

## Obama Factor Adds to Fears Of Democrats

### Health Act and Money Are Midterm Worries

By JONATHAN MARTIN and ASHLEY PARKER

WASHINGTON — Democrats are becoming increasingly alarmed about their midterm election fortunes amid President Obama's sinking approval ratings, a loss in a special House election in Florida last week, and millions of dollars spent by Republican-aligned groups attacking the new health law.

The combination has led to uncharacteristic criticism of Mr. Obama and bitter complaints that his vaunted political organization has done little to help the party's vulnerable congressional candidates.

The latest in a cascade of bad news came Friday when Scott Brown, a former senator from Massachusetts, announced an exploratory committee to challenge the incumbent Democrat in New Hampshire, Senator Jeanne Shaheen, and when the Republican-aligned "super PAC" American Crossroads said it would spend \$600,000 to help his effort.

Earlier, another top-tier Republican recruit, Representative Cory Gardner, decided to challenge Senator Mark Udall of Colorado; the two races create unanticipated opportunities improving Republicans' chances to take control of the Senate. No prominent Democrats predict their party will win back the House.

Interviews with more than two dozen Democratic members of Congress, state party officials and strategists revealed a new urgency about the need to address the party's prospects. One Democratic lawmaker, who asked not to be identified, said Mr. Obama was becoming "poisonous" to the party's candidates. At the same time, Democrats are pressing senior aides to Mr. Obama for help from the political network.

"I'm a prolific fund-raiser, but I can't compete with somebody who has got 50-some-odd billion dollars," said Representative Joe Garcia of Florida, a vulnerable first-term member who has already faced more than \$500,000 in negative TV ads from third-party conservative groups. "One hopes the cavalry is coming. One hopes the cavalry is coming."

The gap is yawning. Outside Continued on Page 18

## KIEV SAYS RUSSIA SEIZED GAS PLANT CLOSE TO CRIMEA

### A MILITARY SHOWDOWN

#### U.N. Resolution Vetoed by Moscow on Eve of Secession Vote

This article is by David M. Herszenhorn, Peter Baker and Andrew E. Kramer.

SIMFEROPOL, Ukraine — Tensions mounted on the eve of a secession referendum here in Crimea as helicopter-borne Russian forces made a provocative incursion just outside the peninsula's regional border to seize a natural gas terminal, while American and European officials prepared sanctions to impose on Moscow as early as Monday.

The military operation by at least 80 troops landing on a slender sand bar just across from Crimea's northeast border seemed part of a broader effort to strengthen control over the peninsula before a referendum Sunday on whether its majority Russian-speaking population wants to demand greater autonomy from Ukraine or break away completely and join Russia. Whatever its tactical goals, the seizure of the terminal sent a defiant message to the United States and Europe and underscored that a diplomatic resolution to Russia's recent takeover of Crimea remains elusive.

The raid came as American and European diplomats at the United Nations pushed for a vote on a resolution declaring the Sunday referendum illegal, essentially forcing Russia to veto the measure. In the end, Russia cast the only vote against it; even China, its traditional ally on the Council, did not vote with Moscow but abstained, an indication of its unease with Russia's violation of another country's sovereignty. Western diplomats hoped the result would reinforce Russia's growing international isolation over Ukraine.

American and European officials Continued on Page 13

**A NEW COLD WAR** Some hard-liners believe isolation from the West could benefit Russia. PAGE 12

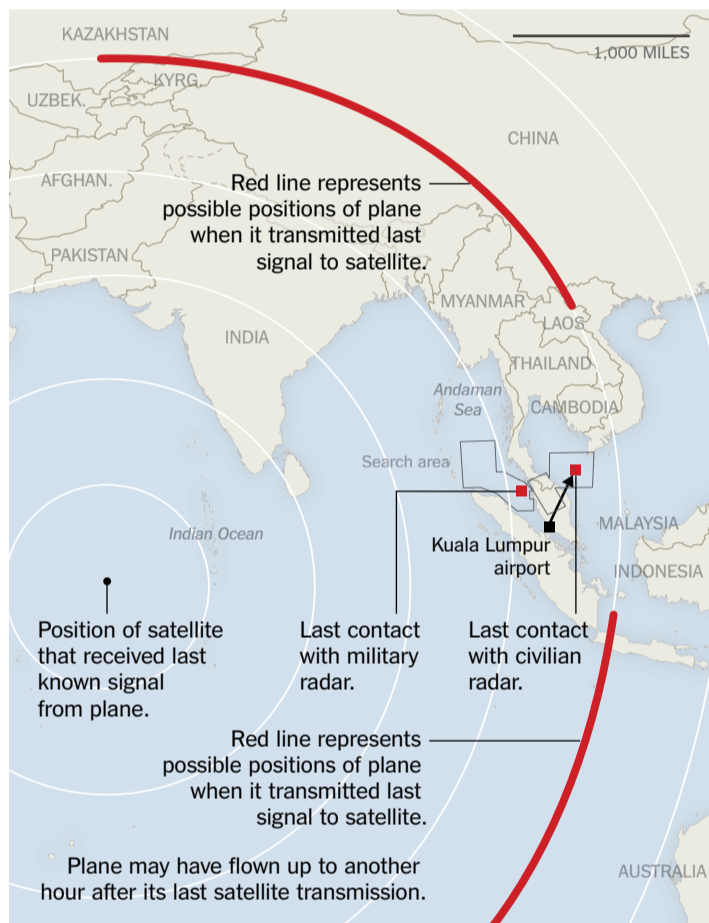
**SPLIT REACTION** In Moscow, pro- and anti-Putin rallies. PAGE 13

## SAYING MISSING JET WAS DIVERTED, MALAYSIA OPENS CRIMINAL INQUIRY



WONG MAYE-E/ASSOCIATED PRESS

"These movements are consistent with deliberate action by someone on the plane," said Prime Minister Najib Razak of Malaysia.



Source: Malaysian government THE NEW YORK TIMES

### Initial Scrutiny Falling on the Plane's Crew

By KEITH BRADSHAW and CHRIS BUCKLEY

KUALA LUMPUR, Malaysia — The search for Malaysia Airlines Flight 370 turned into a criminal investigation on Saturday, after Malaysia declared that the plane had been deliberately diverted and then flown for as long as seven hours toward an unknown point far from its scheduled route of Kuala Lumpur to Beijing.

Prime Minister Najib Razak of Malaysia said Saturday afternoon that he would seek the help of governments across a large expanse of Asia in the search for the jet, a Boeing 777, which has been missing for a week and had 239 people on board. The Malaysian authorities released a map showing that the last satellite signal from the plane had been sent from somewhere along one of two arcs spanning large distances across Asia.

Police officers were seen Saturday going to the home of the flight's captain, or chief pilot, Zaharie Ahmad Shah, in a gated compound near Kuala Lumpur. A spokeswoman for the Royal Malaysia Police, Datin Asmawati

Ahmad, said in a brief telephone interview on Sunday that the homes of the plane's captain and its first officer, Fariq Abdul Hamid, were both searched on Saturday. She declined to give details.

A satellite orbiting 22,250 miles over the middle of the Indian Ocean received the transmission that, based on the angle from which the plane sent it, came from somewhere along one of the two arcs. One arc runs from the southern border of Kazakhstan in Central Asia to northern Thailand, passing over some hot spots of global insurgency and highly militarized areas. The other arc runs from near Jakarta to the Indian Ocean, roughly 1,000 miles

Continued on Page 8

**ERRORS UPON ERRORS** Mistakes by Malaysia have made finding Flight 370 more difficult. PAGE 10

**FLIGHT SKILLS** The inquiry refocuses on those on board. PAGE 10

## A Star Was (Recently) Born: A Play Boldly Employs Babies

By JENNIFER SCHUESSLER

Hattie Morahan, who stars as Nora in the acclaimed production of "A Doll's House" now at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, has won the kind of rave reviews any actor would envy.

But for about two minutes during each show, she has found herself upstaged by a performer who doesn't have any lines and, in fact, doesn't seem to be acting at all.

The performer appears about halfway through the first act, wriggling in a white dress and gray sheepskin vest, and a delighted murmur ripples through the crowd.

"It's a real baby!" one audience member whispered during a recent matinee. There were more than a few "Awwww"s of the sort more typically elicited by viral



IDA LENERT

Liam Lenert, 8 months old, in "A Doll's House" in Brooklyn.

YouTube videos than by dark Scandinavian psychodrama.

Real infants are an extreme rarity on the stage, for all the reasons you might imagine, starting with rogue bodily fluids. And in the lobby at the Brooklyn Academy's Harvey Theater, where the production runs through next Sunday, audiences have been

Continued on Page 17

## Billionaires With Big Ideas Are Privatizing American Science

By WILLIAM J. BROAD

Last April, President Obama assembled some of the nation's most august scientific dignitaries in the East Room of the White House. Joking that his grades in physics made him a dubious candidate for "scientist in chief," he spoke of using technological innovation "to grow our economy" and unveiled "the next great American project": a \$100 million initiative to probe the mysteries of the human brain.

Along the way, he invoked the government's leading role in a history of scientific glories, from putting a man on the moon to creating the Internet. The Brain initiative, as he described it, would be a continuation of that grand tradition, an ambitious rebuttal to deep cuts in federal financing for scientific research.

"We can't afford to miss these opportunities while the rest of the

world races ahead," Mr. Obama said. "We have to seize them. I don't want the next job-creating discoveries to happen in China or India or Germany. I want them to happen right here."

Absent from his narrative, though, was the back story, one that underscores a profound change taking place in the way science is paid for and practiced in America. In fact, the govern-

ment initiative grew out of richly financed private research: A decade before, Paul G. Allen, a co-founder of Microsoft, had set up a brain science institute in Seattle, to which he donated \$500 million, and Fred Kavli, a technology and real estate billionaire, had then established brain institutes at Yale, Columbia and the University of California. Scientists from those philanthropies, in turn, had

helped devise the Obama administration's plan.

American science, long a source of national power and pride, is increasingly becoming a private enterprise.

In Washington, budget cuts have left the nation's research complex reeling. Labs are closing. Scientists are being laid off. Projects are being put on the shelf, especially in the risky, free-wheeling realm of basic research. Yet from Silicon Valley to Wall Street, science philanthropy is hot, as many of the richest Americans seek to reinvent themselves as patrons of social progress through science research.

The result is a new calculus of influence and priorities that the scientific community views with a mix of gratitude and trepidation.

"For better or worse," said Steven A. Edwards, a policy analyst Continued on Page 22



BÉATRICE DE GÉA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Wendy Schmidt and her husband are advancing ocean studies.

#### INTERNATIONAL 4-14

##### Scandals Plague Sarkozy

Accusations of Libyan campaign donations and secret recordings are keeping the former French president Nicolas Sarkozy in the headlines. PAGE 4

#### NATIONAL 16-23

##### Pushing for Prison Reform

Colorado's new chief of corrections, who voluntarily spent 20 hours in a solitary cell, intends to change the way the state operates its prisons. PAGE 16

#### SUNDAY BUSINESS

##### After Recall, G.M. Looks Inside

In dealing with its recall crisis, General Motors is doing what many companies do. It is trying to manage the problem with an internal investigation. PAGE 1

#### SPORTSUNDAY

##### The Postwar Paralympics

Former soldiers who were wounded in battle have transformed disabled sports. Now the Paralympic movement is considering its peacetime role. PAGE 1

#### SUNDAY REVIEW

##### Thomas L. Friedman

PAGE 1

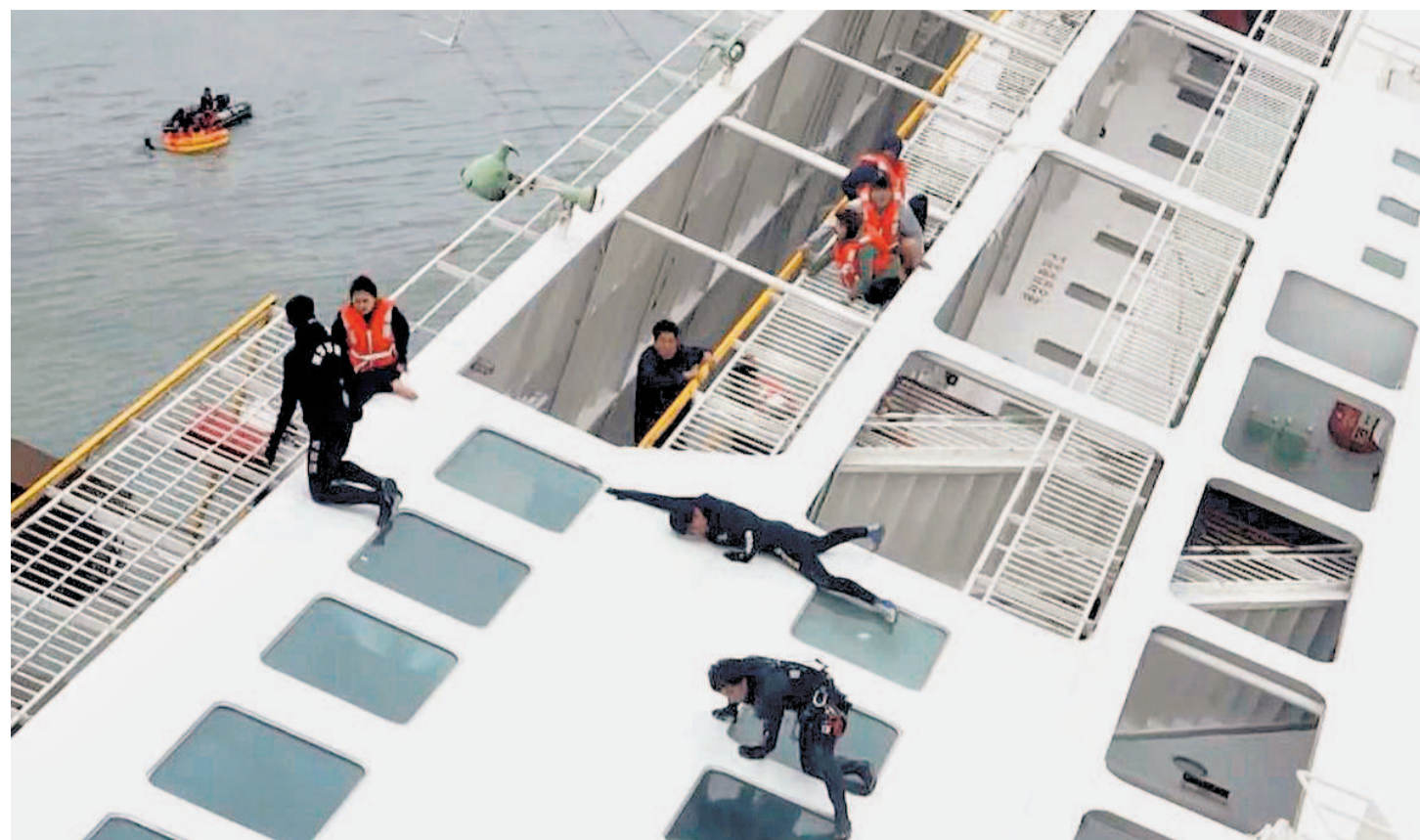


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SOUTH KOREA COAST GUARD, VIA NEWSI AND REUTERS

## In South Korean Ferry Wreck, Fears of a Rising Toll

More than 280 people, many of them high school students, were missing after a ferry listed and sank on Wednesday. Page A6.

