



ANTI-ABORTION MARCH Activists on the National Mall in Washington heard the president speak from the White House. Page A17.

Tax Confusion
As New York
Rethinks Code

By VIVIAN WANG and JESSE MCKINLEY
ALBANY — It read like a maddening instruction manual for a do-it-yourself piece of furniture, with page after page of bare-bones guidance — and plenty of room for confusion.
If taxpayers and lawmakers were expecting that a new 37-page report would provide a definitive road map of how New York State might sidestep the effects of President Trump’s new federal tax plan and its sharp reduction in the deductibility of state and local taxes, they instead got a view of just how complicated this is.

The report, released this week, laid out at least a half-dozen ways New York could rewrite its tax code, with no indication of which option legislators might pursue. There was a potpourri of progressive rates, wage credits and tax-withholding schemes, with officials cautioning that all the options would require further study. No bills have been drafted.

The possibilities included completely replacing the state income tax with an employer-side payroll tax; introducing a new progressive payroll tax in addition to the existing income tax, with tax credits to make up the difference; or designing a payroll tax only for wage earners above a certain income threshold — the taxpayers most likely to be hurt by the federal tax plan in the first place. Some versions would be mandatory. Others would be opt-in.

More than anything, the report illustrated how difficult it may be to turn academic theory into real policy, serving as a cautionary

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‘Powerful Army of Survivors’ Confronts Abuser

By SCOTT CACCIOLA and CHRISTINE HAUSER
LANSING, Mich. — Armed with pieces of paper etched with their memories of sexual abuse, they stepped forward, one by one — nearly 100 of them, with more to come.

For four full days this week, in a fluorescent-lighted courtroom here, women and girls — some of them the best gymnasts in the country, others with dreams prematurely crushed, they said, by a man who now sat in handcuffs 10 feet away — leaned into a microphone to address him, sometimes through sobs, sometimes with screams, but always with determination.

Aly Raisman, 23, who won gold medals at the past two Summer

Women Recount Agony
Inflicted by Ex-Doctor
for U.S. Gymnasts

Olympics, told of late-night knocks on her hotel door while she was competing overseas, as the man, Dr. Lawrence G. Nassar, then the team doctor, arrived to abuse her.

A teammate at the 2012 London Games, Jordyn Wieber, who until Friday had not identified herself as a victim of Dr. Nassar’s, recalled the torment of the Games, where she was a part of the American team that won a gold medal but, she said, had to submit to his care under the auspices of the

sport’s governing body, U.S.A. Gymnastics.

“Our bodies were all hanging by a thread in London,” she said. “Who was the doctor that U.S.A.G. sent? The doctor who was our abuser.”

For other young athletes just striking out, there seemed little they could do but give in, buckling under the pressure of knowing so many stars had seemingly benefited from him. And so a young gymnast named Chelsea Zervas, now 15, spoke of anguished probing, under the guise of treatment, face down on an exam room table when she was 13, feeling helpless to challenge a doctor at that age.

The occasion of the hearing, to help a judge decide Dr. Nassar’s prospective sentence on state charges of nearly a dozen sexual

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BRENDAN McDERMID/REUTERS

The Olympian Aly Raisman faced Dr. Lawrence G. Nassar at a hearing Friday in Lansing, Mich.

Baltimore, Its Murder Rate Sky-High, Fires Police Commissioner

By RICHARD A. OPPEL Jr. and JONAH ENGEL BROMWICH

Besieged by the nation’s highest big-city murder rate, Baltimore named a new police commissioner for the third time in five years on Friday, with the mayor saying she was “impatient” for change. The surprise move came as the city struggles to control the violence that took the lives of almost 900 residents during the

two-and-a-half-year tenure of the last chief, who was fired on Friday.

The new commissioner, Darryl De Sousa, 53, inherits a long list of problems that have proved intractable for predecessors, including a near-total lack of trust of the police in many neighborhoods and stunning levels of privation along the city’s most violent streets, even as employment rates have improved and areas like the Inner Harbor have become gleaming tourist destinations.

“We need the numbers to go down faster than they are,” Mayor Catherine Pugh, who has been in office for a year, said at a news conference announcing the change.

For its long-troubled police force, the city has tried an outsider from California via Harvard, who was seen as an agent of change, then a Marylander who was chief of police in a neighboring county. Now, it has changed tack again, appointing in Mr. De

Sousa, an insider who has served in the department for 30 years.

Mr. De Sousa will be Baltimore’s ninth police commissioner since 1994.

Mr. De Sousa said he had already begun an initiative to flood the city’s streets with waves of officers from 9 a.m. to midnight. “The priority as of this moment right now is really simple — it’s a really simple priority, and that’s violence reduction,” he said. “Sec-

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SHUTDOWN BEGINS
AS BUDGET TALKS
FALTER IN SENATE

Negotiations Unfold
Over Burgers, but
Deal Is Elusive

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — President Trump and Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, the top Democrat in the Senate, came close to an agreement to avert a government shutdown over lunch on Friday. But their consensus broke down later in the day when the president and his chief of staff demanded more concessions on immigration, according to people on both sides familiar with the lunch and follow-up calls between Mr. Trump and Mr. Schumer.

