

ALGERIANS FIND MANY MORE DEAD AT HOSTAGE SITE

BODIES BADLY BURNED

Some Gunmen Seized — Expatriates' Fate Is Still Murky

By ADAM NOSSITER

BAMAKO, Mali — Algerian officials said Sunday that security forces combing the scene of a bloody four-day hostage siege had discovered many more corpses, some badly burned, at a gas-production complex deep in the Sahara.

They also said for the first time that some of the hostage takers were captured alive.

"There are a good 20 bodies," a senior Algerian official said of the grim discoveries at the site on Sunday, a day after a final assault ended the siege. "These must be identified."

Once they are, the preliminary count of 23 dead hostages seemed certain to rise, officials acknowledged.

"I'm very afraid that the numbers are going to go up," the Algerian communications minister, Mohamed Saïd Oublaïd, told France 24 Television.

The standoff between several dozen radical Islamists and Algerian security services came to a bloody conclusion on Saturday when the Algerians assaulted the kidnapers' last redoubt at the facility, where hundreds of Algerian and scores of expatriate workers were employed.

The victims — from the United States, Britain, France, Japan and other countries — were killed after hours of harrowing captivity in which some were forced to wear explosives. An unknown number of the hostages died in the assault on Saturday; Algerian officials said they also killed most of the remaining hostage takers, who they said were followers of Mokhtar Belmokhtar, a

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EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

Some of the weapons used in the hostage taking in Algeria.

How M.I.T. Ensnared a Hacker, Bucking a Freewheeling Culture

By NOAM COHEN

In the early days of 2011, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology learned that it had an intruder. Worse, it believed the intruder had been there before.

Months earlier, the mysterious visitor had used the school's computer network to begin copying millions of research articles belonging to Jstor, the nonprofit organization that sells subscription access to universities.

The visitor was clever — switching identifications to avoid being blocked by M.I.T.'s security system — but eventually the university believed it had shut down the intrusion, then spent weeks reassuring furious officials at Jstor that the downloading had been stopped.

However, on Jan. 3, 2011, according to internal M.I.T. documents obtained by The New York Times, the university was informed that the intruder was back — this time downloading documents very slowly, with a

NEWS ANALYSIS North Africa Is a New Test

West Strives to Adapt As Terror Cells Spread

By MICHAEL R. GORDON

WASHINGTON — The bloody resolution of the hostage crisis in Algeria has brought into focus the broader challenges the United States and its allies face in confronting terrorist cells that have taken up sanctuary across northern Africa.

The United States and France have been courting Algeria for months, hoping to secure its support for an international effort to evict Islamic militants out of northern Mali.

But the militants' advance south, which set off an appeal for the French military intervention by the Mali government, and the hostage-taking at a gas-producing complex in the Sahara to the north have caught the United States by surprise and prompted fresh White House vows to combat terrorism in the region.

In taking on the militants, Western nations are confronting multinational bands that are often able to move with relative freedom across porous African borders. And those cells have many inviting targets to choose from: the region is rich with oil, gas, uranium and other international ventures that clearly represent Western interests and in some cases are poorly defended.

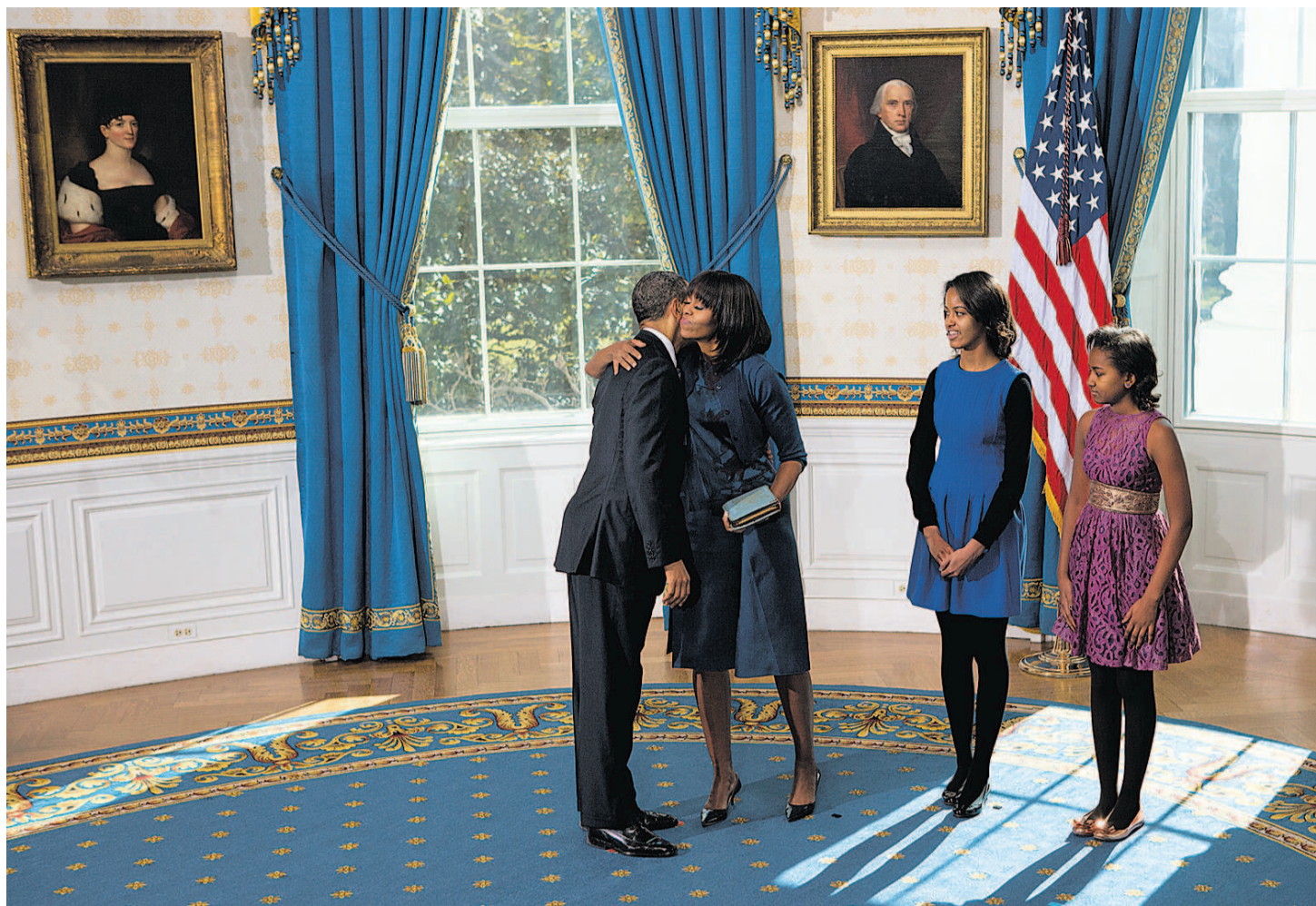
Also, with the United States and Britain determined not to send troops to Mali, and the French hoping to avoid an open-ended deployment there, Western nations must rely heavily on the forces of local nations who are not always open to outside advice.

Rudolph Atallah, a former Pentagon counterterrorism official, noted that one major terrorist group in the region, Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, had slowly branched out across borders. "To dismantle their network, the United States and its allies, African and European, will need a well-thought-out regional strategy," he said.

Forging that strategy will be far from easy, given those involved. The Algerians have an able, if heavy handed, military, but have not been eager to cooperate extensively with the United States or their neighbors. Libya's new government appears willing to cooperate but has little ability. Mali has little military ability and any enduring solution needs to be crafted with an eye to

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OBAMA TAKES OATH, BEGINNING 2ND TERM



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Obama with his family in the White House after Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. administered the oath of office.

Among Blacks, Pride Is Mixed With Expectations for Obama

By SUSAN SAULNY

The Rev. Gregory L. Brown, a 59-year-old pastor of a small Lutheran church, committed himself to ministry and a life pursuing social justice on April 4, 1968 — the day the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was slain by an assassin's bullet.

And four years ago, like so many African-Americans around the country, he saw Barack Obama's rise to the presidency as nothing short of a shocking validation of Dr. King's vision of a more perfect union, where the content of character trumps the color of skin. "I was so excited when he was giving that first inauguration speech," said Mr. Brown, of Oakland, Calif. "I could feel it in my bones."

On Monday, when President Obama places his hand on Dr. King's personal Bible to take a second, ceremonial oath of office, he will be symbolically linking himself to the civil rights hero. But Mr. Brown, along with other African-Americans interviewed recently, said their excitement would be laced with a new expectation, that Mr. Obama move to the forefront of his agenda the issues that Dr. King championed: civil rights and racial and economic equality.

In interviews with experts and black leaders, some, like Mr.

Brown, say they have been disappointed by the slow pace of change for African-Americans, whose children, for instance, are still more likely to live in poverty than those of any other race.

"The hope for Obama's presidency was that there would be more help for places like Oakland and other urban areas that need support, safety and jobs," Mr. Brown said. "He made people feel like anything is possible."

African-Americans remain overwhelmingly supportive of the president, as evidenced by their enthusiastic turnout on Election Day and for the inauguration festivities and Monday's

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An Intimate White House Ceremony — Traditional Pomp Is Set for Today

By JACKIE CALMES

WASHINGTON — With only his family beside him, Barack Hussein Obama was sworn into office for a second term on Sunday in advance of Monday's public pomp, facing a bitterly divided government at home and persistent threats abroad that inhibit his effort to redefine America's use of power.

It was a brief and intimate moment in the White House, held because of a quirk of the calendar that placed the constitutionally mandated start of the new term on a Sunday.

But the low-key event seemed to capture tempered expectations after four years of economic troubles and near-constant partisan confrontation. And it pre-

saged a formal inauguration on Monday that will be less of a spectacle than the first one, when the nation's first black president embodied hope and change for many Americans at a time of financial struggle and war.

For Monday's festivities, with the traditional parade, balls and not least the re-enacted swearing-in outside the Capitol, there will be fewer parties and fewer people swarming the National Mall; organizers expect less than half the 1.8 million people who flocked to the city last time.

Once the parties end, Mr. Obama's second-term challenges are formidable, not least given his ambitious priorities of addressing the national debt, illegal immigration and gun violence.

The economy, while recovering steadily, remains fragile. The unemployment rate is as high as it was in January 2009, though it is down from the 10 percent peak reached late that year, and there is no consensus with Republicans about additional stimulus measures — or virtually anything else.

And as the terrorist attack in Algeria last week illustrated, Mr. Obama continues to confront threats around the globe, both from state actors like Iran and North Korea and from Qaeda-inspired extremists seeking to exploit power vacuums in the

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THE INAUGURATION

FOREIGN POLICY President Obama still has ambitious goals on foreign policy, but bitter experiences from his first four years have steered him toward a more modest strategy for achieving them. NEWS ANALYSIS, PAGE A10

AFTER THE SPOTLIGHT Some everyday Americans who were offered up as examples by the president early in his first term provide personal perspectives on their lives now. PAGE A12



POOL PHOTO BY CAROLYN KASTER

THE BIDEN BIBLE The vice president's swearing-in was a low-key ceremony, but it had a hint of his 2016 ambitions. PAGE A10



CHRIS KEANE/REUTERS

Next Step, the Super Bowl

Frank Gore and the 49ers rallied to top the Falcons, 28-24, and will face the Ravens, who toppled the Patriots, 28-13. Page D1.

Private Pain and Public Debate Take Toll on Newtown Parents

By PETER APPLEBOME and ELIZABETH MAKER

NEWTOWN, Conn. — Jimmy Greene and Nelba Márquez-Greene have not turned on a television or read a newspaper since their 6-year-old daughter, Ana, a blur of joyful energy who loved singing, dancing, floral headbands and the Bible, died more than a month ago.

They listen to gospel music constantly, while what they call a Peace Posse of relatives and friends helps them with cooking and chores and prays on their behalf.

Ana Márquez-Greene was one of 26 children and educators murdered by a gunman at Sandy Hook Elementary School here on

Dec. 14. And for the Márquez-Greenes and other families of the Sandy Hook victims, the horror of the crime and the media glare that followed have meant they must confront intimate personal grief in the midst of a heated debate about guns.

The families find themselves caught between private healing and public participation, between the need to take care of themselves and the pull of voices demanding that the tragedy produce public change. The competing pressures can be overwhelming.

Members of about 11 families

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INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Israel Looks Inward

Values and the economy, and not Palestinians and West Bank settlements, are the main issues in elections that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his faction are expected to win. PAGE A4

INTERNATIONAL

Clinton's Remarks Under Fire

China said Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton presented a distorted picture of its dispute with Japan over a set of islands. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A15-17

Study Details Disease Triggers

Researchers report an important step in learning what activates genes that cause diseases. PAGE A15

Good Cheer and Good Works

For a new wave of drinking establishments, the bottom line is charity instead of profits going to the owners. PAGE A15

BUSINESS DAY B1-6

Boeing's High-Stakes Problem

Smoldering batteries threaten the aircraft maker's plans to expand production of its 787 Dreamliner and much of the profits that would go with it. PAGE B1

Attacking a Book Online

Michael Jackson's fans have bombarded Amazon with negative reviews of "Untouchable," a recent biography. PAGE B1

NEW YORK A18-19, 22

Loopholes in Gun Laws

Relatively few violators in New York City have been imprisoned despite the state's mandatory sentences. PAGE A18

ARTS C1-9

A Timeless View Threatened

A preservation fight has erupted over LG Electronics' plan to build a headquarters that would compromise the Cloisters museum's view across the Hudson River. PAGE C1



SPORTSMONDAY D1-11

A Star, Minus a Star Persona

Stan Musial, baseball's Stan the Man, was the Cardinals' biggest star and one of the sport's greatest figures. But he is also remembered as a likable player, a modest man whose aura faded over the years, but whose staggering statistics could never be forgotten, George Vecsey writes. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Paul Krugman

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## OBAMA OFFERS LIBERAL VISION: 'WE MUST ACT'

### Speech Gives Climate Goals Center Stage

By RICHARD W. STEVENSON and JOHN M. BRODER

WASHINGTON — President Obama made addressing climate change the most prominent policy vow of his second Inaugural Address, setting in motion what Democrats say will be a deliberately paced but aggressive campaign built around the use of his executive powers to sidestep Congressional opposition.

"We will respond to the threat of climate change, knowing that failure to do so would betray our children and future generations," Mr. Obama said on Monday at the start of eight sentences on the subject, more than he devoted to any other specific area. "Some may still deny the overwhelming judgment of science, but none can avoid the devastating impact of raging fires, and crippling drought, and more powerful storms."

The central place he gave to the subject seemed to answer the question of whether he considered it a realistic second-term priority. He devoted scant attention to it in the campaign and has delivered a mixed message about its importance since the election.

Mr. Obama is heading into the effort having extensively studied the lessons from his first term, when he failed to win passage of comprehensive legislation to reduce emissions of the gases that cause global warming. This time, the White House plans to avoid such a fight and instead focus on what it can do administratively to reduce emissions from power plants, increase the efficiency of home appliances and have the federal government itself produce less carbon pollution.

Mr. Obama's path on global warming is a case study in his evolving sense of the limits of his power and his increased willingness to work around intense conservative opposition rather than seek compromise. After coming to office four years ago on a pledge to heal the planet and turn back the rise of the seas, he is proceeding cautiously this time, Democrats said, intent on making sure his approach is vetted politically, economically and technologically so as not to risk missing what many environmental advocates say could be the last best chance for years to address the problem.

The centerpiece will be action by the Environmental Protection Agency.

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DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

### Feeling a Sense of Urgency To Leave His Mark

He did not say the words, but President Obama suffused his address with the spirit of a favorite phrase: the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s call to heed "the fierce urgency of now." This was a man cognizant of his time left in office.

BY RICHARD W. STEVENSON, PAGE A11

### A Diverse Crowd Celebrates A Moment in History

From the musicians who marched with a gay and lesbian band to high school mariachi performers from Texas to scores of elegant African-American women, the faces of Inauguration Day were the faces of those once left behind.

BY SHERYL GAY STOLBERG, PAGE A11

### A First Lady Unafraid To Look Like a Million Bucks

Fashion is no longer the forbidden subject it once was in American politics. Embracing expensive designer clothes has not been a problem for Michelle Obama in the way that similar pursuits haunted Nancy Reagan, or even Jacqueline Kennedy.

BY ERIC WILSON, PAGE A15

### Inaugural Stresses Theme of Civil and Gay Rights — Safety Net Praised

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — Barack Hussein Obama ceremonially opened his second term on Monday with an assertive Inaugural Address that offered a robust articulation of modern liberalism in America, arguing that "preserving our individual freedoms ultimately requires collective action."

On a day that echoed with refrains from the civil rights era and tributes to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Mr. Obama dispensed with the post-partisan appeals of four years ago to lay out a forceful vision of advancing gay rights, showing more tolerance toward illegal immigrants, preserving the social welfare safety net and acting to stop climate change.

At times he used his speech, delivered from the West Front of the Capitol, to reprise arguments from the fall campaign, rebutting the notion expressed by conservative opponents that America risks becoming "a nation of takers" and extolling the value of proactive government in society. Instead of declaring the end of "petty grievances," as he did taking the oath as the 44th president in 2009, he challenged Republicans to step back from their staunch opposition to his agenda.

"Progress does not compel us to settle centuries-old debates about the role of government for all time — but it does require us to act in our time," he said in the 18-minute address. "For now decisions are upon us, and we cannot afford delay. We cannot mistake absolutism for principle or substitute spectacle for politics or treat name-calling as reasoned debate. We must act."

Mr. Obama used Abraham Lincoln's Bible, as he did four years ago, but this time added Dr. King's Bible as well to mark the holiday honoring the civil rights leader. He became the first president ever to mention the word "gay" in an Inaugural Address as he equated the drive for same-sex marriage to the quests for racial and gender equality.

The festivities at the Capitol came a day after Mr. Obama officially took the oath in a quiet ceremony with his family at the White House on the date set by the Constitution. With Inauguration Day falling on a Sunday, the swearing-in was then repeated for an energized mass audience a day later, accompanied by the pomp and parade that typically surround the quadrennial tradition.

Hundreds of thousands of people gathered on a brisk but bright day, a huge crowd by any measure, though far less than the record turnout four years ago. If the day felt restrained compared with the historic mood the last time, it reflected a more restrained moment in the life of the country. The hopes and expectations that loomed so large with Mr. Obama's taking the office in 2009, even amid economic crisis, have long since faded into a starker sense of the limits of his presidency.

Now 51 and noticeably grayer, Mr. Obama appeared alternately upbeat and reflective. When he re-entered the Capitol at the conclusion of the ceremony, he stopped his entourage to turn back toward the cheering crowds on the National Mall.

"I want to take a look, one more time," he said. "I'm not going to see this again."

If the president was wistful, his message was firm. He largely eschewed foreign policy except to recommend engagement over war, and instead focused on addressing poverty and injustice at home. He did little to adopt the language of the opposition.

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## Even if It Enrages Your Boss, Social Net Speech Is Protected

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE

As Facebook and Twitter become as central to workplace conversation as the company cafeteria, federal regulators are ordering employers to scale back policies that limit what workers can say online.

Employers often seek to discourage comments that paint them in a negative light. Don't discuss company matters publicly, a typical social media policy will say, and don't disparage managers, co-workers or the company itself. Violations can be a firing offense.

But in a series of recent rulings and advisories, labor regulators have declared many such blanket restrictions illegal. The National Labor Relations Board says workers have a right to discuss work conditions freely and without fear of retribution, whether

the discussion takes place at the office or on Facebook.

In addition to ordering the reinstatement of various workers fired for their posts on social networks, the agency has pushed companies nationwide, including giants like General Motors, Target and Costco, to rewrite their social media rules.

"Many view social media as the new water cooler," said Mark G. Pearce, the board's chairman, noting that federal law has long protected the right of employees to discuss work-related matters. "All we're doing is applying traditional rules to a new technology."

The decisions come amid a broader debate over what constitutes appropriate discussion on Facebook and other social networks. Schools and universities

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## Algeria Defends Tough Response to Hostage Crisis as Toll Rises

By ADAM NOSSITER and ERIC SCHMITT

ALGIERS — The prime minister of Algeria offered an unapologetic defense on Monday of the country's tough actions to end the Sahara hostage crisis, saying that the militants who had carried out the kidnappings intended to kill all their captives and that the army saved many from death by attacking.

But the assertion came as the death toll of foreign hostages rose sharply, to 37, and as American officials said they had offered sophisticated surveillance help that could minimize casualties, both before and during the military operation to retake a seized gas field complex in the Algerian desert.

At least some of the assistance was accepted, they said, but there were still questions about whether Algeria had taken all available steps to avert such a bloody outcome.



REUTERS

Rescue workers with the coffin of one of the slain hostages.

American counterterrorism officials and experts said they would have taken a more cautious approach, using detailed surveillance to gain an information advantage and hopefully outmaneuver the militants. But others declined to second-guess the

Algerians, saying events had unfolded so rapidly that the government might have felt it had no choice but to kill the kidnappers, even if hostages died in the process.

The debate over how the Algerians handled one of the worst

hostage-taking episodes in recent memory reflects conflicting ideas over how to manage such mass abductions in an age of suicidal terrorist acts in a post-9/11 world.

The Algerians — and some Western supporters — argue that the loss of innocent lives is unavoidable when confronting fanatics who will kill their captives anyway, while others say modern technology provides some means of minimizing the deaths.

At a news conference in Algiers, the prime minister, Abdelmalek Sellal, portrayed the military's deadly assaults on the Islamist militants who had stormed and occupied an internationally run gas-producing complex last Wednesday in remote eastern Algeria as a matter of national character and pride.

"The whole world has understood that the reaction was courageous," Mr. Sellal said, calling the abductions an attack "on the stability of Algeria."

"Algerians are not people who

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INTERNATIONAL A4-10

**French Airstrikes Successful**  
French and Malian troops pushed Islamist militants out of two important towns in central Mali that they had held for a week. Above, the town of Diabaly, where the troops were greeted with cheers from residents.

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### INTERNATIONAL

#### Coup Is Said to Fail in Eritrea

Government troops quelled a rebellion after mutinous soldiers stormed the Information Ministry, people with contacts in the African nation said.

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### BUSINESS DAY B1-6

#### Rethinking a Tax Edge

The private equity industry hopes to hold down higher federal taxes.

PAGE B1

### NEW YORK A20-23, 26

#### Storm's Punch, 3 Months Later

A look at how several communities are faring after Hurricane Sandy.

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### NATIONAL A16-18

#### Cardinal Tied to Cover-Up

The ex-archbishop of Los Angeles and other officials worked to keep evidence of child molesting hidden, church records filed in a lawsuit show.

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#### Training on Religious Liberty

Stanford Law School has opened the nation's only clinic devoted to cases focused on religious freedom.

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### SPORTSTUESDAY B7-12

#### Super Bowl Cold Shoulder

New Orleans may not welcome Roger Goodell, the man who penalized the Saints in the bounty case.

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### To Our Readers

The Times is rolling out redesigned sections this week, beginning today with Science Times, which has an array of new features, and ending with Arts & Leisure on Sunday.

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### ARTS C1-8

#### Of Adultery and Apartheid

"The Suit," a fablelike play set in South Africa in the past, opens in Brooklyn. A review by Ben Brantley.

PAGE C1

#### Country Soul in Brooklyn Soul

The Lone Bellow, a Brooklyn band with a rock edge and Southern roots, is releasing its first album.

PAGE C1

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

#### David Brooks

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## POPE RESIGNS, WITH CHURCH AT CROSSROADS

### EVIDENCE POINTS TO NUCLEAR TEST BY NORTH KOREA

#### Seismic Activity Is Sign of a 3rd Detonation, U.S. Officials Say

By DAVID E. SANGER  
and CHOE SANG-HUN

WASHINGTON — North Korea appeared to conduct its third, and probably largest, nuclear test on Tuesday, according to American and Asian officials, posing a new challenge for the Obama administration in its effort to keep the country from becoming a full-fledged nuclear power.

While North Korea's official news outlets were silent about the test, many nations detected seismic activity centered near the same location where the North conducted tests in 2006 and 2009. The United States Geological Survey said it was only a kilometer underground, an indication consistent with a nuclear blast. And in Vienna, the organization that monitors the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty said that tremor had "clear explosionlike characteristics."

Preliminary estimates suggested a test far larger than the previous two conducted by the North, though probably less powerful than the first bomb the United States dropped on Japan, in Hiroshima, in 1945.

If confirmed, the test would be the first under the country's new leader, Kim Jong-un, and an open act of defiance to the Chinese, who urged the young leader not to risk open confrontation by setting off the weapon. In the past few days a Chinese newspaper

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### Slower Growth Of Health Costs Narrows Deficit

By ANNIE LOWREY

WASHINGTON — A sharp and surprisingly persistent slowdown in the growth of health care costs is helping to narrow the federal deficit, leaving budget experts trying to figure out whether the trend will last and how much the slower growth could help alleviate the country's long-term fiscal problems.

In figures released last week, the Congressional Budget Office said it had erased hundreds of billions of dollars in projected spending on Medicare and Medicaid. The budget office now projects that spending on those two programs in 2020 will be about \$200 billion, or 15 percent, less than it projected three years ago. New data also show overall health care spending growth continuing at the lowest rate in decades for a fourth consecutive year.

Health experts say they do not yet fully understand what is driving the lower spending trajectory. But there is a growing consensus that changes in how doctors and hospitals deliver health care — as opposed to merely a weak economy — are playing a role. Still, experts sharply disagree on

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Pope Benedict XVI announcing his resignation on Monday at the Vatican. At left is Msgr. Franco Camaldo, a papal aide.

#### NEWS ANALYSIS

### A Turbulent Tenure for a Quiet Scholar

By LAURIE GOODSTEIN

When Benedict XVI became pope eight years ago at the age of 78, many Roman Catholic scholars predicted that he would be a caretaker. He would keep the ship sailing in the same direction as his beloved predecessor, John Paul II. And as the rare theologian who knew how to write for a broad audience, Benedict would keep the crew inspired and the sails billowing.

If written words alone could keep the church on course, Benedict would likely be viewed as a solid success. His encyclicals on love and charity and his three books on the life of Jesus were

widely praised for their clarity and contribution to Catholic teaching.

But when it came to the major challenges facing the church in the real world, Benedict often appeared to carom from one crisis to the next.

He inadvertently insulted Muslims on an early trip to Germany, which resulted in riots across the Islamic world and the murder of an Italian nun in Somalia. He welcomed back a breakaway bishop who had just recorded an interview denying the facts of the Holocaust. He told reporters on the papal plane winging toward Africa that condoms had helped spread AIDS.

When the clerical sexual abuse scandal spread across Europe and exploded

at Benedict's door in 2010, Benedict met with abuse survivors and oversaw the development of new church policies to prevent abuse. But he was denounced by survivors and their advocates for never moving to discipline bishops who were caught in the cover-up.

Among the cardinals expected to vote in the conclave to elect the next pope is Roger M. Mahony of Los Angeles, whose decades of mishandling sexual abusers in the priesthood was recently exposed by the court-ordered release of thousands of internal church documents.

Even Pope Benedict's attempt to reach out with a pastoral letter to the

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### Airline Industry at Its Safest Since the Dawn of the Jet Age

By JAD MOUAWAD and CHRISTOPHER DREW

Flying on a commercial jetliner has never been safer.

It will be four years on Tuesday since the last fatal crash in the United States, a record unmatched since propeller planes gave way to the jet age more than half a century ago. Globally, last year was the safest since 1945, with 23 deadly accidents and 475 fatalities, according to the Aviation Safety Network, an accident researcher. That was less than half the 1,147 deaths, in 42 crashes, in 2000.

In the last five years, the death risk for passengers in the United States has been one in 45 million flights, according to Arnold Barnett, a professor of statistics at M.I.T. In other words, flying has

become so reliable that a traveler could fly every day for an average of 123,000 years before being in a fatal crash, he said.

There are many reasons for this remarkable development. Planes and engines have become more reliable. Advanced navigation and warning technology has sharply reduced once-common accidents like midair collisions or crashes into mountains in poor visibility.

Regulators, pilots and airlines now share much more extensive information about flying hazards, with the goal of preventing accidents rather than just reacting to them. And when crashes do occur,

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### Militant Threats Test Pentagon's Role in Africa

By ERIC SCHMITT

NIAMEY, Niger — Created five years ago to focus on training the armed forces of dozens of African nations and strengthening social, political and economic programs, the Pentagon's Africa Command now finds itself on a more urgent mission: confronting a new generation of Islamist militants who are testing the United States' resolve to fight terrorism without being drawn into a major conflict.

Some military and Congressional critics question whether the command is up to dealing with its dual mission, and some influential lawmakers warn that Africom, with its headquarters in Germany, is understaffed and poorly financed for challenges that include countering Al Qaeda's fighters in Mali, Islamic ex-



Gen. Carter F. Ham, the leader of the Africa Command.

ternists in Libya, drug traffickers in West Africa and armed rebels in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The leader of the command, Gen. Carter F. Ham, must straddle the new and the old missions, as he demonstrated one day last month when he flew to the north-

ern reaches of this largely desert nation to watch United States troops train Niger's fledgling border corps in basic skills to help combat Al Qaeda's branch in North and West Africa. Then, within hours, he was back here in the capital for an urgent secure phone call from Washington to weigh what kind of advanced military support or surveillance the Pentagon could provide a French-led operation to blunt an Islamist offensive in neighboring Mali.

"The command is searching to find the right balance between the press of current military operations and the vision of longer-term engagement, helping Africans develop greater capacity for themselves," said Christopher W. Dell, a former United States ambassador to Angola and Zimbabwe, who is General Ham's deputy.

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#### INTERNATIONAL A4-12

##### Prayers Cut Short in Jerusalem

Ten women, including two American rabbis, were detained by the Israeli police for praying at the Western Wall in traditionally male garb. PAGE A8

#### NATIONAL A13-21

##### The State of Barack Obama

As the president reads his State of the Union address, he exhibits an assertiveness in contrast to the caution he showed most of his first term. PAGE A13

#### NEW YORK A23-28

##### Expensive Homes, Left Empty

Absentee owners use apartments in many costly New York buildings as pied-à-terre, leaving year-round residents a tad lonely. PAGE A23

#### SPECIAL TODAY

##### Wealth

Advice on planning for the new tax increases, and a caution: A single-minded focus on taxes is probably not the best way to invest. SECTION F

#### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A30-31

##### David Brooks

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CHRIS MATTHEWS SPEAKING ON **HARDBALL**

## "THE BEST MOVIE OF THE YEAR!"

I'VE NEVER SEEN A MORE HEARTWARMING MOVIE ABOUT...

HOW FAMILIES REALLY DO STICK TOGETHER."

# SILVER LININGS PLAYBOOK

## U.S. Faces Fire As It Pulls Out Of Afghanistan

### Hard-Won War Gains at Risk at Outposts

By MATTHEW ROSENBERG

STRONG POINT HAJI RAHMUDDIN II, Afghanistan — When the last American soldiers to occupy this squat, lonely outpost in southern Afghanistan pulled out this week, they left the same way earlier units had arrived: ready for a fight.

They were leaving this violent patch of land outside Kandahar, the south's main city, just as Taliban fighters were filtering back in from winter havens in Pakistan. It was, as First Sgt. Jason Pitman, 35, bluntly put it, "no time to get stupid."