## For Diabetics, Health Risks Fall Sharply

By **SABRINA TAVERNISE** and **DENISE GRADY**

Federal researchers on Wednesday reported the first broad national picture of progress against some of the most devastating complications of diabetes, which affects millions of Americans, finding that rates of heart attacks, strokes, kidney failure and amputations fell sharply over the past two decades.

The biggest declines were in the rates of heart attacks and deaths from high blood sugar, which dropped by more than 60 percent from 1990 to 2010, the period studied. While researchers had had patchy indications that outcomes were improving for diabetic patients in recent years, the study, published in *The New England Journal of Medicine*, documents startling gains.

"This is the first really credible, reliable data that demonstrates," she said.

## Clinton Struggles to Define a Legacy in Progress

By **MARK LANDLER** and **AMY CHOZICK**

WASHINGTON — It was a simple question to someone accustomed to much tougher ones: What was her proudest achievement as secretary of state? But for a moment, Hillary Rodham Clinton, appearing recently before a friendly audience at a women's forum in Manhattan, seemed flustered.

Mrs. Clinton played an energetic role in virtually every foreign policy issue of President Obama's first term, advocating generally hawkish views internally while using her celebrity to try to restore America's global standing after the hit it took during the George W. Bush administration.

But her halting answer suggests a problem that Mrs. Clinton could confront as she recounts her record in Mr. Obama's cabinet before a possible run for president in 2016: Much of what she labored over so conscientiously is either unfinished business or has gone awry in his second term.

From Russia's aggression in Ukraine and the grinding civil

war in Syria to the latest impasse in the Middle East peace process, the turbulent world has frustrated Mr. Obama, and is now defying Mrs. Clinton's attempts to articulate a tangible diplomatic legacy.

"I really see my role as secretary, and, in fact, leadership in general in a democracy, as a relay race," Mrs. Clinton finally said at the Women in the World meeting, promising to offer specific examples in a memoir she is writing that is scheduled to be released in June. "I mean, you run

the best race you can run, you hand off the baton."

The relay metaphor has become a recurring theme for Mrs. Clinton during this year of speculation about her future. She did her part, it suggests, but the outcome was out of her hands. And so Mrs. Clinton is striking a delicate balance when discussing a job that would be a critical credential in a presidential race.

On the one hand, she wants credit for the parts of Mr. Obama's

## Russia Economy Worsens Even Before Sanctions Hit

### Action in Crimea Contributes to Decline — Inflation Rises and Growth Slows

By **DAVID M. HERSZENHORN**

MOSCOW — Margarita R. Zobnina, a professor of marketing here, has been watching the Russian economy's gathering woes with mounting alarm: friends who have moved abroad with no plans to return; others who put off new business ventures because of rising uncertainty. Meanwhile, Ms. Zobnina and her husband, Alexander, also a professor, have rented a safe deposit box to hold foreign cash as a hedge against the declining ruble.

Most shocking, she says, is that her local grocery is now selling anchovies packed in sunflower oil rather than olive oil, an obvious response to the soaring cost of imports. "That really freaks me out," she said.

While the annexation of Crimea has rocketed President Vladimir V. Putin's approval rating to more than 80 percent, it has also contributed to a sobering downturn in Russia's economy, which was in trouble even before the West imposed sanctions. With inflation rising, growth stagnating, the ruble and stock market plunging, and billions in capital fleeing the country for safety, the economy is teetering on the edge of recession, as the country's minister of economic development acknowledged on Wednesday.

Mr. Putin, who just lavished \$50 billion on the Sochi Olympics, also must now absorb the costs of integrating Crimea, which economists and other experts say has its own sickly economy and ex-

pensive infrastructure needs. The economic costs have been masked by recent patriotic fervor but could soon haunt the Kremlin, as prices rise, wages stall and consumer confidence erodes.

Even before the Crimean episode, and the resulting imposition of sanctions by the West, Russia's \$2 trillion economy was suffering from stagflation, that toxic mix of stagnant growth and high inflation typically accompanied by a spike in unemployment. In Russia, joblessness remains low, but only because years of population decline have produced a shrunken, inadequate labor force.

In recent weeks, international and Russian banks have slashed their growth projections for 2014, with the World Bank saying the economy could shrink by 1.8 percent if the West imposes more sanctions over Ukraine. By some accounts, more than \$70 billion in capital has fled the country so far this year and the main stock market index fell by 10 percent in March — and a dizzying 3 per-

Continued on Page A8

## Ukraine Push Against Rebels Grinds to Halt

By **ANDREW E. KRAMER**

SLOVYANSK, Ukraine — A military operation that the Ukrainian government said would confront pro-Russian militants in the east of the country unraveled in disarray on Wednesday with the entire contingent of 21 armored vehicles that had separated into two columns surrendering or pulling back before nightfall. It was a glaring humiliation for the new government in Kiev.

Though gunshots were fired throughout the day, and continued sporadically through the evening in this town that is occupied by pro-Russian militants, it was unclear whether anybody had been wounded.

One of the armored columns stopped when a crowd of men drinking beer and women yelling taunts and insults gathered on the road before them, and later in the day its commander agreed to hand over the soldiers' assault rifles to the very separatists they were sent to fight.

Another column from the same ostensibly elite unit, the 25th Dnipropetrovsk paratrooper brigade, surrendered not only its weapons but also the tracked and armored vehicles it had arrived in, letting militants park them as trophies, under a Russian flag, in a central square here.

A pro-Russian militant then climbed into the driver's seat of

Continued on Page A8

**EYES ON GENEVA** Talks beginning Thursday are seen as a key test of Russia's intentions. PAGE A9

**HE SAID, HE SAID** Two different versions of Obama-Putin telephone calls emerge. PAGE A9

## Pensioners in Detroit Rejoice, Though Deal Is Far From Done

By **STEVEN YACCINO** and **MONICA DAVEY**

DETROIT — The relief was palpable.

"My pension is my life," Thomas Berry, a retired police detective, said on Wednesday, reacting to tentative deals that were struck between Detroit, the city's pension funds and a retirees' group that would mean no cuts to his current pension checks, though a reduction in annual cost of living increases. "I'm O.K. with that," Mr. Berry said, "because a month ago, we were going to lose everything."

A day after Detroit scaled back from the large pension benefit cuts it had once been proposing, the bankrupt city fended off charges from some that it had

simply caved in to retirees in ways that could come back to haunt it. But it also felt the elation of many of its current and former employees who for months had feared a more dire outcome.

"It's a quantum leap forward from what the pensioners were being offered, that's for sure," said Douglas C. Bernstein, a bankruptcy lawyer at the firm of Plunkett Cooney in Bloomfield Hills, Mich., who is not involved in the pension negotiations. "I'm pretty sure that the judge will require them to show that this deal is in fact affordable."

How it happened is the story of an effort to protect as much as possible

Continued on Page A4



CASEY KELBAUGH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A pair of limited Air Jordans had the teenage traders in negotiation mode at a sneaker fair.

## At 'Sneakerhead' Fairs, Air Jordans Are Golden

By **GRANT GLICKSON**

With sneakers slung around their shoulders and pockets full of cash, young boys huddle in hotel ballrooms and high school gyms, shouting and bartering as if they belong on a trading room floor.

"What do you want for them?" John Leonardo asked at one recent event in New Jersey.

"What's your offer?" someone hollered back.

In a flurry of transactions, John, who is only 13 years old, bought, sold or exchanged 20 pairs of designer basketball sneakers and walked away with seven, four more pairs than he started with. His collection's retail value climbed to \$1,155 from \$340.

John, an eighth-grade student from Manalapan, N.J., and thousands of other teenage "sneakerheads" have formed a thriving subculture using Instagram, Facebook and weekend conven-

tions to spot, sell and trade coveted, sometimes limited edition pairs of basketball shoes.

Teenagers who have grown up with eBay and the Internet have learned the art of trading up, sometimes earning a profit in the process.

Jake White, 14, of Freehold, N.J., has 81 pairs in his collection, helped a lot by gifts from his parents. He estimates they've spent \$11,000 on shoes and could prob-

Continued on Page A3

### INTERNATIONAL A6-11

#### Turkey's Demand of Twitter

The Turkish government, which at one point blocked the social media site, demanded, among other things, that Twitter reveal the identities of those posting leaks from a corruption inquiry. PAGE A6

### NATIONAL A12-15

#### New Light on Deportations

Data from the Justice Department contrasts with criticism of the Obama administration's policies: Deportations by immigration courts are down 43 percent since 2009. PAGE A12

#### Governor's Bumpy Victory Lap

Rick Perry's final months as Texas governor have been interrupted by a political and legal problem that could vex him if he runs for president. PAGE A12

### NEW YORK A17-21

#### House and Yard? No, Thanks

Young adults who grew up in the region seem to be lingering longer in New York City, sometimes forsaking suburban life entirely, a report suggests. PAGE A17



### HOME D1-8

#### Bright Spots in Milan

The Milan Furniture Fair offered an array of livable and lovable products. Above, a quirky marble chair. PAGE D1

### THURSDAY STYLES E1-10

#### Catch a Bouquet

For all of those ready to shrug off winter layers, fashion designers are ready with bright floral prints for spring. PAGE E1

### BUSINESS DAY B1-10

#### Barred From Suing Cheerios

General Mills has alerted customers that they cannot take legal action against the company if they download coupons or enter its contests. PAGE B1

### SPORTSTHURSDAY B11-16

#### Shutout Times Two

Masahiro Tanaka struck out 10, and the Yankees shut out the Cubs, then did it again in the second game of a double-header behind Michael Pineda. PAGE B11

### ARTS C1-8

#### 'Of Mice and Men' Opens

Chris O'Dowd and James Franco make their Broadway debuts in this revival. Review by Ben Brantley. PAGE C1

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

#### Gail Collins

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## SEEKING BALANCE ON MIDEAST VISIT, POPE PLEASURES FEW

### FLYING INTO WEST BANK

A Nod to a Palestinian State, and Then to an Early Zionist

By JODI RUDOREN  
and ISABEL KERSHNER

BETHLEHEM, West Bank — Pope Francis plans to give a strong show of support for a sovereign Palestinian state when he makes his first visit to the Holy Land this weekend, becoming the first pontiff to travel directly into the occupied West Bank rather than passing through Israel.

The pope's decision to fly straight to Bethlehem from Jordan would be a symbolic lift to the Palestinians at any time. But its resonance is even greater given his tremendous popularity, his focus on the downtrodden, and his timing amid the recent collapse of peace talks and the Palestine Liberation Organization's unity pact with the militant group Hamas.

Francis, who said on Wednesday that his three-day visit was "purely a religious trip," is striving for balance, and so on Monday he plans to become the first Vatican leader to lay a wreath on the grave of Theodor Herzl, the founder of Zionism. Paying homage to a man who envisioned the Jewish state has become standard for leaders visiting Israel, but the plan has enraged some Palestinians, in another sign of the risks the pope faces in this charged region.

At each stop on the orchestrated itinerary, the Vatican's focus — to celebrate the 50th anniversary of a historic meeting of Catholic and Orthodox patriarchs — could be overshadowed as all sides dissect Francis' every action. Already, his effort at ecumenical outreach, traveling with a rabbi and an imam from his native Buenos Aires, has led to criticism that he is not fully engaging local religious leaders.

"You need to look at the ges-  
Continued on Page A10

## With New Bill, Abortion Limits Spread in South

By JEREMY ALFORD  
and ERIK ECKHOLM

BATON ROUGE, La. — The Louisiana State Legislature on Wednesday passed a bill that could force three of the state's five abortion clinics to close, echoing rules passed in Alabama, Mississippi and Texas and raising the possibility of drastically reduced access to abortion across a broad stretch of the South.

The new rules passed by Republican legislatures require that doctors performing abortions must have admitting privileges at nearby hospitals, a provision likely to shut down many abortion clinics across the region. Legal experts say the legislation is raising a fundamental question: At what point is access to abortion so limited that it violates the right to the procedure granted by the United States Supreme Court in 1973 in Roe v. Wade?

When a three-judge panel of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, based in New Orleans, heard arguments on Mississippi's law in April, a lawyer for the state said that although the law would force the state's sole abortion clinic to  
Continued on Page A20



POOL PHOTO BY MARK RALSTON

President Xi Jinping of China, left, and President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia met on Wednesday at a conference in Shanghai.

## RUSSIA AND CHINA FINALLY COMPLETE 30-YEAR GAS DEAL

### OLD RIVALS IN ACCORD

\$400 Billion Pact Seen as Counter to U.S. and Europe

By JANE PERLEZ

BEIJING — China and Russia signed a \$400 billion gas deal on Wednesday, giving Moscow a megamarket for its leading export and linking two major powers that, despite a rocky history of alliances and rivalries, have drawn closer to counter the clout of the United States and Europe.

