

‘No, sir.’

‘I can’t breathe.’

‘OK.’

‘I can’t breathe!’

‘You can breathe.’

‘If you’re talkin’, you’re breathin’.

Willie Ray Banks died in custody on Dec. 29, 2011.

In 70 Deaths in Police Custody, the Same Three Gasped Words

This article is by **Mike Baker**, **Jennifer Valentino-DeVries**, **Manny Fernandez** and **Michael LaForgia**.

As the sun began to rise on a sweltering summer morning in Las Vegas last year, a police officer spotted Byron Williams bicycling along a road west of downtown.

The bike did not have a light on it, so officers flipped on their siren and shouted for him to stop. Mr. Williams fled through a vacant lot and over a wall before complying with orders to drop face down in the dirt, where officers used their hands and knees to

pin him down. “I can’t breathe,” he gasped. He repeated it 17 times before he later lapsed into unconsciousness and died.

Eric Garner, another black man, had said the same three anguished words in 2014 after a police officer who had stopped him for selling untaxed cigarettes held him in a chokehold on a New York sidewalk. “I can’t breathe,” George Floyd pleaded in May, appealing to the Minneapolis police officer who responded to reports of a phony \$20 bill and planted a knee in the back of his neck until his life had slipped away.

Mr. Floyd’s dying words have prompted a national outcry over law enforcement’s

deadly toll on African-American people, and they have united much of the country in a sense of outrage that a police officer would not heed a man’s appeal for something as basic as air.

But while the cases of Mr. Garner and Mr. Floyd shocked the nation, dozens of other episodes with a remarkable common denominator have gone widely unacknowledged. Over the past decade, The New York Times found, at least 70 people have died in law enforcement custody after saying the same words — “I can’t breathe.” The dead ranged in age from 19 to 65. The majority of them had

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As Californians Eased Up, Virus Roared Back In

By **SHAWN HUBLER** and **THOMAS FULLER**

SACRAMENTO — Only a few weeks ago, thousands of Southern Californians were flocking to beaches, Disneyland was announcing it would soon reopen and Whoopi Goldberg was lauding Gov. Gavin Newsom on “The View” for the state’s progress in combating the coronavirus. The worst, many in California thought, was behind them.

In fact, an alarming surge in cases up and down the state was only just beginning.

Over the past week California’s case count has exploded, surpassing 200,000 known infections, and forcing Mr. Newsom to roll back the state’s reopening in some counties. On Monday, he said the number of people hospitalized in California had risen 43 percent over the past two weeks.

Los Angeles County, which has been averaging more than 2,000 new cases each day, surpassed 100,000 total cases on Monday, with the virus actively infecting one in every 140 people, according to local health officials. More than 2,800 cases were announced in the county on Monday, the most of any day during the pandemic.

On Sunday, Mr. Newsom shut down the bars in a half-dozen counties, including Los Angeles County and in the Central Valley, and recommended that another eight counties voluntarily close their nightspots and gathering

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EATING OUT New York and New Jersey officials backed away from plans for indoor dining. **PAGE A7**



KHADJIA FARAH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Lockdown rules in Nairobi, Kenya, have whittled away earnings for many in the Eastleigh section.

Crisis Threatens to Derail Africa’s Middle Class

By **ABDI LATIF DAHIR**

NAIROBI, Kenya — James Gichina started out 15 years ago as a driver shuttling travelers from the airport, worked his way up to safari guide, and with the help of some bank loans, bought two minivans of his own to ferry vacationers around.

His clients were, as he is, members of Africa’s growing middle class — bankers from Nigeria, tech entrepreneurs from South Africa, and fellow Kenyans who could finally afford trips to enjoy their own country’s beaches and wildlife preserves.

But when the coronavirus pandemic cratered the tourist indus-

Decades of Growth Are Halted as Pandemic Shakes Economies

try and the economy, Mr. Gichina removed the seats from his minibus and started using it to hawk eggs and vegetables. With what he now earns, he said, he can barely afford to pay rent, buy food or send his 9-year-old son to school.

“We have been working hard to build better lives,” Mr. Gichina, 35, said of his colleagues in the tourist sector. Now, he said, “We have

nothing.”

As the coronavirus surges in many countries in Africa, it is threatening to push as many as 58 million people in the region into extreme poverty, experts at the World Bank say. But beyond the devastating consequences for the continent’s most vulnerable people, the pandemic is also whittling away at one of Africa’s signature achievements: the growth of its middle class.

For the last decade, Africa’s middle class has been pivotal to the educational, political and economic development across the continent. New business owners and entrepreneurs have created jobs that, in turn, gave others a leg

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ROBERTS IS PIVOTAL AS COURT TOPPLES ABORTION BARRIER

NEWS ANALYSIS

A Victory, for Now, for Roe v. Wade

By **SABRINA TAVERNISE** and **ELIZABETH DIAS**

For anti-abortion activists, Monday’s Supreme Court ruling against a Louisiana law delivered a stinging and surprising setback. But perhaps not for long.

The anti-abortion movement has a long pipeline of new cases that, if taken up by the Supreme Court, could present a more direct challenge to Roe v. Wade, the 1973 ruling that established federal protection for abortion. As of June, there were at least 16 abortion cases before United States appeals courts, the last step before the Supreme Court, according to lawyers at Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

The Louisiana case, over a 2014 law that required doctors performing abortions to have admitting privileges at nearby hospitals, was never envisioned as a way to upend Roe v. Wade. It was one small piece of a broader strategy to restrict abortion through myriad state laws that put together could chip away at overall access.

That political project has already significantly done that in large areas of the South and the Midwest. And at least five states have only one abortion clinic each left: Mississippi, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota and West Virginia.