The Americans knew they would be most vulnerable in their final hours after taking down their surveillance and early-warning systems. The Taliban knew it, too, and intelligence reports indicated that they had been working with sympathetic villagers to strike at the departing soldiers. Two days earlier, the militants made a test run against the outpost, taking the rare step of directly engaging it in a fire-fight, albeit a brief one, soon after the first radio antennas came down.

On the same day that President Obama announced that roughly half of the American troops still in Afghanistan would withdraw this year, and that Afghan forces would begin taking the lead in the war, the smaller-scale departure from the Haji Rahmuddin II outpost was an uncelebrated milestone.

But it pointed at a harsh reality of the process: that some of the withdrawal will happen under fire in areas of the Taliban heartland where the idea of Afghan-led security remains an abstraction. With the start of the annual fighting season just weeks away, some of the hardest-won gains of

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## LAWMAKERS SET LIMITS ON POLICE IN USING DRONES

### STATES AND CITIES ACT

#### Officers Like Them, but Others Fear Spying by Government

By SOMINI SENGUPTA

They can record video images and produce heat maps. They can be used to track fleeing criminals, stranded hikers — or just as easily, political protesters. And for strapped police departments, they are more affordable than helicopters.

Drones are becoming a darling of law enforcement authorities across the country. But they have given rise to fears of government surveillance, in many cases even before they take to the skies. And that has prompted local and state lawmakers from Seattle to Tallahassee to proscribe how they can be used by police or to ground them altogether.

Although surveillance technologies have become ubiquitous in American life, like license plate readers or cameras for catching speeders, drones have evoked unusual discomfort in the public consciousness.

"To me, it's Big Brother in the sky," said Dave Norris, a city councilman in Charlottesville, Va., which this month became the first city in the country to restrict the use of drones. "I don't mean to sound conspiratorial about it, but these drones are coming, and we need to put some safeguards in place so they are not abused."

In Charlottesville, police officers are prohibited from using in criminal cases any evidence obtained by drones, also known as unmanned aerial vehicles. Never mind that the city police department does not have a drone, nor has it suggested buying one. The

Continued on Page B2

## Meteor Explodes, Injuring Over 1,000 in Siberia



TOP, AND ABOVE RIGHT, CHELYABINSK REGION POLICE DEPARTMENT; ABOVE LEFT, REUTERS

A flash lit the sky in Russia on Friday as a meteor entered the atmosphere and exploded. The blast damaged buildings in Chelyabinsk and left a 20-foot hole in the ice of a lake near Chebaku.

## Shock Wave Blows Out Windows — Children Hurt

By ELLEN BARRY  
and ANDREW E. KRAMER

MOSCOW — Gym class came to a halt inside the Chelyabinsk Railway Institute, and students gathered around the window, gazing at the fat white contrail that arced its way across the morning sky. A missile? A comet? A few quiet moments passed. And then, with incredible force, the windows blew in.

The scenes from Chelyabinsk, rocked by an intense shock wave when a meteor hit the Earth's atmosphere Friday morning, offer a glimpse of an apocalyptic scenario that many have walked through mentally, and Hollywood has popularized, but scientists say has never before injured so many people.

Students at the institute crammed through a staircase thickly blanketed with glass out to the street, where hundreds stood in awe, looking at the sky. The flash came in blinding white, so bright that the vivid shadows of buildings slid swiftly and sickeningly across the ground. It burst yellow, then orange. And then there was the sound of frightened, confused people.

Around 1,200 people, 200 of them children, were injured, mostly by glass that exploded into schools and workplaces, according to Russia's Interior Ministry. Others suffered skull trauma and broken bones. No deaths were reported. A city administrator in Chelyabinsk said that more than a million square feet of glass shattered, leaving many buildings exposed to icy cold.

And as scientists tried to piece together the chain of events that led to Friday's disaster — on the very day a small asteroid passed

Continued on Page A8

UNUSUAL EVENT The scale of the explosion was very rare. PAGE A8

## Texas Senator Goes on Attack And Raises Bipartisan Hackles

By JONATHAN WEISMAN

WASHINGTON — As the Senate edged toward a divisive filibuster vote on Chuck Hagel's nomination to be defense secretary, Senator Ted Cruz, Republican of Texas, sat silent and satisfied in the corner of the chamber — his voice lost to laryngitis — as he absorbed what he had wrought in his mere seven weeks of Senate service.

Mr. Hagel, a former senator from Mr. Cruz's own party, was about to be the victim of the first filibuster of a nominee to lead the Pentagon. The blockade was due in no small part to the very junior senator's relentless pursuit of speeches, financial records or any other documents with Mr. Hagel's name on them going back at least five years. Some Republicans praised the work of the brash newcomer, but others joined Democrats in saying that Mr. Cruz had gone too far.

Without naming names, Senator Barbara Boxer, Democrat of California, offered a biting label for the Texan's accusatory crusade: McCarthyism.

"It was really reminiscent of a different time and place, when you said, 'I have here in my pocket a speech you made on such and such a date,' and, of course, nothing was in the pocket," she said, a reference to Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's pursuit of Communists in the 1950s. "It was reminiscent of some bad times."

In just two months, Mr. Cruz, 42, has made his presence felt in an institution where new arrivals

are usually not heard from for months, if not years. Besides suggesting that Mr. Hagel might have received compensation from foreign enemies, he has tangled with the mayor of Chicago, challenged the Senate's third-ranking Democrat on national television, voted against virtually everything before him — including the confirmation of John Kerry as secretary of state — and

Continued on Page A3

## Good Fit for Today's Little Screens: Short Stories

By LESLIE KAUFMAN

The Internet may be disrupting much of the book industry, but for short-story writers it has been a good thing.

Story collections, an often underappreciated literary cousin of novels, are experiencing a resurgence, driven by a proliferation of digital options that offer not only new creative opportunities but exposure and revenue as well.

Already, 2013 has yielded an unusually rich crop of short-story collections, including George Saunders's "Tenth of December," which arrived in January with a

media splash normally reserved for Hollywood movies and moved quickly onto the best-seller lists. Tellingly, many of the current and forthcoming collections are not from authors like Mr. Saunders, who have always preferred short stories, but from best-selling novelists like Tom Perrotta, who are returning to the form.

Recent and imminent releases include "Vampires in the Lemon Grove," by Karen Russell, whose 2011 novel, "Swamplandia," was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize; "Damage Control," a first collection by Amber Dermont, whose novel "The Starboard Sea" was a best seller in 2012;

and another first story collection, "We Live in Water," by Jess Walter, just off his best-selling novel "Beautiful Ruins" (2012).

"It is the culmination of a trend we have seen building for five years," said Cal Morgan, the editorial director of Harper Perennial Originals, who until last year ran a blog called Fifty-Two Stories, devoted to short fiction. "The Internet has made people a lot more open to reading story forms that are different from the novel, and you see a generation of writers very engaged in experimentation."

In recent decades the traditional outlets for individual short stories have dwindled, with literary magazines closing or shrinking. But the Internet has created an insatiable maw to feed.

Amazon, for instance, created its Kindle Singles program in 2011 for publishing short fiction and nonfiction brief enough to be read in under two hours. Although the list price is usually modest, a dollar or two, authors keep up to 70 percent of the royalties: welcome revenue for fledgling authors and a potentially big payoff for well-known writers.

In addition, a group of smaller Internet publishers, like Byliner, are snapping up short fiction and gaining traction as distributors of stories. And the shorter format, writers say, is a good fit for the small screens that people are increasingly using to read.

"The single-serving quality of a short narrative is the perfect art form for the digital age," said Ms. Dermont, whose collection is due out next month. "Stories are models of concision, can be read in one sitting, and are infinitely

Continued on Page A3

## In Mayoral Win, Bus Drivers End School Walkout

By AL BAKER

The main union for New York City's school bus drivers ended its monthlong strike Friday, handing a victory to the Bloomberg administration, which had refused to give in to the union's demands for job protections.

Considering the toll the strike had taken on drivers, who spent the past four weeks picketing in freezing weather while losing income and health benefits, officials of the union, Local 1181 of the Amalgamated Transit Union, said they would try their luck with the next mayor. Several of the Democratic mayoral candidates have said they would favor the job protections.

"This fight is far from over," said Local 1181's president, Michael Cordiello, as he delivered the news to drivers in a conference call Friday night. "We will continue to keep political pressure on the politicians, notably the still current mayor, but politicians in the future to make sure they stay up-to-date on our issues and also to go to Albany to work on some legislation if we can do that."

All buses will be rolling when public schools resume classes on Wednesday next week, which was originally a holiday week but was changed because of school days lost to Hurricane Sandy.

The strike affected more than 100,000 students, tens of thousands of them children with spe-

Continued on Page A20



VENEZUELAN MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, VIA REUTERS

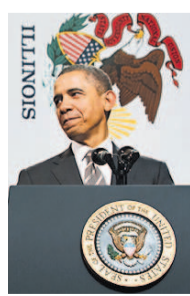
### Putting Out a Positive Face

President Hugo Chávez of Venezuela and daughters María Gabriela, left, and Rosa Virginia in a widely distributed photo reportedly taken in Havana, where he had cancer surgery. Page A4.

#### NATIONAL A13-15

### A Policy Talk Turns Personal

President Obama, in Chicago to promote anti-poverty initiatives, also talked about his own life, as well as the problem of gun violence. PAGE A14



### Actress Weighs Political Role

The prospect of Ashley Judd, frankly liberal movie star and Kentucky native, challenging Mitch McConnell for his Senate seat has already made her the target of a Republican PAC. PAGE A13

#### NATIONAL

### Jesse Jackson Jr. Is Charged

Accused of taking campaign funds for personal use, including the purchase of memorabilia and furs, the former congressman apologized. PAGE A13

#### BUSINESS DAY B1-7

### Fallout From Insider Inquiry

Clients of SAC Capital, a hedge fund caught in an insider trading inquiry, are withdrawing \$1.7 billion. PAGE B1

### The Rich Got Richer

Incomes rose 11 percent in 2010 and 2011 for the top 1 percent of earners, but fell 0.4 percent for everyone else. PAGE B1

#### SPORTSSATURDAY D1-7

### Armstrong's Lasting Mark

Some supporters of Lance Armstrong's Livestrong charity bear permanent signs of their commitment. PAGE D1



#### INTERNATIONAL A4-12

### Amazon Workers Claim Abuse

Amazon will investigate claims that guards intimidated immigrant workers at a center in Germany. PAGE A10

#### NEW YORK A16-17, 20

### Cooper Union's Tuition Bind

The college's tradition of free tuition may end, upsetting many, with some criticizing the expense of a daring building finished in 2009. PAGE A16

#### ARTS C1-10

### A Classic, Revisited

Cherry Jones stars in the revival of Tennessee Williams's "Glass Menagerie" by the American Repertory Theater. Ben Brantley reviews. PAGE C1

#### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

### Gail Collins

PAGE A19

#### THIS WEEKEND

### Pure Style

The spring women's fashion issue profiles two paragons of style, the very private Lee Radziwill and the designer Azzedine Alaïa.



T: THE TIMES STYLE MAGAZINE





ABOVE, CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES; BELOW, RYAN PYLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Above, Wu Caoying studied English under her father's watchful eye in 2006. Now 19, below, she is in college in Xi'an.

## In China, Betting It All on a Child in College

### Poor Families' Future, and Old-Age Security, Hinge on Degree

By KEITH BRADSHER

HANJING, China — Wu Yiebing has been going down coal shafts practically every workday of his life, wrestling an electric drill for \$500 a month in the choking dust of claustrophobic tunnels, with one goal in mind: paying for his daughter's education.

His wife, Cao Weiping, toils from dawn to sunset in orchards every day during apple season in May and June. She earns \$12 a day tying little plastic bags one at a time around 3,000 young apples on trees, to protect them from insects. The rest of the year she works as a substitute store clerk, earning several dollars a day, all going toward their daughter's education.

Many families in the West sacrifice to put their children through school, saving for college educations that they hope will lead to a better life. Few efforts can compare with the heavy financial burden that millions of lower-income Chinese parents now endure as they push their children to obtain as much education as possible.

Yet a college degree no longer ensures a well-paying job, because the number of



THE EDUCATION REVOLUTION  
A Generation's Sacrifice

graduates in China has quadrupled in the last decade.

Mr. Wu and Mrs. Cao, who grew up in tiny villages in western China and became migrants in search of better-paying work, have scrimped their entire lives. For nearly two decades, they have lived in a

cramped and drafty 200-square-foot house with a thatch roof. They have never owned a car. They do not take vacations — they have never seen the ocean. They have skipped traditional New Year trips to their ancestral village for up to five straight years to save on bus fares and gifts, and for Mr. Wu to earn extra holiday pay in the mines. Despite their frugality, they have essentially no retirement savings.

Thanks to these sacrifices, their daughter, Wu Caoying, is now a 19-year-old college sophomore. She is among the growing millions of Chinese college students who have gone much farther than their parents could have dreamed when they were growing up. For all the hard work of Ms. Wu's father and mother, however, they aren't certain it will pay off. Their daughter is ambivalent about staying in school, where the tuition, room and board cost more than half her parents' combined annual income. A slightly above-average student, she thinks of dropping out, finding a job and earning money.

"Every time my daughter calls home, Continued on Page 14

## Pope Electors Are Sizing Up A Field of Peers

### Subtle Politics as Vote by Cardinals Nears

By LAURIE GOODSTEIN

There is no formal nominating process for choosing the man to succeed Pope Benedict XVI, and campaigning for oneself is counterproductive. But the cardinals who will file into the Sistine Chapel next month to elect a new leader of the Roman Catholic Church have been quietly sizing up potential candidates for years.

They were impressed when the young soon-to-be-cardinal of Manila, Luis Antonio Tagle, told bishops gathered for a momentous synod in Rome last October that the church should listen more and admit its mistakes. They took note a year ago when Archbishop Timothy M. Dolan of New York delivered a winning address on evangelization to the College of Cardinals, the day before the pope gave him the red hat of a cardinal.

They deemed Cardinal Marc Ouellet a gracious host on their visits to the Vatican, where he guides the selection of bishops, but some said he practically put the crowd to sleep during his talk at the International Eucharistic Congress last June in Dublin.

These impressions, collected from interviews with a variety of church officials and experts, may influence the very intuitive, often unpredictable process the cardinals will use to decide who should lead the world's largest church.

The cardinals will gather on March 1, one day after Benedict steps down and departs for Castel Gandolfo, the papal summer home in the hills outside Rome. The cardinals will meet every morning to discuss where the church is headed and, over lunches and dinners, take the measure of one another's characters, talents and experiences, based on personal relationships and observations. But undoubtedly they will also consider geography, doctrinal approach and style.

By the time the 117 cardinal electors enter the conclave to choose the next pope, they must be ready to vote.

According to church rules, the conclave could begin on March 15, but the Vatican spokesman said Saturday that it may start even earlier. The cardinals, eager to finish the process by Palm Sunday on March 24, could reinterpret the mandatory 15-day waiting period, the spokesman, Continued on Page 4

## CUOMO BUCKS TIDE WITH BILL TO EASE ABORTION LIMITS

### LATE-TERM PROCEDURES

#### Would Alter Law as Part of a Larger Push on Women's Rights

By THOMAS KAPLAN

ALBANY — Bucking a trend in which states have been seeking to restrict abortion, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo is putting the finishing touches on legislation that would guarantee women in New York the right to late-term abortions when their health is in danger or the fetus is not viable.

Mr. Cuomo, seeking to deliver on a promise he made in his recent State of the State address, would rewrite a law that currently allows abortions after 24 weeks of pregnancy only if the pregnant woman's life is at risk. The law is not enforced, because it is superseded by federal court rulings that allow late-term abortions to protect a woman's health, even if her life is not in jeopardy. But abortion rights advocates say the existence of the more restrictive state law has a chilling effect on some doctors and prompts some women to leave the state for late-term abortions.

Mr. Cuomo's proposal, which has not yet been made public, would also clarify that licensed health care practitioners, and not only physicians, can perform abortions. It would remove abortion from the state's penal law and regulate it through the state's public health law.

Abortion rights advocates have welcomed Mr. Cuomo's plan, which he outlined in general terms as part of a broader package of women's rights initiatives in his State of the State address in January. But the Roman Catholic Church and anti-abortion groups are dismayed; opponents have labeled the legislation the Abortion Expansion Act.

The prospects for Mr. Cuomo's effort are uncertain. The State Assembly is controlled by Democrats who support abortion rights; the Senate is more difficult to predict because this year it is controlled by a coalition of Republicans who have tended to oppose new abortion rights laws and breakaway Democrats who support abortion rights.

New York legalized abortion in 1970, three years before it was legalized nationally by the Supreme Court in Roe v. Wade. Mr. Continued on Page 22

## Vindication for Entrepreneurs Watching Sky: Yes, It Can Fall

By WILLIAM J. BROAD

For decades, scientists have been on the lookout for killer objects from outer space that could devastate the planet. But warnings that they lacked the tools to detect the most serious threats were largely ignored, even as skeptics mocked the worriers as Chicken Littles.

No more. The meteor that rattled Siberia on Friday, injuring hundreds of people and traumatizing thousands, has suddenly brought new life to efforts to deploy adequate detection tools, in particular a space telescope that would scan the solar system for dangers.

A group of young Silicon Valley entrepreneurs who helped build

thriving companies like eBay, Google and Facebook has already put millions of dollars into the effort and saw Friday's shock wave as a turning point in raising hundreds of millions more.

"Wouldn't it be silly if we got wiped out because we weren't looking?" said Edward Lu, a former NASA astronaut and Google executive who leads the detection effort. "This is a wake-up call from space. We've got to pay attention to what's out there."

Astronomers know of no asteroids or comets that pose a major threat to the planet. But NASA estimates that fewer than 10 percent of the big dangers have been discovered.

Dr. Lu's group, called the B612 Foundation after the imaginary asteroid on which the Little Prince lived, is one team of several pursuing ways to ward off extraterrestrial threats. NASA is another, and other private groups Continued on Page 21

## Inquiry on Menendez's Influence Was Powered by Partisan Players

By ERIC LIPTON

FALLS CHURCH, Va. — Sandwiched between two doctors' offices at a roadside plaza here is the headquarters of a small team of veteran Republican investigators, operating almost as a private detective squad, who since late last year have had a determined goal: bringing down Senator Robert Menendez, Democrat of New Jersey.

"We've never sent a Democrat to jail," said Ken Boehm, the chairman of the group, the National Legal and Policy Center, as he looked up from a table filled with his Menendez files and engaged in what was to him a bit of wishful thinking.

To Mr. Menendez and his staff, the work going on at this suburban Washington office suite, paid for by donations from prominent Republicans nationwide, is proof that the news media frenzy focusing on his actions to help a Florida eye doctor is at least in part a political smear.

But the results have been troubling revelations. Those documented by The New York Times, The Washington Post and other newspapers involve serious accusations of favoritism by the senator.

In recent weeks, Mr. Menendez has acknowledged intervening with at least four federal agencies — including the Departments of State and Health and Human Services — in ways that stood to benefit his friend and campaign contributor Dr. Salomon E. Melgen, who is under investigation by federal authorities for possible Medicare fraud.

But the way Mr. Menendez first came under broader scrutiny, at a minimum, illustrates the often-hidden role that partisan players have in helping push the major news media to dig into ethical allegations lodged against sitting members of Congress.

The inquiry began with an in- Continued on Page 22



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

## Deadly Attack in Pakistan

A bomb killed scores of people on Saturday at a market in Quetta, Pakistan, in a Shiite minority neighborhood. Page 10.

### INTERNATIONAL 4-17

#### New Drive for Taliban Talks

A campaign is being mounted to bring Afghans and the Taliban together to negotiate a peace deal, yet so far the effort is said to have achieved little. PAGE 6

#### A Vow on Currency Rates

Leaders from the Group of 20, meeting in Moscow, pledged to let the markets set currency values and not set rates to gain a competitive edge. PAGE 4

### NATIONAL 18-23

#### Immigration in California

Latinos are now the largest ethnic group in California, and that has led state politicians to take a softer approach on immigration. PAGE 18

### SPORTSSUNDAY

#### Phenoms Large and Small

Jahlil Okafor is 6 feet 11 inches and 270 pounds at age 17. Julian Newman, 11, is 4-foot-5 and 70 pounds. Both are standouts in basketball. PAGE 1

### OPINION IN SUNDAY REVIEW

#### Maureen Dowd

PAGE 11



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## A New Pope, From the Americas

### Choice of Francis, 76, of Argentina, Shifts Church Center of Gravity



ALESSANDRO BIANCHI/REUTERS

Pope Francis appeared on the balcony of St. Peter's Basilica shortly after being chosen to lead the Roman Catholic Church.

By LAURIE GOODSTEIN

ROME — The surprise selection on Wednesday of an Argentine, Cardinal Jorge Mario Bergoglio, as the new pope shifted the gravity of the Roman Catholic Church from Europe to Latin America in one fell swoop, and served as an emphatic salute to the growing power of Latinos across the Americas.

The new pope took the name Francis and is the 266th pontiff of the church. He is the first pope from Latin America, and the first member of the Jesuit order to lead the church.

"I would like to thank you for your embrace," the new pope, dressed in white, said in Italian from the balcony on St. Peter's Basilica as thousands cheered joyously below. "My brother cardinals have chosen one who is from far away, but here I am."

The selection electrified Latinos from Los Angeles to Buenos Aires, and raised the hopes especially of those in Latin America, where 4 of every 10 of the world's Catholics now live.

But the choice also may provide a strategic boost to the church in the United States, where its following would have lost ground in recent decades were it not for the influx of Latino immigrants, who have increasingly asserted themselves as a cultural and political force, and played a critical role in President Obama's re-election.

The significance of the choice was not lost on church leaders. "It's been more than 500 years since the first evangelization, and this is the first time that there is a pope from Latin America," said Archbishop Jose Gomez of Los Angeles, who is originally from Mexico.

"It's a huge role that we never had before," he said.

The new pope, known for his simple, pastoral ways and his connection to the poor, is in some ways a contrast to his predecessor, Benedict XVI, an aloof theologian who resigned the office — the first pope to do so in 598 years — saying he no longer felt up to the rigors of the job.

But Francis shares Benedict's core doctrinal positions and is not considered likely to push changes in positions like the church's ban on the ordination of women as priests or its strict opposition to abortion and gay marriage.

The choice of Francis, who is 76, also defied some predictions that the 115 cardinals would opt for a young pope who could energize the church at a time when it faces a shortage of priests, growing competition from evangelical churches in the Southern Hemisphere, a sexual abuse crisis that has undermined the church's moral authority in the West and difficulties governing the Vatican

Continued on Page A15

#### NEWS ANALYSIS

### For Outsider, Big Challenge

#### Changing Vatican Ways Is a Tough Pastoral Task

By RACHEL DONADIO

VATICAN CITY — By choosing the first pope from the New World, the cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church sent a strong message of change: that the future of the church lies in the global south, and that a scholar with a common touch may be its best choice to inspire the faithful.

But it was not yet clear whether that mandate will extend to the Vatican, whether Cardinal Jorge Mario Bergoglio, who became Pope Francis on Wednesday, will display the mettle to tackle the organizational dysfunction and corruption that plagued the eight-year papacy of Pope Benedict XVI. Cardinal Bergoglio never spent time here dealing with the bureaucracy, the Curia, and after he finished second to Benedict in the 2005 voting, he expressed relief at not having to face that prospect.

"In the Curia I would die," he said in a later interview with the Italian news media. "My life is in Buenos Aires. Without the people of my diocese, without their problems, I feel something lacking every day."

In many ways, Cardinal Bergoglio  
Continued on Page A14

### DEAL ON BUDGET SEEMS IN DOUBT

#### Obama-G.O.P. Meeting Reveals a Deep Split

By JEREMY W. PETERS and ASHLEY PARKER

WASHINGTON — President Obama's meeting with a restive and resistant House Republican majority on Wednesday underscored their deep divisions over fiscal policy as both sides acknowledged that an overarching budget compromise was in doubt despite a new push by the White House.

One day after Republicans rolled out a detailed proposal aimed at eliminating the federal deficit through steep cuts and repealing many of the president's accomplishments, Mr. Obama told them pointedly in a rare visit that their highest fiscal priority was not his.

"Our biggest problems in the next 10 years are not deficits," the president said, according to accounts from the meeting, bluntly rejecting an idea that has become Republican fiscal dogma.

That left many Republicans, who are resisting the president's calls to close tax loopholes that benefit the wealthy, wondering where they could find room for compromise.

"Well, he doesn't want to balance the budget in 10 years, and he wants tax increases, and he wants new spending," Representative Darrell Issa of California said as he left the meeting early. "But other than that, we're close."

The hourlong discussion at the Capitol, and the release of a new budget by Senate Democrats on Wednesday that adds \$100 billion in new stimulus spending and would impose higher taxes on large corporations and wealthy Americans, illustrated anew just how difficult it will be to resolve the issues that have split the Congress.

Continued on Page A22

#### MAN IN THE NEWS JORGE MARIO BERGOGLIO

### A Conservative With a Common Touch

By EMILY SCHMALL and LARRY ROHTER

BUENOS AIRES — Like most of those in Argentina, he is a soccer fan, his favorite team being the underdog San Lorenzo squad. Known for his outreach to the country's poor, he gave up a palace for a small apartment, rode public transportation instead of a chauffeur-driven car and cooked his own meals.

The new pope, Jorge Mario Bergoglio (pronounced BERGOAL-io), 76, will be called Francis. Chosen Wednesday by a gathering of Roman Catholic cardinals, he is in some ways a history-making pontiff, the first from the Jesuit order and the first pope from Latin America.

But Cardinal Bergoglio is also a conventional choice, a theological conservative of Italian ancestry who vigorously backs Vatican positions on abortion, gay marriage, the ordination of women and other major issues — leading to heated clashes with Argentina's left-leaning president.

He was less energetic, however, when it came to standing up to Argentina's military dictatorship during the 1970s as the country

was consumed by a conflict between right and left that became known as the Dirty War. He has been accused of knowing about abuses and failing to do enough to stop them while as many as 30,000 people were disappeared, tortured or killed by the dictatorship.

Despite the criticism, many here praise Cardinal Bergoglio — who likes the more humble title of Father Jorge — as a passionate

defender of the poor and disenfranchised.

In 2001 he surprised the staff of Muñiz Hospital in Buenos Aires, asking for a jar of water, which he used to wash the feet of 12 patients hospitalized with complications from the virus that causes AIDS. He then kissed their feet, telling reporters that "society forgets the sick and the poor." More

Continued on Page A15



VICTOR R. CAIVANO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Paola La Rocca celebrated in Buenos Aires after hearing that her archbishop was chosen pope.

### At NBC, a Struggle to Revive the Morning Magic

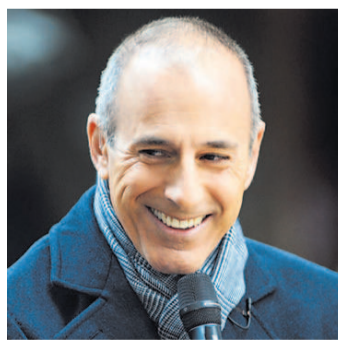
By BRIAN STELTER

Staff members at NBC's "Today" show huddled for a performance review last month, 10 months after the longtime morning show leader first fell behind ABC's "Good Morning America" in the ratings. The mood was anxious, according to several attendees, as network executives discussed the findings from focus groups with hundreds of viewers.

The employees were reassured that "Today" viewers didn't want their show to turn into "Good Morning America," the ABC rival that has become Americans' No. 1 choice in the mornings. But then they were told this: "What matters most is the anchor connection to the audience; what we need to work on is the connection." As the word "connection"

was repeated, some people in the room started to chuckle because of a name that went unspoken: Matt Lauer.

"What they meant was Matt. But no one would say it," said a senior staff member who, like the others, spoke on condition of anonymity.



SLAVEN VLASIC/GETTY IMAGES

Matt Lauer, the "Today" host.

Mr. Lauer was not there, but it is clear that the once-popular host's relationship with his audience is in peril. Last April, Mr. Lauer signed a contract said to be worth \$25 million a year, the most lucrative deal in the 60-year history of morning television. And then the bottom fell out.

The following week, "Today" fell to second place in the morning ratings for the first time in 16 years. When his co-host, Ann Curry, was forced out over the summer, it was Mr. Lauer and not network executives who shouldered most of the blame.

Since then, his popularity among viewers has plummeted and NBC has been forced to deny what was unthinkable a year ago: the rumor that Mr. Lauer, 55, who first took over the co-host chair in 1997, could soon be re-

Continued on Page A3

### F.D.A. Plans to Loosen Rules On Alzheimer's Drug Approval

By GINA KOLATA

The Food and Drug Administration plans to loosen the rules for approving new treatments for Alzheimer's disease.

Drugs in clinical trial would qualify for approval if people at very early stages of the disease subtly improved their performance on memory or reasoning tests, even before they developed any obvious impairments. Companies would not have to show that the drugs improved daily, real-world functioning.

For more than a decade, the only way to get Alzheimer's drugs to market was with studies showing that they improved the ability of patients not only to

think and remember, but also to function day to day at activities like feeding, dressing or bathing themselves.

The proposal, published online Wednesday in The New England Journal of Medicine, could help millions of people at risk of developing the disease by speeding the development and approval of drugs that might slow or prevent it.

The proposed policy could also be a boon for the pharmaceutical industry and researchers. They have often felt stymied by regulations that left them uncertain of how to get drugs tested and approved.

Continued on Page A20

#### NATIONAL A16-27

### What Oversight Looks Like

Detroit can view Pontiac, Mich., to sample emergency management. PAGE A16

### Senators Hear of Sex Assaults

Rebekah Havrilla spoke to Maj. Gen. Gary Patton after telling a Senate panel about being raped in the Army. PAGE A24



#### INTERNATIONAL A4-15

### Troops Put on Afghan Alert

The American commander in Afghanistan warned that statements by President Hamid Karzai had put Western forces at greater risk of attack. PAGE A4

### Obama's Israel Itinerary

In a land so freighted with symbolism, any place the president chooses to visit, or not visit, can strike a nerve. PAGE A12

#### NEW YORK A29-33

### Tension After Police Shooting

The tension between police officers and residents of a Brooklyn neighborhood remained as an autopsy revealed seven bullets had hit the 16-year-old. PAGE A29

#### BUSINESS DAY B1-11

### Google's Repentance

After settling a case involving its Street View project, Google is emphasizing its concern for people's privacy. PAGE B1

#### SPORTSTHURSDAY B12-17

### The Upbeat Commissioner

Mike Aresco, the commissioner of what's left of the Big East, has no choice but to keep a sunny demeanor. PAGE B12

#### THURSDAY STYLES E1-12

### Where Art Is the Party

The Hole aims to be the downtown gallery in Manhattan where the cool kids hang out. PAGE E1

#### ARTS C1-8

### French Poetry in Air and Iron

The 19th-century French architect Henri Labrousse is the subject of a show at the Museum of Modern Art that casts him as a radical reinventor of public spaces, like his Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, below. A review by Michael Kimmelman. PAGE C1



#### HOME D1-10

### Standoff on the Night Stand

With the increasing popularity of electronics and other paraphernalia, there is hardly an empty square inch left on the modern night stand. Designers and manufacturers are getting creative, with trays and caddies, hidden storage and accommodations for power cords. PAGE D1

#### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A34-35

### Gail Collins

PAGE A35



## DISPUTE ON SPAM STIRS BIG ASSAULT ON THE INTERNET

### SERVERS ARE SWAMPED

Flaw in Web Exploited — Millions of Users Endure Delays

By JOHN MARKOFF and NICOLE PERLROTH

A squabble between a group fighting spam and a Dutch company that hosts Web sites said to be sending spam has escalated into one of the largest computer attacks on the Internet, causing widespread congestion and jamming crucial infrastructure around the world.