The impetus to complete the gas deal, which has been talked about as a game-changing accord for more than a decade, finally came together after the Ukrainian crisis forced Russia's president, Vladimir V. Putin, to urgently seek an alternative to Europe, Moscow's main energy market. Europe has slapped sanctions on Russia and sought ways to reduce its dependence on Russian energy.

Mr. Putin, on a two-day visit to Shanghai, and the Chinese leader, Xi Jinping, oversaw the signing of the contract between Gazprom and the China National Petroleum Corporation, the biggest natural gas deal Russia has sealed since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The contract runs for 30 years and calls for the construction of pipelines and other infrastructure that will require tens of billions of dollars in investment.

The deal, which Mr. Putin called an "epochal event," solidified a relationship between China and Russia that had been warming since Mr. Xi assumed power in 2012, as Mr. Xi and Mr. Putin have found common cause.

"The Sino-Soviet rift that  
Continued on Page A12

### An Appetite for Energy

China's aggressive pursuit of oil, coal and natural gas is being felt around the world. Page B1.

## Inmate Attacks On Civilian Staff Climb at Rikers

By MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ

Attacks on health care workers and other civilian staff members at Rikers Island have spiked over the last year, as officials have scaled back their use of punitive measures and expanded treatment for the swelling ranks of mentally ill inmates at the New York City jail complex.

The surge in assaults underscores the complexities of a new push to improve mental health care at Rikers, where officials last year began reducing the use of solitary confinement among mentally ill inmates, because the practice has been shown to aggravate their conditions. Jail officials are also providing more therapy and counseling to inmates.

As a result, health care workers are increasingly on the front lines at Rikers, where mentally ill inmates now account for nearly 40 percent of the population. Since July 1, 2013, the start of the fiscal year, assaults on civilian staff — mostly health care workers — have increased by 144 percent compared with the same period the year before, according to data from the Correction Department. Of the 39 assaults on civil-  
Continued on Page A26

## Where 'Say Nothing' Is Gospel, I.R.A. Victim's Daughter Is Talking

By KATRIN BENNHOLD

BELFAST, Northern Ireland — Helen McKendry was shopping recently when she spied a former neighbor who she is sure was one of the members of the Irish Republican Army who burst into her home 42 years ago and abducted her mother.

They stared at each other, then moved on.

It has always been that way for Mrs. McKendry and her nine brothers and sisters, the children of Jean McConville, a widow who was wrongly suspected by the I.R.A. of being an informer and dragged out of her living room in

front of her family one afternoon in 1972. She was shot in the back of the head and buried on a beach in the Republic of Ireland. Her body was not discovered until 2003, when it was exposed during a storm.

The children grew up and went about their lives knowing the identities of most of the men and women who took their mother, but they never dared go to the police. They say they still see her abductors around town, even on a list of candidates running in local elections this month for Sinn Fein, the former political arm of the I.R.A. and one of Ireland's main political parties.

But now Mrs. McKendry, 56,

### Living Among Culprits, She Seeks Justice for Murdered Mother

the eldest daughter in the family, says she is no longer afraid to speak up. Out of the house when her mother's abductors came, she says she was told their names by her siblings immediately afterward. She says she gave those names to the police in March, after she became convinced that they were serious about investigating the murder.

She has also filed a civil suit against Sinn Fein.

"If they want to put a bullet in my head, well, they know where I live," she said in an interview at her home outside Belfast.

In this city where walls up to 45 feet tall still separate Catholics from Protestants, a very different kind of wall has sprouted over the years: one of fearful silence over injustices committed within the same community, at first in the service of war, and then, after the 1998 Good Friday peace agreement ended decades of violence, in the interests of peace.

But cracks have been appear-  
Continued on Page A6



ED HILLE/THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

## A Path Down the Aisle Opens in Pennsylvania

As gay couples applied to wed, Gov. Tom Corbett said he would not appeal a judge's ruling allowing same-sex marriage. Page A16.

## Rent or Buy? Calculus Shifts in Some Cities as Prices Bubble Up

By NEIL IRWIN

Billy Gasparino and Jenna Dillon-Gasparino were savvy enough to wait out the housing boom of a decade ago as renters. Not until 2010, well into the bust, did they buy a house in the Venice neighborhood of Los Angeles, less than a mile from the beach, for \$810,000.

Only four years later, the cou-

ple see new signs of excess in the housing market and have decided to go back to renting. They are close to a deal to sell their house — for \$1.35 million, a 67 percent gain.

"It just seems like the housing market came back so strongly, so fast, that maybe there's a little bit of a bubble there," said Mr. Gasparino, 37, an executive with the San Diego Padres.

Their decision reflects a new

### The Upshot

reality in many of the nation's largest metropolitan areas. An analysis by The New York Times finds that in the country's most expensive places, including New York, the San Francisco Bay Area and Los Angeles, buying a home again looks like a perilous investment, based on the relationship between their prices and rents or

incomes. And in a longer list of areas, including Boston, Miami and Washington, prices have risen enough that buying is no longer the bargain it looked to be a few years ago.

"A lot of these coastal markets look overvalued compared to rents," said Mark Zandi, the chief economist at Moody's Analytics. "In these markets, it seems generally more attractive to rent  
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INTERNATIONAL A4-15

**Iranians Defend 'Happy' Dance**  
After six were jailed for making a "Happy" video, Iran's president defended "behaviors caused by joy." PAGE A4

**Egypt Convicts Ex-President**  
Hosni Mubarak was sentenced to three years for embezzlement. PAGE A8

### INTERNATIONAL

#### U.S. Troops Aid Hunt for Girls

The United States has dispatched 80 military personnel to Chad to join the search for more than 200 abducted Nigerian schoolgirls. PAGE A8

### NATIONAL A16-20

#### V.A. Secretary in Line of Fire

Eric Shinseki, facing a growing health care scandal, heard blunt talk from President Obama. PAGE A19

#### Arrest in 2004 Abduction

The authorities in California announced the arrest of a man they say kidnapped a young woman 10 years ago. PAGE A20



ARTS C1-8

#### Details, Details

Karl Ove Knausgaard, a Norwegian author, has become the darling of the literary world since his minutiae-driven six-part autobiographical novel, "My Struggle," began appearing in English in 2012. A new volume, "Boyhood," is due next week. PAGE C1

### NEW YORK A22-27

#### Rangel Ahead in Primary

Representative Charles B. Rangel leads by nine points, a poll finds. PAGE A23

### BUSINESS DAY B1-10

#### Airbnb Settles Rental Dispute

The apartment sharing service will give host information to New York. PAGE B1

#### Transparency in Airline Fees

New rules would require extra costs on airfares to be listed up front. PAGE B1

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A28-29

#### Gail Collins

PAGE A29



HOME D1-8

#### At the Furniture Fair

Standouts included quirky lights and bright barstools from Emeco. PAGE D1



0 354 613 9

## In a First, Test Of DNA Finds Root of Illness

### Advance Is Seen in the Science of Diagnosis

By CARL ZIMMER

Joshua Osborn, 14, lay in a coma at American Family Children's Hospital in Madison, Wis. For weeks his brain had been swelling with fluid, and a battery of tests had failed to reveal the cause.

The doctors told his parents, Clark and Julie, that they wanted to run one more test with an experimental new technology. Scientists would search Joshua's cerebrospinal fluid for pieces of DNA. Some of them might belong to the pathogen causing his encephalitis.

The Osborns agreed, although they were skeptical that the test would succeed where so many others had failed. But in the first procedure of its kind, researchers at the University of California, San Francisco, managed to pinpoint the cause of Joshua's problem — within 48 hours. He had been infected with an obscure species of bacteria. Once identified, it was eradicated within days.

The case, reported on Wednesday in The New England Journal of Medicine, signals an important advance in the science of diagnosis. For years, scientists have been sequencing DNA to identify pathogens. But until now, the process has been too cumbersome to yield useful information about an individual patient in a life-threatening emergency.

"This is an absolutely great story — it's a tremendous tour de force," said Tom Slezak, the leader of the pathogen informatics

Continued on Page A18

## City Soda Fight, In Court, Tests Agency's Power

By MICHAEL M. GRYNBAUM

ALBANY — New York City's battle over sugary drinks is entering its endgame. But much more than soda is at stake.

A plan to limit the sale of large, high-calorie beverages, championed by former Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg as a novel way to fight obesity, went before the State Court of Appeals here on Wednesday, the city's final recourse after a lower court judge struck down the proposal last year.

But health advocates and legal experts say they are less concerned about the fate of two-liter Coca-Cola bottles than something more consequential: how far local governments can go to protect the health of their citizens.

The American soft-drink industry, in suing to stop the plan, contended that the city's Board of Health — which banned lead paint in 1959 and once cleared slums to prevent the spread of cholera — went beyond its powers in trying to regulate the size of sugary drinks, saying the board should be restricted to narrower concerns, like eradicating diseases.

That argument, if upheld, could limit the role of mayors and public health officials.

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TOP, FENG LI/GETTY IMAGES; ABOVE, KIN CHEUNG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

## Mourning in Hong Kong, Silence in Beijing

Thousands in Hong Kong gathered on Wednesday to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square crackdown, while Beijing, top, kept the historic site tightly guarded. Page A8.

## Democrats See a Break in a Gain For the Tea Party in Mississippi

By JONATHAN WEISMAN

WASHINGTON — It is a major headache for the national Republican Party and perhaps the biggest break Democrats have been handed in this difficult election year: a three-week runoff campaign in Mississippi between a party elder, Senator Thad Cochran, and the sometimes unpredictable Tea Party favorite, Chris McDaniel.

Mr. McDaniel, whose showing in the primary on Tuesday forced the runoff and shook the Republican establishment, carries the kind of baggage the party is eager to shed as it seeks to win over female and minority voters: He

threatened to leave the country rather than pay reparations for slavery and described trying to pick up Mexican women by calling them "mamacitas." He once dismissed a controversy over a wrestling video game in which a white woman holds down a black woman by shrugging, "Well, she wasn't holding down a gay guy."

Already on Wednesday, Democrats were quietly expressing glee and moving to elevate the McDaniel candidacy, hoping to make him this campaign cycle's equivalent of Missouri's Todd

Continued on Page A16



GEORGE CLARK/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Chris McDaniel and his son Cambridge on Tuesday night.

## Obama, Seeking Unity on Russia, Meets Obstacles

By PETER BAKER

BRUSSELS — President Obama started his day in Warsaw struggling to convince his friends in Central and Eastern Europe that the United States is being tough enough with Russia. He ended his day in Brussels, still struggling, but this time to persuade America's core Western allies to stay tough with Russia.

The dizzying contrasts underscored the challenges Mr. Obama faces navigating the complicated waters of European politics as he tries to forge a unified stance against Russian aggression in Ukraine. On the defensive at home for a prisoner swap, he finds himself pressed overseas by some allies unsatisfied with his reassurances of resolve and others unimpressed with his arguments for action.

He arrived here on Wednesday to have dinner with the leaders of the Group of 7 powers who, at his urging, had excluded President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia as punishment for his annexation of Crimea. But Mr. Obama's counterparts from Britain, France and Germany all ended up scheduling one-on-one meetings with Mr. Putin later on. President François Hollande of France even ar-

Continued on Page A4

## Behind P.O.W.'s Release: Urgency and Opportunity

### Fearing for Bergdahl's Life, U.S. Overcame Divisions and Revived Taliban Talks

This article is by Mark Mazzetti, Eric Schmitt, David E. Sanger and Helene Cooper.

WASHINGTON — Weeks before a Black Hawk helicopter lifted off in the dying light of eastern Afghanistan, carrying with it an American soldier who had spent five years in the hands of the Taliban, American officials grew increasingly worried that Sgt. Bowe Bergdahl's life might be in jeopardy.

A video produced by his captors months earlier had shown him weak and dazed, and there was a growing fear that the Taliban — frustrated by the glacial pace of hostage negotiations — were beginning to rethink the value of continuing to hold an American prisoner.

Officials from Qatar, who had long been the middlemen in the deliberations for a deal that would free Sergeant Bergdahl in exchange for five Taliban prisoners, were issuing warnings that the American prisoner's days could be numbered, setting in motion a flurry of secret discussions on two continents about how to choreograph a battlefield exchange of prisoners.

Issues that had bitterly divided the Obama administration — about the wisdom of the prisoner swap and the risks of releasing a group of aging Taliban commanders from Guantánamo Bay — were swept aside in the rush to secure Sergeant Bergdahl's release. At the same time, much of the fate of the administration's strategy was now in the hands of Qatar, the tiny wealthy emirate that in recent years has used its riches to amass great influence in the Middle East and Central Asia. President Obama spoke by telephone with the emir of Qatar to finalize the terms of the deal, and delegates from Qatar were quietly sent to Guantánamo Bay in late May — their presence a surprise to those who saw them in the dining facility at the island military prison.

But the endgame, described in interviews with more than a dozen American and foreign officials,

has also come under fierce attack from members of Congress, angry they were not consulted about the prisoner swap and critical of the decision to trade five Taliban commanders for an American soldier they have labeled a deserter. [Page A11.]

In the few days since Mr. Obama made an emotional announcement with Sergeant Bergdahl's parents in the White House Rose Garden, the White House has repeatedly had to defend the deal it cut to bring home the longest held American captive of America's longest war.

On Wednesday evening, as they emerged from a briefing with administration officials in a

Continued on Page A10



Images from a video released by the Taliban on Wednesday, showing, from start to finish, Sgt. Bowe Bergdahl's hand-over to the United States in Afghanistan on Saturday.

## Taliban Deftly Offer Message In Video of Freed U.S. Soldier

By MATTHEW ROSENBERG

KABUL, Afghanistan — The Taliban seem loose, almost off-hand, on camera as they wait for the American Black Hawk to land. Two fighters walk their hostage, Sgt. Bowe Bergdahl, out to American troops, greeting their enemies eye to eye as they quickly shake hands. They wave as the Americans retreat back to the chopper.

In their viral video to the world on Wednesday, framing dramatic images of their transaction with the United States with music, commentary and context, the Taliban scored their biggest hit yet after years of effort to improve their publicity machine — one bent on portraying them as the legitimate government of Afghanistan in exile.

