



Attorney General William P. Barr defended the government’s protest response on Tuesday before the House Judiciary Committee.

## At Start, F.B.I. Saw Protesters As Threatening

### Memo Talks of ‘Inciters’ and ‘Instigators’

This article is by Zolan Kanno-Youngs, Sergio Olmos, Mike Baker and Adam Goldman.

WASHINGTON — From the earliest days of the recent protests against police brutality and racism, some top federal law enforcement officials viewed the demonstrators with alarm and called for an aggressive federal response that two months later continues to escalate.

A memo from the deputy director of the F.B.I., dated June 2, demanded an immediate mobilization as protests gathered after George Floyd’s death while in police custody a week earlier. David L. Bowdich, the F.B.I.’s No. 2, declared the situation “a national crisis,” and wrote that in addition to investigating “violent protesters, instigators” and “inciters,” bureau leaders should collect information with “robust social media exploitation teams” and examine what appeared to be “highly organized behavior.”

Mr. Bowdich suggested that the bureau could make use of the Hobbs Act, put into place in the 1940s to punish racketeering in labor groups, to charge the protesters.

“When 9/11 occurred, our folks did not quibble about whether there was danger ahead for them,” he wrote, telling aides that the continuing coronavirus pandemic should not hold them back. “They ran head-on into peril.”

The memo came after a weekend in which protests gave way to looting in some cities and the day after federal agents forcibly cleared peaceful protesters from the White House so President Trump could walk through Lafayette Square. Since then, the federal response has become a focal point of the Trump administration and of Mr. Trump’s re-election campaign. The Bowdich memo

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## UNDER FIRE, BARR DEFENDS ACTIONS AGAINST PROTESTS

### HEARING TURNS HOSTILE

#### House Democrats Accuse Attorney General of Abusing Power

By NICHOLAS FANDOS  
and CHARLIE SAVAGE

Attorney General William P. Barr vigorously defended the federal response to nationwide protests and civil unrest in a combative congressional hearing on Tuesday where Democrats accused him and other Trump administration officials of suppressing protesters’ rights in an overly violent crackdown.

The attorney general also insisted that he intervened in the criminal cases of President Trump’s allies Roger J. Stone Jr. and Michael T. Flynn to uphold the rule of law, not to do Mr. Trump’s bidding.

Mr. Barr’s defenses punctuated an outright hostile election-season oversight hearing before the House Judiciary Committee. Democrats tried to portray him as a dangerous errand boy for the president. But Mr. Barr insisted he was trying to enforce the law against what he characterized as rioters using demonstrations as cover to commit crimes. He also said of the criminal cases that grew out of the Russia investigation that he wanted to be fair to Mr. Trump’s former advisers.

“The president’s friends don’t deserve special breaks, but they also don’t deserve to be treated more harshly than other people,” he said. “And sometimes that’s a difficult decision to make, especially when you know you’re going to be castigated for it.”

The five-hour hearing, Mr. Barr’s first on Capitol Hill in more than a year, grew increasingly heated as Democrats spoke over his attempts to respond to their

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## Trump Family Legacy: Empathy Is for the Weak

By ANNIE KARNI  
and KATIE ROGERS

WASHINGTON — The Marble Collegiate Church on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan was packed with developers, politicians and New York celebrities, more than 600 in all, for the funeral of Fred C. Trump, the builder whose no-frills brick rental towers transformed Brooklyn and Queens.

Three of his four living children, who had grown up listening to the sermons of the church’s most famous minister, Norman Vincent Peale, offered loving eulogies to their father. Then it was Donald Trump’s turn.

He began by talking about himself.

He had learned of his father’s

### Nation’s Crises Are Met With an Inability to Feel Others’ Pain

death, he told the crowd that day in June 1999, just moments after reading a front-page New York Times article about his biggest development to date, Trump Place.

“Donald started his eulogy by saying, ‘I was having the greatest year of my business career, and I was sitting having breakfast thinking of how well things were going for me,’” when he learned of his father’s death, said Alan Marcus, a former public-relations consultant for the Trump Organization. “Donald’s eulogy was all about Donald, and everybody in Vincent Peale’s church knew it.”

Gwenda Blair, a Trump family biographer, also attended the funeral. She, too, could not help but take note of the eulogy, which she described in her book “The Trumps.”

“Was it surprising?” Ms. Blair said in an interview. “No. Was it stunning? Yes.”