Millions of ordinary Internet users have experienced delays in services like Netflix or could not reach a particular Web site for a short time.

However, for the Internet engineers who run the global network the problem is more worrisome. The attacks are becoming increasingly powerful, and computer security experts worry that if they continue to escalate people may not be able to reach basic Internet services, like e-mail and online banking.

The dispute started when the spam-fighting group, called Spamhaus, added the Dutch company Cyberbunker to its blacklist, which is used by e-mail providers to weed out spam. Cyberbunker, named for its headquarters, a five-story former NATO bunker, offers hosting services to any Web site “except child porn and anything related to terrorism,” according to its Web site.

A spokesman for Spamhaus, which is based in Europe, said the attacks began on March 19, but had not stopped the group from distributing its blacklist.

Patrick Gilmore, chief architect at Akamai Networks, a digital content provider, said Spamhaus’s role was to generate a list of Internet spammers.

Of Cyberbunker, he added: “These guys are just mad. To be frank, they got caught. They think they should be allowed to spam.”

Mr. Gilmore said that the attacks, which are generated by swarms of computers called botnets, concentrate data streams

Continued on Page A3

## Justices Say Time May Be Wrong for Ruling on Gay Marriage

Six members of the Supreme Court expressed doubts about whether an appeal brought by supporters of Proposition 8, California’s ban on same-sex marriage, was properly before them.



*‘How does it create an injury to them separate from that of every other taxpayer to have laws enforced?’*

JUSTICE SONIA SOTOMAYOR



*‘Have we ever granted standing to proponents of ballot initiatives?’*

JUSTICE RUTH BADER GINSBURG

*‘Could the state assign to any citizen the rights to defend a judgment of this kind?’*

JUSTICE ELENA KAGAN



*‘They are really no more than a group of five people who feel really strongly that we should vindicate this public interest.’*

JUSTICE STEPHEN G. BREYER



*‘A state can’t authorize anyone to proceed in federal court, because that would leave the definition under Article III of the federal Constitution as to who has standing to bring claims up to each state. And I don’t think we’ve ever allowed anything like that.’*

CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN G. ROBERTS JR.



*‘I just wonder if the case was properly granted.’*

JUSTICE ANTHONY M. KENNEDY

## Good Friends, Same Party but Legal Opponents

By SCOTT SHANE

WASHINGTON — In the conference room at the Justice Department’s august Office of Legal Counsel, portraits of Theodore B. Olson and Charles J. Cooper hang side by side. Both men headed the office under President Ronald Reagan in the 1980s, with Mr. Cooper succeeding Mr. Olson. Both went on to stellar legal careers on the conservative side of Washington’s divided political universe.

On Tuesday, however, they faced off before the Supreme Court on opposite sides of a historic case that could remake the American legal and social landscape. Mr. Olson argued for and Mr. Cooper argued against revising the law’s definition of marriage to accommodate gay and lesbian couples. It was a confrontation that their colleagues in the conservative bar never would have predicted before 2009, when Mr. Olson shocked some friends by teaming up with David Boies,



Theodore Olson, left, and Charles Cooper, on opposite sides.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY STEPHEN CROWLEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

a prominent liberal, to challenge California’s Proposition 8 ballot initiative outlawing same-sex marriage.

The nine justices, as is customary, barraged Mr. Olson and Mr. Cooper with questions so fast and varied that neither man had a chance to show off his oratorical skills. But some lawyers who know them both said they found their encounter a tribute to legal advocacy, which even in Washington can sometimes trump par-

ty affiliation.

“It really made me proud to be a lawyer in the United States to see Chuck and Ted — good friends from the same political party — duking it out up there today,” said Theodore J. Boutros Jr., a lawyer with long Washington experience who is on Mr. Olson’s legal team in the marriage case but has litigated alongside Mr. Cooper in the past. “This is the way to decide legal issues.”

Continued on Page A15

## Court Strains to Find Middle Ground on Challenge to California’s Ban

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — As the Supreme Court on Tuesday weighed the momentous question of whether gay and lesbian couples have a constitutional right to marry, six justices questioned whether the case, arising from a California ban on same-sex marriages, was properly before the court and indicated that they might vote to dismiss it.

“I just wonder if the case was properly granted,” said Justice Anthony M. Kennedy, who probably holds the decisive vote, in a comment that showed a court torn over whether this was the right time and right case for a decision on a fast-moving social issue.

Justice Sonia Sotomayor seemed to share that concern. “If the issue is letting the states experiment and letting the society have more time to figure out its direction,” she said, “why is taking a case now the answer?”

Those justices and others seemed driven to that conclusion by an argument in which no attractive middle ground emerged on the substance of the question before them: whether voters in California were entitled to enact Proposition 8, which overturned a State Supreme Court decision allowing same-sex marriage.

Justices who appeared sympathetic to same-sex marriage indicated that there was no principled way to issue a ruling that could apply only in California or only in the nine states that have robust civil union or domestic partnership laws but withhold the word “marriage.”

That appeared to leave the court with an all-or-nothing choice on the merits: either a ruling that would require same-sex marriage in all 50 states or one that would say that all states may

Continued on Page A14

HERSCHEL SCHACTER, 1917-2013

## Rabbi Who Cried to the Jews Of Buchenwald: ‘You Are Free’

By MARGALIT FOX

The smoke was still rising as Rabbi Herschel Schacter rode through the gates of Buchenwald.

It was April 11, 1945, and Gen. George S. Patton’s Third Army had liberated the concentration camp scarcely an hour before. Rabbi Schacter, who was attached to the Third Army’s VIII Corps, was the first Jewish chaplain to enter in its wake.

That morning, after learning that Patton’s forward tanks had arrived at the camp, Rabbi Schacter, who died in the Riverdale section of the Bronx on Thursday at 95 after a career as one of the most prominent Modern Orthodox rabbis in the United States, commandeered a jeep and driver. He left headquarters and sped toward Buchenwald.

By late afternoon, when the rabbi drove through the gates, Allied tanks had breached the camp. He remembered, he later said, the sting of smoke in his eyes, the smell of burning flesh and the hundreds of bodies



Rabbi Herschel Schacter in a Bronx synagogue in 1999.

strewn everywhere.

He would remain at Buchenwald for months, tending to survivors, leading religious services in a former Nazi recreation hall and eventually helping to resettle thousands of Jews.

For his work, Rabbi Schacter was singled out by name on Friday by Yisrael Meir Lau, the former Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Israel

Continued on Page A17

## Shore Rebuilding, Renters Go South for Summer

By KATE ZERNIKE

ORTLEY BEACH, N.J. — In a typical summer, Terriann and Joseph LoVerde’s rental here makes for a listing a real estate broker called a real moneymaker.

A block from the beach! Walk to town! Two units and a cottage in back — bring the extended family!

This year, they would have to include a few caveats: Hurricane Sandy wiped out walls and windows, after washing away three houses between the LoVerdes’ and the beach.

Here in the heart of the Jersey Shore, the warmer days of spring hint at the promise of summer: Ice cream at the Music Man, breakfasts at the Sunny Hunny. But roofs that were swept off by the storm still rest beside the main street. Beaches have been shortened by 30 or 40 feet, leaving no promise that one’s favorite spot to lay down a towel can still be found.

Houses like the LoVerdes’ are not available, and renters are staying away even from homes that are rentable, fearing that things look far bleaker now than they do in the sun-baked memories of summers past.



JESSICA KOURKOUNIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

In Lavallette, N.J., repairs to homes, the boardwalk and the beach, all damaged during Hurricane Sandy, are continuing.

“Putting myself in their shoes, I’d be thinking, why would I go there?” Mrs. LoVerde said.

A state report on tourism released last week called it the \$22 billion question: Will the shore be ready for summer? Rentals are the key to that, and to the shore economy, which in turn generates half of the state’s \$40 billion tourist market. With fewer renters, restaurants and stores do not see as much business, cannot

hire as many people, or generate as much tax revenue for a state already suffering from losses to the property base.

Two months before Memorial Day, at a time when many properties would already be fully booked for summer, people along this stretch of the coast have some idea where the absentees have gone. In the southern end of the state, where the storm caused

Continued on Page A21

## New Laws Ban Most Abortions In North Dakota

By JOHN ELIGON and ERIK ECKHOLM

FARGO, N.D. — Gov. Jack Dalrymple of North Dakota approved the nation’s toughest abortion restrictions on Tuesday, signing into law a measure that would ban nearly all abortions and inviting a legal showdown over just how much states can limit access to the procedure.

Mr. Dalrymple, a Republican, signed three bills passed by the Republican-controlled Legislature in Bismarck. The most far-reaching law forbids abortion once a fetal heartbeat is “detectable,” which can be as early as six weeks into a pregnancy. Fetal heartbeats are detectable at that stage of pregnancy using a transvaginal ultrasound.

Most legal scholars have said the law would violate the Supreme Court’s finding in Roe v. Wade that abortions were permitted until the fetus was viable outside the womb, generally around 24 weeks. Even some

Continued on Page A12



NATIONAL A11-16

### Struggle Over Water

In New Mexico, a threat by farmers to use a drastic measure to assert their water rights has thrown a spotlight on the political impact of the droughts that are becoming the new normal in many parts of the West.

PAGE A11

NATIONAL

### Woman to Lead Secret Service

Julia A. Pierson will be the first woman to head the agency best known for protecting the president.

PAGE A13

NEW YORK A18-21, 24

### Officers Detail Street Stops

At a trial over street stops, three officers who used them prolifically discuss, in court papers, their work and what they consider suspicious behavior.

PAGE A19

### Quinn in Talks Over Sick Pay

The Council speaker, changing course, is said to be in negotiations on a bill requiring compensated leave.

PAGE A18

BUSINESS DAY B1-9

### A Hedge Fund Mogul’s Taste

Steven A. Cohen looms large on the world art scene even as he fights to contain fallout from an insider trading inquiry at his firm. His latest deal: buying a Picasso, “Le Rêve,” reportedly for \$155 million.

PAGE B1

### A Bank Falls Out of Favor

JPMorgan Chase, once favored by regulators, finds itself increasingly in Washington’s cross hairs.

PAGE B1

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

### Development Bank Planned

A group of five emerging world economic powers, meeting for the first time in Africa, is creating a development bank to challenge larger rivals.

PAGE A4

ARTS C1-8

### Where Bullies Are Popular

Publishers report that books about bullying, for children and adults, have become numerous enough, and profitable enough, to create a genre.

PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

### Maureen Dowd

PAGE A23



DINING D1-8

### Off the Eaten Track

Red Hook, Brooklyn, offers a wild array of tastes and food trends.

PAGE D1



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## Elite in China Face Austerity Under Xi's Rule

### Attempt to Curb Bribes and High Spending

By ANDREW JACOBS

BEIJING — Life for the all-mighty Chinese government official has come to this: car pools, domestically made wristwatches and self-serve lunch buffets.

In the four months since he was anointed China's paramount leader and tastemaker-in-chief, President Xi Jinping has imposed a form of austerity on the nation's famously free-spending civil servants, military brass and provincial party bosses. Warning that graft and gluttony threaten to bring down the ruling Communists, Mr. Xi has ordered an end to boozy, taxpayer-financed banquets and the bribery that often takes the form of a gift-wrapped Louis Vuitton bag.

While the power of the nation's elite remains unchallenged, the symbols of that power are slipping from view. Gone, for now, are the freshly cut flowers and red-carpet ceremonies that used to greet visiting dignitaries. This month, military officers who arrived here for the annual National People's Congress were instructed to share hotel rooms and bring their own toiletries.

"Car-pooling feels so good because it provides a way to bond and chat with each other while saving money and increasing efficiency," one senior military official told the People's Liberation Army newspaper.

Not everyone has been so embracing of the change. Last Tuesday, the country's top disciplinary body dismissed six functionaries, including a neighborhood party chief who spent \$63,000 to entertain 80 colleagues at a seaside resort, and a county official who marked the opening of new administrative offices by throwing a feast for 290 people.

The crackdown appears to be real, as far as it goes, which may not be very far. After a year of scandal that led to the toppling of a member of the Politburo, Bo Xilai, and numerous reports of widespread official corruption, Mr. Xi's highly public campaign seems aimed at curtailing the most conspicuous displays of wealth by people in power. He has done little to tackle the con-

Continued on Page A12

## STATES SHIFTING AID FOR SCHOOLS TO THE FAMILIES

### VOUCHERS ON THE RISE

#### Opponents Warn Move Could Cripple Weak Public Systems

By FERNANDA SANTOS  
and MOTOKO RICH

PHOENIX — A growing number of lawmakers across the country are taking steps to redefine public education, shifting the debate from the classroom to the pocketbook. Instead of simply financing a traditional system of neighborhood schools, legislators and some governors are headed toward funneling public money directly to families, who would be free to choose the kind of schooling they believe is best for their children, be it public, charter, private, religious, online or at home.

On Tuesday, after a legal fight, the Indiana Supreme Court upheld the state's voucher program as constitutional. This month, Gov. Robert Bentley of Alabama signed tax-credit legislation so that families can take their children out of failing public schools and enroll them in private schools, or at least in better-performing public schools.

In Arizona, which already has a tax-credit scholarship program, the Legislature has broadened eligibility for education savings accounts. And in New Jersey, Gov. Chris Christie, in an effort to circumvent a Legislature that has repeatedly defeated voucher bills, has inserted \$2 million into his budget so low-income children can obtain private school vouchers.

Proponents say tax-credit and voucher programs offer families a way to escape failing public schools. But critics warn that by drawing money away from public schools, such programs weaken a system left vulnerable after years of crippling state budget cuts — while showing little evidence that students actually benefit.

"This movement is doing more than threaten the core of our traditional public school system," said Timothy Ogle, executive director of the Arizona School

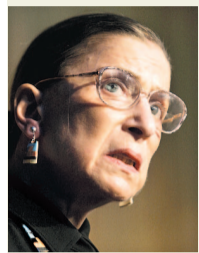
Continued on Page A3

## Justices Cast Doubt on U.S. Law Defining Marriage



*'You are saying that New York's married couples are different than Nebraska's.'*

JUSTICE SONIA SOTOMAYOR



*'You're saying there are 'two kinds of marriage: the full marriage, and then this sort of skim milk marriage.'*

JUSTICE RUTH BADER GINSBURG



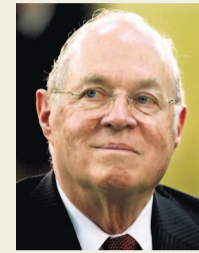
*'As soon as one state adopted same-sex marriage, the definition of marriage throughout the federal code had to change?'*

CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN G. ROBERTS JR.



*'How many states permit gay couples to marry? Nine. And so there has been this sea change between now and 1996?'*

JUSTICE ANTONIN SCALIA



*'The question is whether or not the federal government, under our federalism scheme, has the authority to regulate marriage.'*

JUSTICE ANTHONY M. KENNEDY



### NEWS ANALYSIS

## Political Strides May Lead to Setbacks in Court

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — As the justices of the Supreme Court struggled with the question of same-sex marriage this week, politicians in Congress kept handing down their own verdict. One after another, a series of lawmakers in recent days endorsed allowing gay men and lesbians to wed.

But momentum in the political world for gay rights could actually limit momentum in the legal world. While the court may throw out a federal law defining marriage as the union of a man and a woman, the justices signaled

over two days of arguments that they might not feel compelled to intervene further, since the democratic process seems to be playing out on its own, state by state, elected official by elected official.

The prospect that gay rights advocates may become a victim of their own political success was underscored during arguments on Wednesday over the constitutionality of the Defense of Marriage Act. Opponents of the law were left to make the paradoxical argument that the nation has come to accept that gay men and lesbians deserve the same right to marriage as heterosexuals while maintaining that they are a

politically oppressed class deserving the protection of the courts.

Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. pressed that point with the lawyer for the plaintiff, a New York woman suing to recover federal estate taxes she would not have had to pay had her spouse been a man.

"You don't doubt that the lobby supporting the enactment of same-sex marriage laws in different states is politically powerful, do you?" he asked the lawyer.

For purposes of the law, said the lawyer, Roberta Kaplan, "I

Continued on Page A19

## Appear Set to Allow Some Gay Couples to Gain Benefits

By ADAM LIPTAK  
and PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court appeared ready on Wednesday to strike down a central part of a federal law that defines marriage as the union of a man and a woman, as a majority of the justices expressed reservations about the Defense of Marriage Act.

On the second day of intense arguments over the volatile issue of same-sex marriage, Justice Anthony M. Kennedy, who most likely holds the decisive vote, returned again and again to the theme that deciding who is married is a matter for the states. The federal government, he said, should respect "the historic commitment of marriage, and of questions of the rights of children, to the states."

That suggests that he is prepared to vote with the court's four liberal members to strike down the part of the 1996 law that recognizes only the marriages of opposite-sex couples for more than 1,000 federal laws and programs. Such a ruling would deliver federal benefits to married same-sex couples in the nine states, and the District of Columbia, that allow such unions.

If the 1996 law stands, Justice Kennedy said, "you are at real risk with running in conflict with what has always been thought to be the essence" of state power, which he said was to regulate marriage, divorce and custody. [Excerpts, Page A18.]

All four members of the court's liberal wing questioned the constitutionality of the law, though they largely focused on equal protection principles rather than on the limits of federal power.

Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, for instance, said the law effectively created "two kinds of marriage: the full marriage, and then this sort of skim milk marriage."

Paul D. Clement, who served as solicitor general under President George W. Bush and is defending the law on behalf of

Continued on Page A18

### A Supporting Role

A lawyer whose strategy advanced gay marriage is watching from the sidelines. Page A19.

## For Mayoral Hopeful Who Lost Fight to Remove Art, No Regrets

By MICHAEL BARBARO

The deputy mayor, Joseph J. Lhota, never went to see the painting. Just hearing about it was enough.

The eight-foot-tall portrait of the Virgin Mary, a semi-abstract collage hanging at the Brooklyn Museum, contained clumps of elephant dung and cutouts of female genitalia from pornographic magazines. Mr. Lhota, a Roman Catholic, was horrified. "As a concept," he said in a recent inter-



DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Joseph J. Lhota, as deputy mayor, pushed the Brooklyn Museum to get rid of a painting in 1999.

### IN THE RUNNING

A Culture Clash

view, "it was offensive."

In fall 1999, that personal revulsion turned into public policy. Overnight, he became the tip of an unbending Giuliani spear aimed at the museum, seeking to cajole, browbeat and threaten the 190-year-old organization into removing the work of art.

Now, as Mr. Lhota promotes himself as a moderate Republican candidate for mayor of New York with urban sensibilities that the national party lacks, his handling of the episode stands out as a deeply discordant moment,

raising questions about how he would operate in a diverse city whose current mayor champions unpleasant speech from every quarter.

Arguing that public money should not be used for the desecration of religion, Mr. Lhota

threatened the museum's financing from the city, raised the specter of evicting it from its home in Prospect Heights and declared that, when assessing what art should be displayed to the public, the sensibility that really mattered to him was that of his

8-year-old daughter, Kathryn. "You need a framework, mental architecture, to understand what you're looking at so that you don't go home at night and have nightmares," he said then. His actions, and those of his

Continued on Page A25

## Needy States Weigh Sport Betting As Leagues Line Up Against It

By JOE DRAPE

LAS VEGAS — It is a lucrative time of year for Nevada, where more than \$200 million will be wagered in sports books on the N.C.A.A. men's basketball tournament, a pot of money that has budget-crunched states across the country pushing for a piece of the action despite strong opposition from the N.C.A.A. and professional sports leagues.

Voters in New Jersey passed a referendum by a 2-to-1 margin making sports betting legal, and last year Gov. Chris Christie signed a law legalizing it at Atlantic City's 12 casinos and the state's 4 horse racing tracks. Illinois is considering allowing sports betting, and California lawmakers are looking to reintroduce a sports gambling bill that the State Senate passed last year.

All this has the sports' governing bodies on high alert. The N.C.A.A. has filed a lawsuit with the N.F.L., the N.H.L., the N.B.A. and Major League Baseball claiming that sports betting in New Jersey would "irreparably" corrupt sports in the United States. This year they were joined by the Justice Depart-



ISAAC BREKKEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

### March Madness in Las Vegas.

ment, which defended the constitutionality of a 1992 law banning sports betting outside Nevada and a few other states that had long allowed such gambling.

The N.C.A.A. also canceled several tournaments and sporting events in the state and said it would bar New Jersey from hosting events in the future if sports betting were put into effect.

Last month, a federal judge ruled against New Jersey and upheld the ban on sports betting. The state is appealing, and legal experts say the case will likely reach the Supreme Court.

As gamblers poured into Las Vegas in anticipation of three weeks of betting on unpredict-

Continued on Page B16



### NATIONAL A14-20

#### Firsthand Look at the Border

Four senators working on an immigration reform bill went to Nogales, Ariz., to tour the border with Mexico and examine how secure it is. PAGE A14

#### Records Released in Shooting

Documents reveal deep worries that the parents of Gabrielle Giffords's attacker had about his instability. PAGE A14

### NEW YORK A21-25

#### Hard Line on Speed Cameras

Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg let loose his fury at state senators who opposed a plan to catch speeders. PAGE A21

### BUSINESS DAY B1-12

#### Hints of a Shift at 'Today'

Speculation about Matt Lauer's future on NBC's "Today" show was stirred up again after reports that a network executive had called Anderson Cooper, the biggest star on CNN, to gauge his interest in becoming a host of the morning program. PAGE B1

### ARTS C1-10

#### Making a Museum Whole

At the Barnes Foundation in Philadelphia, conservators are piecing together an ancient Greek vessel that was a centerpiece of the galleries until it shattered more than 50 years ago. PAGE C1



### SPORTS THURSDAY B14-19

#### Second-Longest Streak Ends

Carlos Boozer, right, and Chicago defeated Miami, 101-97, to halt the Heat's winning streak at 27 games. PAGE B15

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

#### Knives on Planes?

PAGE A27

### HOME D1-8

#### Cleaning Up

Ursus Wehrli, a popular Swiss comedian, has found further success with quirky books on tidying up. But at home he's not necessarily a neatnik. PAGE D1

### THURSDAY STYLES E1-12

#### Reaching for Redemption

After a fall from grace, James McGreevey, the former New Jersey governor, has settled into a new life. PAGE E1



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## BLASTS AT BOSTON MARATHON KILL 3 AND INJURE 100



JOHN TLUHMACKI/THE BOSTON GLOBE

An injured woman was tended to at the scene of the first explosion on Monday, on Boylston Street near the finish line of the Boston Marathon.

### PANIC AT FINISH LINE

#### Child Among the Dead — Festive Rite of Spring Becomes Chaotic

By JOHN ELIGON  
and MICHAEL COOPER

BOSTON — Two powerful bombs exploded near the finish line of the Boston Marathon on Monday afternoon, killing three people, including an 8-year-old child, and injuring more than 100, as one of this city's most cherished rites of spring was transformed from a scene of cheers and sweaty triumph to one of screams and carnage.

Almost three-quarters of the 23,000 runners who participated in the race had already crossed the finish line when a bomb that had apparently been placed in a garbage can exploded around 2:50 p.m. in a haze of smoke amid a crowd of spectators on Boylston Street, just off Copley Square in the heart of the city. Thirteen seconds later, another bomb exploded several hundred feet away.

Pandemonium erupted as panicked runners and spectators scattered, and rescue workers rushed in to care for the dozens of maimed and injured, some of whom lost legs in the blast, witnesses said. The F.B.I. took the lead role in the investigation on Monday night, and Richard DesLauriers, the special agent in charge of the bureau's Boston office, described the inquiry at a news conference as "a criminal investigation that is a potential terrorist investigation."

The reverberations were felt far outside the city, with officials in New York and Washington stepping up security at important locations. Near the White House, the Secret Service cordoned off Pennsylvania Avenue out of what one official described as "an abundance of caution."

President Obama, speaking at the White House, vowed to bring those responsible for the blasts to justice. "We will get to the bottom of this," the president said. "We will find out who did this, and we will find out why they did this. Any responsible individuals, any responsible groups will feel the full weight of justice."

Mr. Obama did not refer to the attacks as an act of terrorism, and he cautioned people from "jumping to conclusions" based on incomplete information. But a White House official, speaking on the condition of anonymity afterward, said, "Any event with multiple explosive devices — as this appears to be — is clearly an act of terror, and will be approached as an act of terror."

"However," the official added, "we don't yet know who carried out this attack, and a thorough investigation will

Continued on Page A14

### War Zone at Mile 26: 'So Many People Without Legs'

By TIM ROHAN

BOSTON — About 100 feet from the end of the 26.2-mile Boston Marathon, explosions shook the street and sent runners frantically racing for cover. The marathon finish line, normally a festive area of celebration and exhaustion, was suddenly like a war zone.

"These runners just finished and they don't have legs now," said Roupen Bastajian, 35, a Rhode Island state trooper and former Marine. "So many of them. There are so many people without legs. It's all blood. There's blood everywhere. You got bones, fragments. It's disgusting."

Had Mr. Bastajian run a few strides

slower, as he did in 2011, he might have been among the dozens of victims wounded in Monday's bomb blasts. Instead, he was among the runners treating other runners, a makeshift emergency medical service of exhausted athletes.

"We put tourniquets on," Mr. Bastajian said. "I tied at least five, six legs with tourniquets."

The Boston Marathon, held every year on Patriots' Day, a state holiday, is usually an opportunity for the city to cheer with a collective roar. But the explosions turned an uplifting day into a nightmarish swirl of bloodied streets and torn-apart limbs as runners were toppled, children on the sidelines were maimed, and a panicked city watched

its iconic athletic spectacle destroyed.

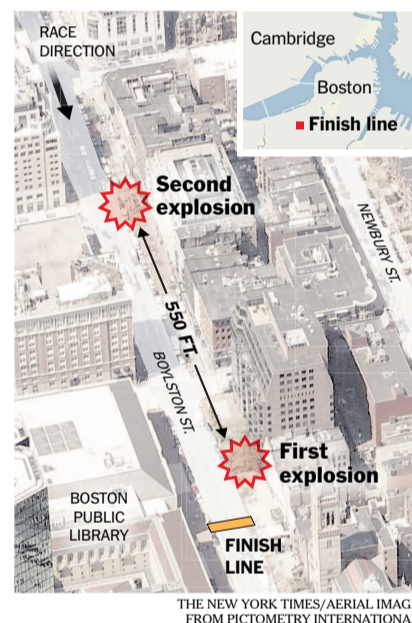
The timing of the explosions — around 2:50 p.m. — was especially devastating because they happened when a high concentration of runners in the main field were arriving at the finish line on Boylston Street. In last year's Boston Marathon, for example, more than 9,100 crossed the finish line — 42 percent of all finishers — in the 30 minutes before and after the time of the explosions.

This year, more than 23,000 people started the race in near-perfect conditions. Only about 17,580 finished.

Three people were killed and more than 100 were injured, officials said.

Deirdre Hatfield, 27, was steps away

Continued on Page A15



THE NEW YORK TIMES/AERIAL IMAGE FROM PICTOMETRY INTERNATIONAL

### U.S. Practiced Torture After 9/11, Nonpartisan Review Concludes

By SCOTT SHANE

WASHINGTON — A nonpartisan, independent review of interrogation and detention programs in the years after the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks concludes that "it is indisputable that the United States engaged in the practice of torture" and that the nation's highest officials bore ultimate responsibility for it.

The sweeping, 577-page report says that while brutality has occurred in every American war, there never before had been "the kind of considered and detailed discussions that occurred after 9/11 directly involving a president and his top advisers on the wisdom, propriety and legality of inflicting pain and torment on some detainees in our custody." The study, by an 11-member panel convened by the Constitution Project, a legal research and advocacy group, is to be released on Tuesday morning.

Debate over the coercive interrogation methods used by the administration of President George W. Bush has often broken

down on largely partisan lines. The Constitution Project's task force on detainee treatment, led by two former members of Congress with experience in the executive branch — a Republican, Asa Hutchinson, and a Democrat, James R. Jones — seeks to produce a stronger national consensus on the torture question.

While the task force did not have access to classified records, it is the most ambitious independent attempt to date to assess the detention and interrogation programs. A separate 6,000-page report on the Central Intelligence Agency's record by the Senate Intelligence Committee, based exclusively on agency records, rather than interviews, remains classified.

"As long as the debate continues, so too does the possibility that the United States could again engage in torture," the report says.

The use of torture, the report concludes, has "no justification"

Continued on Page A8

### For 3 Years After Killing, Evidence Fades as a Suspect Sits in Jail

By WILLIAM GLABERSON

They brought him into the Bronx courtroom late on that first day of the trial, his prisoner's chains jingling.

But Chad Hooks, 23 years old and charged with murder, was used to waiting. He had been waiting for three years, seven months and three days at Rikers Island for a trial that never seemed to come.

"I hear the same excuse every time: 'Not ready,' or, 'We're doing something that's more important,'" he had said at the jail. "I feel like I'll die here."

Melissa Lawyer had waited, too. Mr. Hooks was charged with shooting to death her 21-year-old son, Jevon, in a grimy hallway on Southern Boulevard near Hunts Point Avenue in the Bronx. For nearly four years, her hopes for justice had been choked by gnawing worry.

She had had nightmares in which Mr. Hooks was chasing her. She said it meant he would get away with murder.

This little-noticed case at the Bronx County Hall of Justice became a parable of the way delays

JUSTICE DENIED

Tried Patience

infect trials with murkiness, mocking the very idea that courts do their best, when it matters most, to find out what really happened.

As the years passed, memories turned hazy. Detectives retired. One witness recanted. Two were

lost and then found again. By the time the prosecutors said they were ready for trial on a September day in 2012, a fourth witness — the star witness — had been shot to death in the Bronx. What were left were contradicting claims and missing answers.

The defense said Mr. Hooks was an innocent man who had been tormented to the point of ruin by his wait for justice. The prosecution suggested he was a

wily killer using the passage of time to silence the witnesses against him.

In other parts of the country, this case might be old enough to raise questions about whether the Constitution's promise of a speedy trial had any meaning at all. But this was far from the oldest case in the Bronx, where court delays have compounded for decades, mounting a crisis severe enough to challenge the basic notion of justice.

But now, finally, in that courtroom on 161st Street, the assistant district attorney, April Cohen, rose. There was an expectant rustle in the mostly empty courtroom.

Chad Hooks's mother listened on one side. Jevon Lawyer's mother on the other.

The prosecutor's first words, however, were not about the killing of Mr. Lawyer. They were a request for days off. She had three scheduled. And then she would need a day when her nephew was born and then a day to celebrate the birth.

The judge said he was confused about why a trial had to be put off because someone else was

Continued on Page A20



MICHAEL APPLETON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Chad Hooks in court with his lawyer, Camille M. Abate, left.

#### NEW YORK A17-24

##### The Times Wins 4 Pulitzers

The New York Times won four Pulitzer Prizes, and The Star Tribune in Minneapolis won two. The fiction prize went to Adam Johnson for "The Orphan Master's Son," and "Devil in the Grove," by Gilbert King, won the prize for general nonfiction. A nonprofit group based in Brooklyn, InsideClimate News, won the national reporting prize for its coverage of oil pipelines.