Within hours of the video's release, the Taliban website where it was posted was overwhelmed

with traffic and the page hosting it crashed, according to Zabiullah Mujahid, a spokesman for the insurgents. The video has since been uploaded in dozens of different versions on YouTube.

It is the product of a Taliban propaganda effort that has grown increasingly savvy.

In recent years, the Taliban have tried to score points by insisting that they, unlike their Pakistani militant counterparts, actively supported polio vaccinations. Two months ago, realizing that they had outraged the Afghan public with an attack by gunmen on the Serena Hotel in Kabul that left children among the dead, the Taliban issued their first public apology. And they suggested that they had purposefully held back on attacking civilians on election day in April, and

Continued on Page A11

#### INTERNATIONAL A6-12

### Ukrainian Border Guards Flee

Border guards in eastern Ukraine near Russian territory left their posts, fearing attacks by separatist militias, a move that left open a strategic part of the porous border. PAGE A6

#### NATIONAL A14-18

### N.R.A., Divided Against Itself

The N.R.A. distanced itself from an article on its website that called demonstrations by people who brandished guns in public "scary" and "weird." PAGE A14

#### BUSINESS DAY B1-10

### Sprint and T-Mobile May Join

Two companies that have long considered combining, Sprint, America's third-largest wireless carrier, and T-Mobile, its fourth largest, are closing in on a \$32 billion deal to join forces. PAGE B1

### Quiet Departures at Walmart

Over two years, almost everyone linked to corruption scandals in Walmart's Mexico division has left the company, with various explanations. PAGE B1

#### OBITUARIES B18-19

### Don Zimmer Dies at 83

For more than 60 years, in which he never seemed to leave the baseball field, he was a Brooklyn Dodger, an original Met, the Yankees' bench coach on four World Series teams, and in his 80s an adviser for Tampa Bay. PAGE B18

#### NEW YORK A19-25

### Arrest in Brooklyn Stabbings

The police arrested Daniel St. Hubert shortly after a news conference, below, in which they released his identity to the public. He was sought in an attack that severely injured a girl and killed a 6-year-old boy. PAGE A19



#### SPORTSTHURSDAY B11-18

### Kings Top Rangers in Opener

The Los Angeles Kings rallied from a two-goal deficit and beat the Rangers, 3-2, in overtime to win the opening game of the Stanley Cup finals. PAGE B11

#### ARTS C1-8

### Saving Views of a Cathedral

Michael Kimmelman offers an alternative to a development that would block views of St. John the Divine. PAGE C1

#### THURSDAY STYLES E1-10

### Donna Karan Sits Tight

The fashion designer, 65, is dismissing talk that she may move aside as creative director of the brand she founded and sold to LVMH. PAGE E1

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

### Gail Collins

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CELEBRATE THE PIAGET ROSE DAY  
JUNE 5<sup>TH</sup>

PIAGET

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NEW YORK - LAS VEGAS - SOUTH COAST PLAZA - BAL HARBOUR



Relatives mourned Thaha Ahmed Shabab, 62, a Sunni who was fatally shot in front of his home near Baghdad on Tuesday night.

AYMAN OGHANNA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Shiite Violence Traps Sunnis In Baghdad

By ALISSA J. RUBIN and ROD NORDLAND

BAGHDAD — The bodies arrive in twos and threes most every day in the Baghdad morgue now, a grim barometer of the city's sectarian tensions. Most have gunshot wounds to the head, some have signs of torture, and most of them are Sunnis. When families come looking for relatives, they are directed to a room with five 48-inch television monitors playing what could best be described as a slide show from hell — one bullet-riddled corpse after another. Those who came Wednesday morning left both disappointed and relieved, upset about not knowing their loved ones' fate, but glad not to have confirmation; not here, at least.

For now, sectarian assassinations do not nearly approach the wholesale slaughter of the years 2005 to 2007, when as many as 100 bodies a day sometimes showed up at the morgue, some of them Shiites killed in suicide bombings but many Sunnis who had been executed by Shiite militias.

Still, the specter of that grim past preys on the thoughts of Baghdad's Sunnis, who suddenly find themselves in a Shiite-dominated city threatened by extremists.

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## Iran Aids Iraq With Drones and Military Gear

By MICHAEL R. GORDON and ERIC SCHMITT

BRUSSELS — Iran is directing surveillance drones over Iraq from an airfield in Baghdad and is supplying Iraqi forces with tons of military equipment and other supplies, according to American officials.

The secret Iranian programs are a rare instance in which Iran and the United States share a near-term goal: countering the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, or ISIS, the Sunni militants who have seized towns and cities in a blitzkrieg across western and northern Iraq. But even as the two nations provide military support to the embattled government of Prime Minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki, they are watching each other's actions warily as they jostle for influence in the region.

Senior American officials emphasized that the parallel efforts were not coordinated, and in an appearance at NATO headquarters here on Wednesday, Secretary of State John Kerry highlighted some of the potential risks.

"From our point of view, we've made it clear to everyone in the region that we don't need anything to take place that might exacerbate the sectarian divisions that are already at a heightened level of tension," Mr. Kerry said.

Both the United States and Iran have small numbers of military advisers in Iraq. As many

## U.S. Officials Describe Effort — American Goal Is Similar

as 300 American commandos are being deployed to assess Iraqi forces and the deteriorating security situation, while about a dozen officers from Iran's paramilitary Quds Force have been sent to advise Iraqi commanders and to help mobilize more than 2,000 Shiites from southern Iraq, American officials say.

"Iran is likely to be playing somewhat of an overarching command role within the central Iraqi military apparatus, with an emphasis on maintaining cohesiveness in Baghdad and the Shia south and managing the recon-

struction of Shia militias," said Charles Lister, a visiting fellow at the Brookings Doha Center in Qatar.

Gen. Qassim Suleimani, the head of the Quds Force, has paid at least two visits to Iraq to help Iraqi military advisers plot strategy. And Iranian transport planes have been making twice-daily flights to Baghdad with military equipment and supplies, 70 tons per flight, for the Iraqi forces.

"It's a substantial amount," said a senior American official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because he was discussing classified reports. "It's not necessarily heavy weaponry, but it is not just light arms and ammunition."

The Iranian involvement comes as Syria has intervened

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## JUSTICES, 9-0, RULE CELLPHONE SEARCH NEEDS A WARRANT

### Latest Curb on Police Is Broad Extension of Privacy Rights to the Digital Age

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — In a sweeping victory for privacy rights in the digital age, the Supreme Court on Wednesday unanimously ruled that the police need warrants to search the cellphones of people they arrest.

While the decision will offer protection to the 12 million people arrested every year, many for minor crimes, its impact will most likely be much broader. The ruling almost certainly also applies to searches of tablet and laptop computers, and its reasoning may apply to searches of homes and businesses and of information held by third parties like phone companies.

"This is a bold opinion," said Orin S. Kerr, a law professor at George Washington University. "It is the first computer-search case, and it says we are in a new digital age. You can't apply the old rules anymore."

Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., writing for the court, was keenly alert to the central role that cellphones play in contemporary life. They are, he said, "such a pervasive and insistent part of daily life that the proverbial visitor from Mars might conclude they were an important feature of human anatomy."

But he added that old principles required that their contents be protected from routine searches. One of the driving forces behind the American Revolution, Chief Justice Roberts wrote, was revulsion against "general warrants," which "allowed British officers to rummage through homes in an unrestrained search for evidence of criminal activity."

"The fact that technology now

allows an individual to carry such information in his hand," the chief justice also wrote, "does not make the information any less worthy of the protection for which the founders fought."

The government has been on a surprising losing streak in cases involving the use of new technologies by the police. In Wednesday's case and in a 2012 decision concerning GPS devices, the Supreme Court's precedents had supported the government. "But the government got zero votes in those two cases," Professor Kerr said.

The courts have long allowed warrantless searches in connection with arrests, saying they are justified by the need to protect police officers and to prevent the destruction of evidence.

But Chief Justice Roberts said neither justification made much sense in the context of cellphones. While the police may examine a cellphone to see if it contains, say, a razor blade, he wrote, "once an officer has secured a phone and eliminated any potential physical threats, however, data on the phone can endanger no one."

The possibility that evidence could be destroyed or hidden by "remote wiping" or encryption programs, Chief Justice Roberts wrote, was remote, speculative and capable of being addressed. The police may turn off a phone, remove its battery or place it in a bag made of aluminum foil.

Should the police confront an authentic "now or never" situation, the chief justice wrote, they

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TUNING IN Broadcast networks scored a victory with a ruling that Aereo, a television-streaming service, violated copyright law. PAGE B1

## In a U.S. Court, Iraqis Accuse Blackwater of Killings in 2007

By MATT APUZZO

WASHINGTON — The witness wore a suit with no tie, the top button of his gray shirt undone. He had told this story many times, and now that he was in the United States, telling his story at last to a jury, he appeared neither hurried nor anxious.

Sarhan Deab Abdul Moniem, the witness, was a traffic officer that day in September 2007, when a convoy of Blackwater Worldwide trucks pulled into his traffic circle in Baghdad and started shooting. He held up two hands, showing jurors how he had pleaded with the American security contractors to stop. Through an interpreter, he spoke in a matter-of-fact way about running toward a victim inside a white Kia sedan.

"There was a lady. She was

screaming and weeping about her son and asking for help," Mr. Moniem said. He showed jurors how she had cradled her dead son's head on her shoulder. "I asked her to open up the door so I could help her. But she was paying attention only to her son."

More than four dozen Iraqi citizens like Mr. Moniem are scheduled to travel to Washington in the coming months to testify against the Americans who they say fired wildly on unarmed citizens, leaving 17 Iraqis dead. For years, they have waited as the case wound its way through the American court system. In a courtroom steps away from the Capitol, they are finally having their say. The Justice Department

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## For Many Mormon Athletes, Mission Is to Play

By ALEX THOMPSON

On Thursday night, an N.B.A. team will select Jabari Parker, a 19-year-old basketball prodigy, with one of the top picks in the 2014 draft.

While he poses for the cameras with his new team's jersey, tens of thousands of young Mormon men will be preparing uniforms of their own, the white shirt and black name tag of missionaries, as they begin knocking on unfriendly doors in countries around the world.

It was through this missionary service that Mormons traveled to the small island nation of Tonga and converted Jabari Parker's great-grandfather a century ago. Today, Parker, who is also of African-American descent, is a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and is a regular at its meetings. His brother Christian and his mother served on missions.

Parker, who played one season at Duke, will be the first African-American Mormon drafted in the N.B.A., positioning himself as a striking new face for a church that discriminated against African-Americans until 1978, excluding them from being in the lay clergy.

But while church leaders have said they expect "every worthy, able young man" to serve on a mission, Parker will not be joining his peers in the field. He will instead follow the path carved by other world-class Mormon athletes and focus on his sport, a

Continued on Page B18



STREETER LECKA/GETTY IMAGES

Jabari Parker, a top N.B.A. prospect, will forgo missionary work.

## Blacks Regain Sway at Polls In Mississippi

By JONATHAN WEISMAN and CAMPBELL ROBERTSON

JACKSON, Miss. — For the first time since President Richard M. Nixon's divisive "Southern strategy" that sent whites to the Republican Party and blacks to the Democrats, African-American voters have come out in force for a Republican in the Deep South.

Now they are hoping to flex political muscles long atrophied after supporting Senator Thad Cochran on Tuesday in his runoff victory against a Tea Party challenger.

"We're in a moment here," said Floyd Smith, an African-American and a longtime political worker who canvassed Jackson's black precincts for Mr. Cochran. "Black folks went out and voted for a Republican. That's history."

The Mississippi voters who handed Mr. Cochran his narrow victory over State Senator Chris McDaniel were a complex and historic amalgam of black Democrats, rural and suburban white Republicans, and even union members, all put off by Mr. McDaniel's rhetorical broadsides and austere promises.

Although Cochran campaign officials and longtime Democratic officials said white Republican voters probably made the biggest difference in Mr. Cochran's vic-

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### NATIONAL A14-19

#### Identifying a Stroke Risk

Strokes of unknown origin may stem from a common, often unrecognized heartbeat irregularity. PAGE A19

#### Making a Perilous Crossing

Children, sometimes alone, are smuggled into the United States at a thorny, snake-infested area of Texas. PAGE A14



### INTERNATIONAL A4-12

#### Panel Sees Risk in Drone Use

Former military and intelligence officials criticized the Obama administration's use of armed drones, saying it sets a dangerous precedent. PAGE A11

### NEW YORK A20-25

#### Rangel Wins House Primary

Representative Charles B. Rangel's lead over State Senator Adriano D. Espaillat was called insurmountable. PAGE A23

#### Reunification in State Senate

A power shift may come to Albany now that breakaway Senate Democrats have vowed to vote with their party. PAGE A20

### BUSINESS DAY B1-9

#### Google Everywhere You Go

Google is seeking to have its software on every device possible. But it risks becoming creepy rather than helpful, Farhad Manjoo writes. PAGE B1

#### Bigger Step Back for Economy

The government revised its estimate of first-quarter growth to show the worst contraction in five years. PAGE B1

### SPORTSTHURSDAY B10-18

#### Big Moves for the Knicks

The team traded Raymond Felton and Tyson Chandler to Dallas for four players. PAGE B11

### ARTS C1-8

#### Movies Most Plentiful

The New York Asian Film Festival is to include 60 features, so Mike Hale offers a guide for intrepid viewers. PAGE C1

#### Soccer Creates New Celebrities

ESPN has two stars in World Cup coverage: Michael Davies, left, and Roger Bennett of "Men in Blazers." PAGE C1



### THURSDAY STYLES E1-8

#### Pride in Italian Design

During men's fashion week in Italy, a heritage of craftsmanship and national pride stood out. PAGE E1

#### Make Mine Platinum

The dramatic white-blond look is all the rage in some circles. PAGE E3

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

#### Gail Collins

PAGE A27



Israel's Search For 3 Teenagers Ends in Grief

Bodies Are Found — Hamas Is Blamed

By JODI RUDOREN and ISABEL KERSHNER

JERUSALEM — Israel's intense 18-day search for three abducted teenagers ended Monday when their bodies were found buried under a pile of rocks in an open field about 15 miles from where the youths were last seen in the occupied West Bank.

