students in Elmhurst, Queens, on Monday as New York City schools began to reopen. Page A7.

C.D.C. Again Taken to Task On Guidance

By APOORVA MANDAVILLI

Just days after publishing significant new guidance on airborne transmission of the coronavirus, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention on Monday withdrew the advice, saying only that it had been "posted in error" on the agency's website.

The rapid reversal prompted consternation among scientists and again called into question the credibility of the world's premier health agency, even as President Trump and his senior health officials have sought to undermine C.D.C. scientists.

The president faces an election whose outcome may turn on public perception of his handling of the coronavirus pandemic.

The turnabout arrived as the number of virus-related deaths in the United States approached the 200,000 mark. Tens of thousands of new infections are reported every day, and experts fear a resurgence as cooler weather approaches and people spend more

time indoors. The new document for the first time had acknowledged that the virus spreads mainly by air, a declaration with urgent implications for how people protect themselves indoors and how ventilation should be engineered in schools, offices, hospitals and other public

buildings. Experts with knowledge of the incident said on Monday that the latest reversal appeared to be a genuine mistake in the agency's scientific review process, rather than the result of political meddling. Officials said the agency would soon publish revised guid-

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Protesters Pressure Bystanders to Choose a Side

By NELLIE BOWLES

PORTLAND, Ore. — Terrance Moses was watching protesters against police brutality march down his quiet residential street one recent evening when some in the group of a few hundred suddenly stopped and started yelling.

Mr. Moses was initially not sure what the protesters were upset about, but as he got closer, he saw it: His neighbors had an American flag on display.

"It went from a peaceful march, calling out the names, to all of a sudden, bang, 'How dare you fly the American flag?" said Mr. Moses, who is Black and runs a nonprofit group in the Portland area.

Movement Divided by Aggressive Approach **Outside Homes**

"They said take it down. They wouldn't leave. They said they're going to come back and burn the house down."

Mr. Moses and others blocked the demonstrators and told them

We don't go around terrorizing folks to try and force them to do something they don't want to do," said Mr. Moses, whose group pro-

vides support for local homeless people. "I'm a veteran. I'm for these liberties.'

Nearly four months after the killing of George Floyd by the Minneapolis police, some protesters are taking a more confrontational — and personal — approach. The marches in Portland are increasingly moving to residential and largely white neighborhoods, where demonstrators with bullhorns shout for people to come "out of your house and into the street" and demonstrate their support.

These more aggressive protests target ordinary people going about their lives, especially those Continued on Page A20



Police, Death and Race in South Africa

Mourning Nathaniel Julies, a teenager with Down syndrome who was killed by officers. Page A10.

Conductor Fired by Met Opera Received a \$3.5 Million Payout

By JAMES B. STEWART

and MICHAEL COOPER Last summer, Peter Gelb, the general manager of the Metropolitan Opera, convened the executive committee of the company's board to announce the end of one of the highest-profile, messiest feuds in the Met's nearly 140-year history. A bitter court battle had concluded between the company

and the conductor James Levine, who had shaped the Met's artistic identity for more than four decades before his career was engulfed by allegations of sexual improprieties

Mr. Gelb told the committee that the resolution was advantageous to the Met. But the settlement, whose terms have not been publicly disclosed until now, called for the company and its insurer to pay Mr. Levine \$3.5 mil-

Messy Misconduct Case **Ended in Settlement**

lion, according to two people familiar with its terms.

The Met had fired Mr. Levine in 2018 after an internal investigation uncovered what the company called credible evidence of "sexu-

ally abusive and harassing conduct toward vulnerable artists in the early stages of their careers." Rather than going quietly, Mr. Levine sued the company for breach of contract and defamation, seeking at least \$5.8 million. The Met countersued, revealing lurid details of its investigation and claiming that Mr. Levine's misconduct had violated his duties. It sought

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Graham Seeks To Justify Shift On Court Vote

Backed Delay in 2016, but Now Urges Haste

By CATIE EDMONDSON

When Senator Lindsey Graham joined a Republican blockade of President Barack Obama's Supreme Court nominee in 2016, he went out of his way to frame his position that a confirmation to the court should never be allowed in an election year as principled, apolitical and utterly permanent.

"I want you to use my words against me," Mr. Graham said then, swearing that he would hold the same stance even if it meant denying a future Republican president the chance to confirm his chosen nominee.

But less than 24 hours after that hypothetical became a reality with the death of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg on Friday, Mr. Graham, now the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, made a complete and brazen reversal. He promised that he would push forward immediately to confirm President Trump's pick — seemingly unbothered by the obvious conflict between his position four years ago and his stance now.