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#### NATIONAL A12-16

##### Immigration Bill Moving On

A bipartisan group of senators plans to unveil legislation Tuesday for a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants who arrived before 2012.

PAGE A12

##### Drugs Urged Before Cancer

A task force recommended that some healthy women take drugs to lower their risk of breast cancer.

PAGE A16

#### INTERNATIONAL A4-10

##### Afghans' Opium Crops Thrive

For the third year in a row, opium cultivation has increased in Afghanistan despite efforts to combat it.

PAGE A8

#### BUSINESS DAY B1-9

##### Heading Off Generic Drugs

Big drug companies, seeking to keep generic manufacturers from making low-cost copies of their drugs, are refusing to sell them samples.

PAGE B1

##### Dish Makes Offer for Sprint

Dish Network has offered \$25.5 billion for Sprint Nextel in a bid to scuttle an earlier takeover plan.

PAGE B1

#### OBITUARIES A24-25

##### Colin Davis Dies

The longest-serving principal conductor of the London Symphony Orchestra, known for his passion, was 85.

PAGE A24

#### SCIENCE TIMES D1-7

##### Relief for a Parched Delta

A deal between the United States and Mexico will send more water down the Colorado River to help restore an ecologically ravaged swath of Baja California. In one project, workers have been removing acres of salt cedar, an invasive shrub that makes a poor habitat for birds, and planting native willows, at left, and cottonwoods, irrigating them with water bought from farmers.



The trees are thriving. PAGE D1

#### ARTS C1-8

##### Homage to Master of Laughter

The comedian Robin Williams reflects on the career of Jonathan Winters, who died on Thursday at 87.

PAGE C1

##### Novelists, British and Diverse

Granta's list of the Best Young British Novelists is skewed toward immigrants and women this year, a first.

PAGE C1

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

##### David Brooks

PAGE A27



## Suspicious in Boston Attack Turn to Man Seen in Videos

### Others Visible in Clips Are Sought for Questioning

This article is by Katharine Q. Seelye, Scott Shane and Michael S. Schmidt.

BOSTON — In the first major break in the hunt for the Boston Marathon bomber, F.B.I. personnel on Wednesday found security video clips that showed a man they believe may have played a role in planting the explosives that killed three people and injured more than 170 on Monday.

The videos also showed at least a handful of others whom the authorities want to question, either because of what they appear to be doing in the video or their proximity to the blasts, a senior law enforcement official said.

The official said the authorities were trying to boil down the number of people of interest in the videos and would then decide whether to ask the public's help in locating them.

"It's a crowd, there are a lot of different angles. It is not like some television-produced video



DARREN MCCOLLESTER/GETTY IMAGES  
An F.B.I. investigator placing an evidence marker in Boston.

— there's a lot that isn't clear," said the official. "But most interpretations support the notion that one man is seen dropping a bag."

The official added: "There are several videos with people in them, and we're looking to talk to more than one guy. It's still very squishy but there are a lot of interesting people" the authorities want to talk to.

As word spread of the videos Wednesday afternoon, officials emphatically denied a flurry of news reports that they had made an arrest. The F.B.I. was still "looking for a name to put with a face in a video," one law enforcement official said, speaking on the condition of anonymity.

Those denials did not deter hundreds of office workers and reporters from gathering outside the federal courthouse, where they anticipated that a suspect would be arraigned. A midday bomb scare caused the courthouse to be evacuated and created confusion as the crowds were moved far away from the building and it was ringed by police vehicles. By nightfall, no arrest had taken place.

At Copley Square, the crime scene, several blocks long, remained barricaded as investigators in white hazmat suits scoured the buildings and roofs for pieces of evidence from the two explosions, which occurred at 2:50 Monday afternoon near the finish line of the marathon.

Teams of investigators, including more than 1,000 F.B.I. agents, were tracking possible leads de-

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## More Children In Greece Start To Go Hungry

By LIZ ALDERMAN

ATHENS — As an elementary-school principal, Leonidas Nikas is used to seeing children play, laugh and dream about the future. But recently he has seen something altogether different, something he thought was impossible in Greece: children picking through school trash cans for food; needy youngsters asking playmates for leftovers; and an 11-year-old boy, Pantelis Petrakis, bent over with hunger pains.

"He had eaten almost nothing at home," Mr. Nikas said, sitting in his cramped school office near the port of Piraeus, a working-class suburb of Athens, as the sound of a jump rope skittered across the playground. He confronted Pantelis's parents, who were ashamed and embarrassed but admitted that they had not been able to find work for months. Their savings were gone, and they were living on rations of pasta and ketchup.

"Not in my wildest dreams would I expect to see the situation we are in," Mr. Nikas said. "We have reached a point where children in Greece are coming to school hungry. Today, families have difficulties not only of employment, but of survival."

The Greek economy is in free-fall, having shrunk by 20 percent in the past five years. Unemployment

Continued on Page A4

## Checks Promise Mortgage Relief, Only to Bounce

By JESSICA SILVER-GREENBERG and BEN PROTESS

When the bank account is running dry and the mortgage payment is coming due, the phrase "insufficient funds" is the last thing you want to hear.

Now imagine hearing those two words when trying to cash a long-awaited check from the same bank that foreclosed on you.

Many struggling homeowners heard exactly that this week when they lined up to take their cut of a \$3.6 billion settlement with the nation's largest banks — lenders accused of wrongful evictions and other abuses.

Ronnie Edward, whose home was sold in a foreclosure auction, waited three years for his \$3,000 check. When it arrived on Tuesday, he raced to his local bank in Tennessee, only to learn that the funds "were not available."

Mr. Edward, 38, was taken aback. "Is this for real?" he asked.

It is unclear how many of the 1.4 million homeowners who were mailed the first round of payments covered under the foreclosure settlement have had problems with their checks. But housing advocates from California to New York and even regulators say that in recent days frustrated homeowners have bombarded

Continued on Page B2

## GUN CONTROL DRIVE BLOCKED IN SENATE; OBAMA, IN DEFEAT, SEES 'SHAMEFUL DAY'



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Obama and Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. with former Representative Gabrielle Giffords, left, and relatives of Newtown, Conn., students in the Rose Garden on Wednesday.

### NEWS ANALYSIS

## Despite Tearful Pleas, No Real Chance

By JENNIFER STEINHAUER

WASHINGTON — President Obama, his face set with rage, stood in the Rose Garden surrounded by the families of Newtown and former Representative Gabrielle Giffords and asked how a measure to expand background checks for gun buyers — one supported by an overwhelming majority of Americans and a bipartisan majority of the Senate — had slipped away.

"The American people are trying to figure out," Mr. Obama said, "how can something have 90 percent support and yet not hap-

pen?" The answer: The measure never really had a chance.

In the nearly 10 years since the expiration of the assault weapons ban, even modest gun safety legislation has proved impossible to advance on Capitol Hill, where the momentum has been in the other direction, with lawmakers pushing various expansions of gun rights. The 68 votes last week to allow the debate on gun legislation to proceed was a mirage, a temporary triumph granted by senators willing to allow shooting victims and their survivors the vote they sought with absolutely no intention of sup-

porting the final legislation and crossing the gun lobby or constituents who see gun rights as a defining issue.

While the opening vote provided advocates a glimmer of hope, the Newtown shootings, the tearful pleas of the parents of killed children and an aggressive push by the president could not turn the tide. They were no match for the reason Democrats have avoided gun control fights for years: a combination of the political anxiety of vulnerable Democrats from conservative states, deep-seated Republican resistance and the enduring clout

Continued on Page A16

## A SERIES OF VOTES

### Assault Weapons Ban and Broader Buyer Checks Both Fall

By JONATHAN WEISMAN

WASHINGTON — A wrenching national search for solutions to the violence that left 20 children dead in Newtown, Conn., all but ended Wednesday after the Senate defeated several measures to expand gun control.

In rapid succession, a bipartisan compromise to expand background checks for gun buyers, a ban on assault weapons and a ban on high-capacity gun magazines all failed to get the 60 votes needed under an agreement between both parties. Senators also turned back Republican proposals to expand permission to carry concealed weapons and to focus law enforcement efforts on prosecuting gun crimes.

Sitting in the Senate gallery with other survivors of recent mass shootings and their family members, Lori Haas, whose daughter was shot at Virginia Tech, and Patricia Maisch, a survivor of the mass shooting in Arizona, shouted together, "Shame on you."

President Obama, speaking at the White House after the votes, echoed the cry, calling Wednesday "a pretty shameful day for Washington."

Opponents of gun control from both parties said that they made their decisions based on logic, and that passions had no place in the making of momentous policy.

"Criminals do not submit to background checks now," said Senator Charles E. Grassley, Republican of Iowa. "They will not submit to expanded background checks."

It was a striking defeat for one of Mr. Obama's highest priorities, on an issue that has consumed much of the country since Adam Lanza opened fire with an assault weapon in the halls of Sandy Hook Elementary School in De-

Continued on Page A16

## Dispute in Hamptons Set Off By Effort to Hold Back Ocean

By MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ

SOUTHAMPTON, N.Y. — Soon after Hurricane Sandy hit last fall, Joshua Harris, a billionaire hedge fund founder and an owner of the Philadelphia 76ers, began to fear that his \$25 million home on the water here might fall victim to the next major storm. So he installed a costly defense against incoming waves: a shield of large metal plates on the beach, camouflaged by sand.

His neighbor, Mark Rachesky, another billionaire hedge fund founder, put up similar fortifications between his home and the surf. Chris Shumway, who closed his \$8 billion hedge fund two years ago, trucked in boulders the size of Volkswagens.

Across a section of this wealthy town, some residents, accustomed to having their way in the business world, are now trying to

hold back the ocean. But the flurry of construction on beachfront residences since the hurricane is touching off bitter disputes over the environment, real estate and class.

Some local officials said they were worried that the owners were engaging in an arms race with nature, installing higher and higher barricades that could rapidly hasten erosion — essentially sacrificing public beaches to save private homes.

Last week, down the beach from Mr. Shumway's home, another project was under way. Bulldozers and backhoes were carting stones and piling sand, assembling what appeared to be ramparts. It was to protect the home owned by Vince Camuto, one of the founders of the Nine

Continued on Page A3



ROD AYDELOTTE/WACO TRIBUNE-HERALD, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

### Blast in Central Texas

An explosion and fire at a fertilizer plant Wednesday night battered West, Tex. Coverage on Page A15 and at nytimes.com.



INTERNATIONAL A6-14

### Bidding Farewell to Thatcher

The ceremonial funeral for Margaret Thatcher divided British opinion, much as the former prime minister stirred strong feelings in her lifetime. PAGE A6

### Dual U.S. Views on Syria

Sharply different perspectives within the Obama administration concerning the Syrian opposition emerged during testimony before Congress. PAGE A6

BUSINESS DAY B1-10

### Banks' Profit Tempts Rules

Wall Street's rising profits are giving some lawmakers ideas that a deeper overhaul might be in order. PAGE B1

NATIONAL A15-22

### Couple Held in Texas Killings

Investigators in Texas say Kim Lene Williams has confessed to helping her husband, a former justice of the peace, kill two prosecutors who had been his courtroom rivals. PAGE A15

### Arrest Made in Ricin Inquiry

A Mississippi man was arrested on suspicion of sending letters contaminated with the poison ricin to President Obama and a Republican senator. PAGE A17

THURSDAY STYLES E1-10

### Provocative Designer

Hedi Slimane, who was known for designing skinny suits for skinny men, has spent the last year as creative director of Yves Saint Laurent undertaking a contentious reinvention of the brand, with brooding ads featuring Courtney Love and Marilyn Manson. At right, a bohemian look from the spring collection. PAGE E1



OBITUARIES B18-19

### George Beverly Shea Dies

The Grammy winner and gospel singer, who appeared before 200 million people at revival services with the Rev. Billy Graham, was 104. PAGE B19

NEW YORK A23-25

### Dark Humor in Albany

Looking for relief from scandals, legislators indulge in a closed-door pep talk and a few stiff drinks. PAGE A23

ARTS C1-10

### Praised, but Without a Prize

Petitioners are criticizing the Pritzker's 1991 decision to honor Robert Venturi, but not his wife and architectural collaborator, Denise Scott Brown. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

### Gabrielle Giffords

PAGE A27



## 2ND BOMBING SUSPECT IS CAPTURED, WOUNDED, AFTER A FRENZIED MANHUNT PARALYZES BOSTON



JOSH HANER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jean Grimmett and the people of Watertown, Mass., rejoiced Friday after the police captured a fugitive bombing suspect.



MATT ROURKE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Police officers guarded the street where the suspect, Dzhokhar A. Tsarnaev, was cornered after an intense daylong manhunt.



## 2,700 More in City Qualify as Gifted After Score Errors Are Fixed

By AL BAKER

Nearly 2,700 New York City students were wrongly told in recent weeks they were not eligible for seats in public school gifted and talented programs because of errors in scoring the tests used for admission, the Education Department said on Friday.

The company that both created and scored the tests, Pearson, has apologized for the mistakes,

according to the department, which is now scurrying to notify parents that pupils originally locked out of the coveted programs are instead able to apply for seats.

Updated scores will be distributed within 10 days and the deadline for applying to gifted programs, originally Friday, will be extended to May 10, the department said. Only six students were incorrectly deemed qualified for the gifted programs, but

they will not lose their eligibility, the department said.

All told, 4,735 students — or 13 percent of all those in kindergarten through third grade who sat for the tests — were affected by the errors, said Erin Hughes, a spokeswoman for the Education Department. Of those, 2,698 are newly eligible for seats in districtwide gifted programs, meaning they scored at or above the 90th percentile.

The other 2,037 will be told they

are now eligible for one of the city's five more competitive "citywide" gifted programs, open to those at the 97th percentile or higher. Those students had been erroneously told they were eligible only for the district programs.

In a terse statement, Dennis M. Walcott, the schools chancellor, said the errors made by Pearson were "unacceptable." The company also designed the state standardized tests being admin-

Continued on Page A21

## Overnight Shooting Amid Dragnet Left Brother and Officer Dead

This article is by Katharine Q. Seelye, William K. Rashbaum and Michael Cooper.

BOSTON — The teenage suspect in the Boston Marathon bombings, whose flight from the police after a furious gunfight overnight prompted an intense manhunt that virtually shut down the Boston area all day, was taken into custody Friday night after the police found him in nearby Watertown, Mass., officials said.

The suspect, Dzhokhar A. Tsarnaev, 19, was found hiding in a boat just outside the area where the police had been conducting door-to-door searches all day, the Boston police commissioner, Edward Davis, said at a news conference Friday night.

"A man had gone out of his house after being inside the house all day, abiding by our request to stay inside," Mr. Davis said, referring to the advice officials gave to residents to remain behind locked doors. "He walked outside and saw blood on a boat in the backyard. He then opened the tarp on the top of the boat, and he looked in and saw a man covered with blood. He retreated and called us."

"Over the course of the next hour or so we exchanged gunfire with the suspect, who was inside the boat, and ultimately the hostage rescue team of the F.B.I. made an entry into the boat and removed the suspect, who was still alive," Mr. Davis said. He said the suspect was in "serious condition" and had apparently been wounded in the gunfight that left his brother dead.

A federal law enforcement official said he would not be read his Miranda rights, because the authorities would be invoking the public safety exception in order to question him extensively about other potential explosive devices or accomplices and to try to gain intelligence.

The Boston Police Department announced on Twitter: "Suspect in custody. Officers sweeping the area," and Mayor Thomas M. Menino posted: "We got him."

President Obama praised the law enforcement officials who took the suspect into custody in a statement from the White House shortly after 10 p.m., saying, "We've closed an important chapter in this tragedy."

The president said that he had Continued on Page A14

## A Brother at Ease in the U.S., Influenced by One Who Wasn't

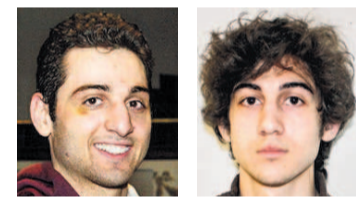
By ERICA GOODE and SERGE F. KOVALESKI

One was a boxer, one a wrestler. One favored alligator shoes and fancy shirts, the other wore jeans, button-ups and T-shirts.

The younger one — the one their father described as "like an angel" — gathered around him a group of friends so loyal that more than one said they would testify for him, if it came to that.

The older one, who friends and family members said exerted a strong influence on his younger sibling — "He could manipulate him," an uncle said — once told a photographer, "I don't have a single American friend. I don't understand them."

A kaleidoscope of images, adjectives and anecdotes tumbled forth on Friday to describe Tamerlan Tsarnaev, 26, and Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, 19, the two brothers suspected of carrying



Tamerlan Tsarnaev, 26, left, and his brother, Dzhokhar, 19.

out the bombings at the Boston Marathon that killed three people and gravely wounded scores more.

What no one who knew them could say was why the young men, immigrants of Chechnyan heritage, would set off bombs among innocent people. The Tsarnaevs came with their family to the United States almost a decade ago from Kyrgyzstan, after living briefly in the Dagestan re-

Continued on Page A16

## Shops Locked, Streets Barren, City Falls Into Eerie Stillness

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

BOSTON — The scene was extraordinary. The hub of the universe, as Boston's popular nickname would have it, was on lockdown from first light until near dark on Friday. A vast dragnet for one man had brought a major American city to a standstill.

The people were gone, shops were locked, streets were barren, the trains did not run. The often-clogged Massachusetts Turnpike was as clear as a bowling lane.

With just a few words from Gov. Deval Patrick, this raucous, sports-loving, patriotic old city became a ghost town. The governor had said to stay away, stay inside. His warning applied not only to the city, but to a half-dozen comfortable towns just outside its limits. The entire region had become a gigantic active crime scene.

The lockdown caught many residents off guard, including Michael Demirdjian, 47, a postal worker who was pulled over by a flock of police cars while trying to take his new puppy to his home in Watertown near the scene of a dramatic early morning shootout.

"They were everywhere," Mr. Demirdjian said of investigators. "My backyard, everybody's backyard, front yard, up and down the streets." His house was blocked off, so he spent much of the day marooned in a mall parking lot where the news media had set up.

Todd Wigger, 25, a software salesman, used the occasion to take a nap. When he blinked awake on Friday afternoon, he was surprised to see how empty

Continued on Page A17



NATIONAL A12-19

### Texas Search Continues

The death toll in a fertilizer plant explosion in West, Tex., rose to 14. PAGE A12

### Scouts Seek Middle Ground

The Boy Scouts propose lifting a ban on gay scouts but not gay leaders. PAGE A12

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

### Kosovo and Serbia Reach Deal

An accord on municipalities in Kosovo's Serb-majority north paves the way for Kosovo and Serbia to pursue membership in the European Union. PAGE A9

### Guatemala Ruling Rejected

The judge in the trial of the former dictator Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt rejected a ruling annulling the case. PAGE A4

SPORTSSATURDAY D1-6

### Big Win for Young Mets Star

Mets starter Matt Harvey, 24, lived up to his billing, outshining the Nationals' Stephen Strasburg. PAGE D1



NEW YORK A20-21

### 40 Years Later, More on Attica

The state is expected to release investigative findings on the riot. PAGE A21

### Police and Occupy Wall Street

Inspectors' actions at protests in Manhattan will not be prosecuted. PAGE A20

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

### Fix for 787 Batteries Approved

Boeing's 787s could be flying again within weeks, after the Federal Aviation Administration approved plans to fix the plane's lithium-ion batteries. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES B8

### USA Today Founder Dies

Al Neuharth, the brash mogul whose influence on American journalism extended beyond the 93 papers he amassed for Gannett, is dead at 89. PAGE B8

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Joe Nocera

PAGE A23

THIS WEEKEND

### 'Today' on the Brink

How a toxic clash of personalities cost the NBC morning show its No. 1 ranking, and what it will take to regain it. Also, why John le Carré, who is in the middle of a late-career bloom, has not mellowed with age. MAGAZINE



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## Amid Storm Recovery, Life-and-Death Stories From School



STEVE GOOCH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The tornado that reduced areas like this neighborhood in Moore, Okla., to rubble killed at least 24 people, officials said Tuesday.

## Time Reveals Lower Death Toll And a City of 'Sticks and Bricks'

By MANNY FERNANDEZ  
and JACK HEALY

MOORE, Okla. — At the end of the day on Monday, on the last week of the school year, students at Plaza Towers Elementary in this blue-collar suburb were zipping their backpacks. A fifth-grade class had just finished watching a movie about a boy who survives a crash-landing in the Canadian wilderness.

Then the sirens started to wail. Claire Gossett's teacher hurried the class into the hallway, then into a bathroom as a tornado that was more than a mile wide drew closer. Claire, 11, crammed into a stall with six other girls. They held onto each other. The sirens wailed two, three, four times.

Echo Mackey, crouched in a hallway with her son, Logan, recalled, "I heard someone say, 'It's about to hit us,' and then the power went out."

The mountain of rubble that was once Plaza Towers Elementary School has become the emo-



MATTHEW STAVER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Karl Tyler's home in Oklahoma City was ripped open.

tional and physical focal point of one of the most destructive tornadoes to strike Oklahoma. Although the casualty toll fluctuated wildly early on, officials said on Tuesday that at least 24 people had died, including 9 children, 7 of them at Plaza Towers.

Throughout the 500-student school, teachers and parents had shielded students and crammed into closets and anywhere else

Continued on Page A14

## Why No Safe Room to Run To? Cost and Culture of the Plains

By JOHN SCHWARTZ

The Web site for the City of Moore, Okla., recommends "that every residence have a storm safe room or an underground cellar." It says below-ground shelters are the best protection against tornadoes.

But no local ordinance or building code requires such shelters, either in houses, schools or businesses, and only about 10 percent of homes in Moore have them.

Nor does the rest of Oklahoma, one of the states in the storm belt called Tornado Alley, require them — despite the annual onslaught of deadly and destructive twisters like the one on Monday, which killed at least 24 people, injured hundreds and eliminated entire neighborhoods.

It is a familiar story, as well, in places like Joplin, Mo., and across the Great Plains and in the Deep South, where tornadoes are a seasonal threat but government regulation rankles.

In 2011, a monster tornado razed large parts of Joplin, killing



RICHARD ROWE/REUTERS

Emerging in Moore, Okla., where shelters are optional.

160 people in a state that had no storm-shelter requirements. The city considered requiring shelters in rebuilt or new homes but decided that doing so would be "cost prohibitive" because the soil conditions make building basements expensive, said the assistant city manager, Sam Anselm. Even so, he estimated that half the homes that had been rebuilt included underground shel-

Continued on Page A15

## Debate Aside, Drone Strikes Drop Sharply

### Targets Dwindle and Objections Increase

By SCOTT SHANE

WASHINGTON — President Obama embraced drone strikes in his first term, and the targeted killing of suspected terrorists has come to define his presidency.

But lost in the contentious debate over the legality, morality and effectiveness of a novel weapon is the fact that the number of strikes has actually been in decline. Strikes in Pakistan peaked in 2010 and have fallen sharply since then; their pace in Yemen has slowed to half of last year's rate; and no strike has been reported in Somalia for more than a year.

In a long-awaited address on Thursday at the National Defense University, Mr. Obama will make his most ambitious attempt to date to lay out his justification for the strikes and what they have achieved. He may follow up on public promises, including one he made in his State of the Union speech in February to define a "legal architecture" for choosing targets, possibly shifting more strikes from the C.I.A. to the military; explain how he believes that presidents should be "reined in" in their exercise of lethal power; and take steps to make a program veiled in secrecy more transparent.

Previewing the speech last weekend, an administration official speaking on the condition of anonymity said Mr. Obama would also "review our detention policy and efforts to close the detention facility at Guantánamo Bay; and he will frame the future of our efforts against Al Qaeda, its affiliates and adherents." Some Obama supporters have urged him to use the occasion to announce that part of a 6,000-page Senate study of the C.I.A.'s former interrogation program will be declassified and made public.

Mr. Obama, who insisted early

Continued on Page A3

## IMMIGRATION BILL WINS THE BACKING OF SENATE PANEL

### MEASURE SENT TO FLOOR

### Crucial Compromise Is Reached on Visas for Skilled Workers

By ASHLEY PARKER  
and JULIA PRESTON

WASHINGTON — The Senate Judiciary Committee on Tuesday approved a broad overhaul of the nation's immigration laws on a bipartisan vote, sending the most significant immigration policy changes in decades to the full Senate, where the debate is expected to begin next month.

The 13-to-5 vote came as the committee reached a deal on one of the final snags threatening the legislation — and agreed to hold off on a particularly politically charged amendment, which would have added protections for same-sex couples.

After intense behind-the-scenes negotiations, Senator Orrin G. Hatch, Republican of Utah, struck an agreement with the group of eight senators who drafted the original bill to address his concerns about visas for skilled foreign workers who could fill jobs in the high-tech industry.

By late afternoon on Tuesday, Mr. Hatch had said that he would support the bill out of committee, if not necessarily on the Senate floor, after the committee agreed, via a voice vote, to pass his amendment.

"I'm going to vote this bill out of committee because I've committed to do that," Mr. Hatch said.

Authors of the legislation hoped for a strong vote out of committee to help the bill as it heads to the Senate floor. Mr. Hatch's support could help persuade other conservative Republicans to back the bill. He was joined in his "yes" vote by Senators Jeff Flake of Arizona and

Continued on Page A17

## Even Before Apple Tax Breaks, Ireland's Policy Had Its Critics

By LANDON THOMAS Jr. and ERIC PFANNER

DUBLIN — The secrets of how Apple avoided billions of dollars taxes lie in a low-slung building of glass and brick in the hills of County Cork.

There, in the Hollyhill Industrial Estate and elsewhere in Ireland, Apple employs a mere 4 percent of its global work force. But there, too, Apple recorded a staggering 65 percent of its worldwide income — \$26 billion last year — enabling the company, according to Senate investigators, to markedly reduce its tax bill in the United States and the rest of the world.

Such arrangements are not uncommon in Ireland, where for years authorities have not only tolerated but encouraged multinational companies like Google, Facebook, Pfizer, Johnson & Johnson and Citigroup to set up shop and provide good jobs, in return for helping those companies pay less tax around the world.

But on Tuesday, as Timothy D. Cook, Apple's chief executive, found himself on Capitol Hill being questioned about Apple's tax practices, Ireland came under sharp criticism for its attractiveness as a pied-à-terre for American companies doing business in

Europe. At the eye of that storm: a special corporate tax rate of only 2 percent that Senate investigators say Apple worked out with Irish tax authorities.

Carl Levin, the Michigan senator who heads the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, said Apple was "exploiting an absurdity" by using three Irish subsidiaries to legally avoid taxes.

The United States Senate is hardly Ireland's only critic on tax matters. Britain, France and other European Union countries have long been annoyed by Irish policies. During hearings in the British Parliament last week, Margaret Hodge, a member of the opposition Labour Party and chairwoman of the Public Accounts Committee, which oversees taxation, upbraided Matt Brittin, Google's vice president for North and Central Europe, that the company's tax practices were "devious, calculated and, in my view, unethical."

Even before the Senate subcommittee invited Mr. Cook to testify, the British prime minister, David Cameron, declared

Continued on Page B2

**TENSION DEFUSED IN SENATE** In a disarming appearance about taxes, Apple's chief executive eased the concerns of some senators. PAGE B1

**NEW YORK AS 'OFFSHORE'** In tax accounting, corporate money that is technically "overseas" is often held in American banks. PAGE B1

### NEW YORK A21-24

#### Not Your Manhattan Candidate

In the campaign for New York mayor, Bill de Blasio, the embodiment of the new Brooklyn, is determined to offer it as a proxy for all of the boroughs outside Manhattan. His performance may prove to be a test of Brooklyn's might. PAGE A21



#### R.O.T.C. Returns to Campus

Four decades after Vietnam-era students successfully pushed to have it evicted, the Reserve Officers Training Corps is back at City College. PAGE A21

### INTERNATIONAL A4-12

#### Bear 'Milking' Upsets Chinese

The process of extracting bile from caged bears for folk remedies has enraged critics and galvanized China's animal rights movement. PAGE A8

#### Iranians Shaken by Ruling

A decision to bar the presidential candidacy of a founding father of the Islamic Revolution shocked Iranians. PAGE A4

### BUSINESS DAY B1-10

#### Dimon Beats Back Challenge

In a shareholder vote, Jamie Dimon held on firmly to his dual roles in leading JPMorgan Chase. PAGE B1

### ARTS C1-8

#### Jail Time Relived, in a Video

The rebellious Chinese artist Ai Weiwei was to release a provocative heavy-metal music video and album, with detailed re-creations of scenes from his 81 days of detention. He also portrays fantasies he imagines flitting through the guards' minds. PAGE C1



#### A Career That Keeps Going

Rather than slow down after turning 80 in March, Quincy Jones has focused his energies on managing a number of unproven young artists. PAGE C1

### NATIONAL A13-20

#### Abortion Law Is Struck Down

A federal appellate panel found Arizona's restrictions, which prohibit abortions performed about 18 weeks after fertilization, unconstitutional. PAGE A13

#### The Awakening Scandal

The targeting of Tea Party guests went unnoticed last year, but an admission by the I.R.S. changed everything. PAGE A18

### SPORTSWEDNESDAY B12-18

#### New Team, Familiar Owners

The Yankees and Manchester City will be the owners of a new professional soccer team based in Queens. PAGE B12

### DINING D1-8

#### Variations on a Classic

Plenty of fresh and successful variations on the gin and tonic are being dreamed up by bartenders and restaurateurs who do not view the word "restraint" as an epithet. PAGE D1



### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

#### Maureen Dowd

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## IRAN MODERATE WINS PRESIDENCY BY LARGE MARGIN

### REBUKE TO HARD-LINERS

#### Cleric Hopes to Increase Freedoms and Soften Foreign Policy

By THOMAS ERDRINK

TEHRAN — In a striking repudiation of the ultraconservatives who wield power in Iran, voters here overwhelmingly elected a mild-mannered cleric who advocates greater personal freedoms and a more conciliatory approach to the world.

The cleric, Hassan Rowhani, 64, won a commanding 50.7 percent of the vote in the six-way race, according to final results released Saturday, avoiding a runoff in the race to replace the departing president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, whose tenure was defined largely by confrontation with the West and a seriously hobbled economy at home.

Thousands of jubilant supporters poured into the streets of Tehran, dancing, blowing car horns and waving placards and ribbons of purple, Mr. Rowhani's campaign color. After the previous election in 2009, widely seen as rigged, many Iranians were shaking their heads that their votes were counted this time.

In the women's compartment of a Tehran subway, riders were astonished. "They were all shocked, like me," said Fatemah, 58. "It is unbelievable, have the people really won?"

The mayor of Tehran, seen as a pragmatist, came in second with 18 percent of the vote, but the four hard-line conservatives aligned with the supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, finished at the back of the pack. That indicated that Iranians were looking to their next president to change the tone, if not the direction, of the nation by choosing a cleric who served as the lead nuclear negotiator under an earlier reformist president, Moham-

Continued on Page 10

## Even Pessimists Feel Optimistic Over Economy

By NELSON D. SCHWARTZ

For more than a decade, the economy has failed to grow the way it once did. Unemployment has not stayed this high, this long, since the 1930s.

But could the New Normal, as this long economic slog has been called, be growing old?

