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The presence of National Guard troops in Washington has been jarring for civilians, as well as for lawmakers and the military itself.

## Troops Shaken By War Tactics In City Streets

This article is by **Thomas Gibbons-Neff, Eric Schmitt and Helene Cooper.**

WASHINGTON — A white National Guard commander called the standoff in Lafayette Square “the Alamo,” implying that the White House was under siege. Black members of the D.C. Guard objected to turning on their neighbors. Army leaders told pilots to “flood the box with everything we have” as two helicopters buzzed protesters in the streets.

The National Guard is now engaged in an investigation of the havoc a week ago Monday in downtown Washington, similar to after-the-fact examinations more common to battlefields in Iraq and Afghanistan. There will be questions, interviews and competing narratives.

But on one point everyone is agreed: The first days of June, a calamitous period for the Trump presidency, have been a debacle for the National Guard.

There has been a torrent of criticism from Congress, senior retired military officers and Guard members themselves since more than 5,000 Guard troops — from the District of Columbia and a dozen states — were rushed to the streets of the capital to help in the crackdown on mostly peaceful protesters and occasional looters after the killing of George Floyd in police custody. The D.C. Guard has halted recruiting efforts, and at least four National Guard troops have tested positive for the coronavirus.

D.C. Guard members, typically deployed to help after hurricanes, floods and other natural disasters, say they feel demoralized and exhausted. More than 60 percent are

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## Biden Is No Stranger to Grief, or to Consolation

By **KATIE GLUECK**  
and **MATT FLEGENHEIMER**

An overstuffed binder sat in Joe Biden’s Senate office, holding the raw materials of his grief.

It was a master collection, aides recalled, with remarks, notes and drafts of eulogies Mr. Biden had given through 2008 — for childhood friends, prominent senators, his own father. The table of contents was long enough to use every letter of the alphabet. It included a section of favored passages, often deployed in his remembrances, labeled “Quotable Quotes: Death.”

“Death is part of this life,” one such axiom read, “and not of the next.”

And it has been, in many ways, the defining part of Mr. Biden’s.

### Presidential Candidate Stakes a Bid on His Capacity to Heal

The compilation, never before detailed publicly, is the sort of trove that few but Mr. Biden could amass, or even think to — a meticulous testament to the mixture of mourning and resilience that has shaped virtually every aspect of his personal and political history.

Mr. Biden has been linked to matters of death and recovery since the minute he was sworn in as a United States senator, from the hospital where his two toddler sons were recovering after the 1972 car crash that killed his first

wife, Neilia, and their daughter, Naomi. One of those sons, Beau, died of cancer at 46, five years ago last month.

But the scope of the personal losses Mr. Biden has endured, and his fluency in discussing death — a subject many elected leaders hope to avoid — go beyond what is commonly understood.

A Times review of nearly 60 eulogies Mr. Biden has delivered, as well as interviews with more than two dozen friends, former staff members and relatives of those he has eulogized, offer an intimate window into how he sought to comfort those joining him in mourning, and how he would seek to lead a nation grappling with death and devastation.

As the country confronts the wrenching, overlapping crises of

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### A Plea to Congress: ‘Make It Stop’

Philonise Floyd, George Floyd’s brother, spoke about killings of black men by the police. Page A20.

## On Black Lives Matter, the Public Has Quickly Moved to the Left

By **NATE COHN**  
and **KEVIN QUEALY**

American public opinion can sometimes seem stubborn. Voters haven’t really changed their views on abortion in 50 years. Donald J. Trump’s approval rating among registered voters has fallen within a five-point range for

just about every day of his presidency.

But the Black Lives Matter movement has been an exception from the start.

Public opinion on race and criminal justice issues has been steadily moving left since the first protests ignited over the fatal shootings of Trayvon Martin and Michael Brown. And since the

death of George Floyd in police custody on May 25, public opinion on race, criminal justice and the Black Lives Matter movement has leapt leftward.

Over the last two weeks, support for Black Lives Matter increased by nearly as much as it had over the previous two years, according to data from Civiqs, an online survey research firm. By a

28-point margin, Civiqs finds that a majority of American voters support the movement, up from a 17-point margin before the most recent wave of protests began.

The survey is not the only one to suggest that recent protests enjoy broad public support. Weekly polling for the U.C.L.A./Nation-scape survey shows a significant

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## Fed Chair Says Economic Pain May Last Years

### Jobless Rate of 9.3% Seen at Year’s End

By **JEANNA SMIALEK**  
and **ALAN RAPPEPORT**

WASHINGTON — The head of the Federal Reserve on Wednesday offered a grim assessment of how quickly the U.S. economy will recover from its pandemic-induced recession, suggesting that millions of people could remain out of work for an extended period as central bank officials estimated unemployment will be at 9.3 percent by the end of 2020.

The Fed chair, Jerome H. Powell, said the labor market might have “hit bottom” after recording a 14.7 percent unemployment rate in April, but made clear that it was too soon to know for certain.

“This is the biggest economic shock, in the U.S. and the world, really, in living memory,” Mr. Powell said at a news conference after the Fed’s two-day policy meeting, during which it left rates unchanged. “We went from the lowest level of unemployment in 50 years to the highest level in close to 90 years, and we did it in two months.”

The sober projections, the Fed’s first estimates of 2020, depicted a very different economic path from the quick “V-shaped recovery” that President Trump has suggested is underway as he pushes states to reopen and remove the stay-at-home orders that have contributed to bringing business activity to a halt.