A nation that had been enmeshed in hopeful prayer was instantly engulfed by a mix of grief and anger and vowed retaliation against the militant Palestinian group Hamas, which Israel says was behind the killings.

"They were kidnapped and murdered in cold blood by beasts," Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel said at the start of an emergency cabinet meeting Monday night. "Hamas is responsible, and Hamas will pay."

Just after midnight, witnesses in Hebron, the West Bank's largest city, said the retaliation had begun as Israeli forces used explosives to demolish the homes of Marwan Qawasmeh and Amer Abu Aisha, the Hamas men who have been missing since the teenagers vanished and who are Israel's prime suspects.

By 4 a.m. Tuesday, Israel had pummeled the Hamas-dominated Gaza Strip with 34 airstrikes, continuing an escalation in which Gaza militants fired a barrage of rockets toward southern Israel on Monday after two weeks of tit-for-tat in which Israeli bombs killed three suspected militants.

The June 12 abduction and its aftermath, after April's collapse of American-brokered peace talks, have sent the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to its most precarious point in nearly a decade and shaken the fragile reconciliation between the Palestine Liberation

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AS G.M. UNVEILS ITS PAYOUT PLAN, RECALLS EXPAND

8.4 MILLION MORE CARS

Swift Payment Offered to Victims of Crashes in Ignition Flaw

By HILARY STOUT

WASHINGTON — General Motors on Monday became consumed once again by the safety crisis it cannot seem to shake, announcing the recall of 8.4 million more vehicles worldwide — most of them for an ignition defect similar to the flaw that the company failed to disclose in other models for more than a decade.

The announcement came just hours after Kenneth R. Feinberg, a compensation expert hired by G.M., unveiled a plan to pay victims of accidents involving some of the 2.6 million G.M. vehicles already recalled for the earlier ignition flaw, promising swift payments for people who were critically injured and more than \$1 million for families of those who died.

The latest recall announcement seemed to deflate whatever good will G.M. had generated with the news of Mr. Feinberg's plan. Trading in G.M. stock, which had risen slightly on Mr. Feinberg's news, was suspended temporarily on the New York Stock Exchange while the announcement about the recalls was made. (The stock closed down about 1 percent.)

"It's kind of like a festering wound," said Lance Cooper, a Georgia lawyer who represents numerous clients with ignition switch claims. "The more you cut, the more you find."

The details of the new recall sounded familiar. Keys could inadvertently shift while the cars were running, shutting off the en-

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COURT LIMITS BIRTH CONTROL RULE



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A crowd at the Supreme Court on Monday after a ruling on insurance coverage for contraception under the Affordable Care Act.

NEWS ANALYSIS

A Ruling That Both Sides Can Run With

By JEREMY W. PETERS and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court's ruling on Monday that the government cannot force certain employers to pay for birth control was more than a rebuke to President Obama. It was vindication of the conservative movement's efforts to chip away at laws it finds objectionable by raising questions of freedom of expression.

The decision — like several recent rulings from the justices and lower courts involving prayer at

town meetings and protests outside abortion clinics — carved out a significant, albeit narrow, legal exception in the context of a broader cultural fight that social conservatives have been unable to win outright.

The ruling comes as social conservatives have suffered setbacks on another high-profile social issue, same-sex marriage, and leaders predicted Monday's decision would infuse Republicans with energy as they fight to take control of the Senate this year and reclaim the White House in 2016.

"The court has made clear to-

day that the Obama administration's assault on religious freedom in this case went too far," said Gov. Bobby Jindal of Louisiana, one of several conservative Republicans weighing a White House run. "But this assault will not stop in our courts, in our schools and in the halls of power."

Yet even as conservatives celebrated coming out on the winning side of a divisive social issue, their court victory may have also handed Democrats an issue that will turn out liberal voters in the fall.

Democrats have spent hun-

Continued on Page A13

Religious Liberty Cited on Issue of Coverage

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court ruled on Monday that requiring family-owned corporations to pay for insurance coverage for contraception under the Affordable Care Act violated a federal law protecting religious freedom. It was, a dissent said, "a decision of startling breadth."

The 5-to-4 ruling, which applied to two companies owned by Christian families, opened the door to many challenges from corporations over laws that they claim violate their religious liberty.

The decision, issued on the last day of the term, reflected what appears to be a key characteristic of the court under Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. — an inclination toward nominally incremental rulings with vast potential for great change.

Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr., writing for the majority, emphasized the ruling's limited scope. For starters, he said, the court ruled only that a federal religious-freedom law applied to "closely held" for-profit corporations run on religious principles. Even those corporations, he said, were unlikely to prevail if they objected to complying with other laws on religious grounds.

But Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg's dissent sounded an alarm. She attacked the majority opinion as a radical overhaul of corporate rights, one she said could apply to all corporations and to countless laws.

The contraceptive coverage requirement was challenged by two corporations whose owners say they try to run their businesses

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SETBACK FOR LABOR The Supreme Court ruled out union fees for some public workers. PAGE A12

MORE CASES Challenges over religious rights continue. PAGE A13

For Iraq, Potential Leader With a Tarnished Past

By ROD NORDLAND

BAGHDAD — He took millions of dollars from the C.I.A., founded and was accused of defrauding the second-biggest bank in Jordan and sold the Bush administration a bill of goods on weapons of mass destruction in Iraq.

At first championed by the Bush administration's neoconservatives as a potential leader of Iraq, Ahmad Chalabi ended up persona non grata, effectively barred from the wartime American Embassy here. Now, in an improbable twist of fate, Mr. Chalabi is being talked about as a serious candidate for prime minister. He has also been back to the embassy.

With Sunni insurgents rampaging across the country and sectarian killings on the rise, everything old seems new again in Iraq — including, apparently, Mr. Chalabi.

And on Monday, Obama administration officials said that about 200 more troops had been sent to protect the American Embassy in Baghdad and the Baghdad airport. The additional troops, who arrived on Sunday, will operate helicopters and drones to "bolster airfield and



BRYAN DENTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ahmad Chalabi, center, last month at a camp for displaced Iraqis in Khazer. He is being considered for prime minister.

route security," Rear Adm. John F. Kirby, the Pentagon spokesman, said in a statement.

In addition to those forces, another 100 troops who the Pentagon had previously said would be sent to Iraq are headed to Baghdad to help with security and lo-

gistics. The moves will raise the total number of American troops man deployed to Iraq for security and advisory missions to about 750.

As Iraq's political parties held round-the-clock meetings the

Continued on Page A7

Grieving Father Pulls a Thread That Unravels Illegal Bank Deals

By JESSICA SILVER-GREENBERG and BEN PROTESS

A bus bombing two decades ago — and a New Jersey father's quest for justice — inadvertently set off a chain of events that led American prosecutors to accuse some of the world's biggest banks of transferring money for nations like Iran.

On Monday, that crackdown culminated with the guilty plea of BNP Paribas, which admitted to doing billions of dollars in deals with Iran and other countries blacklisted by the United States and agreed to pay a record \$8.9 billion penalty to state and federal authorities. [Page B1.]

The trail that ultimately led to BNP began in 2006, when the Manhattan district attorney's office came upon a lawsuit filed by the father, who blamed Iran for financing the Gaza bus bombing that killed his 20-year-old daughter. Buried in the court filings, prosecutors found a stunning accusation: A charity that owned a gleaming office tower on Fifth Avenue was actually a "front" for the Iranian government, a claim that the prosecutors ultimately verified.

The prosecutors soon discovered that Credit Suisse and Lloyds, two of the world's most prestigious banks, had acted as Iran's portal to the United States financial system. To disguise the illicit transactions — the United States is closed for business to Iran — Credit Suisse and Lloyds stripped out the Iranian clients' names from wire transfers to the Fifth Avenue charity and affiliated entities. The findings led the Manhattan prosecutors and the Justice Department in Washington to announce criminal cases against both banks.

As those cases were coming to light in 2009, a whistle-blower stepped forward to point the finger at BNP, France's biggest bank. That tip has now materialized in a landmark criminal settlement, with BNP pleading guilty to criminal charges, capping a sweeping investigation into how the bank processed billions of dollars on behalf of Sudan and Iran.

The twists and turns leading to

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NATIONAL A9-13

Obama to Act on Immigration

President Obama said he would use his executive power to make changes to the immigration system. PAGE A9

NEW YORK A14-18



The Evolution of Harlem

Harlem once relied on its elected representatives, like Charles B. Rangel, to project its influence. But now the area is less a voting bloc than a brand. PAGE A14

Cannibal Case Is Overturned

A judge has reversed the conviction of a former New York police officer in a plot to kidnap and eat women. PAGE A15

INTERNATIONAL A4-8

New Mideast Rivals

Even as the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria has declared a caliphate in conquered territory, its fierce rivalry with Al Qaeda has divided jihadists across the Middle East. PAGE A7

China Investigates Ex-General

China's Communist Party expelled a retired military commander and ordered an inquiry into accusations that he took bribes in return for promotions. PAGE A6

BUSINESS DAY B1-9

Cyberattack Tied to Russia

Private computer security companies say that hackers, possibly backed by the Russian government, infiltrated the systems of hundreds of Western energy companies. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-7

Pranksters and Storytellers

Two Comedy Central shows, "Drunk History" and "Nathan for You," tap into a time-honored font of entertainment: people playing the fool. PAGE C1

OBITUARIES A19

Former Mets Executive Dies

Frank Cashen built champions in Baltimore and New York by focusing on farm systems and shrewd trades. PAGE A19

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8



After the Trees Are Gone

Ecologists are resigned to losing North America's ash forests to an invasive beetle. Now they are looking at how the loss will change ecosystems. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Joe Nocera

PAGE A21



Advertisement for HARRY WINSTON jewelry, featuring images of diamond rings and earrings. Text includes 'HARRY WINSTON', 'NEW YORK BEVERLY HILLS LAS VEGAS CHICAGO BAL HARBOUR SOUTH COAST PLAZA DALLAS HONOLULU', and '800 988 4110'.

## Obama Asks For \$3.7 Billion To Aid Border

### G.O.P. Is Wary of Plan to Handle Surge

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and JEREMY W. PETERS

WASHINGTON — President Obama urged Congress on Tuesday to quickly provide almost \$4 billion to confront a surge of young migrants from Central America crossing the border into Texas, calling it "an urgent humanitarian situation."

But the request quickly became entangled in the fierce political debate over immigration: Republicans said they were wary of Mr. Obama's request and could not immediately support it, given what they called his administration's failure to secure the Mexican border after years of illegal crossings. Mr. Obama could face resistance from members of his own party as well.

The president said he needed the money to set up new detention facilities, conduct more aerial surveillance and hire immigration judges and Border Patrol agents to respond to the flood of 52,000 children. Their sudden mass migration has overwhelmed local resources and touched off protests from residents angry about the impact on the local economy. In a letter to congressional leaders, Mr. Obama urged them to "act expeditiously" on his request.

Republican lawmakers who have long demanded tougher enforcement of immigration laws along the border expressed cautious support on Tuesday for beefing up the federal presence in the Rio Grande Valley, where most of the children have been

Continued on Page A14



POOL PHOTO BY ERIC GAY

Young detainees at a processing center in Brownsville, Tex.

## Faith Groups Seek Exclusion From Bias Rule

By JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS and ERIK ECKHOLM

WASHINGTON — After a setback in the Supreme Court in the Hobby Lobby case, President Obama is facing mounting pressure from religious groups demanding to be excluded from his long-promised executive order that would bar discrimination against gay men and lesbians by companies that do government work.

The president has yet to sign the executive order, but last week a group of major faith organizations, including some of Mr. Obama's allies, said he should consider adding an exemption for groups whose religious beliefs oppose homosexuality. In *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby Stores*, the court ruled that family-run corporations with religious objections could be exempted from providing employees with insurance coverage for contraception.

The demands of the faith organizations pose a dilemma for Mr. Obama, who has struggled to preserve freedom of expression among religious groups while supporting the rights of gay men and lesbians. Mr. Obama could unleash a conservative uproar if

Continued on Page A15

## SPYING CASE LEFT OBAMA IN DARK, U.S. OFFICIALS SAY

### MURKY GERMAN ARREST

#### White House Questions Who in C.I.A. Knew of It and When

By MARK MAZZETTI and MARK LANDLER

WASHINGTON — When President Obama placed a call to Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany last Thursday, he had a busy agenda: to consult with a close ally and to mobilize wavering Europeans to put more pressure on Russia to end its covert incursions in Ukraine.

What Mr. Obama did not know was that a day earlier, a young German intelligence operative had been arrested and had admitted that he had been passing secrets to the Central Intelligence Agency.

While Ms. Merkel chose not to raise the issue during the call, the fact that the president was kept in the dark about the blown spying operation at a particularly delicate moment in American relations with Germany has led frustrated White House officials to question who in the C.I.A.'s chain of command was aware of the case — and why that information did not make it to the Oval Office before the call.

The details of this spying case remain murky. Intelligence officials have declined to comment, and it is still not clear what the German operative has told the authorities.

But the episode sheds light on the tensions that arise from the colliding cultures of spycraft and statecraft — one driven by the need to vacuum as much secret material as possible; the other giving primacy to diplomatic objectives.

It also reinforces the problem that surfaced a year ago in the wake of revelations about National Security Agency surveillance practices from the rogue contractor Edward J. Snowden: whether the costs of spying on

Continued on Page A6

## Israel and Hamas Trade Attacks as Tension Rises



MOHAMMED SABER/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

Gaza City after an Israeli attack on Tuesday. Warplanes struck 150 sites that Israeli officials said harbored Islamist fighters.

## Probing Brain's Depth, Trying to Aid Memory

By BENEDICT CAREY

PHILADELPHIA — The man in the hospital bed was playing video games on a laptop, absorbed and relaxed despite the bustle of scientists on all sides and the electrodes threaded through his skull and deep into his brain.

"O.K., that's enough," he told doctors after more than an hour. "All those memory tests, it's exhausting."