That is the surprising new view of a number of economists in academia and on Wall Street, who are now predicting something the United States has not experienced in years: healthier, more lasting growth.

The improving outlook is one reason the stock market has risen so sharply this year, even if street-level evidence for a turnaround, like strong job growth and income gains, has been scant so far.

A prominent convert to this emerging belief is Tyler Cowen, an economics professor at George Mason University near Washington and author of "The Great Stagnation," a 2011 best seller, who has gone from doom-

Continued on Page 21



JUSTIN JIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Li Rui, 60, scavenged for building materials at his former village, now razed and a giant construction site, in Shandong Province.

## Tea for 2? Kentucky Senators In a Marriage of Convenience

By TRIP GABRIEL

WASHINGTON — Their relationship got off on an awful footing. In a Republican primary in his home state of Kentucky, Senator Mitch McConnell backed the establishment candidate in 2010, blinkered to the historic Tea Party wave that swept in the political newcomer Rand Paul.

Mr. Paul refused to say during the primary if he would support Mr. McConnell's re-election as the Senate Republican leader. The two appeared in Frankfort at what a McConnell aide recalled as an "incredibly awkward unity rally." In a seven-minute introduction of Mr. Paul, Mr. McConnell uttered his name once. Mr. Paul, unsmiling, shook the hand of Kentucky's most powerful Republican, avoiding eye contact.

Today, the iciness has been replaced by a powerful force in politics: expediency. Mr. McConnell, 71, the embodiment of Washington establishment, and Mr. Paul, 50, a grass-roots insurgent who harbors a brightly burning presidential ambition for 2016, have formed an odd-couple, scratch-my-back alliance that stretches from Washington to Louisville.

Some weeks, it can even seem that the balance of power has shifted between Kentucky's junior and senior senators.

Fearing a right-wing challenger to his re-election next year, Mr. McConnell has hired Mr. Paul's campaign manager to run his Kentucky race. He embraced one of Mr. Paul's pet causes, legalizing hemp farming, a dissonance that caused a pro-hemp group to announce, "Are you sitting down?"

The minority leader — old-school, phlegmatic, slightly intimidating — has sought to quietly slip a hemp bill onto the Senate floor for a voice vote, which

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ALEX WONG/GETTY IMAGES

Senators Rand Paul and Mitch McConnell of Kentucky.

## After Profits, Defense Contractor Faces the Pitfalls of Cybersecurity

By DAVID E. SANGER and NICOLE PERLROTH

WASHINGTON — When the United Arab Emirates wanted to create its own version of the National Security Agency, it turned to Booz Allen Hamilton to replicate the world's largest and most powerful spy agency in the sands of Abu Dhabi.

It was a natural choice: The chief architect of Booz Allen's cyberstrategy is Mike McConnell, who once led the N.S.A. and pushed the United States into a new era of big data espionage. It was Mr. McConnell who won the blessing of the American intelligence agencies to bolster the Persian Gulf sheikdom, which helps track the Iranians.

"They are teaching everything," one Arab official familiar with the effort said. "Data mining, Web surveillance, all sorts of digital intelligence collection."

Yet as Booz Allen profits handsomely from its worldwide expansion, Mr. McConnell and other executives of the government contractor — which sells itself as the gold standard in protecting classified computer systems and boasts that half its 25,000 employees have Top Secret clearances — have a lot of questions to answer.

Among the questions: Why did Booz Allen assign a 29-year-old with scant experience to a sensi-

tive N.S.A. site in Hawaii, where he was left loosely supervised as he downloaded highly classified documents about the government's monitoring of Internet and telephone communications, apparently loading them onto a portable memory stick barred by the agency?

The results could be disastrous for a company that until a week ago had one of the best business plans in Washington, with more than half its \$5.8 billion in annual revenue coming from the military and the intelligence agencies. Last week, the chairwoman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Dianne Feinstein, whom Mr. McConnell regularly briefed when he was in government, suggested for the first time that companies like Booz Allen should lose their broad access to the most sensitive intelligence secrets.

"We will certainly have legislation which will limit or prevent contractors from handling highly

Continued on Page 20

### The Man Behind the Leak

Edward J. Snowden, a talented young man, did not finish high school but bragged that employers "fight over me." Page 20.

## Borghese v. Borghese: Battle for a Royal Name

By CHRISTINE HAUGHNEY

Not just anyone can lay claim to the name Borghese, carried by the Italian noble family that has included rulers, philosophers and even a pope. Perhaps not even the Borgheses themselves.

The issue over who may use the Borghese history, at least for marketing purposes, is at the center of one of the most contentious lawsuits facing trial in New York courts this summer.

On one side of the case is Borghese Inc., a company founded by Princess Marcella Borghese and Revlon in the 1950s, which has developed into a well-known cosmetics brand.

Borghese Inc. is now run by

Georgette Mosbacher, a prominent Republican fund-raiser and author of books like "It Takes Money, Honey," and its investors include members of the Saudi royal family.

On the other side of the case are actual Borgheses: Princess Marcella's son Francesco; his wife, Amanda; and his two sons Scipione and Lorenzo, the latter probably best known as the charming prince on "The Bachelor," the ABC reality show. The Borgheses have a beauty line, as well, which they sell on the Home Shopping Network, and Lorenzo has a line of products for pets called "The Royal Treatment."

None of the products are sold under the family name, but their marketing does play up the Bor-

gheses' noble lineage. Borghese Inc. says that the heritage isn't theirs to capitalize on anymore, and is suing the Borgheses and demanding that they stop referring to their family history or drawing any links to it during the promotion or sale of any products.

"This is no different than if any other brand name with a surname like Lauder, McDonald, Heinz, Gallo, Ferragamo were to take steps as they do to stop others from using their intellectual property rights," said Mark N. Mutterperl, the lawyer representing Borghese Inc. "Our client is not a company that runs around suing people every day."

Continued on Page 4



NADAV NEUHAUS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Francesco, left, Lorenzo and Amanda Borghese in New Jersey.

### INTERNATIONAL 6-15

#### U.S. to Keep Arms in Jordan

Increasing pressure on Syria, the United States said it will keep F-16s and missiles in Jordan after a military exercise there ends next week.

PAGE 11

#### Police Storm Park in Istanbul

Riot police officers raided a park in Istanbul that had been occupied by anti-government demonstrators for more than two weeks.

PAGE 9

### NATIONAL 16-21

#### Addressing Class of '13. Or '73?

Commencement themes echo those of 40 years ago: an end to a long war, conflict in the Middle East and Washington's role in world affairs.

PAGE 18

### SPORTSSUNDAY

#### Bruins Tie Finals in Overtime

Daniel Paille's goal gave Boston a 2-1 victory against the Chicago Blackhawks and a 1-1 tie in games in the Stanley Cup finals.

PAGE 1

### SUNDAY REVIEW

#### Maureen Dowd

PAGE 11



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## Mixed Signals As Taliban Try Another Tactic

### Talking Peace in Qatar While Waging War

By ROD NORDLAND  
and ALISSA J. RUBIN

DOHA, Qatar — When the Taliban opened their political office in Qatar last week, stepping into the halogen glare of TV cameras, it was the first time in a dozen years that the world had gotten to see members of the insurgents' inner circle — and they seemed different. Urbane and educated, they conducted interviews in English, Arabic, French and German with easy fluency; passed out and received phone numbers; and, most strikingly, talked about peace.

Back in Afghanistan, though, they have been the same old Taliban: fighters have waged suicide attacks that have taken an increasing toll on civilians, and on Tuesday the militants staged a deadly strike right at the heart of the heavily secured government district in Kabul. [Page A3.]

For officials watching the talks, those contradictions offer a picture of a top Taliban leadership taking advantage of two different tracks — orchestrating the fighting element even while setting up a new international diplomatic foothold in Doha. This complicates efforts to pin down the insurgents' true goals.

At the Taliban office, it quickly became clear that the contingent's members had all been carefully vetted for their diplomatic credentials. Though many were officials in the old Taliban government, often sent abroad, none are known as fighters. And they all are considered loyalists to the Taliban's reclusive leader in exile, Mullah Muhammad Omar.

Further, while the delegates claimed to be there to talk peace with the Afghan government and American officials, on closer examination, what they did — essentially setting up a virtual embassy to the world — sent what many saw as the reverse message, raising serious questions about the insurgent movement's real motives in going to Qatar in the first place.

"From minute one, the Taliban didn't play this by the book," said a Western official who has tracked the Taliban for a number of years. "They overstepped pretty well agreed upon guidelines."

Continued on Page A3

## NEWS ANALYSIS

## Taking a Risk Over Climate

### Obama Seeking a Limit For Greenhouse Gases

By JUSTIN GILLIS

With no chance of Congressional support, President Obama is staking part of his legacy on a big risk: that he can substantially reduce greenhouse gas emissions by stretching the intent of a law decades old and not written with climate change in mind.

His plan, unveiled Tuesday at Georgetown University in Washington, will set off legal and political battles that will last years.

But experts say that if all goes well for the president, the plan could potentially meet his stated goal of an overall emissions reduction of 17 percent by 2020, compared with the level in 2005.

"If the question is, 'Will this solve our emissions problem?' the answer is no," said Michael A. Levi, an energy analyst at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. "If the question is, 'Could this move us along the path we want to be on?' the answer is yes, it could."

In his speech, Mr. Obama said he would use executive powers to limit the carbon dioxide that power plants could emit. He also called for government spending to promote the development of energy alternatives, and committed to helping cities and states protect themselves from rising seas and other effects of climate change. [Page A17.]

But formally, the main thing he did on Tuesday was order the Environmental Protection Agency to devise an emissions control plan, with the first draft due in a year. Experts say he will be lucky to get a final plan in place by the time he leaves office in early 2017.

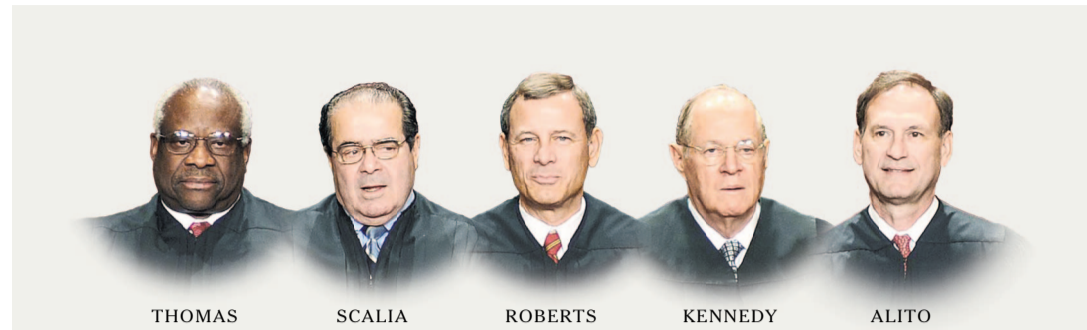
Mr. Obama is trying to ensure

Continued on Page A17



CHRISTOPHER GREGORY/THE NEW YORK TIMES  
President Obama had a hot day to discuss climate change.

# JUSTICES VOID OVERSIGHT OF STATES, ISSUE AT HEART OF VOTING RIGHTS ACT



THOMAS SCALIA ROBERTS KENNEDY ALITO

## THE MAJORITY

"Voting discrimination still exists; no one doubts that. The question is whether the act's extraordinary measures, including its disparate treatment of the states, continue to satisfy constitutional requirements."

— Opinion delivered by Chief Justice Roberts



SOTOMAYOR BREYER GINSBURG KAGAN

## DISSENT

"The sad irony of today's decision lies in its utter failure to grasp why the V.R.A. has proven effective."

— Justice Ginsburg, joined by the rest

THE NEW YORK TIMES

## New Face of South Rises as an Extralegal Force

By JONATHAN MARTIN

The Deep South was, quite literally, a black and white world in 1965, when Congress approved the Voting Rights Act, sweeping away barriers that kept African-Americans from the polls.

And the Supreme Court decision on Tuesday, which struck down a key part of the law, is certain to set off a series of skirmishes over voting regulations between the white Republicans who control Southern state legislatures and civil rights groups seeking to maximize black voter turnout.

But those who have studied the region closely say that a more unstoppable force is approaching that will alter the power structure throughout the South and upend the understanding of politics there: demographic change. The states with the highest

growth in the Latino population over the last decade are in the South, which is also absorbing an influx of people of all races moving in from other parts of the country.

While most experts expect battles over voting restrictions in the coming years, they say that ultimately those efforts cannot hold back the wave of change that will bring about a multiethnic South.

"All the voter suppression measures in the world aren't going to be enough to eventually stem this rising tide," said Representative David E. Price, a veteran North Carolina Democrat and a political scientist by training.

## Custody Battle

A ruling favored the adoptive parents of an Indian child over her biological father. Page A17.

## With Snowden in Middle, U.S. And Russia Joust, and Cool Off

This article is by David M. Herszenhorn, Ellen Barry and Peter Baker.

MOSCOW — President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia on Tuesday appeared to rule out sending Edward J. Snowden back to the United States to face espionage charges, leaving him in limbo even as Moscow and Washington seemed to be making an effort to prevent a cold-war-style standoff from escalating.

In his first public comments on the case, Mr. Putin said that Mr. Snowden — the former National Security Agency contractor who leaked documents about American surveillance programs — had committed no crime on Russian soil and was "a free man" who could choose his own destination. "We can only extradite some foreign nationals to the countries with which we have the relevant international agreements on extradition," he added. "With the United States, we have no such agreement."

But while American officials

remained angry at China for letting Mr. Snowden fly to Moscow, they and their Russian counterparts toned down the red-hot language that threatened a deeper rupture in relations. Mr. Putin said he saw little to gain in the conflict. "It's like shearing a piglet," he said. "There's a lot of squealing and very little wool." Some American officials interpreted the comment as a positive signal and speculated that Mr. Snowden would be sent to another country that could turn him over.

Yet the Russian president's remarks during an official visit to Finland also underscored what may be the lasting damage the case has caused for American relations with both Moscow and Beijing. In noting that Mr. Snowden viewed himself as a "human rights activist" who "struggles for freedom of information," Mr. Putin made clear that it would be harder for President Obama to claim the moral high ground when he presses foreign leaders

Continued on Page A12

## Dialing Up a Hit? Device Puts Musical Partly in Crowd's Hands

By PATRICK HEALY

PORTLAND, Ore. — Seven minutes into his new musical, "Somewhere in Time," the Broadway producer Ken Davenport leapt off his stool at the back of the theater the other night, and began pointing. Not at the stage, but at a nearby laptop that showed — in a fever-chart line — the reactions of 60 audience members as they turned handheld dials among three choices: "Love this part," "Neutral about this part" and "Hate this part."

The dials seemed to pinpoint a problem with the song "Tick Tick Tick": the fever line slid as the main character, Richard, lamenting the rush of life, was interrupted by dry dialogue from his brother.

"The dials matched my instincts," Mr. Davenport explained during intermission at Portland Center Stage here, where he was trying this system for the first time for the musical's world premiere. "By the time we get the show to New York, I bet we'll drop that dialogue."

Thus dial testing, common in politics, television and movies,



LEAH NASH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
Paula Hall, left, and Dee Kudzma with an audience-feedback dial at the Broadway-bound musical "Somewhere in Time."

has now arrived in the theater. Though at this point Mr. Davenport is the first to embrace it eagerly for Broadway, the very idea of it is raising questions in the industry about what makes good theater.

"Did Michelangelo ask dial testers, 'Do you like this part of David's leg?'" said Emanuel

Azenberg, a Tony Award winner and a producer for 45 years. "Did Beethoven ask, 'Was the second movement too dull?'" This is scary. Do we want to test-market Broadway until it becomes a theme park?"

Focus groups and audience surveys are increasingly part of theater already, to the distress of

some producers like Mr. Azenberg, who see them as crutches that lead to lowest-common-denominator shows. While the dials seem like a natural extension of focus groups, if not a more precise gauge of real-time audience reaction, several producers dismissed them as the most simplistic and desperate research tool yet, the enemy of groundbreaking work.

Others, like Sue Frost, who used focus groups on her show "Memphis" — which won the best musical Tony in 2010 — were intrigued but skeptical that dials would catch on among Broadway producers because the technology might make audiences "so hypercritical that you get more data and opinions than are useful."

"I also believe that I can tell a lot by standing in the back every night and listening to the audience," she added. "You know when they're bored, when a song is going too long."

This old-school approach — relying on eyes and ears, not gizmos — evokes the era of auteur-producers like David Merrick and Harold Prince, who began

Continued on Page A22

## INTERNATIONAL A4-12

### Crash Kills 19 Rescuers in India

Evacuation operations in mountainous terrain after deadly flooding are taking a toll on the Indian Air Force. PAGE A4

## NATIONAL A13-18

### House Cool to Immigration Bill

Despite an immigration bill's bipartisan support in the Senate, House Republicans say they feel no pressure to act quickly on a similar measure. PAGE A18

### Democrats Retain Kerry Seat

Representative Edward J. Markey won a special election in Massachusetts to fill John Kerry's Senate seat. PAGE A13



## NATIONAL

### A Life in the Dugout

At 76, a Texas manager is in his 57th year in baseball. This Land. PAGE A13

### A Milestone for F.D.A.

The F.D.A. began using what it won in 2009 to oversee cigarettes. PAGE A18

## BUSINESS DAY B1-10

### Chinese Pursue U.S. Real Estate

Investors from China are not only buying marquee sites but also make up a major share of foreign buyers of American homes. PAGE B1

### Big Gain in Home Prices

Prices for homes in 20 cities increased 12 percent in the last year, the largest gain since early 2006. PAGE B1

## NEW YORK A19-23

### Cash in Jet Shipment Vanishes

More than \$1 million disappeared from a shipment of cash that was flown to New York from Switzerland. PAGE A21



## DINING D1-8

### Perfection in Purple

The eggplant, Mark Bittman writes, is a food like no other: versatile, substantial and delicious enough to play any role at the table. The Flexitarian. PAGE D1

### Stirring a Debate

Paula Deen's troubles have revived debates among Southern cooks over race, class and culinary heritage. PAGE D1

## ARTS C1-7

### Hollywood and the Nazis

A scholar says that studios cooperated with Nazi propaganda efforts. PAGE C1

## OBITUARIES B17

### Richard Matheson Dies

The writer, whose haunting tales inspired Stephen King, was 87. PAGE B17

## EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

### Voting Rights Attacked PAGE A24



0 354 613 9

## JUSTICES EXTEND BENEFITS TO GAY COUPLES; ALLOW SAME-SEX MARRIAGES IN CALIFORNIA



MICHAEL APPLETON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Edith Windsor, who sued to have the Defense of Marriage Act overturned, spoke in the West Village after the ruling.

WHERE SAME-SEX MARRIAGE HAS BEEN APPROVED



Same-sex couples will receive federal benefits.

WHERE CIVIL UNIONS OR DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIPS ARE ALLOWED



Couples in civil unions are not directly affected by the ruling.

WHERE SAME-SEX MARRIAGE IS NOT ALLOWED



Same-sex couples who marry in other states will receive some federal benefits.

### Bill to Expand U.S. Database To Verify Hires

By JULIA PRESTON and ASHLEY PARKER

WASHINGTON — The sweeping immigration measure advancing rapidly in the Senate goes far beyond much-debated border security measures and a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants with a crucial requirement that could affect every American who takes a new job in the future.

The provision, a linchpin of the legislation, would require all employers in the country within five years to use a federal electronic system to verify the legal eligibility to work of every new hire, including American citizens.

The verification plan has united an unusual array of supporters — including Democrats protective of workers' rights and Republicans normally skeptical of government intrusion — who say it is essential for preventing illegal immigration in the future because it would remove the jobs magnet that attracts migrants to this country.

Continued on Page A24

### C.I.A. Sees Concerns on Ties to New York Police

By CHARLIE SAVAGE

WASHINGTON — Four Central Intelligence Agency officers were embedded with the New York Police Department in the decade after Sept. 11, 2001, including one official who helped conduct surveillance operations in the United States, according to a newly disclosed C.I.A. inspector general's report.

That officer believed there were "no limitations" on his activities, the report said, because he was on an unpaid leave of absence, and thus exempt from the prohibition against domestic spying by members of the C.I.A.

Another embedded C.I.A. analyst — who was on its payroll — said he was given "unfiltered" police reports that included information unrelated to foreign intelligence, the C.I.A. report said.

The once-classified review, completed by the C.I.A. inspector general in December 2011, found that the four agency analysts — more than had previously been known — were assigned at various times to "provide direct assistance" to the local police. The report also raised a series of concerns about the relationship between the two organizations.

The C.I.A. inspector general, David B. Buckley, found that the collaboration was fraught with "irregular personnel practices," that it lacked "formal documenta-

tion in some important instances," and that "there was inadequate direction and control" by agency supervisors.

"While negative public perception is to be expected from the revelation of the agency's close and direct collaboration with any local domestic police department, a perception that the agency has exceeded its authorities diminishes the trust placed in the organization," Mr. Buckley wrote in a cover memo to David H. Petraeus, then the C.I.A. director.

The declassification of the executive summary, in response to a Freedom of Information Act suit, comes at a time of intense interest in domestic spying after

Continued on Page A27

#### NEWS ANALYSIS

### Court Follows Nation's Lead

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

LOS ANGELES — When proponents of same-sex marriage decided nearly five years ago to bring their legal battle before the Supreme Court, the decision set off a spasm of anxiety among many gay leaders worried that an adverse ruling would set back a fight that many of them had never really wanted.

But as the Supreme Court issued its last-day-of-court rulings on Wednesday, nullifying the federal law that defined marriage as a union between a man and a woman and effectively permitting same-sex marriage in California, what was also clear was just how rapidly much of the country had moved beyond the court. Rulings that just three years ago would have loomed as polarizing and even stunning instead served to underscore and ratify vast political changes that have taken place across much of the country.

"Things are dramatically different today," said Chad H. Griffin, the president of the Human Rights Campaign and the founder of the gay rights group that brought the case against the California ban. "When we filed this case, there were three states that had marriage equality, there was one Republican official who supported marriage equality, Vice President Cheney, and public support of marriage equality was in the high 30s or low 40s."

Sentiments against gay marriage remain high in many quarters of the country.

It is explicitly outlawed in 37 states.

Continued on Page A21

LEGAL PATCHWORK Congress may need to deal with benefit disparities between states. PAGE A22

CALIFORNIA COUPLES It's "when" not "if" in talk of vows. PAGE A21

### TWO 5-4 DECISIONS

#### A Cutting Dissent — Bans Around U.S. Stay in Place

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — In a pair of major victories for the gay rights movement, the Supreme Court on Wednesday ruled that married same-sex couples were entitled to federal benefits and, by declining to decide a case from California, effectively allowed same-sex marriages there.

The rulings leave in place laws banning same-sex marriage around the nation, and the court declined to say whether there was a constitutional right to such unions. But in clearing the way for same-sex marriage in California, the nation's most populous state, the court effectively increased to 13 the number of states that allow it.

The decisions will only intensify the fast-moving debate over same-sex marriage, and the clash in the Supreme Court reflected the one around the nation. In the hushed courtroom Wednesday morning, Justice Anthony M. Kennedy announced the majority opinion striking down the federal law in a stately tone that indicated he was delivering a civil rights landmark. After he finished, he sat stonily, looking straight ahead, while Justice Antonin Scalia unleashed a cutting dissent.

The vote in the case striking down the federal Defense of Marriage Act was 5 to 4, and Justice Kennedy was joined by the four members of the court's liberal wing. The ruling will immediately extend many benefits to couples married in the states that allow such unions, and it will allow the Obama administration to broaden other benefits through executive actions.

The case concerning California's ban on same-sex marriage,

Continued on Page A20

### Cost of Public Projects Is Rising, And Pain Will Be Felt for Years

By MARY WILLIAMS WALSH

States and cities across the nation are starting to learn what Wall Street already knows: the days of easy money are coming to an end.

Interest rates have been inching up everywhere, sending America's vast market for municipal bonds, a crucial source of financing for roads, bridges, schools and more, into its steepest decline since the dark days of the financial crisis in 2008.

For one state, Illinois, the higher interest rates will add up to \$130 million over the next 25 years — and that is for just one new borrowing. All told, the interest burden of states and localities is likely to grow by many billions, sapping tax dollars that otherwise might have been spent on public services.

The same concerns about rising rates that have buffeted the

world's stock markets recently have also affected the market for municipal bonds. The muni market, despite a modest rally on Wednesday, is headed for one of its worst months in years.

Much as home mortgage rates are making home buying a bit more costly as they rise, so, too, are the rates at which states and cities borrow money. Public officials — and taxpayers — may feel the effects for years. Perversely, the places with the greatest distress are likely to see their borrowing costs rise most.

Over the last few days Georgia, Philadelphia, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority in New York and others have delayed sales of new bonds, citing the precipitous plunge in prices that is driving up interest rates.

Gov. Pat Quinn of Illinois at

Continued on Page A3

#### INTERNATIONAL A4-15

##### Obama's Africa Ties Strained

President Obama is skipping Kenya, his father's homeland, as he visits sub-Saharan Africa, in a sign of the obstacles to his hopes for the continent. PAGE A4



#### SPORTSTHURSDAY B11-16

##### Patriots Player Is Arrested

Tight end Aaron Hernandez, who was released by the Patriots after his arrest, was charged with the murder of his friend Odin Lloyd, a 27-year-old semipro football player. PAGE B11

##### Ranks Thin at Wimbledon

In Wimbledon's second round, seven players retired or withdrew with injuries, and Roger Federer lost. PAGE B11

#### NATIONAL A3, 18-24

##### Standing in the Way of a Vote

Wendy Davis caught the spotlight in a filibuster in the Texas Senate. The Fort Worth Democrat stood and talked for more than 11 hours to block passage of an anti-abortion bill, but lawmakers will take up the measure again. PAGE A18

##### Now Pitching, Homo Erectus

The classic overhand throw is an evolutionary adaptation going back 1.8 million years, scientists say. PAGE A3

#### BUSINESS DAY B1-10

##### Impact of U.S. Budget Cuts

The \$85 billion federal budget cut is negatively affecting private sector jobs, with some contractors reporting layoffs and analysts saying more subtle ripples are still coming. PAGE B1

#### NEW YORK A25-29

##### 10 Charged in Inmate's Beating

A supervisor at Rikers Island ordered officers to kick a prisoner's teeth in, prosecutors in the Bronx said. PAGE A25

#### OBITUARIES B16-17

##### Marc Rich, Pardoned Trader

A financier who fled to Switzerland after being indicted and then was pardoned by President Bill Clinton in his last hours in office, Mr. Rich was 78. PAGE B17



#### HOME D1-8

##### Aesthetics Of Grit

A series of articles will take a look at places around the world where design is flourishing. First up is Williamsburg, Brooklyn, which is now filled with visually arresting goods like the marble mosaic above, made by Gregory Muller Associates. PAGE D1

#### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A30-31

##### Gail Collins

PAGE A31



## EGYPT ARMY OUSTS MORSI, SUSPENDS CHARTER



AMR NABIL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Fireworks erupted in Cairo's Tahrir Square on Wednesday night as opponents of President Mohamed Morsi celebrated his ouster by the Egyptian military.

### CAIRO CELEBRATES

#### Interim Government Named as 'Coup' Is Condemned

By DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK

CAIRO — Egypt's military officers removed the country's first democratically elected president, Mohamed Morsi, on Wednesday, suspended the Constitution and installed an interim government presided over by a senior jurist.

Tahrir Square, where tens of thousands of opponents of the government had gathered each night since Sunday to demand Mr. Morsi's removal, erupted in fireworks and jubilation at news of the ouster. At a square near the presidential palace where Mr. Morsi's Islamist supporters had gathered, men broke into tears and vowed to stay until he was reinstated or they were forcibly removed. "The dogs have done it and made a coup against us," they chanted. "Dying for the sake of God is more sublime than anything," a speaker declared.

Mr. Morsi rejected the generals' actions as a "complete military coup."

Military vehicles and soldiers in riot gear had surrounded the rally in the hours before the takeover, and tensions escalated through the night. Within hours, at least seven people had died and more than 300 were injured in clashes in 17 provinces between Mr. Morsi's supporters and either civilian opponents or security forces.

By the end of the night, Mr. Morsi was in military custody and blocked from all communications, one of his advisers said, and many of his senior aides were under house arrest. Egyptian security forces had arrested at least 38 senior leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood, including Saad el-Katatni, the chief of the group's political party, and others were being rounded up as well, security officials said. No immediate reasons were given for the detentions.

For Mr. Morsi, it was a bitter and ignominious end to a tumultuous year of bruising political battles that ultimately alienated

Continued on Page A12

CRESTFALLEN BACKERS Not all in Egypt were cheering. PAGE A13

'MYSTERY MAN' Little is known about the acting leader. PAGE A13

### Military Reasserts Its Allegiance to Its Privileges

By BEN HUBBARD

CAIRO — For most of his year in power, President Mohamed Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood thought they had tamed Egypt's military, forcing out top generals and reaching a deal with their successors that protected the armed forces from civilian oversight.

That deal collapsed this week. With tanks and soldiers in the streets and around the presidential palace, the military's top officer, Gen. Abdul-Fattah el-Sisi, did not even utter Mr. Morsi's name as he announced that the president had been deposed and the Constitution suspended.

And suddenly, Mr. Morsi, like his immediate predecessor, Hosni Mubarak, discovered the enduring fact that the military looks out for itself above all else. It is not ideological, but is intensely politicized.

"Egypt's military leaders are

not ideologically committed to one thing or the other; they believe in their place in the political order," said Steven A. Cook, a Middle East expert at the Council on Foreign Relations. "They are willing to make a deal with virtually anyone, and this one didn't work out, clearly."

While justifying its intervention in politics as serving the will of the people, the military has never been a force for democracy. It has one primary objective,



EGYPTIAN STATE TELEVISION

Gen. Abdul-Fattah el-Sisi

analysts said: preserving national stability and its untouchable realm of privilege within the Egyptian state.

But with millions in the street opposing the president, and the Brotherhood consistently trying to consolidate its authority, the military decided that time was up on the Morsi presidency.

"We are disciplined, and we have the weapons," one ranking officer said Wednesday, speaking on the condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to comment. "That's what's on the market right now. Do you see any other solid institution on the scene?"

The face of that military was General Sisi, a rakish officer, his chest full of medals, a beret pulled tight over his forehead, as he grasped a lectern with both hands and addressed his nation, insisting that the goal was to restore national unity. He played

Continued on Page A12

### Ambassador Becomes Focus Of Egyptians' Mistrust of U.S.

By MARK LANDLER

WASHINGTON — Her image has been plastered on banners in Tahrir Square, crossed out with a blood-red X or distorted and smeared with insults. She is too cozy with Egypt's deposed president and the Muslim Brotherhood, the signs say, and should leave the country.

Anne W. Patterson, a press-shy career diplomat who has been American ambassador to Cairo since 2011, suddenly finds herself a target in a dangerous political upheaval, a symbol for angry young Egyptians of America's meddlesome role in their country's affairs.

With the Egyptian military ousting President Mohamed Morsi on Wednesday, Ms. Patterson will have to navigate a perilous course between Mr.

Morsi's opponents and his enraged Islamist supporters, both of whom have grievances with the United States.

That she has become such a lightning rod for American policy speaks to the legacy of American involvement in Egypt and to the comparatively low level of attention Egypt has received from the Obama administration since the ouster of Hosni Mubarak two and a half years ago — at least until this week's turmoil.

