

## Workers Need 2 Tests a Week. But Who Pays?

### Spotty U.S. Guidance for Nursing Homes

By KATIE THOMAS

Like all nursing home workers in New York State, Shikilia Davis is required to get a test for coronavirus twice a week, part of a state order aimed at containing the startling death toll of residents in nursing homes.

But late last month, Ms. Davis said her employer, Apex Rehabilitation & Healthcare on Long Island, sent her home after she refused to provide her insurance card before getting tested. She said the nursing home wanted to bill her health insurer rather than paying for the test itself, even though Ms. Davis's insurer has declined to cover the tests.

"This is a bill I do not want to get stuck with," said Ms. Davis, who works as a dietary aide at Apex, where, according to state data, 33 people died or were believed to have died from the virus. She feared that the lab company could hold her responsible for paying the bill once her insurance claim was denied. "I don't have money lying around."

The dispute over who should pay for worker testing is at the messy heart of a national effort to reduce the virus's spread in nursing homes by screening workers and residents. It has become a hot-button labor issue for some of the nation's most poorly paid health care workers.

A report released on June 4 by the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, which oversees most nursing homes in the United States, estimated that almost 32,000 residents have died of the virus, more than one-fourth of all Covid-19 deaths in the country.

Regular testing of nursing home staff — who come and go each day from their workplaces, potentially introducing the virus to the facilities and spreading it to residents — is seen as one of the most important ways to contain outbreaks. The first significant outbreak in the United States was in a nursing home in the Seattle area, and the virus has killed residents in many facilities in New York and New Jersey.

Like so many aspects of the U.S. *Continued on Page A6*



Attendees at George Floyd's service on Tuesday, including his sister, back row, second from left, denounced the brutality of his death.

## A Son of Houston Whose Death Moved Millions

By MANNY FERNANDEZ  
and PATRICIA MAZZEI

HOUSTON — George Floyd died at the hands of police officers in Minneapolis. A thousand miles to the south, in the Texas city where he was raised, two rows of police officers saluted as his coffin went past.

Hours before Mr. Floyd's funeral began at a southwest Houston church, uniformed officers stood between the hearse and the front doors. As relatives and friends pushed the gold coffin with blue trimming into the church, the officers raised their hands in a show of respect.

Mr. Floyd's funeral and the public viewing that preceded it a day earlier have been a counterpoint to the fury that his death touched off in cities across America. Mr. Floyd, who grew up in a tough public housing complex in Houston's predominantly black Third Ward, was considered a native son, and the tone adopted by pro-

### At Funeral for Floyd, Hugs, Memories and Calls for Justice

testers, activists, elected officials and police officers has been one of honoring a grieving Houston family.

Inside the Fountain of Praise church, Mr. Floyd, 46, the emblem of an international movement whose name has been chanted by thousands of people since his death, was remembered as the son, brother, uncle and father that he was in life.

George Perry Floyd Jr. was born in North Carolina but grew up in the Cuney Homes housing complex in Houston. He was a 1993 graduate of Jack Yates High School, where he played on the basketball team as a 6-foot-6 power forward "able to dunk with both hands." And he was a father

of five and grandfather of two, according to the funeral program.

His relatives referred to him as "Superman."

"The world knows George Floyd," said Kathleen McGee, one of his aunts, surrounded by relatives, all dressed in white. "I know him as Perry Jr. He was a pesky little rascal, but we all loved him."

Like the funerals of Michael Brown and Eric Garner in 2014, Mr. Floyd's funeral became a moment of both national reckoning and mourning, as black leaders and Mr. Floyd's family celebrated his life and denounced the brutality of his death.

The funeral aired live on broadcast and cable television, and as it began at noon, the New York Stock Exchange went silent for eight minutes, 46 seconds — the length of time a Minneapolis police officer held Mr. Floyd's neck under his knee before he died. It was the longest moment of silence on the stock exchange floor in its 228-year history.

*Continued on Page A13*

## Trump Smears A Protester, 75, Hurt in Buffalo

By ALAN FEUER

It is true, his friends admitted: Martin Gugino is an activist, a seasoned peacenik who in a lifetime of protest has taken part in demonstrations against military drones, climate change, nuclear weapons and police brutality.

But Mr. Gugino is also a football fan, they said, a mild-mannered bachelor and a Buffalo native who returned to his hometown some years ago to care for his ailing mother.

The one thing he is not, however, those who knew him said, is what President Trump suggested he was on Twitter on Tuesday morning: a wily antifa provocateur.

Mr. Trump's tweet — none of it backed by fact — raced across the internet all day even as Mr. Gugino, 75, still lay in the hospital, recovering from the serious head wound he sustained on Thursday night when two Buffalo police officers shoved him to the ground at a demonstration over the police killing of George Floyd.

A cellphone video of the encounter has now been seen by millions of people and led to charges being filed against the officers on Saturday.

In the video, a tall and lanky Mr. Gugino can be seen in front of the police with what seems to be a cellphone in his hand. Two of the officers shove him and he falls

*Continued on Page A17*

## G.O.P. BLINDSIDED BY PUBLIC'S RAGE AT FLOYD KILLING

### PUT ON THE DEFENSIVE

#### The Law and Order Party Loses Its Footing as Attitudes Shift

By CATIE EDMONDSON  
and NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — Congressional Republicans, caught flat-footed by an election-year groundswell of public support for overhauling policing in America to address systemic racism, are struggling to coalesce around a legislative response.