The man, Ralph, a health care worker who asked that his last name be omitted for privacy, has severe epilepsy; and the operation to find the source of his seizures had provided researchers an exquisite opportunity to study the biology of memory.

### Scientists Looking for New Ways to Treat Traumatic Injury

The Department of Defense on Tuesday announced a \$40 million investment in what has become the fastest-moving branch of neuroscience: direct brain recording. Two centers, one at the University of Pennsylvania and the other at the University of California, Los Angeles, won contracts to develop brain implants for memory deficits.

Their aim is to develop new treatments for traumatic brain injury, the signature wound of the

wars in Iraq and in Afghanistan. Its most devastating symptom is the blunting of memory and reasoning. Scientists have found in preliminary studies that they can sharpen some kinds of memory by directly recording, and stimulating, circuits deep in the brain.

Unlike brain imaging, direct brain recording allows scientists to conduct experiments while listening to the brain's internal dialogue in real time, using epilepsy patients like Ralph or people with Parkinson's disease as active collaborators.

The technique has provided the clearest picture yet of how neural circuits function, and raised hopes of new therapies for depression and anxiety as well as

Continued on Page A3

## Troop Call-Up Is Approved by Netanyahu

By STEVEN ERLANGER and ISABEL KERSHNER

JERUSALEM — Israel and Hamas escalated their military confrontation on Tuesday, with Israel carrying out extensive air attacks in response to heavy rocket fire and authorizing a major call-up of army reserves for an extended campaign against militants in Gaza.

Late Tuesday, Hamas took responsibility for a new wave of up to 40 longer-range rockets, some of them intercepted over Tel Aviv and even Jerusalem, where sirens sounded around 10 p.m. There were no reports of injuries, but the barrage of rockets, one of which hit an open area in outer Jerusalem, put pressure on the Israeli government to respond with greater force.

Israeli warplanes struck 150 sites that Israeli officials said harbored Islamist fighters in Gaza, and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu authorized the call-up of 40,000 reservists, apparently to give Israel the option of a ground invasion of Gaza. He said he was prepared to "remove the gloves" and undertake the third major military offensive against militants in the Hamas-controlled territory in five years if rocket attacks from Gaza did not cease.

Both sides resorted to a show of military strength after a series of quick-fire events that illustrated the extreme fragility of Israeli-Palestinian relations, starting with the collapse of American-sponsored peace talks, the attempts by rival Palestinian factions to form a coalition government, the kidnapping and murder of three Israeli teenagers and the subsequent kidnapping and murder of a Palestinian teenager.

Palestinian officials said that at least 23 people were killed Tuesday in Gaza, where repeated bombardments shook buildings and sent thousands of people into the streets. Israeli officials said

Continued on Page A8

### Before Bombs, a Warning

Israel continued a contentious policy of giving occupants of buildings about to be bombed a brief warning to leave. Page A8.

## Goal, Goal, Goal, Goal, Goal, Goal, Goal: A Dark Day for Brazil

By SAM BORDEN

BELO HORIZONTE, Brazil — The fireworks began at dawn. All around this city, loud pops and bangs rang out as men and women and children, so many dressed in yellow, set off flares and beeped car horns. It was supposed to be a magical day. The Brazilian national soccer team, playing at home, was one game away from a World Cup final.

No one could have guessed the tears would come before half-time. No one could have imagined there would be flags burning in the streets before dinner. Certainly no one could have envisioned that any Brazilian fans, watching their team play a semifinal in a celebrated stadium, would ever consider leaving long before full time.

It all happened. The 2014 World Cup, first plagued by questions about funding and protests and infrastructure and construction, then buoyed by scads of goals and dramatic finishes and a contagious spirit of joy from the local residents, will ultimately be remembered for this: the home team, regarded as the sport's superpower, being throttled like an overmatched junior varsity squad that somehow stumbled into the wrong game.

The final score was Germany 7,



MARIO TAMA/GETTY IMAGES

Fans at Copacabana Beach watching Brazil's 7-1 loss to Germany in the World Cup semifinals.

Brazil 1. It felt like Germany 70, Brazil 1. By the end, the Germans were barely celebrating their goals anymore, and the Brazilians, starting with their coach, Luiz Felipe Scolari, could manage little more than blank stares. In the stands, the Brazilian fans — the ones who stayed around, at least — passed the time by cycling through obscene chants

about each player, as well as the Brazilian president, Dilma Rousseff.

"I think," Scolari said afterward, "that it was the worst day of my life."

He was surely not alone in that sentiment. Sports are often a haven of hyperbole, but there was little risk of that here on Tuesday. Given the circumstances and the

stakes, this result — a soccer massacre of the highest order — may well be remembered as the most surprising in World Cup history.

At the very minimum, it will go down as Brazil's worst loss, surpassing a 6-0 defeat by Uruguay in 1920. It was also Brazil's first

Continued on Page B15



### INTERNATIONAL A4-11

#### Afghan Ponders Next Steps

The candidate Abdullah Abdullah asked supporters for time to negotiate over runoff results he is challenging. PAGE A4

#### Iran Delivers Planes to Iraq

Iran has sent three Russian-made Su-25 aircraft to Iraq that could be deployed against Sunni militants. PAGE A9

### BUSINESS DAY B1-9

#### A Streak Ends for Prosecutors

The younger brother of the convicted inside trader Raj Rajaratnam was found not guilty at his own trial, a rare loss for federal prosecutors. PAGE B1

#### U.S.-Citigroup Deal Expected

Citigroup is nearing a \$6 billion settlement with the government over the sale of mortgage investments. PAGE B1

### NEW YORK A17-22

#### Fewer Marijuana Prosecutions

The Brooklyn district attorney's office will carry out its plan to dismiss most low-level marijuana cases. PAGE A17



### NATIONAL A12-16

#### Open for Business

Legal sales of recreational marijuana began in Washington State, with limited supplies but great enthusiasm. PAGE A12

#### Republicans Choose Cleveland

The Ohio city edged out Dallas to be picked as the location for the 2016 Republican national convention. PAGE A12

### SPORTSWEDNESDAY B10-16

#### Sterling Takes the Stand

A combative Donald Sterling testified in a trial that will determine whether he can prevent his wife from selling the Los Angeles Clippers. PAGE B10

### ARTS C1-6

#### Hillary Clinton: The Musical(s)

Hillary Rodham Clinton's imprint on popular culture is extending to two musicals, one in development and one with a New York debut on July 18. PAGE C1

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

#### Maureen Dowd

PAGE A25



### DINING D1-8

#### Cooking for the Camera

That restaurant dish looks fantastic but tastes so-so? Some chefs put beauty before flavor. Critic's notebook. PAGE D1



## Israeli Military Invades Gaza, With Sights Set On Hamas Operations

### After a 10-Day Air War, a Ground Assault Is Aimed at Tunnels Under the Border

By JODI RUDOREN and ANNE BARNARD

JERUSALEM — Israeli tanks rolled into the northern Gaza Strip on Thursday night and naval gunboats pounded targets in the south as Israel began a ground invasion after 10 days of aerial bombardment failed to stop Palestinian militants from showering Israeli cities with rockets.

Israeli leaders said the incursion was a limited one focused on tunnels into its territory like the one used for a predawn attack Thursday that was thwarted. They said it was not intended to topple Hamas, the militant Islamist movement, from its longtime rule of Gaza.

As rockets continued to rain down on Israeli cities, a military spokesman said the mission's expansion was "not time bound" and was aimed to ensure Hamas operatives were "pursued, paralyzed and threatened" as it targeted "terrorist infrastructure" in the north, south and east of Gaza "in parallel."

As midnight approached Thursday, residents of some sparsely populated farmland in northern Gaza were cowering in

their homes, afraid to answer mobile phones or peek out windows. Some sent text messages reporting that they could hear tank shelling, heavy artillery, and F-16s dropping bombs. Moussa al-Ghoul, 63, who lives northwest of Beit Lahiya, said his neighborhood had turned into "a war zone" with tanks surrounding his home, having destroyed those of two of his sons. He said shells were landing "everywhere."

Gaza news outlets reported that electricity had been cut to 80 percent of the coastal territory after cables bringing power from Israel were damaged.

After the early-morning tunnel episode, the day settled into an extended calm as both sides observed a United Nations request for a five-hour humanitarian pause in the fighting. But by 3 p.m., the violence roared back as the Palestinian death toll neared 250 and more than 120 rockets rained on cities throughout southern and central Israel all afternoon and evening.

"We will strike Hamas and we

*Continued on Page A10*

**YOUTH'S LAST HOURS** An indictment suggests motivations of three Israelis accused of abducting and killing a Palestinian teenager. PAGE A11  
**MILITANTS' ARSENAL** Makeshift rockets, smuggled in by ship and tunnel, have shaken Israelis with their frequency and range. PAGE A11



JACK GUEZ/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Israeli soldiers near the Gaza Strip on Thursday. Israel's assault came in answer to an attack by militants through a tunnel.

## Governor Brokers Deal to Avert Strike on Long Island Rail Road

By MATT FLEGENHEIMER

Travelers on the Long Island Rail Road were spared a debilitating midsummer strike on Thursday, when the railroad and its unions reached an agreement three days before a planned walkout.

Prodded by an 11th-hour, if unsurprising, intervention by Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, the sides completed a deal that the governor called "a compromise by both parties" four years after the last contract expired.

The unions received raises of 17 percent over six and a half years. But following a national trend in which workers shoulder an increasing share of their health costs, the railroad employees will, for the first time, contribute a portion of their pay, 2 percent, toward their health coverage.

Throughout the week, labor leaders suggested a strike was all but certain on the railroad, which accounts for about 300,000 rider trips on weekdays. At the same time, the railroad's operator, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, cast the workers as greedy public employees and warned that a deal too favorable to the unions could affect future fare increases and capital funding.

Assembled for a news conference at the governor's Manhattan office, where the sides were summoned on Thursday morning for final negotiations, transportation and union officials appeared to set aside any lingering distrust.

Thomas F. Prendergast, the authority's chairman and a Cuomo

*Continued on Page A18*

## JETLINER EXPLODES OVER UKRAINE; STRUCK BY A MISSILE, OFFICIALS SAY



DMITRY LOVETSKY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The fiery crash left debris strewn across several square miles in the Donetsk region of eastern Ukraine, near the Russian border.

## Fallen Bodies, Jet Parts and a Child's Pink Book

By SABRINA TAVERNISE

GRABOVO, Ukraine — Incongruously, given that the plane fell from more than 30,000 feet, many of the bodies strewn about in the smoldering wreckage of Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 were largely intact. A woman in a black sweater lay on her back, blood streaming from her face, her left arm raised as if signaling someone. Another victim, naked except for a black bra, lay on the field, her gray hair mixing with the green grass, one leg broken and her body torn.

Residents spoke of bodies falling from the sky, looking like rags or clumps of ash, before the plane came to a jolting rest in a large wheat field dotted with purple

THE SEARCH FOR ANSWERS

A Kremlin strategy heightens suspicions after a crash. Page A8. Worrying signs over increasingly dangerous skies. Page A9.

flowers and Queen Anne's lace, having trailed debris over several miles of sparsely populated Ukrainian farmland.

"It was horrible," said a separatist rebel who was part of the rescue crew and would give only his first name, Sergei. "We were in shock."

The road to the crash site in eastern Ukraine, not far from the Russian border, was lined with fire engines and other emergency vehicles. Separatist militiamen, plentiful in this rebel-con-

trolled territory, urged journalists to take photographs.

There were no houses in the immediate vicinity. The only visible structure was a poultry operation with long white coops in the distance.

Rescue workers had already tied small white strips of cloth to tree branches along the debris path to mark the locations of the bodies. As darkness descended on the field, the workers gathered in throngs near a line of ambulances and rescue cars. Dogs barked in the distance, and the air smelled bitter.

Pieces of the plane were scattered across the road and field: a seat back with its television display cracked; a giant white piece of the tail with the plane's insign-

*Continued on Page A6*

## MALAYSIAN FLIGHT

### All 298 Aboard Killed — Weapon Seen as Russian-Made

This article is by Sabrina Tavernise, Eric Schmitt and Rick Gladstone.

GRABOVO, Ukraine — A Malaysia Airlines Boeing 777 with 298 people aboard exploded, crashed and burned on a flowered wheat field Thursday in a part of eastern Ukraine controlled by pro-Russia separatists, blown out of the sky at 33,000 feet by what Ukrainian and American officials described as a Russian-made antiaircraft missile.

Ukraine accused the separatists of carrying out what it called a terrorist attack. American intelligence and military officials said the plane had been destroyed by a Russian SA-series missile, based on surveillance satellite data that showed the final trajectory and impact of the missile but not its point of origin.

There were strong indications that those responsible may have errantly downed what they had thought was a military aircraft only to discover, to their shock, that they had struck a civilian airliner. Everyone aboard was killed, their corpses littered among wreckage that smoldered late into the summer night.

Russia's president, Vladimir V. Putin, blamed Ukraine's government for creating what he called conditions for insurgency in eastern Ukraine, where separatists have bragged about shooting down at least three Ukrainian military aircraft. But Mr. Putin did not specifically deny that a Russian-made weapon had felled the Malaysian jetliner.

Whatever the cause, the news of the crashed plane, with a passenger manifest that spanned at least nine countries, elevated the insurgency into a new international crisis. The day before, the United States had slapped new sanctions on Russia for its support of the pro-Kremlin insurgency, which has brought East-West relations to their lowest point in many years.

Making the crash even more of a shock, it was the second time within months that Malaysia Air-

*Continued on Page A6*

ELAINE STRITCH, 1925-2014

## Broadway's Enduring Dame, Brassy to the End

By BRUCE WEBER and ROBERT BERKVIST

Elaine Stritch, the brassy, tart-tongued Broadway actress and singer who became a living emblem of show business durability and perhaps the leading interpreter of Stephen Sondheim's wryly acrid musings on aging, died on Thursday at her home in Birmingham, Mich. She was 89.

Her death was confirmed by a friend, Julie Keyes. Before Ms. Stritch moved to Birmingham last year to be near her family, she lived for many years at the Carlyle Hotel in Manhattan.