As her bosses in Washington struggle to exert even modest influence over the events in Cairo, Ms. Patterson, 63, has been portrayed as a sinister force by pro- and antigovernment protesters alike: a defender of the status quo as well as a troublemaker

Continued on Page A13

### Postal Service Is Watching, Too: Outside of All Mail Is Recorded

By RON NIXON

WASHINGTON — Leslie James Pickering noticed something odd in his mail last September: a handwritten card, apparently delivered by mistake, with instructions for postal workers to pay special attention to the letters and packages sent to his home.

"Show all mail to supv" — supervisor — "for copying prior to going out on the street," read the card. It included Mr. Pickering's name, address and the type of mail that needed to be monitored. The word "confidential" was highlighted in green.

"It was a bit of a shock to see it," said Mr. Pickering, who with his wife owns a small bookstore in Buffalo. More than a decade ago, he was a spokesman for the Earth Liberation Front, a radical environmental group labeled ecoterrorists by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Postal officials subsequently confirmed they were indeed tracking Mr. Pickering's mail but told him nothing

else. As the world focuses on the high-tech spying of the National Security Agency, the misplaced card offers a rare glimpse inside the seemingly low-tech but prevalent snooping of the United States Postal Service.

Mr. Pickering was targeted by a longtime surveillance system called mail covers, a forerunner of a vastly more expansive effort, the Mail Isolation Control and Tracking program, in which Postal Service computers photograph the exterior of every piece of paper mail that is processed in the United States — about 160 billion pieces last year. It is not known how long the government saves the images.

Together, the two programs show that postal mail is subject to the same kind of scrutiny that the National Security Agency has given to telephone calls and e-mail.

The mail covers program, used

Continued on Page A16

DOUGLAS C. ENGELBART, 1925-2013

### Computer Visionary Who Invented the Mouse

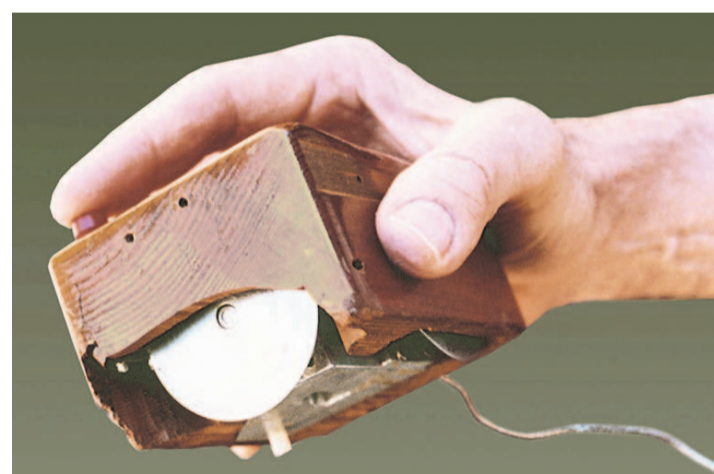
By JOHN MARKOFF

Douglas C. Engelbart was 25, just engaged to be married and thinking about his future when he had an epiphany in 1950 that would change the world.

He had a good job working at a government aerospace laboratory in California, but he wanted to do something more with his life, something of value that might last, even outlive him. Then it came to him. In a single stroke he had what might be safely called a complete vision of the information age.

The epiphany spoke to him of technology's potential to expand human intelligence, and from it he spun out a career that indeed had lasting impact. It led to a host of inventions that became the basis for the Internet and the modern personal computer.

In later years, one of those inventions was given a warmhearted name, evoking a small, furry creature given to scurrying across flat surfaces: the computer mouse.



APIC, VIA GETTY IMAGES

A prototype of the first computer mouse, which was invented in 1964 by Dr. Engelbart and constructed by two of his associates.

Dr. Engelbart died on Tuesday at 88 at his home in Atherton, Calif. His wife, Karen O'Leary Engelbart, said the cause was kidney failure.

Computing was in its infancy when Dr. Engelbart entered the field. Computers were ungainly room-size calculating machines

that could be used by only one person at a time. Someone would feed them information in stacks of punched cards and then wait hours for a printout of answers. Interactive computing was a thing of the future, or in science fiction. But it was germinating in

Continued on Page A23



INTERNATIONAL A4-13

#### Court Ruling in Mandela Feud

A South African judge ordered that the bodies of three of Nelson Mandela's children be exhumed and moved. PAGE A4

#### Snowden Case Recriminations

Latin Americans protested the treatment of Bolivia's president. PAGE A6

NATIONAL A3, 14-18

#### Ripple Effect of Law's Delay

The Obama administration's delay of part of the health care law prompted questions about its readiness and brought a Republican inquiry. PAGE A14

#### Researchers Build Tiny Livers

Using human stem cells, researchers have created tiny livers like those that arise early in fetal life. PAGE A3

NEW YORK A19-22

#### One More Hot Dog . . .

Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg's lighter ceremonial appearances have not always run smoothly. PAGE A19



THURSDAY STYLES E1-8

#### What Exactly Is 'Couture'?

Karl Lagerfeld and Raf Simons define it with their new collections, Cathy Horny writes. Above, Armani gowns. PAGE E1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

#### Gail Collins

PAGE A25

BUSINESS DAY B1-9

#### Spreading Use of Drones

The federal border protection agency is increasingly allowing law enforcement agencies to use its drones. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-8

#### At Bat for the Anthem

Baseball teams put a lot of thought into "The Star-Spangled Banner," especially on the nation's birthday. PAGE C1

SPORTSTHURSDAY B10-15

#### Boat's Next Trick: Levitation

The America's Cup yachts can sail with both hulls out of the water. PAGE B10



HOME D1-8

#### For Love of Llamas

Owners say they are gentle and affectionate and can comfort people. PAGE D1



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## 2 DIE, 180 INJURED AS PLANE CRASHES IN SAN FRANCISCO

### SOUTH KOREAN AIRLINER

At Least 5 People Are  
Critical as Jet Breaks  
Up and Burns

By NORIMITSU ONISHI  
and RAVI SOMAIYA

SAN FRANCISCO — An Asiana Airlines passenger jet traveling from Seoul, South Korea, crashed while landing Saturday at San Francisco International Airport, smashed into pieces and caught fire, killing at least two people and injuring more than 180 others.

Smoke billowed out of holes in the fuselage of the Boeing 777 on Saturday afternoon as firefighters rushed to douse the wreckage and passengers scrambled to safety down inflated escape chutes. The plane's tail, landing gear and one of its engines were ripped off.

"It hit with its tail, spun down the runway, and bounced," said one witness, Stefanie Turner, 32. Despite incredible damage to the plane, left dismembered and scarred, with large chunks of its body burned away, many of the 307 aboard were able to walk away on their own.

One hundred eighty-two people were injured, said Joanne Hayes-White, the San Francisco fire chief, and 123 were unhurt.

"We observed multiple numbers of people coming down the chutes and walking to their safety," Chief Hayes-White said. At least five people were listed in critical condition at hospitals. The chief said the two bodies were discovered on the runway and that several passengers were found in San Francisco Bay, where, she said, they may have sought refuge from the fire.

One passenger, a South Korean teenager wearing a yellow T-shirt and plaid shorts, said that

Continued on Page 15

## In Wyoming, A Cheney Run Worries G.O.P.

By JONATHAN MARTIN

LUSK, Wyo. — A young Dick Cheney began his first campaign for the House in this tiny village — population 1,600 — after the state's sole Congressional seat finally opened up. But nowadays, his daughter Liz does not seem inclined to wait patiently for such an opening.

Ms. Cheney, 46, is showing up everywhere in the state, from chicken dinners to cattle growers' meetings, sometimes with her parents in tow. She has made it clear that she wants to run for the Senate seat now held by Michael B. Enzi, a soft-spoken Republican and onetime fly-fishing partner of her father.

But Ms. Cheney's move threatens to start a civil war within the state's Republican establishment, despite the reverence many hold for her family.

Mr. Enzi, 69, says he is not ready to retire, and many Republicans say he has done nothing to deserve being turned out.

It would bring about "the destruction of the Republican Party

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JOHN GREEN/SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Fire crews worked on an Asiana Airlines jet that crashed on landing at San Francisco International Airport on Saturday.

## Morsi Spurned Deals, Seeing Military as Tamed

By DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK  
and MAYY EL SHEIKH

CAIRO — As President Mohamed Morsi huddled in his guard's quarters during his last hours as Egypt's first elected leader, he received a call from an Arab foreign minister with a final offer to end a standoff with the country's top generals, senior advisers with the president said.

The foreign minister said he was acting as an emissary of Washington, the advisers said, and he asked if Mr. Morsi would accept the appointment of a new prime minister and cabinet, one that would take over all legislative powers and replace his cho-

### Aides Say He Vowed to Die Rather Than Abandon Office

sen provincial governors.

The aides said they already knew what Mr. Morsi's answer would be. He had responded to a similar proposal by pointing at his neck. "This before that," he had told his aides, repeating a vow to die before accepting what he considered a de facto coup and thus a crippling blow to Egyptian democracy.

His top foreign policy adviser,

Essam el-Haddad, then left the room to call the United States ambassador, Anne W. Patterson, to say that Mr. Morsi refused. When he returned, he said he had spoken to Susan E. Rice, the national security adviser, and that the military takeover was about to begin, senior aides said.

"Mother just told us that we will stop playing in one hour," an aide texted an associate, playing on a sarcastic Egyptian expression for the country's Western patron, "Mother America."

The State Department had no comment Saturday on the details of the American role in Mr. Morsi's final days.

The abrupt end of Egypt's first Islamist government was the culmination of months of escalating tensions and ultimately futile American efforts to broker a solution that would keep Mr. Morsi in his elected office, at least in name, if not in power.

A new alliance of youthful activists and Mubarak-era elites was driving street protests. A collapsing economy put new pressure on Mr. Morsi and his allies in the Muslim Brotherhood, the once-outlawed Islamist group that had finally come to power after the ouster of the former president, Hosni Mubarak. And an alliance between Mr. Morsi and the nation's top generals was gradually unraveling.

Senior Brotherhood officials said Mr. Morsi's adamant re-

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## Cracks Emerge As Egyptians Seek Premier

By BEN HUBBARD

CAIRO — Egypt's new leaders struggled to put together a new government on Saturday, with disagreements over who should be the interim prime minister spilling out into public view and showcasing the divisions among those who had endorsed the overthrow of the country's first democratically elected president.

State news media initially reported that Mohamed ElBaradei, the Nobel Prize-winning diplomat and a vocal critic of Egypt's last three leaders, had been chosen as prime minister, a move that would have given the generals who ousted President Mohamed Morsi a head of government likely to appeal to the country's liberals and to the West.

But within hours, the fissures that had vexed Mr. Morsi's rule re-emerged to undo the reported decision. The ultraconservative party Al Nour, the one Islamic faction that had backed the military takeover, said it would refuse to work with Mr. ElBaradei because of his liberal views.

Around midnight, after hours of contradictory news coverage, the new interim president then backed away from the earlier re-

Continued on Page 8



MOHAMED EL-SHAHED/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

A funeral on Saturday for a victim of clashes in Cairo. Political protests have been spreading around the nation in recent days.

## A Painful Mix of Fire, Wind and Questions

By FERNANDA SANTOS  
and JACK HEALY

PRESCOTT, Ariz. — They trained their eyes on the mountain that smoldered in the distance as they carved a path through a forest choked by fire and drought. The ground crackled underfoot. Packs sagged from their backs, heavy with the gear frontline firefighters must carry: pickaxes, temperature gauges, spades, radios, plenty of water.

Down in the valley, a village burned. "This is pretty wild," one of the firefighters, Andrew Ashcraft, wrote in a text message to his wife, Juliann, at 2:02 p.m. that Sunday as the team continued its fateful march through the wilderness.

Three minutes later and 130 miles away, a meteorologist at

the National Weather Service office in Flagstaff spotted trouble on the radar: thunderstorms and dangerous winds heading toward the firefighters. He picked up the phone and alerted the fire's dispatch center. Officials at the center transmit information by radio to the firefighters. The meteorologist called the center again at 3:30 p.m., repeating his warning.

It is unclear at this point whether the firefighters ever received those messages.

At 3:19 p.m., Mr. Ashcraft sent another message to his wife: "I would love some rain over here."

Ms. Ashcraft never heard from her husband again. All but one of the 20 members of the team, a highly skilled fire suppression squad known as the Granite Mountain Hotshots, lost their lives that day in the moun-

tains 32 miles southwest of Prescott. In the week since, amid tears and tributes, a question has weighed over this shaken community: how could they have died?

"It had to have been a perfect storm," said Wade Ward, a firefighter and a spokesman for the Prescott Fire Department who was close to the men. "They were very cautious, very conservative, and they were very skilled."

Investigators are now beginning the task, which will take months, of unraveling how a routine afternoon of cutting fire lines along the edge of a community threatened by flames turned into the deadliest day for wilderness firefighters in 80 years. What caused the tragedy is still unknown. But in recent years, fires

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MAX WHITTAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Brendan McDonough, the only surviving member of the Hotshots crew, with a fellow firefighter at a tribute to his colleagues.

### INTERNATIONAL 4-11

**Britain Departs Militant Cleric**  
Britain's 10-year effort to deport the militant Islamic cleric known as Abu Qatada ended as he flew to his native Jordan to face terrorism charges. PAGE 4

### NATIONAL 12-14

**Ads Against Health Care Law**  
Americans for Prosperity, a conservative advocacy group backed by Charles and David Koch, will run television ads against the new federal law. PAGE 12

### Atlantic City Doubles Down

An Atlantic City resort that downplayed its casino is now heavily promoting it, part of a larger movement in the city to recover losses in revenue. PAGE 4

### SPORTSSUNDAY

**Bartoli Takes Wimbledon Title**  
Marion Bartoli, the 28-year-old from France, captured her first Grand Slam championship with a 6-1, 6-4 victory over Germany's Sabine Lisicki. PAGE 1

### SUNDAY REVIEW

**Maureen Dowd** PAGE 1



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Former Trader Is Found Liable In Fraud Case

S.E.C.'s First Big Win of Financial Crisis

By SUSANNE CRAIG and BEN PROTESS

A former Goldman Sachs trader at the center of a toxic mortgage deal lost a closely watched legal battle on Thursday, giving Wall Street's top regulator its first significant courtroom victory in a case stemming from the financial crisis.

A federal jury found the trader, Fabrice Tourre, liable on six counts of civil securities fraud after a three-week trial in Lower Manhattan. The case had offered both sides — the government and Mr. Tourre — a shot at repairing their reputations.

For the Securities and Exchange Commission, a regulator dogged by its failure to thwart the crisis, the case offered a shot at redemption following one courtroom disappointment after another, including two similar mortgage-related cases that crumbled last year.

For Mr. Tourre, 34, who abandoned his trading career to pursue a doctorate in economics and become a teacher, the threat of being barred from Wall Street came second to the black mark

Continued on Page B6



RICHARD DREW/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Fabrice Tourre on Thursday.

TRADER'S HIRING OFFERS A GLIMPSE OF SAC PRACTICES

WARNING WAS UNHEEDED

Ex-Worker Said to Have Data on Additional Insider Deals

By BEN PROTESS and PETER LATTMAN

Richard S. Lee's first day of running a trading desk was his last.

In March 2008, hours after starting a new job at Citadel, Mr. Lee signed into the hedge fund's accounting system and misstated the value of his holdings, according to people briefed on the matter. That effort ultimately would have inflated Mr. Lee's returns by about \$4.5 million. Citadel, based in Chicago, detected the misconduct and fired him the next morning.

Such a shady move would have blacklisted most traders from Wall Street, but Mr. Lee found a new home: SAC Capital Advisors, the hedge fund run by the billionaire stock picker Steven A. Cohen that federal prosecutors have called a "magnet of market cheaters." Although a Citadel employee and SAC's legal department warned about Mr. Lee's past, Mr. Cohen hired him anyway.

An examination of Mr. Lee's hedge fund career underscores his importance to the government's criminal insider-trading case against SAC. Federal authorities in Manhattan announced SAC's indictment last week, an unusual, forceful action against a large company.

Mr. Lee, who has pleaded guilty and is cooperating with investigators, proved crucial to the

Continued on Page B7

Defiant Russia Grants Snowden Year's Asylum



This document allowed Edward J. Snowden to leave his airport refuge in Moscow on Thursday.

U.S. Is Infuriated by Decision on Leaker

By STEVEN LEE MYERS and ANDREW E. KRAMER

MOSCOW — Brushing aside pleas and warnings from President Obama and other senior Americans, Russia granted Edward J. Snowden temporary asylum and allowed him to walk free out of a Moscow airport transit zone on Thursday despite the risk of a breach in relations with the United States.

Russia's decision, which infuriated American officials, ended five weeks of legal limbo for Mr. Snowden, the former intelligence analyst wanted by the United States for leaking details of the National Security Agency's surveillance programs, and opened a new phase of his legal and political odyssey.

Even as his leaks continued with new disclosures from the computer files he downloaded, Mr. Snowden now has legal permission to live — and conceivably even work — anywhere here for as long as a year, safely out of the reach of American prosecutors. Though some supporters expect him to seek permanent sanctuary elsewhere, possibly in Latin America, Mr. Snowden now has an international platform to continue defending his actions as a whistle-blower exposing wrongdoing by the American government.

In a statement issued by WikiLeaks, the antisecrecy organization that has been assisting him since he made his disclosures in June, Mr. Snowden thanked Russia for giving him permission to enter the country "in accordance with its laws and international obligations." He accused the Obama administration of disregarding domestic and international

Continued on Page A3

Coming to an Old Friend's Aid, With Eye on the Clinton Image

By AMY CHOZICK and MICHAEL M. GRYNBAUM

Moments before Huma Abedin stood amid a phalanx of television cameras last week and announced to a national audience that she was standing by her embattled husband, Anthony D. Weiner, she made a quick phone call to a trusted colleague.

Philippe I. Reines, the personal spokesman and adviser to Hillary Rodham Clinton, picked up the phone. Longtime allies from Mrs. Clinton's close-knit inner circle, the two spoke for several minutes before Ms. Abedin ended the call and stepped before reporters to make her statement.



MICHAEL APPLETON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Huma Abedin, Anthony D. Weiner's wife, is a top aide to Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Mr. Reines, 43, said his primary interest was in supporting his close friend Ms. Abedin, who has been an aide to Mrs. Clinton since the White House years, during a difficult time. But he also called Mrs. Clinton to make sure she knew what was about to unfold, according to a person briefed on their conversation.

Mr. Reines's behind-the-scenes presence illustrates the overlapping roles played by Clinton advisers as they seek to help Ms. Abedin navigate the circuslike atmosphere surrounding the campaign, and at the same time protect the Clinton brand from any spillover damage.

It underscores the extent to which top aides in the extended Clinton family, whatever titles they take on inside and outside government, remain steadfast in their desire to protect the interests of their benefactors, Bill and Hillary Clinton.

For Mr. Reines, known in Washington as Mrs. Clinton's fiercest protector, some juggling has been necessary. When a crew from People magazine arrived at the Weiners' apartment building last summer, Mr. Reines, then a top official at the State Department, greeted them. He had traveled from his Washington office to be present for the photo shoot and interview, which lasted hours and resulted in a glossy feature in which Ms. Abedin said "We're a normal family" and which marked the beginning of Mr. Weiner's attempted comeback.

The overlapping lines that

Continued on Page A18

G.O.P. Rifts Lead Congress to Spending Impasse

By JONATHAN WEISMAN and JACKIE CALMES

WASHINGTON — Hours before leaving on summer recess, Congress on Thursday hit a seemingly intractable impasse on government spending, increasing the prospects of a government shutdown in the fall and adding new urgency to fiscal negotiations between the White House and a bloc of Senate Republicans.

The group of eight lawmakers headed to the White House to find a way forward after Senate Republicans filibustered a housing and transportation spending measure, saying it violated a

spending deal struck two years ago. The blockade of the Senate bill came after House Republican leaders on Wednesday gave up on a more austere version of the bill when moderate Republicans balked and said the cuts in the House measure were too deep.

For more than two and a half hours, the group met with the White House chief of staff, Denis R. McDonough, senior budget officials and, for nearly an hour, with President Obama. They emerged to say they would meet again at least once during the August recess.

Senator Bob Corker, Republican of Tennessee, said the president pressed the group to aim for

a deficit-reduction deal that would be larger than simply replacing the across-the-board spending cuts known as sequester with savings elsewhere in the budget.

"Each time we meet there's a little more clarity," Mr. Corker said. But he warned, "Nobody should get overly excited."

The collapse of the spending measures on both sides of the Capitol left leaders of both parties pointing fingers and a resolution up in the air until the House and Senate return after a five-week break.

"If we can't recognize the reality of those failures, then we've

Continued on Page A12

Theory on Pain Is Driving Rules For Abortions

By ERIK ECKHOLM

It challenges four decades of constitutional doctrine and is based on disputed scientific theories.

Yet a push to ban abortion at 20 weeks after conception, on the theory that the fetus can feel pain at that point, has emerged as a potent new tactic of the anti-abortion movement. Advocates saw the potential of such a measure because it taps into public concern about late-stage abortions, appears to alter the rules only incrementally, and claims to be rooted in science.

"Any time we talk about developmental landmarks of the unborn child, anything showing that the unborn child is a member of the human family — that gets the public to take a closer look at abortion," said Mary Spaulding Balch, the state policy director of the National Right to Life Committee, who is widely seen as the architect of 20-week legislation.

The 20-week ban was first adopted in 2010 in Nebraska, where conservatives aimed to rein in one well-known abortion doctor. A pain-based abortion limit has now been enacted in a dozen states, most recently in Texas, and a bill to impose one nationally passed the Republican-controlled House in June. One recent poll, while affirming public support for legal abortion over all, suggested that a majority of people would draw the line at 20 weeks of pregnancy.

Abortion rights advocates call

Continued on Page A11



CHRISTOPHER GREGORY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

King Memorial Loses a Criticized Phrase

A condensed quotation was removed from the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial. Page A13.

INTERNATIONAL A4-8

Berlusconi Sentence Upheld

Italy's highest court upheld a prison term for tax fraud for former Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, sending the country's fragile coalition government on the road to crisis. PAGE A4

U.S. Acts on Terror Threat

A terrorism threat is prompting the weekend closing of American diplomatic missions in the Middle East, North Africa and South Asia. PAGE A7

Talk of Ending Drone Strikes

In Pakistan, Secretary of State John Kerry said he hoped American drone strikes could end shortly. PAGE A7

NATIONAL A10-14

Wrenching Scene in Cleveland

Michelle Knight, who was held captive for a decade, confronted her abductor, Ariel Castro, as he was sentenced to life in prison without possibility of parole, plus 1,000 years. PAGE A10



NEW YORK A15-19

A Deadly Fall in Midtown

A 35-year-old advertising manager fell from her 17th-floor balcony when the railing collapsed beneath her during a first date. PAGE A15

Few Answers for a Police Tactic

Few practical solutions have been offered in addressing concerns raised by stop-and-frisk practices. PAGE A15

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

3 Candidates Emerge for Fed

After criticism, President Obama is interviewing three candidates to lead the central bank. PAGE B1

WEEKEND C1-28

Day Trips to Summer Treats

The Storm King Art Center in Mountainville, N.Y., where Thomas Housego's "Untitled Striding Figure 1" can be found, is one of the regional museums suggested by Times art critics. PAGE C21



SPORTSFRIDAY B9-14

Under Glare, a Star Retreats

Alex Rodriguez worked out at a locked stadium as a ban loomed. PAGE B9

OBITUARIES B14-15

Dick Kazmaier Is Dead at 82

The Princeton back spurned the N.F.L. after winning the Heisman. PAGE B15

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Paul Krugman

PAGE A21



## HUNDREDS OF EGYPTIANS KILLED IN GOVERNMENT RAIDS; EMERGENCY DECLARED AS SECTARIAN VIOLENCE SPREADS



A young man next to the bodies of protesters killed on Wednesday. Many of the dead were shot in the head or chest; some appeared to be in their early teens.

### OVER 1,000 WOUNDED

### Vice President Resigns in Protest — U.S. Urges Respect for Rights

By DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK

CAIRO — Egyptian security officers stormed two encampments packed with supporters of the ousted president, Mohamed Morsi, on Wednesday in a scorched-earth assault that killed hundreds, set off a violent backlash across Egypt and underscored the new government's determination to crush the Islamists who dominated two years of free elections.

The attack, the third mass killing of Islamist demonstrators since the military ousted Mr. Morsi six weeks ago, followed a series of government threats. But the scale — lasting more than 12 hours, with armored vehicles, bulldozers, tear gas, birdshot, live ammunition and snipers — and the ferocity far exceeded the Interior Ministry's promises of a gradual and measured dispersal.

At least one protester was incinerated in his tent. Many others were shot in the head or chest, including some who appeared to be in their early teens, including the 17-year-old daughter of a prominent Islamist leader, Mohamed el-Beltagy. At a makeshift morgue in one field hospital on Wednesday morning, the number of bodies grew to 12 from 3 in the space of 15 minutes.

"Martyrs, this way," a medic called out to direct the men bringing new stretchers; the hems of women's abayas were stained from the pools of blood covering the floor.

Adli Mansour, the figurehead president appointed by Gen. Abdul-Fattah el-Sisi, declared a state of emergency, removing any limits on police action and returning Egypt to the state of virtual martial law that prevailed for three decades under President Hosni Mubarak. The government imposed a 7 p.m. curfew in most of the country, closed the banks and shut down all north-south train service.

The Muslim Brotherhood, the main Islamist group behind Mr. Morsi, reiterated its rejection of violence but called on Egyptians across the country to rise up in protest, and its supporters marched toward the camps to battle the police with rocks and firebombs.

Clashes and gunfire broke out even in well-heeled precincts of the capital far from the protest camps, leaving anxious residents huddled in their homes and the streets all but emptied of life. Angry Islamists attacked at least a dozen po-

Continued on Page A10

## In Fierce and Swift Attack on Camps: Sirens, Gunfire, Then Screams of Pain

By KAREEM FAHIM and MAYY EL SHEIKH

CAIRO — Hayam Hussein had gone to sleep, with her infant daughter by her side, after early-morning prayers. One moment, silence. Then, the sound of war.

Tear gas canisters fell from the sky. Sirens announced the arrival of armored cars. There were screams of panic and pain, and frantic warnings of snipers roaming on rooftops and bullets raining down on the encampment in Rabaa al-Adawiya Square. She ran for cover with her daughter, toward a mosque in the center of the protest camp.

For weeks, Ms. Hussein and tens of thousands of other supporters of

Mohamed Morsi, the ousted president, had anticipated a military attack on their sit-ins. They built barricades of bricks, sandbags and steel. They put sentries at the entrances. They gathered sticks and rocks. Despite their preparations, they knew the raid would eventually come.

When it did come, shortly after sunrise on Wednesday, they appeared stunned by its fury. The military-backed government had hinted at a milder siege, leaking plans about a clearing operation that would last days and include warnings, nonlethal weapons and safe passage for women and children.

This was nothing like that. "I just can't stand all the blood I've seen," Ms. Hussein said, sobbing, as she tried to call her husband on her cell-phone again and again, receiving no an-

swer. Egypt's new leaders moved against protesters with brutality and resolve.

Using heavy armor and deadly weapons, the army and the police swept into Rabaa al-Adawiya and another smaller encampment across town, in Nahda Square in Giza, in what was the third mass killing of civilians since the military took power on July 3. Like the oth-

### A Regional Order Shifts Again

It is clear that the status quo has been fundamentally damaged, if not overturned, in the three years since the outbreak of the Arab Spring uprisings. Less clear is what will replace it.

NEWS ANALYSIS BY BEN HUBBARD AND RICK GLADSTONE, PAGE A11

er killings, the government's gunmen appeared to strike their victims with terrible accuracy, with gunshots to the head and chest.

The raids were just one front in the violence that coursed across Egypt on Wednesday. Churches were attacked or torched across the country, in a wave of vicious reprisals by Islamists.

The government said that 43 police officers were among the hundreds of people killed.

In the days before the raids in Cairo, the sit-ins had become raucous urban villages, with tents equipped with televisions, clinics stocked with drugs, communal kitchens, souvenir shops and bouncy castles for the children.

After the raid, there was little left on

Continued on Page A10

## Charges Against 2 Traders Fault JPMorgan for Lack of Oversight

By BEN PROTESS and JESSICA SILVER-GREENBERG

More than three thousand miles from the Park Avenue headquarters of JPMorgan Chase, traders in an office building nestled near the Thames River disguised the extent of their losses as a huge bet spun out of control last year, federal authorities say.

While just two former London traders for JPMorgan were criminally charged on Wednesday, the cases intensify the scrutiny of the bank's executives in New York, where lax controls and the pressure for profits aggravated the problem.

Federal authorities outlined the breakdown in the bank's oversight in the two criminal complaints against the employees: Javier Martin-Artajo, a manager who oversaw the trading strategy, and Julien Grout, a low-level trader in London. The employees, accused of manipulating the books to disguise hundreds of millions of dollars in losses, operated for months with scant supervision and the impression that

higher-ups of the bank supported them.

When Mr. Martin-Artajo directed Mr. Grout to record losses only in extreme circumstances, he claimed that the directive came from New York, meaning the bank's senior management. People inside the bank dispute that notion, arguing that Mr. Martin-Artajo had taken steps to conceal his actions from superiors. Still, according to the complaint, when another bank employee queried Mr. Grout about some of his valuations, he replied, "Ask management."

The manipulation continued, the government said, even as some of the traders were sounding alarms. According to the complaints, when Mr. Grout said he was going to show a modest loss one day of about \$10 million, a fraction of the true size, another trader responded, "I don't want to know about it."

At a news conference to announce the charges, federal au-

Continued on Page B5

## Finding Poetry on the Page and, Later, on the Canvas

I've been writing about art professionally for more than 30 years, and I fell in love with language before I fell in love with art. Words ended up being my connection to art, and writing came first.

### HOLLAND COTTER

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

I was lucky to come from a family of reciters and readers. My great-great-aunt Helen, probably born a decade or so after the Civil War, was in her late 70s, maybe 80s, when I was 8 or 9. She came from a poetry-memorizing Victorian culture and knew long passages of Tennyson's "Idylls of the King" and Longfellow's "Song of Hiawatha" by heart.

Whenever I visited, I asked her to "do 'Hiawatha.'" To this day, I can still hear the rhythms and sounds of her delivery, particularly the way she enunciated Longfellow's "Indian" names. They conjured up miraculous visual images, natural and supernatural: a woman descends from the moon to earth; a rainbow turns into a field of flowers; birds and forest animals speak.

Then there was reading, a lot.



FROM LEFT, ADAM SALOMON/NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, VIA A.P.; SUCCESSION H. MATISSE/ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK; TONY CENICOLA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

For a boy who became an art critic, Longfellow, Matisse and Dickinson conjured a richer world.

Typical scene: Four people — my young father and mother, my sister and I — in different parts of the house, glued to the page late into the night. Many books around, on shelves, on desks, on chairs, an environment I duplicate wherever I live.

When my father's medical practice kept him out in the evening, my mother turned din-

ner into a reading-out-loud hour, with poetry the bill of fare: Eugene Field, Robert Louis Stevenson, Edgar Allan Poe, H. D., Emily Dickinson.