Having long fashioned themselves as the party of law and order, Republicans have been startled by the speed and extent to which public opinion has shifted under their feet in recent days after the killings of unarmed black Americans by the police and the protests that have followed. The abrupt turn has placed them on the defensive.

Adding to their challenge, President Trump has offered only an incendiary response, repeatedly invoking "law and order" calling for military and police crackdowns on protesters, promoting conspiracy theories, and returning time and again to the false claim that Democrats agitating for change are simply bent on defunding police departments.

On Tuesday, Republicans on Capitol Hill rushed to distance



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator Tim Scott will lead a G.O.P. effort to tackle policing.

themselves from that approach, publicly making clear that they would lay out their own legislation and refraining from attacking a sweeping Democratic bill unveiled this week aimed at combatting racial bias and excessive use of force by the police. The measure, which House Democrats plan to push through this month, would make it easier to track, prosecute and punish police misconduct, ban chokeholds and restrict the use of deadly force by officers, as well as condition federal grants on anti-bias training and other practices to combat racial profiling.

*Continued on Page A18*

## Scandals Mounting, Brazil's Leader Hints at a Military Takeover

This article is by Simon Romero, Letícia Casado and Manuela Andrade.

The threats are swirling around the president: Deaths from the virus in Brazil each day are now the highest in the world. Investors are fleeing the country. The president, his sons and his allies are under investigation. His election could even be overturned.

The crisis has grown so intense that some of the most powerful military figures in Brazil are warning of instability — sending shudders that they could take over and dismantle Latin America's largest democracy.

But far from denouncing the idea, President Jair Bolsonaro's inner circle seems to be clamoring for the military to step into the fray. In fact, one of the president's sons, a congressman who has praised the country's former military dictatorship, said a similar institutional break was inevitable.

"It's no longer an opinion about if, but when this will happen," the president's son, Eduardo Bolsonaro, recently told a prominent Brazilian blogger, warning of what he called a looming "rupture" in Brazil's democratic system.

The standoff traces an ominous arc for Brazil, a country that shook off military rule in the 1980s and built a thriving democracy in its wake. Within two decades,



A cemetery in São Paulo, Brazil. A judge has ordered officials to stop undercounting virus deaths.

Brazil had come to represent the energy and promise of the developing world, with a booming economy and the right to host the World Cup and the Olympics.

Mr. Bolsonaro, a former Army captain, stepped into this tumult, celebrating the country's military past and promising to restore order. But he has come under blistering criticism for downplaying the virus, sabotaging isolation measures and cavalierly presiding over one of the highest death

tolls in the world, saying, "We are sorry for all the dead, but that's everyone's destiny."

He, his family and his supporters are also being pursued on allegations like abuse of power, corruption and illegally spreading misinformation. Yet nearly half of his cabinet is made up of military

*Continued on Page A11*

## Anger and Mistrust in Georgia As Vote Dissolves Into Debacle

This article is by Richard Fausset, Reid J. Epstein and Rick Rojas.

ATLANTA — Georgia's statewide primary elections on Tuesday were overwhelmed by a full-scale meltdown of new voting systems put in place after widespread claims of voter suppression during the state's 2018 governor's election.

Scores of new state-ordered voting machines were reported to be missing or malfunctioning, and hourslong lines materialized at polling places across Georgia.

Some people gave up and left before casting a ballot, and concerns spread that the problems would disenfranchise untold voters, particularly African-American

cans. Predominantly black areas experienced some of the worst problems.

With Republican-leaning Georgia emerging as a possible battleground in this year's presidential election and home to two competitive Senate races, the voting mess rattled Democratic officials and voters, with some blaming the state's Republican governor and secretary of state for hastily instituting a new voting system without enough provisional ballots in case the voting machines did not function.

"It is a disaster that was preventable," Stacey Abrams, the Democrat who narrowly lost the

*Continued on Page A20*



NATIONAL A12-23

### Ban Lifted on Hunting Tactics

The White House will now allow methods like baiting bears with doughnuts on federal land in Alaska.

PAGE A22

### New York Charges Officer

After shoving a woman to the ground, he is the first to be charged with misconduct during the protests.

PAGE A16

#### TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-9

##### No End in Sight, Fauci Warns

The nation's leading infectious disease expert delivered a grim assessment of the devastation wrought around the world by the coronavirus.

PAGE A7

##### A Run on Kettlebells

Fitness enthusiasts caused a shortage of gym equipment by reimagining workouts while sheltering in place.

PAGE A9

#### INTERNATIONAL A10-11

##### Indian Women Out of Work

As the country emerges from its virus restrictions, female workers face decades of economic rebuilding.

PAGE A10



ARTS C1-7

##### The Risks of Singing

Some scientists are wary of restarting choirs, for fear of spreading the virus. Above, performing in Norway.

PAGE C1

##### Movements for Change

Dance has sometimes intersected with protest during the demonstrations over the death of George Floyd.

PAGE C1

#### BUSINESS B1-8

##### Convenient Delivery

Food apps say they are keeping restaurants in business during the pandemic. Some establishments, however, say they are a major source of financial ruin because of their fees.

PAGE B1

##### SPORTSWEDNESDAY B9-10

##### Putting a Gap Year to Good Use

Roderick Sewell intends to use the extra months of training to become one of the few two-sport athletes in the Tokyo Paralympics in 2021.

PAGE B9

#### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

##### Thomas L. Friedman

PAGE A26



FOOD D1-8

##### The Sharing of the Sikhs

A tradition of nourishing all in need has found new purpose in America's turmoil. Above, meals in Queens.

PAGE D1