Whether he is dealing with the loss of a family member, the deaths of nearly 150,000 Americans in a surging pandemic, more than 30 million people out of work or the racial unrest brought on by the killings of African-Americans by white police officers, President

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## Biden Marries Racial Equity To a Recovery

By THOMAS KAPLAN  
and KATIE GLUECK

WILMINGTON, Del. — Joseph R. Biden Jr. unveiled wide-ranging plans on Tuesday to address systemic racism in the nation’s economy, saying this year’s election was about “understanding people’s struggles” and pledging to tear down barriers for minority-owned businesses.

In an address near his home in Wilmington, Mr. Biden made the argument that racial justice is central to his overall policy vision in areas like housing, infrastructure and support for small businesses, while aiming to draw a stark contrast with a president who has regularly inflamed racial tensions.

“This election is not just about voting against Donald Trump,” Mr. Biden said, standing before four American flags in a community center gym. “It’s about rising to this moment of crisis, understanding people’s struggles and building a future worthy of their courage and their ambition to overcome.”

Mr. Biden’s plan is the fourth piece of his “Build Back Better” proposal, an economic agenda that also encompasses manufacturing, climate and infrastructure, and caregiving plans, and takes aim at Mr. Trump’s stewardship of the economy and his impact on working families, a potential vulnerability that has emerged during the coronavirus crisis.

The speech on Tuesday came with just under 100 days until Election Day, amid a searing national debate over racism in American society. Mr. Biden continues to hold a substantial lead

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TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

### An Overwhelming Toll

Covid-19 has funeral homes in South Texas fighting to keep up. Above, in Brownsville. Page A5.

## New York City Hailed Contact-Tracing Corps; Workers Saw Chaos

By SHARON OTTERMAN

It was only a few weeks into the rollout of New York City’s much-heralded contact-tracing program, a vital initiative in the effort to contain the coronavirus and to reopen the local economy. But in private messaging channels, the newly hired contact tracers were already expressing growing misgivings about their work.

One said the city was “putting out propaganda” about the program’s effectiveness.

Another wrote, “I don’t think this is the type of job we should just ‘wing it,’ and that’s the sense I’ve been getting sometimes.”

A third tracer said, “The lack of communication and organization is crazy.”

The authorities around the world — especially in East Asia and Western Europe — have rap-

### Mayor Alters Project After a Rocky Start

idly enacted contact-tracing programs, which are used to identify and then isolate groups of people who may be infected with the coronavirus.

Mayor Bill de Blasio has de-

clared that the city’s new Test and Trace Corps, which has hired about 3,000 contact tracers, case monitors and others, will make a difference in curbing the virus now that the outbreak that devastated New York in the spring has waned.

But contact-tracing programs have presented an array of challenges to government officials everywhere, including difficulties

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NATIONAL A12-21

### Fears of a Botched Census

A White House push to finish the count early could disproportionately omit the poor and people of color. Page A21

### Latino Museum Clears Hurdle

The House passed a bill to create a National Museum of the American Latino on the National Mall. Page A13

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-7

### Trumps Promote False Video

Within hours, social media companies pulled the film filled with misleading virus claims. By then, it had been viewed tens of millions of times. Page A5

### Benefits of Pooled Testing

The technique, which can make one test as powerful as five, is especially useful when the infection rate is low. Page A7

INTERNATIONAL A8-11

### Guilty of Graft in Malaysia

A former prime minister was sentenced to 12 years in prison, but some doubt the conviction will stick. Page A8



FOOD D1-8

### Cherry Pie, Step Aside

Along with charred scallions and creamy raw pistachios, use cherries to build a savory salad. Page D3

### Six Steps to Great Ribs

A backyard grill can easily produce the spicy, smoky slabs that for many are barbecue’s ultimate prize. Page D1

BUSINESS B1-7

### Tech’s ‘Big Tobacco Moment’

The leaders of Amazon, Apple, Facebook and Google will appear together before Congress for the first time to justify their business practices. Page B1

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B8-10

### An Outbreak Chain Reaction

The Miami Marlins now have 17 confirmed virus cases. The situation has affected the schedules of several other Major League Baseball teams. Page B8

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### Emily Oster

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### Emmy Nominees Announced

Netflix garnered 160 nominations, a record, while HBO’s “Watchmen,” above, received 26; Disney+ and Apple TV+ got their first nods. Page C1



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