If you fall for Dickinson early, you're committed to language for life, and almost unavoidably to Dickinson's kind of language. It's more concrete than just words on a page or in the air. It's language

as a physical material, a substance so concentrated that you can all but hold it in your hands, turn it over, feel its textures.

And it's addictive. Once in your system, it's impossible to shake, like a neurological imprint. In my experience, Longfellow's intensely visual poetry was like a mural or a movie. You just wanted to

Continued on Page A3



NATIONAL A12-16

### Ex-Congressman Sentenced

Jesse Jackson Jr. and his wife, Sandi, received prison terms. PAGE A12

### Apology in WikiLeaks Trial

"I'm sorry that my actions hurt people," Pfc. Bradley Manning said. PAGE A16

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

### Tension Over a Drug Kingpin

The United States has formally asked Mexico to rearrest Rafael Caro Quintero, who was released from prison in the middle of the night last week. PAGE A8

### Aid Group to Leave Somalia

Doctors Without Borders said it would shut down all operations because the country was too risky. PAGE A4

SPORTSTHURSDAY B11-16

### A Roof for the U.S. Open

A retractable roof is planned for Arthur Ashe Stadium after rain created havoc at previous Opens. PAGE B11

BUSINESS DAY B1-9

### Economic Balance Shifting

Even as economic growth picks up in the United States and Japan, the developing markets of Brazil, Russia, India and China are slowing down. PAGE B1

### Steinway for a Billionaire

The hedge fund run by John A. Paulson is buying his favorite piano maker, Steinway Musical Instruments. PAGE B1

THURSDAY STYLES E1-8

### Tennessee Chic

As fashion embraces Made in America, a Tennessee company has a chance to become a 21st-century brand. PAGE E1



HOME D1-8

### The New Passive House

Passive houses, like the one in Seattle above, are built to be quiet and temperate with little use of energy. The technology is tentatively taking root in the United States, but some say it costs far too much to make a movement. PAGE D1

NEW YORK A17-21

### Scoring Teachers' Education

New York City, which has been active in the national push to collect and analyze data about the education system, is now reviewing teachers' colleges as well, issuing report cards on schools like Columbia and City College based on alumni performance. PAGE A17

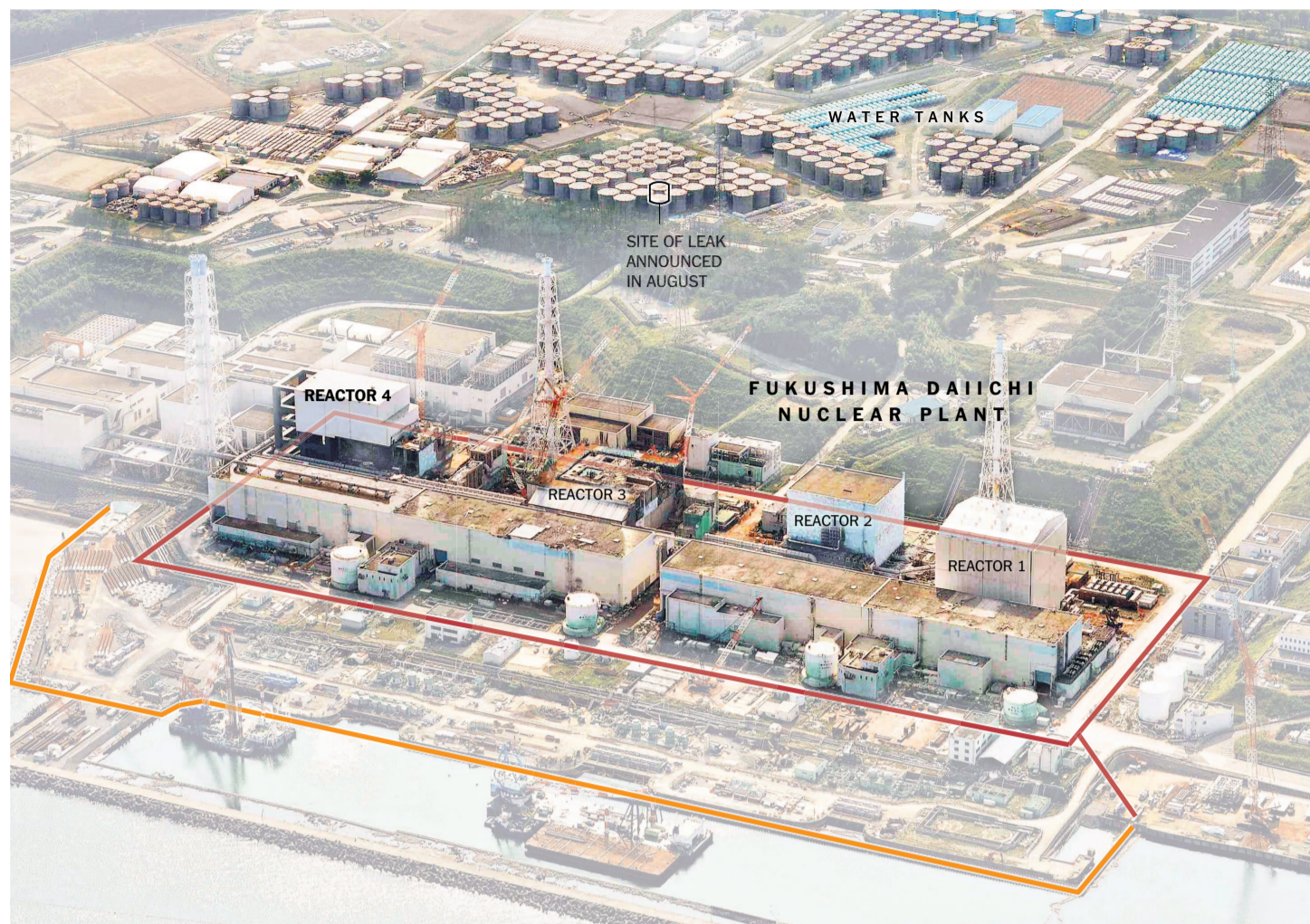
EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

### Gail Collins

PAGE A23



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### Attempts To Control Contamination By Radioactivity In Fukushima

Source: Tokyo Electric Power Company

**Reactor 4** Plans call for the removal of spent fuel rods from Reactor 4's building.

**Underground frozen wall** Pipes will carry liquid coolant into the ground, freezing the soil to create a barrier to prevent groundwater from being contaminated.

**Impermeable sea wall** A sea wall scheduled for completion in one year will attempt to prevent contaminated water from flowing into the ocean.

**Water tanks** Since the disaster in March 2011, hundreds of tanks have been built behind the plant to hold contaminated water. Last month, Tepco said 300 tons of water had leaked from one of them.

THE NEW YORK TIMES; PHOTOGRAPH BY KYODO VIA REUTERS

## Assad Wages War Shielded With a Smile

### Public Activities Mask Increased Aggression

By NEIL MacFARQUHAR and BEN HUBBARD

Damascus was tense — streets deadly quiet, residents stockpiling food, wives and children of the elite sent hastily abroad. But Mr. Assad kept up appearances, greeting visitors at the entrance to the boxy white presidential palace atop a hill or to his small personal office in a wooded glen nearby. "He is not hiding," a Syrian journalist noted.

That has been his strategy, echoed in the public activities of his glamorous wife, Asma, since the March 2011 beginning of the conflict — to act as if nothing untoward is happening, as if the gory civil war that has laid waste to Syria is taking place in a different realm. Mrs. Assad, rail thin, was even photographed recently wearing a trendy fitness band on her wrist.

"He doesn't give the impression that he is bloodthirsty or that he's a man of war," said Talal Salman, the editor of Al-Safir newspaper in Beirut, who was once close to the Syrian leader but broke with him early over the bloody crackdown against peaceful protesters. "He does not give the sense that he's going to bat."

Continued on Page A10

### Allies' Bottom Line

Intelligence estimates in the West differ on Syria, but in the end not significantly. Page A11.

## HOUSE'S LEADERS EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR SYRIA STRIKE

### OBAMA GAINS TRACTION

### Senate Panel Agrees on Wording of Measure to Permit Action

This article is by Mark Landler, Michael R. Gordon and Thom Shanker.

WASHINGTON — President Obama won the support on Tuesday of Republican and Democratic leaders in the House for an attack on Syria, giving him a foundation to win broader approval for military action from a Congress that still harbors deep reservations.

Speaker John A. Boehner, who with other Congressional leaders met Mr. Obama in the Oval Office, said afterward that he would "support the president's call to action," an endorsement quickly echoed by the House majority leader, Representative Eric Cantor of Virginia.

On Tuesday evening, Democrats and Republicans on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee agreed on the wording of a resolution that would give Mr. Obama the authority to carry out a strike against Syria, for a period of 60 days, with one 30-day extension. A committee vote on the measure could come as early as Wednesday.

Uncertainties abound, particularly in the House, where the imprimatur of the Republican leadership does not guarantee approval by rebellious rank and file, and where vocal factions in both parties are opposed to anything that could entangle the nation in another messy conflict in the Middle East.

Still, the expressions of support from top Republicans who

Continued on Page A10

## Bar Mitzvahs Get New Look To Build Faith

By LAURIE GOODSTEIN

LOS ANGELES — The American bar mitzvah, facing derision for Las Vegas style excess, is about to get a full makeover, but for an entirely different reason.

Families have been treating this rite of passage not as an entry to Jewish life, but as a graduation ceremony: turn 13, read from the Torah, have a party and it's over. Many leave synagogue until they have children of their own, and many never return at all — a cycle that Jewish leaders say has been undermining organized Judaism for generations.

As Jews celebrate the new year Wednesday night, leaders in the largest branch of Judaism, the Reform movement, are starting an initiative to stop the attrition by reinventing the entire bar and bat mitzvah process.

Thirteen Reform congregations across the nation have volunteered to pilot the change, and

Continued on Page A13

## Errors Cast Doubt on Japan's Nuclear Cleanup

By MARTIN FACKLER

NARAHA, Japan — In this small farming town in the evacuation zone surrounding the stricken Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant, small armies of workers in surgical masks and rubber gloves are busily scraping off radioactive topsoil in a desperate attempt to fulfill the central government's vow one day to allow most of Japan's 83,000 evacuees to return. Yet, every time it rains, more radioactive contamination cascades down the forested hillsides along the rugged coast.

Nearby, thousands of workers and a small fleet of cranes are preparing for one of the latest efforts to avoid a deepening environmental disaster that has China and other neighbors increasingly worried: removing spent fuel rods from the damaged No. 4 reactor building and storing them in a safer place.

The government announced Tuesday that it would spend \$500 million on new steps to stabilize the plant, including an even bigger project: the construction of a frozen wall to block a flood of groundwater into the contami-

nated buildings. The government is taking control of the cleanup from the plant's operator, the Tokyo Electric Power Company.

The triple meltdown at Fukushima in 2011 is already considered the world's worst nuclear accident since Chernobyl. The new efforts, as risky and technically complex as they are expensive, were developed in response to a series of accidents, miscalculations and delays that have plagued the cleanup effort, making a mockery of the authorities' early vows to "return the site to an empty field" and leading to the release of enormous quantities of contaminated water.

As the environmental damage around the plant and in the ocean nearby continues to accumulate more than two years after the disaster, analysts are beginning to question whether the government and the plant's operator, known as Tepco, have the expertise and ability to manage such a complex crisis.

In the past, they say, Tepco has resorted to technological quick fixes that have failed to control the crisis, further damaged Japan's flagging credibility and only deflected hard decisions into the future. Some critics said the

government's new proposals offer just more of the same.

"Japan is clearly living in denial," said Kiyoshi Kurokawa, a medical doctor who led Parliament's independent investigation last year into the causes of the nuclear accident. "Water keeps building up inside the plant, and debris keeps piling up outside of it. This is all just one big shell game aimed at pushing off the

Continued on Page A8



POOL PHOTO BY ANDREW HINDERAKER

Among the Democratic candidates at a rancorous mayoral debate on Tuesday night were, from left, William C. Thompson Jr., Bill de Blasio and Christine C. Quinn. The primary is next week.

## Leaving a Tip: A Custom in Need of Changing?

Try one of these techniques if you want better service in restaurants:

1. Become very famous;
2. Spend \$1,000 or more on wine every time you go out;
3. Keep going to the same restaurant until you get V.I.P. treatment; if that doesn't work, pick another place.

PETE WELLS

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

service: leave a generous tip.

I've tipped slightly above the average for years, generally leaving 20 percent of the total, no matter what. According to one study, lots of people are just like me, sticking with a reasonable percentage through good nights and bad. And it doesn't do us any good, because servers have no way of telling that we aren't the hated type that leaves 10 percent



HARRY CAMPBELL

but let's leave it at this: it is irrational, outdated, ineffective, confusing, prone to abuse and sometimes discriminatory. The people who take care of us in restaurants deserve a better system, and so do we.

That's one reason we pay attention when a restaurant tries another way, as Sushi Yasuda in Manhattan started to do two months ago. Raising most of its prices, it appended this note to credit card slips: "Following the custom in Japan, Sushi Yasuda's service staff are fully compensated by their salary. Therefore gratuities are not accepted."

Sushi Yasuda joins other restaurants.

Continued on Page A3

### A New Restaurant Season

The Dining section looks ahead to the tastes and trends on New York menus this fall. Section D.

## With Little Time Left, Rivals Pounce on de Blasio

By MICHAEL M. GRYNBAUM and MICHAEL BARBARO

Bill de Blasio, the New York City public advocate, fended off relentless attacks on Tuesday night from his rivals in the mayoral race, who sought to depict him as a panderer to the real estate industry, a facile flip-flopper and a naive dreamer whose bold-sounding plans would quickly fizzle in the face of political reality.

The acrid and urgent tenor of the exchanges reflected the alarmed state of a Democratic

field struggling to halt the ascendancy of Mr. de Blasio, whose fierce anti-Bloomberg liberalism, deft show casing of his interracial family, and pinpoint focus on economic disparity have lifted him to a commanding front-runner status in the polls.

Christine C. Quinn, the City Council speaker, hammered Mr. de Blasio for accepting money for earmarks when he was a councilman, and then later proposing a ban on such disbursements when he was seeking higher office.

"He will say anything depend-

ing on whose votes he is trying to get," Ms. Quinn said.

John C. Liu, the city comptroller, accused Mr. de Blasio of waiting until the last possible minute to support a bill that would require higher wages for workers.

"You signed on at the very end to protect your own butt from the liberal and progressive movement that was chiding you," Mr. Liu said.

And, in an issue that the candidates returned to repeatedly, William C. Thompson Jr. mocked Mr.

Continued on Page A19



NATIONAL A12-14

### Protecting a Bush Legacy

Former Gov. Jeb Bush of Florida and other members of his family are quietly but forcefully gearing up to promote a broad overhaul of the nation's immigration laws.

PAGE A12

### INTERNATIONAL A4-11

#### Egypt Tightens Reins

The government stepped up its use of trials to jail supporters of the ousted president, and banned four networks considered sympathetic to him. PAGE A4

#### Safety for Diplomats

A review panel has found that the State Department's diplomatic security office must be made a higher priority. PAGE A4

### OBITUARIES A20-21

#### Frederik Pohl Dies at 93

The science fiction writer and editor took a decidedly anti-utopian stance in much of his work. PAGE A21

### BUSINESS DAY B1-9

#### In Deal, Microsoft's New Tack

With its purchase of Nokia's phone business, Microsoft is taking inspiration from Apple, bringing hardware and software under a single roof. PAGE B1

#### Washington Guessing Game

Federal budget cuts and a breakdown in the process have left agencies wondering about their future. PAGE B1

### NEW YORK A15-20

#### An Extra Week of Vacation

The proximity of Labor Day and Rosh Hashana this year delayed the start of school and disrupted families. PAGE A15



SPORTSWEDNESDAY B10-15

### Hockey League Flexes Muscles

The growing Kontinental Hockey League has teams in eight nations, from Central Europe to Asia. Teams have the support of Russia's industrial giants and the Kremlin. PAGE B10

### ARTS C1-7

#### Fresh Music From the Pixies

The alternative rock band, now in its second life, is finally giving fans a new album — or four songs of what will eventually add up to its first new album in 22 years. The departure of the bassist Kim Deal means the Pixies must partly reinvent themselves yet again. PAGE C1

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

#### Maureen Dowd

PAGE A23



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## REPUBLICANS BACK DOWN, ENDING BUDGET CRISIS



DOUG MILLS/ THE NEW YORK TIMES

Speaker John A. Boehner before voting Wednesday night. He told his members to hold their heads high, go home and regroup.

### NEWS ANALYSIS

## Losing a Lot To Get Little

By JEREMY W. PETERS

WASHINGTON — For the Republicans who despise President Obama's health care law, the last few weeks should have been a singular moment to turn its problem-plagued rollout into an argument against it. Instead, in a futile campaign to strip the law of federal money, the party focused harsh scrutiny on its own divisions, hurt its national standing and undermined its ability to win concessions from Democrats. Then they surrendered almost unconditionally.

"If you look back in time and evaluate the last couple of weeks, it should be titled 'The Time of Great Lost Opportunity,'" said Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, among the many Republicans who argued that support for the health care law would collapse once the public saw how disastrous it really was. "It has been the best two weeks for the Democratic Party in recent times because they were out of the spotlight and didn't have to showcase their ideas," Mr. Graham added.

Now, near the end of a governing crisis that crippled Washington and dismayed a nation already deeply cynical about its political leaders, Republicans are struggling to answer even the most basic questions about the cause and effect of what has transpired over the last few weeks.

They disagree over how, or even whether, they might grow from the experience. Many could not comprehend how they failed to prevent such avoidable, self-inflicted wounds. Others could not explain why it took so much damage, to their party and the millions of people inconvenienced and worse by the shutdown, to end up right where so many of them expected.

"Someone would have to explain that to me," said Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona. "I knew how it was going to

Continued on Page A24

## SHUTDOWN IS OVER

### Obama Swiftly Signs Measure Lifting the Debt Limit

By JONATHAN WEISMAN and ASHLEY PARKER

WASHINGTON — Congressional Republicans conceded defeat on Wednesday in their bitter budget fight with President Obama over the new health care law as the House and Senate approved last-minute legislation ending a disruptive 16-day government shutdown and extending federal borrowing power to avert a financial default with potentially worldwide economic repercussions.

With the Treasury Department warning that it could run out of money to pay national obligations within a day, the Senate voted overwhelmingly on Wednesday evening, 81 to 18, to approve a proposal hammered out by the chamber's Republican and Democratic leaders after the House on Tuesday was unable to move forward with any resolution. The House followed suit a few hours later, voting 285 to 144 to approve the Senate plan, which would fund the government through Jan. 15 and raise the debt limit through Feb. 7.

Mr. Obama signed the bill about 12:30 a.m. Thursday.

Most House Republicans opposed the bill, but 87 voted to support it. The breakdown showed that Republican leaders were willing to violate their informal rule against advancing bills that do not have majority Republican support in order to end the shutdown. All 198 Democrats voting supported the measure.

Mr. Obama, speaking shortly after the Senate vote, praised Congress but said he hoped the damaging standoff would not be repeated.

"We've got to get out of the habit of governing by crisis," said Mr. Obama, who urged Congress to proceed not only with new

Continued on Page A24

## Gridlock Has Cost U.S. Billions, and the Meter Is Still Running

This article is by Annie Lowrey, Nathaniel Popper and Nelson D. Schwartz.

WASHINGTON — Containers of goods idling at ports. Reduced sales at sandwich shops in downtown Washington. Canceled vacations to national parks and to destinations abroad. Reduced corporate earnings forecasts. Higher interest payments on short-term debt.

Even with the shutdown of the United States government and the threat of a default coming to an end, the cost of Congress's gridlock has already run well into the billions, economists estimate. And the total will continue to

grow even after the shutdown ends, partly because of uncertainty about whether lawmakers might reach another deadlock early next year.

A complete accounting will take months once the government reopens and the Treasury resumes adding to the country's debt. But economists said that the intransigence of House Republicans would take a bite out of fourth-quarter growth, which will affect employment, business earnings and borrowing costs. The ripple from Washington will be felt around the globe.

"We saw huge effects during the summer of 2011, with consumer confidence hitting a 31-year low in August and third-quarter

### INVESTORS' TEMPERED RELIEF

Stocks rallied, but investors fretted that the budget dispute was likely to be back. Page B1.

G.D.P. growing just 1.4 percent," said Beth Ann Bovino, chief United States economist at Standard & Poor's, referring to earlier brinkmanship over the debt ceiling. "Given that this round of debt ceiling negotiations" took place during a shutdown, she said, "the impact on the economy could be even more severe."

Economists say the shutdown and near breach of the debt ceiling would be unlikely to derail the recovery, now that Congress re-

solved the impasse late Wednesday. In the weeks after the government reopens, there should be a modest rebound as employees spend their paychecks for the days they were on furlough and the government rushes to process backlogged orders.

Still, many businesses might not recover all the money they would have made had the government operated normally, said Shai Akabas of the Bipartisan Policy Center, a research group based in Washington.

The two-week shutdown has trimmed about 0.3 percentage point from fourth-quarter growth, or about \$12 billion, the

Continued on Page A24

## Victorious in Rocky Senate Bid, Booker Gets Job to Fit His Profile

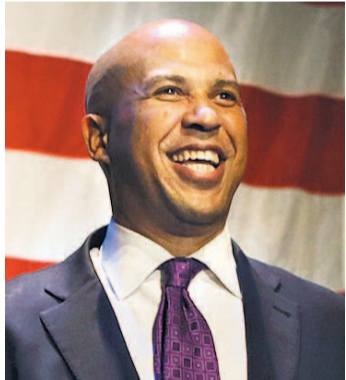
By KATE ZERNIKE

Mayor Cory A. Booker of Newark easily won New Jersey's special Senate election on Wednesday, finally rising to an office that measures up to his national profile.

He will arrive in Washington already one of the country's most prominent Democrats, and its best-known black politician other than President Obama, who backed him aggressively. Mr. Booker's fund-raising prowess puts him on course to lead his party's campaign efforts in the Senate, and he has been mentioned as a possible vice-presidential pick for 2016.

With 99 percent of the precincts reporting, Mr. Booker had 55 percent of the vote to 44 percent for Steve Lonegan, a Republican former mayor of Bogota, N.J., and state director of the conservative group Americans for Prosperity, according to The Associated Press. Still, the campaign gave a wider audience to certain facets of Mr. Booker that long ago began to prompt eye-rolling among his constituents.

With a Twitter following six times as large as the city he has led, Mr. Booker was known outside Newark largely for his appearances on late-night television and his heroics: rescuing a neighbor from a burning building, shoveling out snowbound



RICHARD PERRY/ THE NEW YORK TIMES

Cory A. Booker at a victory party on Wednesday night.

cars, living on a food stamp diet.

The campaign gave him less flattering national attention for his Twitter exchanges with a dancer in a vegan strip club, and renewed old questions about whether he embellished an oft-told story about a moving encounter with a drug dealer, who may or may not have existed (Mr. Booker called him "an archetype"). He had to resign from a media company that Silicon Valley investors had paid him millions to start — but not before the resignation of the 15-year-old son of a television executive, whom Mr. Booker had put on the company's board.

Having started his political career by moving into a Newark

Continued on Page A31

## Facebook Eases Privacy Rules For Teenagers

By VINDU GOEL

SAN FRANCISCO — Facebook has loosened its privacy rules for teenagers as a debate swirls over online threats to children from bullies and sexual predators.

The move, announced on Wednesday, allows teenagers to post status updates, videos and images that can be seen by anyone, not just their friends or people who know their friends.

While Facebook described the change as giving teenagers, ages 13 to 17, more choice, big money is at stake for the company and its advertisers. Marketers are keen to reach impressionable young consumers, and the more public information they have about those users, the better they are able to target their pitches. "It's all about monetization and being where the public dialogue is," said Jeff Chester, executive director of the Center for Digital Democracy, a group that lobbies against marketing to children. "To the extent that Facebook encourages people to put everything out there, it's incredibly attractive to Facebook's advertisers."

But that public dialogue now includes youths who are growing up in a world of social media and, often, learning the hard way that

Continued on Page B8



LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Lama Sarhan and her family moved to Amman, Jordan, after a rocket hit their home in Syria.

## Scattered by War, Syrians Struggle to Start Over

By NORIMITSU ONISHI

MAFRAQ, Jordan — Watering the plants on her balcony back home in Syria this spring, Wedad Sarhan took delight in how they were stirring to life after the winter months. A jasmine tree filled the small balcony with its sweet scent. An apricot tree, planted eight springs earlier, was blossoming for the first time.

A rocket exploded on the balcony minutes later. Ms. Sarhan was standing inside. Two of her

granddaughters were wounded. Their father, Hasan, quickly carried one girl to a nearby clinic, unaware that the other lay more grievously wounded under a pile of clothes.

Ms. Sarhan found her. "I pulled her out by her shirt," she recalled. "I took her in my arms, and then I started screaming, 'There's no leg!'"

That evening, the Sarhans fled Dara'a, their hometown in southwestern Syria, and crossed into Jordan, three generations of refugees. Their large clan, already

torn apart by the Syrian civil war, was now scattered across Jordan and Syria.

Today, the Sarhans in Jordan, like other Syrian refugees cast into an increasingly unwelcoming region, make vague plans about returning to a homeland that has all but vanished. But the war, raging just half an hour's drive from here, relentlessly forces the Sarhans to remake their lives in this new home.

They are venturing uneasily into their new neighborhoods.

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### INTERNATIONAL A4-17

#### Putin Opponent Is Spared

A Moscow judge suspended a five-year sentence against Aleksei A. Navalny, an anticorruption crusader. PAGE A10

#### Seeing Promise in Iran Talks

A session on the country's nuclear program was called substantive. PAGE A4

### NATIONAL A3, A18-25

#### A Legal Shift on Wiretaps

The government for the first time is telling a defendant that evidence came from warrantless spying. PAGE A3

### NEW YORK A26-31

#### New Route for City's Water

Part of Water Tunnel No. 3, which can supply all of Manhattan, is open after decades of fitful work. PAGE A26

### BUSINESS DAY B1-13

#### From eBay to Journalism

The billionaire Pierre Omidyar is backing a "mass media" venture. PAGE B1



### ARTS C1-8

#### A Traveling Exhibition. Really.

Duke Riley's pigeons tempt fate and legal barriers as they fly from Cuba bearing cigars and cameras. PAGE C1

#### At a Mayoral Crossroads

Michael Kimmelman envisions change in the look of New York. PAGE C1

### SPORTSTHURSDAY B14-18

#### Dodgers Still Alive; Tigers Win

In the N.L. playoffs, the Dodgers avoided elimination by defeating the Cardinals, 6-4. The A.L. series is tied after the Tigers beat the Red Sox, 7-3. PAGE B14

### THURSDAY STYLES E1-10

#### At Home With Armani

The rooms of Giorgio Armani's expansive home in Milan helped fill in the blanks that remained after an interview with the designer. PAGE E1

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A32-33

#### Nicholas D. Kristof

PAGE A33



### HOME D1-10

#### Confessions of a Collector

A novelist finds that the secret to happiness is collecting. PAGE D1



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F.D.A. Shift on Painkillers Was Years in the Making

With Tighter Prescription Rules, Concerns on Abuse Prevailed Over Lobbying

By BARRY MEIER and ERIC LIPTON

When Heather Dougherty heard the news last week that the Food and Drug Administration had recommended tightening how doctors prescribed the most commonly used narcotic painkillers, she was overjoyed.

died in the last decade from overdoses involving the drugs. For his part, Dr. Dougherty, who foresaw the problem, retired in 2007 and is now 81 and living in a nursing home.

"Too many lives have been ruined," his daughter said.

The story behind the F.D.A.'s turnaround on the pain pills, last Thursday, involved a rare victory by lawmakers from states hard hit by prescription drug abuse over well-financed lobbyists for business and patient groups, one that came during a continuing public health crisis.

Just last year, Representative Fred Upton, Republican of Michigan — the House's biggest recipient during the last election cycle of drug industry campaign contributions, with nearly \$300,000 — blocked a measure that would have imposed the restrictions the F.D.A. backed last week.

Among the provisions in the bill, pushed by Senator Joe Manchin III, Democrat of West Virginia, was one that is central to the new F.D.A. recommendations: reducing to 90 days the length of time in which a patient could obtain refills for painkillers containing hydrocodone without a doctor visit.

Mr. Upton, who is the chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, argued that imposing new limits would harm patients who needed the drugs, which are used to treat pain from injuries, arthritis, dental extractions and other problems. That stance was echoed by patient groups, lobbyists representing drug makers, pharmacy chains like Walgreens and CVS, local drugstores and physicians groups like the American Medical Association.

The F.D.A.'s long resistance to added restrictions on the drugs underscores what critics say is its continuing struggle to address

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JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Towering Advantage

Bill de Blasio, with his wife, Chirlane McCray, holds a historic 45-point lead in the New York mayoral race, according to a new poll. Page A18.

Skakel Lawyer, In a TV Twist, Is Talk Fodder

By VIVIAN YEE and ALISON LEIGH COWAN

For two decades, when the tribulations of the famous and the notorious have aired on television, Mickey Sherman has been there to talk and talk: about O. J. Simpson, Martha Stewart, Michael Vick, Casey Anthony, Michael Jackson, just to name a few whose legal cases he analyzed for the camera.

When Nancy Grace needed help explaining how a man accused of murder had walked free even after the victims' bodies were found in his backyard, Mr. Sherman was there, making the CNN studio peal with laughter.

"You get a client with 8 to 12 bodies buried in his yard, and there's an immediate rush to judgment that he may have done something wrong," he deadpanned.

The public's insatiable appetite for true-crime programming vaulted Mr. Sherman, the assured, accessible and witty defense lawyer from Greenwich, Conn., into the flashy television-personality world of photo shoots and celebrity hobnobbing.

But now Mr. Sherman is the one whom the talking heads are talking about.

Last week, a Connecticut judge ordered a retrial for Mr. Sher-

Continued on Page A21

Lists That Rank Colleges' Value Are on the Rise

By ARIEL KAMINER

Looking out over the quadrangle before him as students dashed from one class to the next, James Muyskens was feeling proud one recent afternoon, and why not?

The college he had led for the past 11 years had just been awarded second place in a new ranking of American higher education — ahead of flagship state universities, ahead of elite liberal arts colleges, even ahead of all eight Ivy League universities.

The college is Queens College, a part of the City University of New York with an annual tuition of \$5,730, and a view of the Long Island Expressway.

Catering to working-class students, more than half of whom were born in other countries, Queens does not typically find itself at the top of national rankings. Then again, this was not a typical ranking. It was a list of colleges that offer the "best bang for the buck."

"Elation," said Dr. Muyskens, recalling his delight when he learned of the honor. "Thrilled!"

Purists might regard such bottom-line calculations as an insult to the intellectual, social and civic value of education. But dollars-and-cents tabulations like that one (which was compiled by

Continued on Page A3

Forging an Art Market in China

In a New Luxury Boom, Sales Data and Works Are Often Fake



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

"Eagle Standing on a Pine Tree," an ink painting attributed to Qi Baishi, a modern artist working in the traditional style, sold for \$65.4 million in 2011. The work's authenticity was questioned, and the bidder never paid.

This article is by David Barboza, Graham Bowley and Amanda Cox.

BEIJING — When the hammer came down at an evening auction during China Guardian's spring sale in May 2011, "Eagle Standing on a Pine Tree," a 1946 ink painting by Qi Baishi, one of China's 20th-century masters, had drawn a startling price: \$65.4 million.