The decision on Monday, the first major abortion case since President Trump shifted the court’s balance of power to the right, also showed for the first time that Justices Neil M. Gorsuch and Brett M. Kavanaugh sided with the anti-abortion cause.

The ruling will only further the push by social conservatives to re-elect Mr. Trump so he might have a third opportunity to nominate a justice in time to rule on more significant abortion cases working their way up to the Supreme Court. Many of those laws would have a far greater reach than the Louisiana case.

While legal challenges to abortion often take years to reach the Supreme Court, states have continued to add to the list, passing dozens of new laws in recent years. This month, Tennessee passed a bill that would outlaw abortions as early as six weeks

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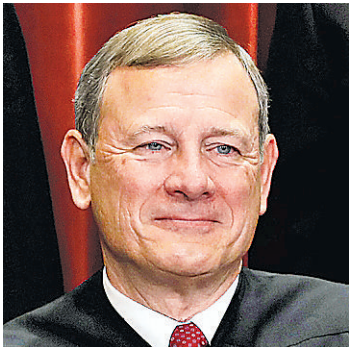
5-4 Decision in First Such Case With 2 Trump Picks

By **ADAM LIPTAK**

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court on Monday struck down a Louisiana law that could have left the state with a single abortion clinic, dashing the hopes of conservatives who were counting on President Trump’s appointments to lead the court to sustain restrictions on abortion rights and, eventually, to overrule Roe v. Wade.

Instead, conservatives suffered a setback, and from an unlikely source. Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. added his crucial fifth vote to those of the court’s four-member liberal wing, saying that respect for precedent compelled him to do so, even though he had voted to uphold an essentially identical Texas law in a 2016 dissent.

In the past two weeks, the chief



JIM YOUNG/REUTERS

Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. voted with the liberal wing.

justice has voted with the court’s liberal wing in three major cases: on job discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender workers, on a program protecting young undocumented immigrants known as Dreamers and now on abortion. While he has on occasion disappointed his usual conservative allies, notably on the Affordable Care Act and adding a citizenship question to the census, nothing in his 15-year tenure on the court compares to the recent run of liberal votes in major cases.

Conservatives reacted with fury. “Chief Justice Roberts is at it again with his political gamesmanship,” Senator Ted Cruz, Republican of Texas, said on Twitter. “This time he has sided with abortion extremists who care more about providing abortion-on-demand than protecting women’s

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Trump Given Brief in February About Possible Russian Bounties

This article is by **Charlie Savage**, **Eric Schmitt**, **Nicholas Fandos** and **Adam Goldman**.

American officials provided a written briefing in late February to President Trump laying out their conclusion that a Russian military intelligence unit offered and paid bounties to Taliban-linked militants to kill U.S. and coalition troops in Afghanistan, two officials familiar with the matter said.

The investigation into the suspected Russian covert operation to incentivize such killings has focused in part on an April 2019 car bombing that killed three Marines as one such potential attack, according to multiple officials familiar with the matter.

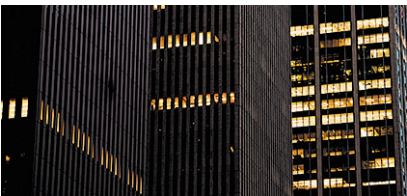
The new information emerged as the White House tried on Monday to play down the intelligence assessment that Russia sought to

encourage and reward killings — including reiterating a claim that Mr. Trump was never briefed about the matter and portraying the conclusion as disputed and dubious.

But that stance clashed with the disclosure by two officials that the intelligence was included months ago in Mr. Trump’s President’s Daily Brief document — a compilation of the government’s latest secrets and best insights about foreign policy and national security that is prepared for him to read. One of the officials said the item appeared in Mr. Trump’s brief in late February; the other cited Feb. 27, specifically.

Moreover, a description of the intelligence assessment that the Russian unit had carried out the bounties plot was also seen as serious and solid enough to disseminate more broadly across the intelligence community in a May 4

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Telecommuting’s Rocky Past
Employers are convinced that remote work has a bright future. Decades of setbacks suggest otherwise. **PAGE B1**

Reddit Bans ‘The Donald’
The pro-Trump subreddit broke hate speech rules, said the message board, which also banned other groups. **PAGE B1**

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Prices Set for Drug in U.S.
Under an agreement with the government, Remdesivir will be sold to hospitals for \$3,120 per treatment course for patients with private insurance. **PAGE A5**

New Yorkers Need Some Space
New rules and designs will aim to reduce risks as plazas, parks and other public areas fill up again. **PAGE A7**

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Quieting a Young Afghan Voice
A 24-year-old human rights worker joins a long list of those who died trying to help their country. **PAGE A11**



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Surprise Boom in Piano Sales
The pandemic closed their showrooms, but instrument dealers across the country reported robust business. **PAGE C1**

A Designer’s Unseen Project
A chat with Milton Glaser, who, until his death at 91, was still thinking of how to bring his ailing city “Together.” **PAGE C1**

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Data Finds Higher Flood Risks
New calculations suggest that 14.6 million properties are at risk of severe flooding, far more than the 8.7 million shown on federal flood maps. **PAGE A20**

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The Patriot Way: Find a Way
By getting Cam Newton to replace Tom Brady at quarterback, New England’s coach, Bill Belichick, again figures it all out, Ben Shpigel writes. **PAGE B7**

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Michelle Goldberg **PAGE A22**



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A Volcano’s Ripple Effect
Scientists have linked historical political instability to volcanic events, including an eruption in the Aleutian Islands and the fall of the Roman Republic. **PAGE D1**