Mr. Trump has pointed to the stock market rally and the May jobs report, in which the unemployment rate fell to 13.3 percent, as evidence that the economy is “back.”

“I think you’re going to have a V. I think it’s going to be terrific,” Mr. Trump said last month, referring to kind of economic rebound that can occur after a sharp decline. He has continually called for states to reopen, suggesting that officials who do not lift quarantines are artificially holding back the recovery.

But Mr. Powell did not suggest a rapid return to the type of economic growth and low joblessness that defined the 11-year expansion, even as states allow restaurants, offices and salons to reopen. Instead, he said, “there is great uncertainty” about the future given unknowns about the coronavirus and whether people will feel comfortable resuming their previous day-to-day activities absent a vaccine.

“My assumption is that there will be a significant chunk, well

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### Late Edition

Today, some clouds, breezy, humid, shower or heavy thunderstorms, high 80. Tonight, mostly cloudy, low 68. Tomorrow, less humid, high 84. Weather map appears on Page C8.

## EX-JUDGE ATTACKS FLYNN REVERSAL AS ‘GROSS ABUSE’

### PUSH FOR PROSECUTION

#### Justice Dept. Bid to Drop Case Is Condemned as Political Move

By **CHARLIE SAVAGE**  
and **ADAM GOLDMAN**

WASHINGTON — A retired federal judge accused the Justice Department on Wednesday of a “gross abuse of prosecutorial power” and urged a court to reject its attempt to drop the criminal case against Michael T. Flynn, President Trump’s former national security adviser.

The arguments in a 73-page brief by John Gleeson, the retired judge and former mafia prosecutor appointed to argue against the Justice Department’s unusual effort to drop the Flynn case, were the latest turn in a politically charged case that now centers on the question of whether Mr. Flynn should continue to be prosecuted. He said Mr. Flynn should be sentenced.

The Justice Department’s intervention last month, directed by Attorney General William P. Barr,



CARLOS BARRIA/REUTERS

Michael T. Flynn, a Trump ally, pleaded guilty but backtracked.

came after a long public campaign by Mr. Trump and his allies and prompted an outcry from former law enforcement officials that the administration was further politicizing the department.

Mr. Flynn’s lawyers and the Justice Department have sought to bypass Mr. Gleeson and the federal judge in the case who appointed him, Emmet G. Sullivan. An appeals panel will hear arguments on Friday about whether to dismiss the case without allowing Judge Sullivan to conduct his review of the department’s request to withdraw the charge against

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## Foundations Borrow Heavily To Support a Battered Nation

By **JAMES B. STEWART** and **NICHOLAS KULISH**

The week after the U.S. economy shut down in March, Darren Walker, the president of the Ford Foundation, fielded a stream of phone calls from the heads of dozens of organizations that Ford supports. Many were panicked. One was in tears.

“There was a sense of desperation and panic from these usually self-assured leaders,” Mr. Walker recalled. “There’s never been such an existential challenge to the future of the nonprofit sector.”

In 2019, the Ford Foundation handed out \$520 million in grants. Mr. Walker quickly realized that was not going to be anywhere near enough in this crisis-engulfed year.

His solution: Borrow money, spend it quickly and inspire others to follow Ford’s lead.

The Ford Foundation plans to announce on Thursday that it will borrow \$1 billion so that it can dra-

matically increase the amount of money it distributes. To raise the money, the foundation — one of the country’s iconic and oldest charitable organizations — is preparing to issue a combination of 30- and 50-year bonds, a financial maneuver common among governments and companies but extremely rare among nonprofits.

Four other leading charitable foundations will pledge on Thursday that they will join with Ford and increase their giving by at least \$725 million.

The decision by the five influential foundations — major sponsors of social justice organizations, museums and the arts and environmental causes — could shatter the charitable world’s deeply entrenched tradition of fiscal restraint during periods of economic hardship. That conservatism has provoked anger that

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INTERNATIONAL A10-11

### A Backlog of Surrogate Births

Ukraine eased virus-related travel restrictions for 11 foreign couples, but births still outpace pickups. PAGE A10

### Debate on U.S. Troop Levels

America faces growing pressure to reduce its military presence in Iraq as attacks by ISIS are on the rise. PAGE A11

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-9

### Accepting Illness in Reopening

India, Mexico, Russia, Iran and Pakistan have decided they must end lockdowns and restart their economies, despite rising virus cases. PAGE A5

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### Trump Picks Fight Over Bases

The president rejected the idea of giving new names to Army installations honoring Confederate officers. PAGE A22

### Finger-Pointing in Georgia

A primary was plagued by glitches, but Democrats also say they saw a systemic effort to disenfranchise voters. PAGE A16



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### No More Gummy Bear Jars

Companies like Salesforce created homey workplaces. But now they may feel more like hospitals. PAGE B1

### Any Takers for \$130 Billion?

Small-business owners are becoming reluctant to borrow from the federal Paycheck Protection Program. PAGE B1

SPORTS THURSDAY B8-10

### NASCAR Bans Stars and Bars

The auto racing circuit, which has a predominantly white and Southern fan base, announced that it would ban the Confederate battle flag from its events and properties. PAGE B9

THURSDAY STYLES D1-6

### The Party’s Still Over

With galas and splashy fund-raisers paused, the events industry has been struggling to function when there are no social functions. PAGE D1

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### Gail Collins

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ARTS C1-7

### The Gallery at La Guardia

The airport’s Terminal B opens Saturday with sprawling art installations by Sarah Sze, Laura Owens, Sabine Hornig and Jeppe Hein, above. PAGE C1