No Chinese painting had ever fetched so much at auction, and, by the end of the year, the sale appeared to have global implications, helping China surpass the United States as the world's biggest art and auction market. But two years after the auction, Qi Baishi's masterpiece is still languishing in a warehouse in Beijing. The winning bidder has refused to pay for the piece since doubts were raised about its authenticity.

Buyers also failed to pay for the second-

most-expensive work reported to have sold in that session, and they similarly balked at paying for the third-, fourth-, sixth- and ninth-most-expensive works — a striking pattern of default that has been repeated at auction houses across the country.

"The market is in a very dubious

A CULTURE OF BIDDING

Fortune Hunting and Fraud

stage," said Alexander Zacke, an expert in Asian art who runs Auctionata, an international online auction house. "No one will take results in mainland China very seriously." Indeed, even as the art world marvels at China's booming market, a six-month review by The New York Times

found that many of the sales — transactions reported to have produced as much as a third of the country's auction revenue in recent years — did not actually take place.

Just as problematic, the market is flooded with forgeries, often mass-produced, and has become a breeding ground for corruption, as business executives curry favor with officials by bribing them with art.

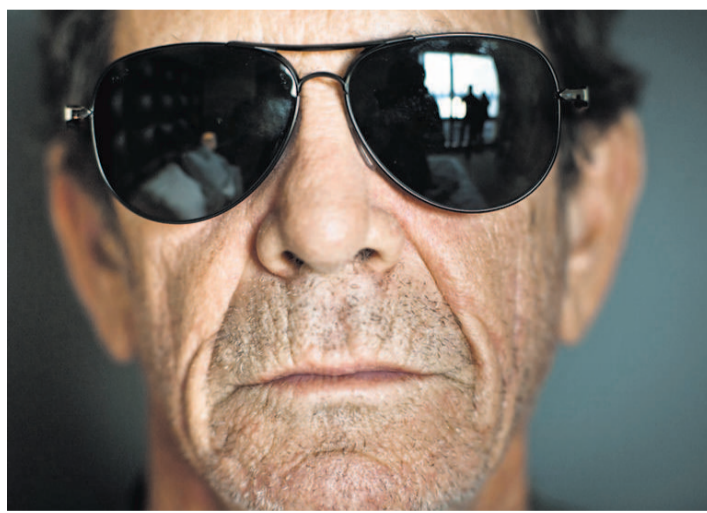
Fraud is certainly no stranger to the international art world, but experts warn that the market here is particularly vulnerable because, like many industries in China, it has expanded too fast for regulators to keep pace.

In fact, few areas of business offer as revealing a view of this socialist society's lurch toward capitalism as the art market.

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LOU REED, 1942-2013

Outsider Whose Dark, Lyrical Vision Helped Shape Rock 'n' Roll



CHAD BATKA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Lou Reed, above in 2011, had a half-century musical career.

By BEN RATLIFF

Lou Reed, the singer, songwriter and guitarist whose work with the Velvet Underground in the 1960s had a major influence on generations of rock musicians, and who remained a powerful if polarizing force for the rest of his life, died on Sunday at his home in Amagansett, N.Y., on Long Island. He was 71.

The cause was liver disease, said Dr. Charles Miller of the Cleveland Clinic in Ohio, where Mr. Reed had liver transplant surgery this year and was being treated again until a few days ago.

Mr. Reed brought dark themes and a mercurial, sometimes ag-

gressive disposition to rock music. "I've always believed that there's an amazing number of things you can do through a rock 'n' roll song," he once told the journalist Kristine McKenna, "and that you can do serious writing in a rock song if you can somehow do it without losing the beat. The things I've written about wouldn't be considered a big deal if they appeared in a book or movie."

He played the sport of alienating listeners, defending the right to contradict himself in hostile interviews, to contradict his transgressive image by idealizing

Continued on Page A24

INTERNATIONAL A4-13

Afghan Mission Narrows

After months of tense negotiations, NATO military officials are planning to focus less on training Afghan troops and more on overseeing how \$4 billion in international financing is spent. PAGE A9



INTERNATIONAL

More Details on Merkel Spying

The United States confronts new questions after German reports about the longtime monitoring of Chancellor Angela Merkel's cellphone. PAGE A4

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Are Megaships Too Big to Sail?

As cruise ships grow beyond Titanic size, lawmakers and regulators are wondering how safe they are. PAGE B1

I.P.O. Hunger for Twitter

The social media giant is entering one of the strongest markets for initial public offerings in three years. PAGE B1

NATIONAL A14-17

Seeking the Young and Healthy

There is concern that problems with the federal health care Web site could drive away younger, healthier applicants and result in higher premiums. PAGE A14

Hooked on Phones by Age 2

Teenagers and adults are not the only ones fixated on smartphones and tablets; young children are, too. PAGE A17

ARTS C1-8

A Futurist's Retro Shock

The latest project for J. J. Abrams is a book. On paper. With a slipcover. (But with some odd twists.) PAGE C1

SPORTSMONDAY D1-8

No Obstructions for Boston

After losing Game 3 on an obstruction call, the Red Sox exacted some vengeance, using a Jonny Gomes home run to beat the Cardinals and tie the World Series at two games apiece. PAGE D1



NEW YORK A18-22

Before Carnage, Frantic Calls

A woman and her four children, ages 1 to 9, were stabbed to death in their Brooklyn apartment by her husband's cousin, who was staying with them, the authorities said. The woman had made a series of phone calls to her relatives, warning them of the 25-year-old cousin's odd behavior. PAGE A18

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Paul Krugman

PAGE A27



## DE BLASIO WINS MAYOR'S RACE IN LANDSLIDE; CHRISTIE COASTS TO 2ND TERM AS GOVERNOR

### NEW JERSEY ROMP

Big Margin Offers Lift to Front Ranks of G.O.P. for 2016

By KATE ZERNIKE and JONATHAN MARTIN

Gov. Chris Christie of New Jersey won re-election by a crushing margin on Tuesday, a victory that vaulted him to the front ranks of Republican presidential contenders and made him his party's foremost proponent of pragmatism over ideology.

Mr. Christie declared that his decisive win should be a lesson for the nation's broken political system and his feuding party: In a state where Democrats outnumber Republicans by over 700,000, Mr. Christie won a majority of the votes of women and Hispanics and made impressive inroads among younger voters and blacks — groups that Republicans nationally have struggled to attract.

The governor prevailed despite holding positions contrary to those of many New Jersey voters on several key issues, including same-sex marriage, abortion rights and the minimum wage, and despite an economic recovery that has trailed the rest of the country.

He attracted a broad coalition by campaigning as a straight-talking, even swaggering, leader who could reach across the aisle to solve problems.

"I know that if we can do this in Trenton, N.J., then maybe the folks in Washington, D.C., should tune in their TVs right now and see how it's done," Mr. Christie told a packed crowd at Convention Hall in Asbury Park, where his musical idol, Bruce Springsteen, holds holiday concerts, and where red and blue lighting gave the gathering a presidential campaign-like glow.

The governor all but lectured Republicans about how to appeal to groups beyond their base. "We

Continued on Page A18



Bill de Blasio, the mayor-elect of New York, and his son, Dante, in Brooklyn on Tuesday night.

### Democrat Says City's Voters Wanted 'New Direction' After Bloomberg

By MICHAEL BARBARO and DAVID W. CHEN

Bill de Blasio, who transformed himself from a little-known occupant of an obscure office into the fiery voice of New York's disillusionment with a new gilded age, was elected the city's 109th mayor on Tuesday.

His landslide victory, stretching from the working-class precincts of central Brooklyn to the suburban streets of southeast Queens, amounted to a forceful rejection of the hard-nosed, business-minded style of governance that reigned at City Hall for the past two decades and a sharp leftward turn for the nation's largest metropolis.

Mr. de Blasio, the city's public advocate, defeated Joseph J. Lhota, a former chairman of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority.

It was the most sweeping victory in a mayor's race since 1985, when Edward I. Koch won by 68 points, and it gave Mr. de Blasio what he said was an unmistakable mandate to pursue his liberal agenda.

"My fellow New Yorkers, today, you spoke out loudly and clearly for a new direction for our city," Mr. de Blasio, a 52-year-old Democrat, said at a raucous par-

ty in Park Slope, Brooklyn, at which his teenage children danced onstage and the candidate greeted the crowd in English, Spanish and even a few words of Italian.

"Make no mistake: The people of this city have chosen a progressive path, and tonight we set forth on it, together."

In Manhattan, Mr. Lhota, a 59-year-old Republican, quieted boos from his disappointed supporters as he conceded the race from behind a wooden lectern at a hotel in Murray Hill. "I wish the outcome had been different," he said. He struck a defiant tone, mocking Mr. de Blasio's campaign slogan, "a tale of two cities," by quipping that "despite what you might have heard, we are one city," and adding, "I do hope the mayor-elect understands this, before it's too late."

The lopsided outcome represented the triumph of a populist message over a formidable résumé in a campaign that became a referendum on an entire era, starting with Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and ending with the three-term incumbent mayor, Michael Bloomberg.

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MAN IN THE NEWS BILL DE BLASIO

### An Audacious Liberal

By JAVIER C. HERNÁNDEZ

The sidewalk outside the subway station in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, was crowded on Tuesday morning. Bill de Blasio bent his 6-foot-5 frame again and again to shake hands.

The spot had been chosen with care. It was here, in 1991, that New York City's deep racial divide had exploded into three days of violence, when Mr. de Blasio was a low-level aide to Mayor David N. Dinkins. Mr. de Blasio's opponent this year, Joseph J. Lhota, had pointed to that dark episode as a reason not to vote for him, as a warning of the bad times that Mr. Lhota predicted would return if he were elected.

But there was no strife on Tuesday, no flying bottles. Just handshakes on the way to winning, as Mr. de Blasio was welcomed as a hero and celebrity. "All I want to say is that I love you," said a woman in jeans, a

denim jacket and a paisley shawl. It was a note-perfect play in a campaign of them, summing up both his sharp political instincts and the changing feel of the city he wanted to run.

On Tuesday, Mr. de Blasio was elected to become the first Democratic mayor of New York City in 20 years. Few had initially predicted his victory except, perhaps, the candidate himself. In high school, he was known by a nickname, Senator Provolone, and his classmates sometimes hummed "Hail to the Chief" when he entered the room.

But throughout his life, Mr. de Blasio had come to delight in upsetting expectations.

He overcame a troubled childhood and attended some of the country's most prestigious universities. He married a black writer who once identified as a

Continued on Page A18

### Clinton Ally Slips Past Conservative in Virginia Governor's Race

By TRIP GABRIEL

TYSONS CORNER, Va. — Terry McAuliffe, a longtime Democratic fund-raiser and ally of Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton, was elected governor of Virginia on Tuesday, narrowly defeating the state's conservative attorney general, Kenneth T. Cuccinelli II, and confirming Virginia's evolution as a state increasingly dominated politically by the Demo-

cratic-leaning Washington suburbs.

Mr. McAuliffe, 56, ran as a social liberal and an economic moderate focused on job creation. Mr. Cuccinelli, a Republican who was the first attorney general to sue over President Obama's health care law, ran as a hard-line social conservative and aimed his campaign almost exclusively at the Tea Party wing of his party.

Still, despite substantially out-raising Mr. Cuccinelli, \$34.4 mil-

lion to \$19.7 million, Mr. McAuliffe won by a margin — just over two percentage points — that was smaller than some pre-election polls had suggested.

Mr. McAuliffe benefited from an electorate that was less white and less Republican than it was four years ago. He drew about as large a percentage of African-Americans as Mr. Obama did last year. Blacks accounted for one in five voters, according to exit polls conducted by Edison Research.

Mr. Cuccinelli's strong anti-abortion views also brought out opponents, with 20 percent of voters naming abortion as their top issue; Mr. McAuliffe overwhelmingly won their support. The top issue for voters was the economy, cited by 45 percent in exit polls.

In a victory speech here, Mr. McAuliffe thanked the "historic number of Republicans who crossed party lines to support me" and invoked a tradition of bi-

Continued on Page A19

**GAMBLING EXPANSION** New York voters approved a measure to authorize as many as seven full-scale casinos across the state. PAGE A17

**ALABAMA** Helped by the Republican establishment, Bradley Byrne defeated a Tea Party-backed rival in a primary for a House seat. PAGE A17

### After Outside Pressure, Rebels In Congo Lay Down Their Arms

By NICHOLAS KULISH

KIGALI, Rwanda — Col. Mamadou Moustafa stood at the front lines of the battle for eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, surveying his soldiers fighting to dislodge rebels from the surrounding hills.

"We are fighting because we want to overcome the humiliation of both the Congolese Army and the international community," he said recently in a Congolese town. "We are ready to die."

A little more than a week later, the army got its victory. On Tuesday, the rebels announced that they were laying down their

arms for good, a major turnaround brought about by a rare combination of pressures from around the world, including a more aggressive approach to peacekeeping by the United Nations.

The rebel surrender offered new hope for a region where conflict — and the failed international attempts to stop it — has gone on for so many years that it has often come to seem unresolvable, even inevitable.

"In a region that has suffered so much, this is obviously a sig-

Continued on Page A10

### In a Rediscovered Trove of Art, a Triumph Over the Nazis' Will

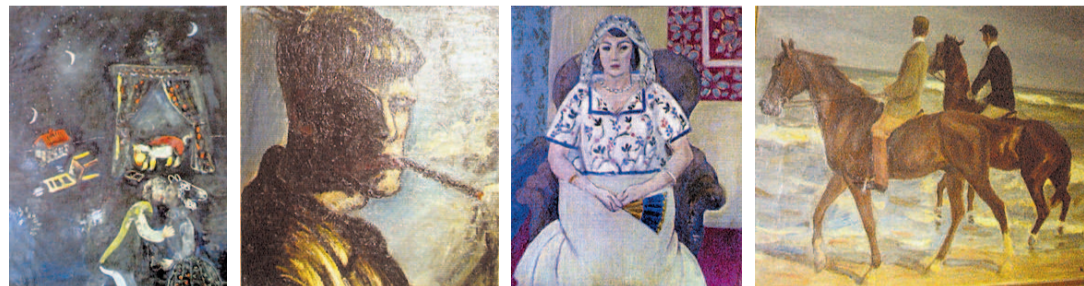
Otto Dix, in a half-light, glowers from a self-portrait, jaw set, puffing on a cigar, looking infuriated. "What took so long?" he seems to ask, youthful as ever.

MICHAEL KIMMELMAN

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

They keep coming back, these works of art lost to the Nazis, like bottles washed ashore. Three years ago, a small

stash of sculptures turned up when a front-loader was digging a new subway station in Berlin. Now some 1,500 pictures, an almost unfathomable trove, have surfaced; some were revealed in a news conference on Tuesday in Augsburg, Germany. [Page C1.] From the first few blurry online



Works by, from left, Chagall, Otto Dix, Matisse and Max Liebermann rediscovered in Munich.

reproductions they seem to include paintings by Matisse and Courbet, Franz Marc and Max Liebermann, Marc Chagall, Max Beckmann and Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, discovered in the Munich apartment of an old man named Cornelius Gurlitt whose

father, Hildebrand, a dealer during the Nazi era, assembled a collection of the Modernist art that Hitler called "degenerate."

Among the very first goals of the Nazis was to purge German museums and ransack private collections. Perversely, they

stockpiled the modern art they hated, some to sell abroad in exchange for hard currency. Hildebrand was one of the dealers whom Joseph Goebbels picked for this task. Some art they paraded in an exhibition of shame.

Continued on Page A3

#### INTERNATIONAL A4-11

##### Toronto Mayor Tried Crack

Mayor Rob Ford of Toronto admitted that he had tried crack cocaine, after a video fell into the hands of the police. Despite calls for his resignation in the light of previous denials, the mayor, often criticized for his behavior, insisted that he would not quit. PAGE A4

##### Border Guards Face Death

A total of 152 Bangladeshi border guards were sentenced to death in connection with a bloody 2009 mutiny in which the guards, seeking better working conditions, took control of their headquarters and killed scores of people, including their army commanders. PAGE A8



NATIONAL A12-15

##### Response to Plagiarism Claims

Senator Rand Paul acknowledged that mistakes in his office had caused unattributed writing by others to appear in his own work but said criticism was coming from "haters." PAGE A12

#### BUSINESS DAY B1-13

##### A Costly Plea for Hedge Funds

The \$1.2 billion insider trading penalty for SAC Capital Advisors raises the stakes for hedge funds, which spend millions to comply with the law. PAGE B1

##### State Seeks to Protect Pensions

New York State regulators are investigating potential conflicts of interest in pension investments. PAGE B1

#### NEW YORK A22-27

##### Aftermath of Gunfire at Mall

The gunman's family said he sought to kill only himself at the Garden State Plaza in northern New Jersey. PAGE A22

#### OBITUARIES B19-20

##### Carnegie Hall 'Duchess' Dies

Editta Sherman made photographic portraits of celebrities, raised four children and lived for 61 years above Carnegie Hall. She was 101. PAGE B19

##### Charlie Trotter Is Dead at 54

The chef, who was largely self-taught, helped establish Chicago as a serious dining city. PAGE B20

#### SPORTSWEDNESDAY B14-18

##### When a Marathon's Too Easy

Alex Nemet used to exercise little; now he regularly finishes footraces of 100 miles or more. PAGE B14

#### DINING D1-8

##### Free-Range Chefs

Elite cooks from around the world traded their starched whites for all-weather gear and transplanted themselves to the South Carolina backwoods for Cook It Raw, a week of hunting, fishing and foraging. One butchered a freshly shot alligator with a Bowie knife by the headlights of a pickup truck. PAGE D1

#### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A28-29

##### Maureen Dowd

PAGE A29



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## CONGRESS NEARS MODEST ACCORD ON THE BUDGET

### AIMING TO END LOGJAMS

#### Democrats Pressing to Extend Benefits for the Unemployed

By JONATHAN WEISMAN

WASHINGTON — House and Senate negotiators on Thursday closed in on a budget deal that, while modest in scope, could break the cycle of fiscal crises and brinkmanship that has hampered the economic recovery and driven public opinion of Congress to an all-time low.

But the leaders of the House and Senate budget committees — Representative Paul D. Ryan, Republican of Wisconsin, and Senator Patty Murray, Democrat of Washington — encountered last-minute resistance from House Democratic leaders who said any deal should be accompanied by an extension of expiring unemployment benefits for 1.3 million workers.

"This isn't interparty bickering," said Representative Nancy Pelosi of California, the House minority leader. "This is a major policy disagreement."

It was not clear on Thursday how serious a threat the demand posed to a deal largely worked out by Mr. Ryan and Ms. Murray alone. With conservative Republicans in the House likely to balk, Democratic votes will be needed to pass an agreement, and Democrats have not said whether they will make their support contingent on an extension of benefits.

Democrats were confident that if they held their ground, Republicans would agree next week to extend unemployment compensation — and Speaker John A. Boehner left open that possibility.

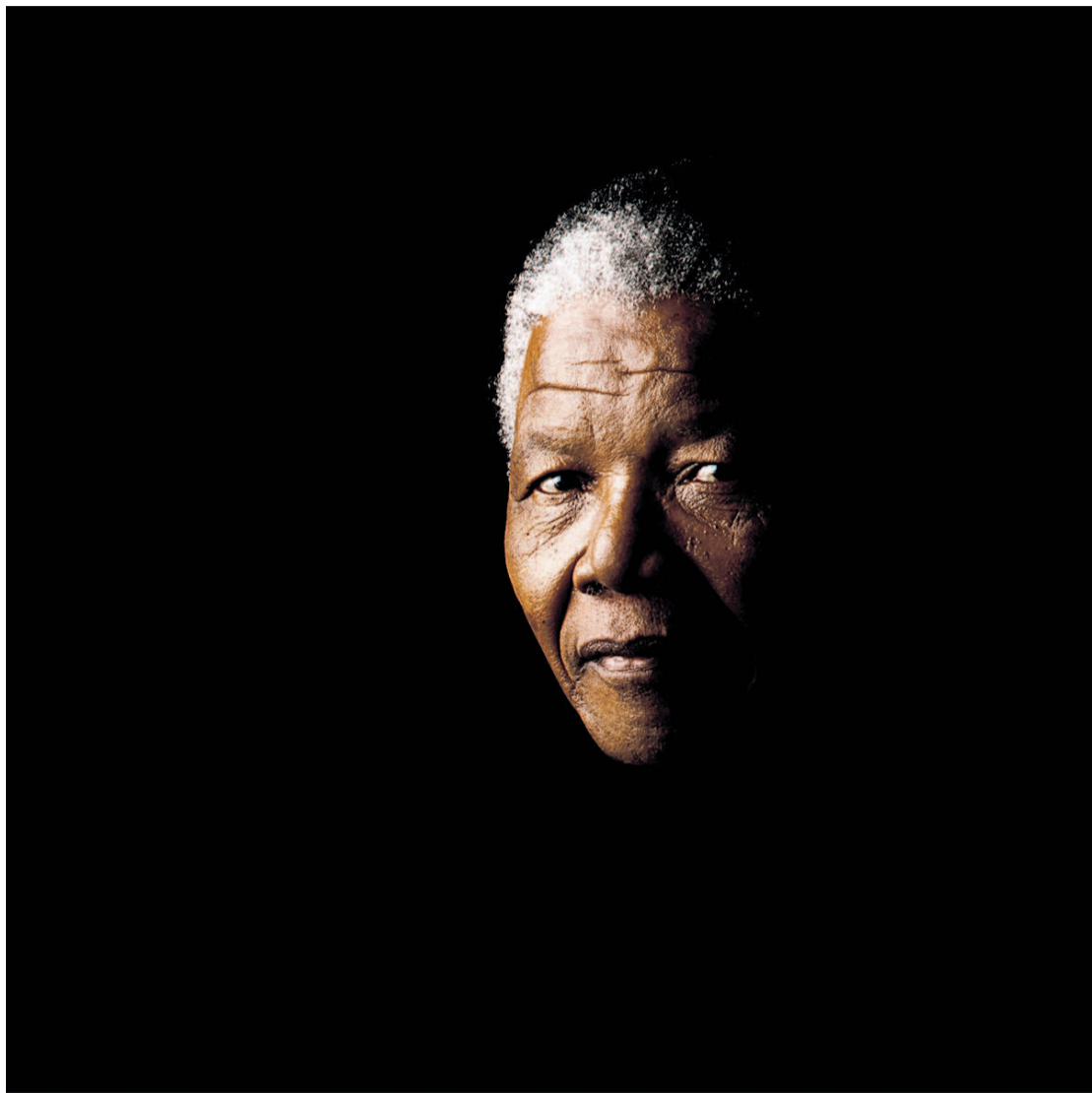
"If the president has a plan for extending unemployment, I'll take a look at it," he said.

The deal would increase revenue by raising some fees and would shift some cuts away from domestic and defense programs, partly alleviating the squeeze of across-the-board spending cuts imposed last year, which are set to worsen in 2014. Spending on defense and domestic programs

Continued on Page A26

NELSON MANDELA, 1918-2013

## South Africa's Conqueror of Apartheid As Fighter, Prisoner, President and Symbol



GREG BARTLEY/CAMERA PRESS, VIA REDUX

By BILL KELLER

Nelson Mandela, who led the emancipation of South Africa from white minority rule and served as his country's first black president, becoming an international emblem of dignity and forbearance, died Thursday night. He was 95.

The South African president, Jacob Zuma, announced Mr. Mandela's death.

Mr. Mandela had long said he wanted a quiet exit, but the time he spent in a Pretoria hospital this summer was a clamor of quarreling family, hungry news media, spotlight-seeking politicians and a national outpouring of affection and loss. The vigil eclipsed a visit by President Obama, who paid homage to Mr. Mandela but decided not to intrude on the privacy

of a dying man he considered his hero.

Mr. Mandela ultimately died at home at 8:50 p.m. local time, and he will be buried according to his wishes in the village of Qunu, where he grew up. The exhumed remains of three of his children were reinterred there in early July under a court order, resolving a family squabble that had played out in the news media.

Mr. Mandela's quest for freedom took him from the court of tribal royalty to the liberation underground to a prison rock quarry to the presidential suite of Africa's richest country. And then, when his first term of office was up, unlike so many of the successful revolutionaries he regarded as kindred spirits, he declined a second term and cheerfully handed over

power to an elected successor, the country still gnawed by crime, poverty, corruption and disease but a democracy, respected in the world and remarkably at peace.

The question most often asked about Mr. Mandela was how, after whites had systematically humiliated his people, tortured and murdered many of his friends, and cast him into prison for 27 years, he could be so evidently free of spite.

The government he formed when he finally won the chance was an improbable fusion of races and beliefs, including many of his former oppressors. When he became president, he invited one of his white wardens to the inauguration. Mr.

Continued on Page A16

## BRATTON TO LEAD NEW YORK POLICE FOR SECOND TIME

### HAS DIFFERENT MESSAGE

#### Commissioner Pick Says He Won't Run Force as He Did in '90s

By J. DAVID GOODMAN

William J. Bratton was named police commissioner of New York City for the second time on Thursday. But it is a different place than the crime-ravaged city he came to in 1994. And he said he was going to be a different kind of commissioner, overseeing a different kind of policing.

"In this city, I want every New Yorker to talk about 'their police,' 'my police,'" Mr. Bratton said after his appointment was announced by Mayor-elect Bill de Blasio, before reading from a children's book about police work he said he had cherished since he was 9.

In 1994, the message was different: "We will fight for every house in the city; we will fight for every street; we will fight for every borough," he said at the time. "And we will win."

Back then, the hard-driving, press-savvy Mr. Bratton could be found dining out among city luminaries, and on the covers of newspapers and national magazines. He received a lot of credit for historic drops in crime rates, even as the trends in New York coincided with those around the country. Such prominence drove a very public wedge between him and Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, a former prosecutor, who pushed him out just two years after appointing him. The mayor has the full authority to hire and fire the commissioner.

On Thursday, Mr. Bratton, 66, said he had "learned a lot" since the last time he ran the New York department, the largest in the country, and people familiar with his thinking suggested that significant changes were in store. [Page A30.]

Before making the decision to bring him back, Mr. de Blasio said he had been reassured by conversations with others who had worked with Mr. Bratton, especially in Los Angeles, where he

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## One City's Return to Solvency Leaves Big Problem Unsolved

By RICK LYMAN and MARY WILLIAMS WALSH

STOCKTON, Calif. — Before Detroit filed for bankruptcy, there was Stockton.

Battered by a collapse in real estate prices, a spike in pension and retiree health care costs, and unmanageable debt, this struggling city in the Central Valley has labored for months to find a way out of Chapter 9. Now having renegotiated its debt with most creditors, cobbled together layoffs and service cuts and raised the sales tax to 9 percent from 8.25 percent, Stockton is nearly ready to leave court protection.

But what Stockton, along with pretty much every other city in California that has gone into bankruptcy in recent years, has

not done is address the skyrocketing public pensions that are at the heart of many of these cases.

"No city wants to take on the state pension system by itself," said Stockton's new mayor, Anthony Silva, referring to the California Public Employees' Retirement System, or Calpers. "Every city thinks some other city will take care of it."

While a federal bankruptcy judge ruled this week that Detroit could reduce public pensions to help shed its debts, Stockton has become an experiment of whether a municipality can successfully come out of bankruptcy and stabilize its finances without

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## In the Murky World of Bitcoin, Fraud Is Quicker Than the Law

By NATHANIEL POPPER

The call went out on Twitter: "For insane profits come and join the pump."

It was an invitation to a penny stock-style pump-and-dump scheme — only this one involved Bitcoin, the soaring, slightly scary virtual currency that has beckoned and bewildered people around the world.

While such bid 'em up, sell 'em off scams are shut down in the financial markets all the time, this one and other frauds involving digital money have gone unchecked. The reason in no small part: The authorities do not agree on which laws apply to Bitcoin — or even on what Bitcoin is. The person behind the recent

scheme, a trader known on Twitter as Fontas, said in a secure Internet chat that he operated with little fear of a crackdown.

"For now, the lack of regulations allows everything to happen," Fontas said in the chat, where he verified his control of the Twitter account, which has thousands of followers, but did not give his identity. He added that Bitcoin and its users would benefit when someone steps in to police this financial wild west, and would stop his schemes when they do.

Chinese authorities drew attention to the issue on Thursday when they announced that they

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## China Pressures U.S. Journalists, Prompting Warning From Biden

By MARK LANDLER and DAVID E. SANGER

BEIJING — China appears ready to force nearly two dozen journalists from American news organizations to leave the country by the end of the year, a significant increase in pressure on foreign news media that has prompted the American government's first public warning about repercussions.

Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. raised the issue here in meetings with President Xi Jinping and other top Chinese leaders, and then publicly chastised the Chinese on Thursday for refusing to say if they will renew the visas of correspondents and for blocking the websites of American-based news media.

"Innovation thrives where people breathe freely, speak freely, are able to challenge orthodoxy, where newspapers can report the truth without fear of consequences," Mr. Biden said in a speech to an American business group.

At a meeting on Thursday with Beijing-based reporters from The New York Times and Bloomberg, Mr. Biden said that he warned Chinese leaders, in a formal session and over dinner, that there would be consequences for China, especially in the Congress, if it forced out the journalists. But he said Mr. Xi appeared unmoved, insisting that the authori-

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### NATIONAL A19-26

#### Detainees Sent to Algeria

The Pentagon repatriated two longtime Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, detainees to Algeria. Neither man wanted to be sent there, fearing persecution. PAGE A26



### SPORTSFRIDAY B10-16

#### Heisman Hopeful Not Charged

Prosecutors cited insufficient evidence against Florida State's Jameis Winston, accused in a sexual assault. PAGE B10

### NEW YORK A27-32

#### Diplomats Accused of Fraud

Russian diplomats and their families are accused of abusing Medicaid for pregnancies and postnatal care. PAGE A27

### INTERNATIONAL A3-18

#### Pope Forms Child Abuse Panel

Pope Francis will establish a commission to advise him on protecting children from pedophile priests and on how to counsel victims, the Vatican said in what was a forthright acknowledgment of the enduring problem of abusive priests in the Roman Catholic Church. PAGE A13

#### Wounded Nation Bleeds Again

At least 50 people were killed in the capital of the Central African Republic as rebels who seized power earlier this year came under attack. PAGE A6

### BUSINESS DAY B1-9

#### Around World, More U.S. Cars

Rising exports of American-made vehicles are playing an important role in the United States automobile industry's comeback. PAGE B1

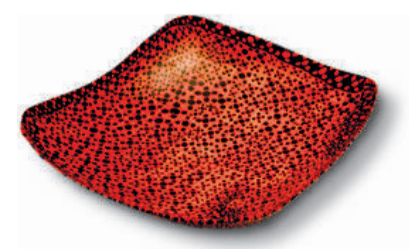
#### Upward Revision for G.D.P.

The American economy grew at a significantly faster pace in the third quarter than first estimated. PAGE B1

### WEEKEND C1-36

#### Bent to an Artist's Whims

"Venetian Glass by Carlo Scarpa," a new exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, is meant to make patrons reconsider the limits of form, beauty and originality. PAGE C27



#### The Coens on the Folk Scene

"Inside Llewyn Davis," is "an intoxicating ramble through Greenwich Village in 1961." A review by A. O. Scott. PAGE C1

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A34-35

#### David Brooks

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