"I am certain if the shoe were on the other foot," Mr. Graham wrote Monday to Democrats on the judiciary panel, "you would do the

Just weeks before Election Day, the turnabout by Mr. Graham, whose panel will lead the confirmation process for Mr. Trump, captures the broader flip-flop of almost the entire Senate Republican Conference, as dozens of senators who held together in 2016 to prevent Mr. Obama from filling a Supreme Court seat now rush to deliver the current president his choice to replace Justice Gins-

For Mr. Graham, who is facing a tougher-than-expected re-election contest in South Carolina, it is also the latest stage in a remarkpolitical transformation, from conservative institutionalist and outspoken critic of Mr. Trump to a loyal foot soldier for the presi-

His switch has drawn bitter criticism from Mr. Graham's political opponents, an ad attacking him as hypocritical and even protests outside his Capitol Hill home, where demonstrators with megaphones and drums gathered Monday morning to demand he not begin the confirmation proceedings. "He said, 'Use my vagainst me!'" they chanted.

In South Carolina, Jaime Harrison, the Democrat challenging Mr. Graham, was quick to snap up the senator's 2016 invitation to use his own statements against him.

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SENATORS LINE UP TO AID PRESIDENT IN NOMINEE FIGHT

KEY LAWMAKERS AGREE

Pick to Replace Ginsburg May Be Made Public This Weekend

By PETER BAKER and NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON - President Trump appeared to secure enough support on Monday to fill the Supreme Court seat left open by the death of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, although Senate Republicans remained publicly undecided if they would try to force through his nominee before the election or wait until after voters have decided whether to grant him a second term.

With key Republican senators agreeing to install a new justice at least by year's end, Mr. Trump said he would announce his choice for the seat by Friday or "probably Saturday," after memorial services for Justice Ginsburg, and pressed his allies to vote before the election in what would be the fastest contested Supreme Court confirmation in modern history.

Such a timetable, however, would leave only 38 days for the Senate to act and, as a practical matter, even less time because it is highly unlikely that Republicans would want to vote in the last few days before an election in which several of them face serious threats. Some senior Republican senators were still expressing caution about such an accelerated timetable even with the votes seemingly in hand.

The president was buoyed after Senators Charles E. Grassley of Iowa and Cory Gardner of Colorado, two of three remaining Republicans who might have opposed filling the seat, announced that they would support moving ahead with a nomination even though they refused to consider

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A memorial for Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg near the court.

Influx of Donations to Democrats Reshapes Race to Control Senate

By SHANE GOLDMACHER and JEREMY W. PETERS

For much of 2020, Al Gross's Senate campaign in Alaska has proceeded as something of an afterthought for most Democrats, a distant contest that was off the radar in terms of determining control of the U.S. Senate. After all, Mr. Gross is not even technically running as a Democrat, an affiliation that might doom him in a conservative state.

Ruth Bader Ginsburg's death on Friday, Dr. Gross's campaign as an independent saw an infusion of attention and cash that could reshape the race: Nearly \$3 million has poured into his coffers about as much total money as the campaign had in the bank at the end of July.

But in the hours after Justice

"Within 15 minutes of the sad news, you saw truly organic movement," said David Keith, who is managing Dr. Gross's bid to

oust Senator Dan Sullivan, a Re-

publican. From Alaska to Maine to the Carolinas, Democratic strategists working on Senate campaigns described a spontaneous outpouring of donations the likes of which they had never seen, allowing Democrats the financial freedom to broaden the map of pickup opportunities, or press their financial advantage in top battlegrounds already saturated with

advertising. By Monday, Democratic contributors had given more than \$150 million online through Act-Blue, the leading site for processing digital donations. ActBlue broke one record after another its biggest hour in 16 years, its busiest day, its busiest weekend after Justice Ginsburg's death. An estimated tens of millions of dol-

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TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-7

Limits for Pubs in Britain

Restaurants are ordered to close early, but critics say the move will hurt the struggling economy.

Flocking to 'Flights to Nowhere'

People who miss the travel experience are rushing to board planes that take off and land in the same place. PAGE A6 NATIONAL A11-21

Trump Targets Liberal Cities

The Justice Department listed New York, Seattle and Portland as cities that might lose federal funding for allegedly failing to control lawlessness. PAGE A20

Inside the Mueller Inquiry

A new book by one of the special counsel's top deputies, Andrew Weissmann, is the first inside account of the investigation on Russian meddling. PAGE A12

Denial and Defiance on Virus

With a scorn for science, President Trump and many of his supporters are minimizing a tragedy that has killed almost 200,000 Americans. PAGE A15



ARTS C1-6

Photoville, in Outdoor Lighting

This year's version of the photography fair has locations in all five boroughs, all outside for safe viewing. PAGE C1

Best and Worst of Emmys

At Sunday's awards show, there were some bits that fell flat and a few moments of genuine poignancy.

BUSINESS B1-6

QAnon Outwits Facebook

The social network tried stopping the spread of the conspiracy theory and other extremist material. But QAnon groups are still thriving there. PAGE B1

SPORTSTUESDAY B7-10

Paul Krugman

The N.F.L. Likes the Odds

The Raiders' first home game in Las Vegas culminated the league's gradual acceptance of and growing links to legal sports wagering.

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Up From the Depths

Aquariums are working to put deep-sea creatures on display. Above, a coronate jelly in a tank specially designed to protect its fragile body.