The negotiations between Mr. Trump and Mr. Schumer, fellow New Yorkers who have known each other for years, began when the president called Mr. Schumer on Friday morning, giving the White House staff almost no heads-up. In a lengthy phone conversation, both men agreed to seek a permanent spending deal rather than the stopgap measure being negotiated by lawmakers on Capitol Hill.

Less than an hour later, Mr. Schumer was meeting with Mr. Trump over cheeseburgers in the president’s study next to the Oval Office. The White House chief of staff, John F. Kelly, was there, as was Mr. Schumer’s chief of staff, Mike Lynch.

As the meal progressed, an outline of an agreement was struck, according to one person familiar with the discussion: Mr. Schumer said yes to higher levels for military spending and discussed the possibility of fully funding the president’s wall on the southern border with Mexico. In exchange, the president agreed to support legalizing young immigrants who were brought to the United States as children.

Mr. Schumer left the White House believing he had persuaded the president to support a short, three to four-day spending extension to finalize an agreement, which would also include disaster funding and health care measures.

“In my heart, I thought we might have a deal tonight,” Mr. Schumer recalled later, as he described the negotiations in remarks on the floor of the Senate.

Then everything fell apart. By the end of the day, as midnight struck and the government officially shut down, senators continued talking and the White House issued a blistering state-

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Scramble to Reopen
the Government
and Buy Time

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG and THOMAS KAPLAN

WASHINGTON — Much of the federal government officially shut down early Saturday morning after Senate Democrats, showing remarkable solidarity in the face of a clear political danger, blocked consideration of a stopgap spending measure to keep the government operating.

But senators from both parties were scrambling for a new deal to reopen the government quickly, possibly just hours after the midnight deadline passed.

With just 50 senators voting in favor, Senate Republican leaders fell well short of the 60 votes necessary to proceed on the spending measure, which had passed the House on Thursday. Five conservative state Democrats voted for the spending measure. Five Republicans voted against it, although one of those, Senator



ERIN SCHAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator Chuck Schumer

Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the majority leader, did so for procedural reasons.

As the clock ticked toward midnight, when funding for the government was set to expire, senators huddled on the floor of the crowded Senate chamber, searching for some way forward.

But lawmakers simply ran out of time. The government shutdown was one year to the day after President Trump took office.

“Senate Democrats own the Schumer Shutdown,” the White House press secretary, Sarah Huckabee Sanders, said in a statement. “Tonight, they put politics above our national security, military families, and our country’s ability to serve all Americans.”

Democrats countered that Republicans were responsible for the management of a government in their control.

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NEWS ANALYSIS

A Bet on Short Memories

By JONATHAN MARTIN

WASHINGTON — In the fall of 2013, Republican hard-liners engineered a 16-day shutdown of the federal government, implausibly insisting that President Barack Obama acquiesce to their demand that the Affordable Care Act be stripped of all funding.

The gambit failed miserably. The Republican Party’s already low standing in public opinion polls plunged further. Mr. Obama and Democratic lawmakers were widely seen as victorious.

Then the following November, something happened that plainly informed the moves of Democrats today as they drove the government toward another shutdown: Voters handed Republicans overwhelming victories and a Senate majority — in large part because of dissatisfaction

with the man in the White House. The shutdown was a distant memory.

“I don’t think anybody paid a big price for it,” Senator Joe Manchin III, a West Virginia Democrat who is facing a competitive re-election race this fall, said of the 2014 election.

For Democrats on the ballot in many of the states that President Trump carried, the fresh government shutdown is unmistakably perilous, especially if it is seen as a strong-armed move to protect undocumented immigrants brought to this country illegally as children. And Mr. Manchin voted to keep the government open, as did four other Trump-state Democrats.

But that was not enough to

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INTERNATIONAL A4-10

A Public Stand Against Duterte

Since being ousted by the Philippine government, the blogger Jover Laurio has hired bodyguards but changed little else. The Saturday Profile. PAGE A6

Hobbling Toward a Coalition

A Social Democratic Party vote could lead to a new German government or to more political uncertainty. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A11-18

Hindered by the President

President Trump may be making re-election chances more difficult for vulnerable Congressional Republicans from California. PAGE A11

A.T.F. Bureau, Minus A and T

The Trump administration has drafted plans to strip key authorities from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives. PAGE A17

SPORTSSATURDAY D1-5

400 Russian Athletes Cleared

Russia, barred as a team, could still send a large amount of individual athletes to the Olympics. PAGE D1



NEW YORK A19-21

Homeless? Or Just Acting?

During an annual count of homeless people on the streets of New York, the city deploys decoys to help gauge the accuracy of the count. PAGE A19

A New Fleet of Trains

The agency that runs the city’s subway plans to spend \$4 billion to acquire a new generation of cars. PAGE A21

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Forming Union After 136 Years

The Los Angeles Times’s landslide vote came just before its publisher, accused of harassment, went on leave. PAGE B1

Bank Leader Out After Inquiry

The Bank of America executive was said to be facing accusations of inappropriate sexual conduct with a woman. PAGE B1

Fresh Setback for Facebook

The executive in charge of efforts to gain access to China’s huge internet market has resigned. PAGE B2

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Rod J. Rosenstein

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A Pseudonym. A Best Seller.

Daniel Mallory, a book editor, submitted his thriller, “The Woman in the Window,” under the name A. J. Finn. His own publishing house bought it. PAGE C1



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