Police Dismiss

Trump's Claims

Inciting a riot. Hurling a Molo-

tov cocktail. Plotting to sow de-

struction. Those are some of the

most serious charges brought by

federal prosecutors against dem-

onstrators at protests across the

But despite cries from Presi-

dent Trump and others in his ad-

ministration, none of those

charged with serious federal

crimes amid the unrest have been

linked so far to the loose collective

of anti-fascist activists known as

A review of the arrests of doz-

ens of people on federal charges

reveals no known effort by antifa

to perpetrate a coordinated cam-

paign of violence. Some criminal

complaints described vague, anti-

government political leanings

among suspects, but a majority of

the violent acts that have taken

place at protests have been attrib-

uted by federal prosecutors to in-

dividuals with no affiliation to any

Even so, Attorney General

William P. Barr has blamed antifa

for orchestrating the mass pro-

tests, which broke out in cities and

towns across the country after the

death in police custody of George

Floyd. "There is clearly some high

degree of organization involved at

some of these events and coordi-

nated tactics that we are seeing,"

Mr. Barr said. "Some of it relates

to antifa, some of it relates to

groups that act very much like an-

Mr. Trump has sought to expand and exploit accusations

against what he has called the in-

volvement of "radical leftists" in

Continued on Page A20

particular group.

country in recent weeks.

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 2020

Today, mostly sunny skies, warm, less humid, high 84. **Tonight,** partly cloudy, low 64. Tomorrow, periodic clouds and sunshine, a bit cooler, high 78. Weather map, Page B12.

\$3.00

# Black Veterans Recall the Pain Of Base Names

## Honoring Confederates Is 'Slap in the Face'

#### By JENNIFER STEINHAUER

WASHINGTON - When Timothy Berry was recruiting black students for West Point, where he served as class president in 2013, he often reflected on his senior year, when he lived in the Robert E. Lee barracks. It bothered him then; it bothers him now.

"I was trying to tell black and brown students that they would have a home there," said Mr. Berry, who served as an Army captain with the 101st Airborne Division from 2013 to 2018. "It sent a very strong mixed message."

For many black service members, who make up about 17 percent of all active-duty military personnel, the Pentagon's decision to consider renaming Army bases bearing the names of Confederate officers seems excruciatingly overdue. Generations of black service members signed up for the military to defend the values of their country, only to be assigned to bases named after people who represent its grimmest

"It is really kind of a slap in the face to those African-American soldiers who are on bases named after generals who fought for their cause," said Jerry Green, a retired noncommissioned officer who trained at Fort Bragg, N.C., which is named for a Confederate general, Braxton Bragg. "That cause was slavery.'

There are 10 major Army installations named for generals who led Confederate troops — all in the former states of the Confederacy as well as many streets and buildings on military academy campuses that are among at least 1,500 symbols of the Confederacy in public spaces in the United

The push to rename military installations and place names is not new, and it is one that black service members and veterans, as well as groups including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, have largely

The movement this week seemed to attract a growing consensus, including among former senior military officials of all races, before President Trump declared on Wednesday that he would block any of those 10 bases from being renamed.

A petition by the liberal group VoteVets received over 20,000 signatures in 24 hours urging the military to ban Confederate symbols and rename Army bases, a spokesman for the organization said. In a poll conducted this week and released Thursday by the group, 47 percent of 935 registered voters surveyed said they would support the removal of Confederate imagery across the entire military.

The Marine Corps issued a ban last week on displays of the Confederate battle flag at its installations, and the chief of naval operations, Adm. Michael M. Gilday, wrote on Twitter Tuesday that he had directed his staff to "begin crafting an order" banning such

Continued on Page A21

# **GENERAL REGRETS** JOINING PHOTO OP STAGED BY TRUMP

## **RECKONING ON PROTESTS**

**Apology Signals Growing** Military Divide With the President

#### By HELENE COOPER

WASHINGTON - The country's top military official apologized on Thursday for taking part in President Trump's walk across Lafayette Square for a photo op after the authorities used tear gas and rubber bullets to clear the area of peaceful protesters.

"I should not have been there," Gen. Mark A. Milley, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said in a prerecorded video commencement address to National Defense University. "My presence in that moment and in that environment created a perception of the mili-tary involved in domestic poli-

General Milley's first public remarks since Mr. Trump's photo op, in which federal authorities attacked peaceful protesters so that the president could hold up a Bible in front of St. John's Church, are certain to anger the White House. Mr. Trump has spent the days since the killing of George Floyd



Gen. Mark A. Milley, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

in police custody in Minneapolis taking increasingly tougher stances against the movement for change across the country.

The back-and-forth between Mr. Trump and the Pentagon in recent days is evidence of the deepest civil-military divide since the Vietnam War — except this time, military leaders, after halting steps in the beginning, are positioning themselves firmly with those calling for change.

Associates of General Milley's said he considered resigning, but he decided not to.