Ms. Stritch's career began in the 1940s and spanned almost 70 years. She made her fair share of appearances in movies, including Woody Allen's "September" (1987) and "Small Time Crooks" (2000), and on television; well into her 80s, she had a recurring role on the NBC comedy "30 Rock" as the domineering mother of the television executive played by Alec Baldwin.

But the stage was her true professional home. Whether in musicals, nonmusical dramas or solo cabaret shows, she drew audiences to her with her whiskey voice, her seen-it-all manner and the blunt charisma of a star.

*Continued on Page A20*



MICHELLE V. AGINS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

AN APPRAISAL Elaine Stritch at the Café Carlyle in 2011. An assessment of her career by Charles Isherwood, Page A20.

### NATIONAL A12-15

#### A Nice Place to Visit

Fund-raising in Iowa, Gov. Chris Christie of New Jersey enjoyed his celebrity status among Republicans far from the source of his troubles. "I will be back," he said. "I will be back a lot."



PAGE A14

#### \$25 Fine for Marijuana

A relatively lenient marijuana law went into effect in the District of Columbia. Possessing up to an ounce of the drug carries a penalty of \$25.

PAGE A12

### INTERNATIONAL A3-11

#### Egypt Increases Fuel Prices

Egypt's president slashed the fuel subsidies that millions rely on, but surprisingly little unrest followed.

PAGE A4

### NEW YORK A16-19

#### City to Help Young Migrants

New York City has formed a task force amid a surge in unaccompanied Central American children.

PAGE A16

### SPORTSFRIDAY B10-14

#### McIlroy Leads British Open

Rory McIlroy shot a first-round 66, and Tiger Woods was three back.

PAGE B10

### WEEKEND C1-24

#### A Very Public Mistake

Jason Segel and Cameron Diaz star in "Sex Tape," a comedy about a married couple who scramble to keep a home-made erotic video private.

PAGE C1

#### Arab Art, Up to Date

"Here and Elsewhere," a new exhibition at the New Museum on the Lower East Side, looks at art "from and about the Arab world." Public architecture and politics are among the many subjects covered in the show.



PAGE C19

### BUSINESS DAY B1-9

#### G.M. Draws a Line on Recalls

The carmaker's chief was back on Capitol Hill, facing sharp criticism from lawmakers. But she said there were limits to what the company would do to address its many recalls.

PAGE B1

#### Microsoft Lays Off Thousands

The move by the tech giant is the first major change by the chief, Satya Nadella. The cuts, up to 18,000 workers, are the largest in company history.

PAGE B1

#### Hunger for Sports at Fox

In Time Warner, Rupert Murdoch covets a lucrative lineup of national sports broadcasting rights.

PAGE B1

### OBITUARIES A19-21

#### Johnny Winter Dies at 70

Mr. Winter, a Texas-bred guitarist and singer, was known for his blazing riffs, his collaborations and a fierce dedication to the blues.



PAGE A21

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

#### Paul Krugman

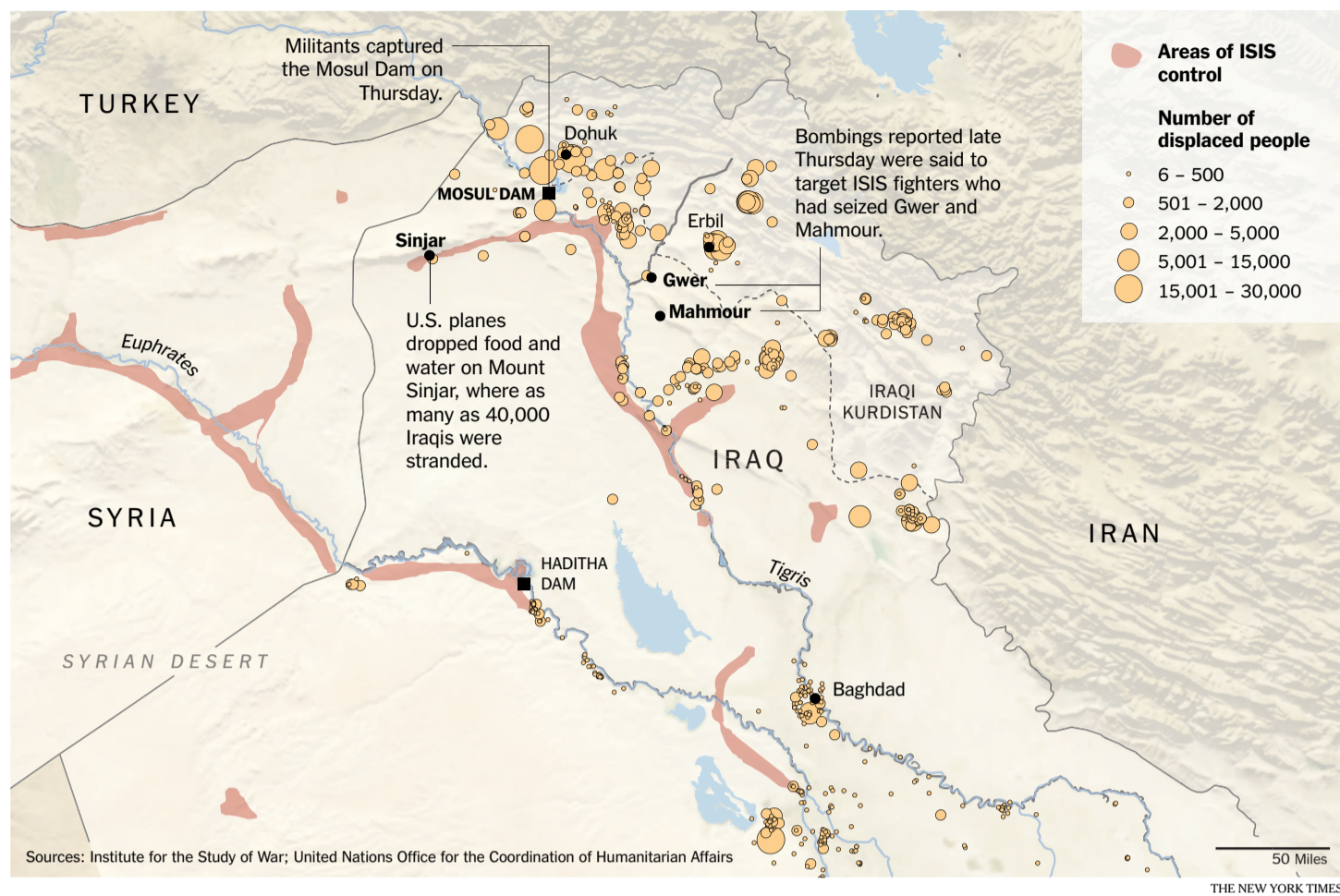
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## OBAMA ALLOWS AIRSTRIKES AGAINST IRAQ REBELS



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES  
President Obama spoke Thursday.

### Aid Is Dropped to Besieged Refugees — U.S. Seeks to Save Kurdish City

This article is by Helene Cooper, Mark Landler and Alissa J. Rubin.

WASHINGTON — President Obama on Thursday announced he had authorized limited airstrikes against Islamic militants in Iraq, scrambling to avert the fall of the Kurdish capital, Erbil, and returning the United States to a significant battlefield role in Iraq for the first time since the last American soldier left the country at the end of 2011.

Speaking at the White House on Thursday night, Mr. Obama also said that American military aircraft had dropped food and water to tens of thousands of Iraqis trapped on a barren mountain range in northwestern Iraq, having fled the militants, from the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, who threaten them with what Mr. Obama called “genocide.”

“Earlier this week, one Iraqi cried that there is no one coming to help,” Mr. Obama said in a somber statement delivered from the State Dining Room. “Well, today America is coming to help.”

The president insisted that these military operations did not amount to a full-scale re-engagement in Iraq. But the relentless advance of the militants, whom he described as “barbaric,” has put them within a 30-minute drive of Erbil, raising an immediate danger for the American diplomats, military advisers and other citizens who are based there.

“As commander in chief, I will not allow the United States to be

dragged into another war in Iraq,” said Mr. Obama, who built his run for the White House in part around his opposition to the war in Iraq.

While Mr. Obama has authorized airstrikes, American officials said there had not yet been any as of late Thursday. In addition to protecting Americans in Erbil and Baghdad, the president said he had authorized airstrikes, if necessary, to break the siege on Mount Sinjar, where tens of thousands of Yazidis, a religious minority group closely allied with the Kurds, have sought refuge.

The aircraft assigned to dropping food and water over the mountainside were a single C-17 and two C-130 aircraft. They were escorted by a pair of F-18 jet fighters, the administration official said. The planes were over the drop zone for about 15 minutes, and flew at a relatively low altitude. They flew over the Mount Sinjar area for less than 15 minutes, Pentagon officials said, and dropped a total of 5,300 gallons of fresh drinking water and 8,000 meals ready to eat. Mr. Obama, officials said, delayed announcing the steps he intended to take in Iraq until the planes had safely cleared the area.

A senior administration official said that the humanitarian effort would continue as needed, and that he expected further air-drops. “We expect that need to continue,” he said.

The official said that as condi-  
Continued on Page A9

### Jihadists Rout Kurds in North And Seize Strategic Mosul Dam

By TIM ARANGO

BAGHDAD — The crisis gripping Iraq escalated rapidly on Thursday with a re-energized Islamic State in Iraq and Syria storming new towns in the north and seizing a strategic dam as Iraq’s most formidable military force, the Kurdish pesh merga, was routed in the face of the onslaught.

The loss of the Mosul Dam, the largest in Iraq, to the insurgents was the most dramatic consequence of a militant offensive in the north, which has sent tens of thousands of refugees, many from the Yazidi minority, fleeing into a vast mountainous landscape.

In one captured town, Sinjar, ISIS executed dozens of Yazidi

men, and kept the dead men’s wives for unmarried jihadi fighters. Panic on Thursday spread even to the Kurdish capital of Erbil, long considered a safe haven, with civilians flooding the airport in a futile attempt to buy tickets to Baghdad.

As chaos tore through northern Iraq, political intrigue unfolded in Baghdad, with political leaders meeting late into the night in the fortified Green Zone to choose a replacement for Prime Minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki, a Shiite who has become an increasingly divisive figure.

American officials have worked to engineer his ouster, believing he is incapable of estab-

Continued on Page A8

#### NEWS ANALYSIS

### A Return to Action

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — In sending warplanes back into the skies over Iraq, President Obama on Thursday night found himself exactly where he did not want to be. Hoping to end the war in Iraq, Mr. Obama became the fourth president in a row to order military action in that graveyard of American ambition.

The mandate he gave to the armed forces was more limited than that of his predecessors, focused mainly on dropping food and water. But he also authorized targeted airstrikes “if necessary” against Islamic radicals advancing on the Kurdish capital of Erbil and others threatening to wipe out thousands of non-Muslims stranded on a remote mountain-top.

As he explained himself to a national television audience, Mr. Obama made a point of reassuring a war-weary public that the president who pulled American forces out of Iraq at the end of 2011 had no intention of fighting another full-scale war there. Yet his presence in the State Dining Room testified to the bleak reality that the tide of events in that ancient land had defied his predictions and aspirations before.

“I know that many of you are rightly concerned about any American military action in Iraq, even limited strikes like these,” he said. “I understand that. I ran for this office in part to end our war in Iraq and welcome our

Continued on Page A8

### To Woo Latinos, G.O.P. Hopefuls Cast Net Abroad

By MICHAEL BARBARO

Gov. Chris Christie of New Jersey will journey to Mexico next month to meet with the country’s president, court its corporate titans and mingle with its cultural leaders.

Senator Rand Paul of Kentucky is about to set off for Guatemala, where he will put his ophthalmology training to use by treating local patients with eye disorders.

And Gov. Scott Walker of Wisconsin is pleading with the government of Mexico to open a first-ever consulate in his state.

In Washington, Republicans keep taking steps that imperil their relationship with Hispanic voters, passing legislation to accelerate the deportation of Central American children at the southern border and comparing their influx to a warlike “invasion,” compounding an electoral disadvantage that many in the party are convinced cost them the White House in 2012.

But in a vivid display of the strife within the party over immigration, likely contenders for the 2016 Republican presidential nomination are charting their own, very different, course: delivering personal overtures to the

Continued on Page A13

### Plot Thickens As 900 Writers Battle Amazon

By DAVID STREITFELD

ROUND POND, Me. — Out here in the woods, at the end of not one but two dirt roads, in a shack equipped with a picture of the Dalai Lama, a high-speed data line and a copy of Thoreau’s “Civil Disobedience,” Amazon’s dream of dominating the publishing world has run into some trouble.

Douglas Preston, who summers in this coastal hamlet, is a best-selling writer — or was, until Amazon decided to discourage readers from buying books from his publisher, Hachette, as a way of pressuring it into giving Amazon a better deal on e-books. So he wrote an open letter to his readers asking them to contact Jeff Bezos, Amazon’s chief, demanding that Amazon stop using writers as hostages in its negotiations.

The letter, composed in the shack, spread through the literary community. As of earlier this week, 909 writers had signed on, including household names like John Grisham and Stephen King. It is scheduled to run as a full-page ad in The New York Times this Sunday.

Amazon, unsettled by the ac-

Continued on Page B2

### ‘Don’t Touch the Walls’: Ebola Fears Infect an African Hospital

By ADAM NOSSITER

KENEMA, Sierra Leone — So many patients, nurses and health workers have died in the government hospital that many people in this city, a center of the world’s worst Ebola epidemic, see it as a death trap.

Now, the wards are empty in the principal institution fighting the disease. Ebola stalks the city, claiming lives every day, but patients have fled the hospital’s long, narrow buildings, which sit silent and echoing in the fading light. Few people are taking any chances by coming here.

“Don’t touch the walls!” a Western medical technician yelled out. “Totally infected.”

Some Ebola patients still die at the hospital, perhaps four per day, in the tentlike temporary isolation ward at the back of the muddy grounds. But just as many, if not more, are dying in the city and neighboring villages, greatly increasing the risk of spreading the disease and undermining international efforts to halt the epidemic.