On Wednesday, the president picked another fight with the military, slapping down the Pentagon for considering renaming Army bases named after Confederate officers who fought against the Union in the Civil War. The Marine Corps has banned display of the Confederate battle flag, and leaders of both the Army and the Navy have in recent days expressed a willingness to move forward with

renaming installations. At the same time, the Senate Armed Services Committee, with bipartisan support, voted to re-

quire the Pentagon to strip mili-

Continued on Page A17

#### Of Antifa Plots WASHINGTON — NASCAR is and Not 2020' demanding that its fans no long-This article is by Neil MacFarer fly Confederate flags at races. quhar, Alan Feuer and Adam Gold-The Pentagon and some Republi-

**MEMO** 

ing military bases **POLITICAL** that bear the names of Confederate soldiers. Corporate

This article is by Jonathan Mar-

tin, Maggie Haberman and Katie

can senators are open to renam-

America is taking stances against racial injustice. A majority of Americans say the police show racial bias in their use of force, and a majority of selfdescribed conservatives acknowledge protesters' frustrations are at least somewhat

'Talking as if This Is a Country in the 1950s

As Americans Shift on Racism, President Digs In

justified.

Protesters targeted statues on a Confederate monument in Portsmouth, Va. Americans increasingly favor racial justice, polls show.

Yet with public opinion shifting quickly on racism in America, and even some of the most cautious leaders and institutions talking openly about discrimination and reconciliation, there is still one glaring outlier: President Trump.

Whether it is suggesting shooting protesters or siccing dogs on them, pre-emptively defending the Confederate names of mili-

tary installations or arguing that his supporters "love the black people," Mr. Trump increasingly sounds like a cultural relic, detached from not just the leftleaning protesters in the streets but also the country's political middle and even some Republican allies and his own military

While Mr. Trump has a long history of making insensitive and tone-deaf comments on race, including remarks widely seen as racist, he has never appeared more isolated on a dominant social and political moment in the country, hunkered down at the White House tweeting conspiracy theories about injured protesters and describing dem-

Continued on Page A18



### No Longer Cooped Up

Friends enjoying the Landwehr Canal in Berlin as Europe eases out of a lockdown. Page A5.

tain."

# A Grim Reality Sinks In, and Markets Nosedive In Georgia Election Havoc, a Costly Bet on Tech

# By MATT PHILLIPS

At least for a day, reality triumphed over hope on Wall Street. After a frenzied, almost unstop-

pable three-month climb that seemed to defy both gravity and logic, the stock market plunged on Thursday, as investors decided they could no longer go on behaving as if the American economy had already recovered from the pandemic.

The signals leading to this mo-

## Virus Worries Bring 3-Month Rise to Halt

ment were hard to ignore, even for the most bullish of investors. Coronavirus infections are rising in 21 states. Congress is divided on extending more aid. And on Wednesday, the Federal Reserve chair, Jerome H. Powell, warned that the depth of the downturn

mained "extraordinarily uncer-

For investors, who often make buying and selling decisions by looking at the future, it was altogether too much.

Stocks suffered their worst drop in nearly three months as the S&P 500 stock index fell 5.9 percent - just days after it had recouped its losses for the year. The Dow Jones industrial average dropped nearly 1,900 points, or 6.9

Continued on Page A6

#### **By NICK CORASANITI** and STEPHANIE SAUL

As Georgia elections officials prepared to roll out an over \$100 million high-tech voting system year, good-government groups, a federal judge and election-security experts warned of its perils. The new system, they argued, was too convoluted, too expensive, too big — and was still insecure.

They said the state would re-

#### New Voting Machines Blamed for Meltdown

gret purchasing the machines. On Tuesday, that admonition appeared prescient.

A cascade of problems caused blocklong lines across Georgia, as primary voters stood for hours while poll workers waited for equipment to be delivered or

struggled to activate the system's components. Locations ran out of provisional ballots. Many people, seeing no possible option to exercise their right to vote, simply left the lines.

With partisans on both sides hurling blame for the meltdown, elections experts said there were too many moving parts to place the onus for Georgia's election chaos on any single one.

"The problem seems to have been a perfect storm (overused Continued on Page A16



NATIONAL A11-22

### One Hyphen, Many Faces

At a difficult moment for Asian-Americans, 11 artists celebrate their complex identity through self-portraits. PAGE A12

### Biden vs. Zuckerberg

The Biden campaign will urge supporters to push Facebook for stronger rules on false and hateful posts. PAGE A15

## TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-7

### A Safer Meatpacking Plant

In an industry where workers often stand shoulder to shoulder in a processing line, plants are instituting changes to protect them from infection. PAGE A6

**INTERNATIONAL A8-10** 

### Trump and Erdogan Bond

Yo-yoing relations between the American and Turkish presidents are, for now, at a high point.

## **Balloons Burst Korea Harmony**

Propaganda leaflets sent across the border in balloons infuriate the North and irk the South. PAGE A10



**SPORTSFRIDAY B9-11** 

### An Activist, More Than Ever

The ex-N.B.A. player Stephen Jackson, with George Floyd's daughter Gianna, is standing up for his friend.

#### A Black Golfer Takes the Lead After leading the conversation in golf

about race, Harold Varner III was tied for first as the tour resumed. PAGE B10

### **BUSINESS B1-8**

Paul Krugman

### A Superpower, or Not?

A campaign for a "stall economy," with its focus on low-income workers, leads some in China to ask whether the world's No. 2 economy is as prosperous as it seems.

# E.U. Is Set to Charge Amazon

A case nearly two years in the making, the European Commission plans to bring antitrust charges, alleging that Amazon abused its dominance in internet commerce. PAGE B1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

### PAGE A24

WEEKEND ARTS C1-16

## **Emerging From a Haze**

The artist and activist Faith Ringgold found herself in a creative rut during the lockdown, but the protests have given her new inspiration.