“People don’t die here now,” said the deputy chief of the hospital’s burying team, Albert J. Mattia, exasperated after a long day of Ebola burials. “They are dying in the community, five, six a day.” Mr. Mattia was particularly disturbed that many of the bodies his team were putting in the



Erison Moussa Touray visited relatives Thursday at an isolation ward in Kenema, Sierra Leone.

ground had come from outside the hospital, thwarting attempts to isolate patients and prevent them from passing the disease to others.

“It’s very, very dangerous, very hazardous; it is contributing to the Ebola dead,” he said as his two deputies nodded glumly in agreement. “You go to the wards,

there are no patients.”

Containing the virus in Kenema — one of the nation’s largest cities and a gateway to an area of the country where the disease is rampant — is critical to taming the epidemic’s deadly advance across parts of West Africa. More than 930 people, including over 280 here in Sierra Leone, have

died since the outbreak was first identified across the border in Guinea in March.

Since then, Sierra Leone has been hit with more cases of the disease than any other nation — 691 out of 1,711 at last count — and the hospital in Kenema quickly became a focal point in the effort

Continued on Page A11

#### INTERNATIONAL A3-11

##### Iran’s Rift Snares Journalists

The decision to arrest a Washington Post journalist and his wife and another colleague is a sign of the division between Iran’s president and the institutions that hold the real power. PAGE A10

##### Israelis Reassess Fateful Edict

The latest conflict in Gaza has reignited debate over an Israeli directive intended to prevent captors from getting away with captured soldiers. PAGE A10

##### Khmer Rouge Leaders Guilty

The two surviving top Khmer Rouge leaders in Cambodia were found guilty of crimes against humanity. PAGE A3



WEEKEND C1-26

##### Outside the Frame

Outdoor artworks, both playful and serious, invite interaction and have become part of the light summer fabric of the city. “Skittles,” above, is an installation on the High Line. PAGE C19

#### NATIONAL A12-16

##### Guilty Verdict in Porch Killing

A jury in Detroit found a suburban man guilty of murder for shooting an unarmed woman who pounded on his door around 4:30 a.m. The man, Theodore P. Wafer, said he feared a break-in when he fired a shotgun. PAGE A12

##### War Stress Is Found to Linger

Most veterans who had post-traumatic stress a decade after Vietnam have not improved much, a study finds. PAGE A14

##### Montana Senator Quits Race

Facing plagiarism charges, Senator John Walsh, a Democrat, said he was dropping his election bid. PAGE A12

#### BUSINESS DAY B1-8

##### Walmart Bolsters Its Clinics

Hoping to benefit from changes brought on by the Affordable Care Act, the retail giant is aiming to provide primary medical care at stores. PAGE B1

##### In Big Mergers, Good Signs

An upturn in mergers and acquisitions, a boon for banks, may signal improving overall economic health. PAGE B1

#### NEW YORK A18-21

##### Unmasking a Courtroom Fraud

A Brooklyn man is charged with impersonating a lawyer, but his real name remains unknown. PAGE A18

#### SPORTSFRIDAY B9-15

##### The N.C.A.A. Divide

Voting to give its richest conferences more autonomy, the N.C.A.A. has raised questions of fairness. PAGE B10

##### More Star Power for Cleveland

Kevin Love is expected to join the Cavaliers’ LeBron James and Kyrie Irving to form the N.B.A.’s next Big 3. PAGE B11

#### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

##### Paul Krugman

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## U.S. JETS AND DRONES ATTACK MILITANTS IN IRAQ



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Obama called King Abdullah II of Jordan from the Oval Office on Friday to discuss Iraq, a day after authorizing airstrikes against militants there.

### IN KURDISH REGION

#### Trying to Halt Jihadists and Break a Siege on Refugees

This article is by Alissa J. Rubin, Tim Arango and Helene Cooper.

DOHUK, Iraq — The United States launched a series of airstrikes against Sunni militants in northern Iraq on Friday, using Predator drones and Navy F-18 fighter jets to destroy rebel positions around the city of Erbil, the American military said Friday.

The strikes were aimed at halting the advance of militants with the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria toward Erbil, the Kurdish capital, which is home to a United States Consulate and thousands of Americans.

The action marked the return of the United States to a direct combat role in a country it left in 2011. Warplanes dropped 500-pound laser-guided bombs on a number of targets: a mobile artillery piece that was being towed from a truck and had begun shelling Erbil, a stationary convoy of seven vehicles, and a mortar position.

The military also used a remotely piloted drone to strike another mortar position on Friday afternoon. After the first strike, it said in a statement, ISIS militants "returned to the site moments later" and "were attacked again and successfully eliminated."

Defense officials expressed confidence that they could achieve within a few days one of President Obama's stated goals: stopping the advance of the militants on Erbil.

Less certain was whether the other objectives Mr. Obama had announced — breaking the siege on tens of thousands of refugees stranded on Sinjar Mountain and protecting Americans in Baghdad — could be achieved as quickly, given the instability of Iraq's internal politics and the difficulty of protecting and even-

Continued on Page A7

### New Fighting a Bid for Leverage As a Gaza Cease-Fire Expires

By JODI RUDOREN and ISABEL KERSHNER

GAZA CITY — Israel and Palestinian militants in the Gaza Strip resumed cross-border air assaults after a three-day cease-fire expired on Friday, but the renewed violence seemed less about meeting military goals than about jockeying for leverage in talks that had made little progress toward a more durable truce.

Militants led by Hamas, the Islamist faction that dominates Gaza, sent a rocket soaring toward southern Israel exactly as the agreed-upon pause expired at 8 a.m., and fired about 50 throughout the day, wounding one soldier and one civilian and damaging a house in the border town of Sderot.

Israel, which withdrew its ground troops earlier this week, responded quickly with airstrikes and artillery shelling that by day's end had hit nearly 50 targets and killed five people, including three children. But Israel showed no signs of seeking to reinvade Gaza or escalate its airstrikes.

The cause of the fighting appeared to be Hamas's frustration that it could not get what it considers meaningful concessions from Israel and Egypt at the talks in Cairo.

The Egyptian foreign ministry asserted that the parties had reached agreement on "the great

Continued on Page A8

### White House Saw 'Another Benghazi' Looming

This article is by Mark Landler, Alissa J. Rubin, Mark Mazzetti and Helene Cooper.

WASHINGTON — On Wednesday evening, moments after finishing a summit meeting with African leaders at the State Department, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff delivered a stark message to President Obama as they rode back to the White House in Mr. Obama's limousine.

The Kurdish capital, Erbil, once an island of pro-American tranquility, was in the path of rampaging Sunni militants, the chairman, Gen. Martin E. Dempsey, told the president. And to the west, the militants had trapped thousands of members of Iraqi minority groups on a barren mountaintop, with dwindling supplies, raising concerns about

#### OBAMA SAYS IRAQ MUST LEAD WAY

President Obama said that he was open to supporting, but not leading, an effort to drive Sunni militants out of Iraq. Page A6.

a potential genocide.

With American diplomats and business people in Erbil suddenly at risk, at the American Consulate and elsewhere, Mr. Obama began a series of intensive deliberations that resulted, only a day later, in his authorizing airstrikes on the militants, as well as humanitarian airdrops of food and water to the besieged Iraqis.

Looming over that discussion, and the decision to return the United States to a war Mr. Obama had built his political career disparaging, was the specter of an earlier tragedy: the September 2012 attack on the diplomatic

mission in Benghazi, Libya, which killed four Americans, including Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens, and has become a potent symbol of weakness for critics of the president.

As the tension mounted in Washington, a parallel drama was playing out in Erbil. Kurdish forces who had been fighting the militants in three nearby Christian villages abruptly fell back toward the gates of the city, fanning fears that the city might soon fall. By Thursday morning, people were thronging the airport, desperate for flights out of town.

"The situation near Erbil was becoming more dire than anyone expected," said a senior administration official, speaking on the condition of anonymity to describe the White House's internal deliberations. "We didn't want another Benghazi."

Continued on Page A6

### N.C.A.A. Must Allow Colleges To Pay Athletes, Judge Rules

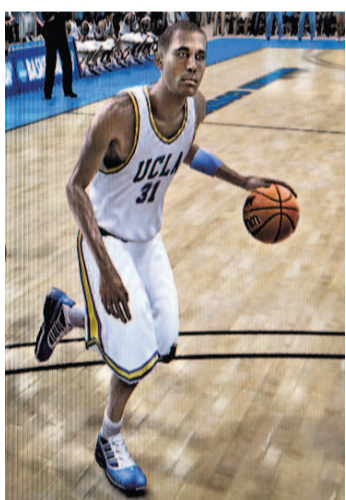
By BEN STRAUSS and MARC TRACY

In a decision that could drastically reshape the world of college sports, a federal judge ruled on Friday that the N.C.A.A.'s decades-old rules barring payments to college athletes were in violation of antitrust laws.

In a 99-page ruling, Judge Claudia Wilken of United States District Court in Oakland, Calif., delivered a resounding rebuke to the foundation of the N.C.A.A., issuing an injunction against current rules that prohibit athletes from earning money from the use of their names and images in video games and television broadcasts.

The decision in the so-called O'Bannon case would allow universities to offer football players in the top 10 conferences and all Division I men's basketball players trust funds that can be tapped after graduation, giving players a chance to share in the billions of dollars in television revenue they help generate for their colleges and the N.C.A.A.

The ruling, which would take effect in 2016, does not mandate that players be paid. But it could allow universities to engage in bidding wars for the best athletes, though the N.C.A.A. would probably try to prevent that by capping payments, which Judge Wilken said was permissible.



A video game image of Ed O'Bannon, who sued in 2009.

But she said she fully expected the universities to shoulder the additional costs.

"The high coaches' salaries and rapidly increasing spending on training facilities at many schools suggest that these schools would, in fact, be able to afford to offer their student-athletes a limited share of the licensing revenue generated from their use of the student-athletes' own names, images, and likenesses," Judge Wilken wrote.

Her ruling allows universities to provide athletes trust funds, as

Continued on Page D2

### Ebola Drug Could Save a Few Lives. But Whose?

By ANDREW POLLACK

With hundreds of Africans dying from the outbreak of Ebola, some activists have said it is wrong that extremely scarce supplies of an experimental drug went to two white American aid workers.

But others wonder: What if the first doses of the drug — which had never been used in people and had not even finished the typical animal safety testing — had been given to African patients instead?

"It would have been the front-page screaming headline: 'Africans used as guinea pigs for American drug company's medicine,'" said Dr. Salim S. Abdool Karim, director of Caprisa, an AIDS research center in South Africa.

A history of controversy about drug testing in Africa is just one of the complexities facing public health authorities as they wrestle with whether and how to bring that drug and possibly other experimental ones to the countries afflicted with Ebola. Who should get such a scarce supply of medicine? Health workers? Children? The newly infected who are not yet as sick?

There are virtually no remaining supplies of the drug, called ZMapp, that was used to treat the two Americans, United States officials say. And even a few months from now, according to various estimates, there may be no more than a few hundred doses.



TOMMY TRENCARD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

WORLD CRISIS Workers moving an Ebola victim's body. The outbreak was called a global health emergency Friday. Page A10.

es.

The World Health Organization, which on Friday declared an international health emergency on Ebola, will convene a meeting of ethicists early next week to discuss this delicate and difficult predicament involving the drugs. The United States government is also forming a group to consider these issues, said Dr. Anthony S.

Fauci, the director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases.

At least two of the countries affected by the Ebola outbreak, Liberia and Nigeria, have asked for the drug, according to a spokesman for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

A perception in the region of

Continued on Page A10

### Court Rejects Deal on Hiring In Silicon Valley

By DAVID STREITFELD

SAN FRANCISCO — There is "ample evidence" that Silicon Valley was engaged in "an overarching conspiracy" against its own employees, a federal judge said on Friday, and it should either pay dearly or have its secrets exposed at trial.

Judge Lucy H. Koh of the United States District Court in San Jose rejected as insufficient a proposed \$324 million settlement in a class-action antitrust case that accused leading tech companies of agreeing not to poach one another's engineers.

In addition, her decision immediately resuscitated a public relations nightmare for Google, Apple and other top tech companies while vindicating a range of observers — including one of the plaintiffs in the suit — who said Silicon Valley was escaping justice.

With the case once again heading to trial, it threatens to expose to further scrutiny the business practices of Steve Jobs of Apple. The blunt emails of Mr. Jobs, an unquestioned genius, could prove to be his company's undoing.

The anti-poaching agreements at issue in the case stem from the 1980s, but, the plaintiffs say, the practice became widespread in

Continued on Page A3

#### INTERNATIONAL A4-10

##### New Pledge in Afghanistan

In an agreement brokered by Secretary of State John Kerry, Afghanistan's rival presidential candidates promised to share power regardless of who is judged to be the winner in a recount.



PAGE A4

##### Holding the Reins in Turkey

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan is expected to win the presidential vote Sunday, expanding his power.

PAGE A4

#### NATIONAL A11-14

##### Press Aide's Death a Homicide

The death of James S. Brady was ruled a homicide, the result of being shot 33 years ago in an assassination attempt on President Ronald Reagan.

PAGE A11

##### Abortion Suit Focuses on Miles

At the center of a federal lawsuit over a Texas abortion law is a clinic across the state line in New Mexico.

PAGE A11

#### NEW YORK A15-17

##### Clintons Back Brooklyn in '16

Bill and Hillary Clinton support Mayor Bill de Blasio's efforts to lure the next Democratic convention.

PAGE A15

#### BUSINESS DAY B1-7

##### Seeking the Next Drink Craze

Stems from the cashew plant, routinely left to rot in the past, are being used in India by Pepsi to make juice, part of a global effort to develop drinks with inexpensive, locally produced ingredients.



PAGE B1

##### Bonds Confound the Experts

Bond yields have consistently fallen in 2014 despite forecasts to the contrary by Wall Street analysts.

PAGE B1

#### ARTS C1-7

##### Bard of Cigarettes and Coffee

Frank O'Hara's groundbreaking "Lunch Poems" turns 50 this year, but it seems to have barely aged, Dwight Garner writes.

PAGE C1

#### SPORTSATURDAY D1-6

##### McIlroy in Lead; Woods Is Out

Rory McIlroy endured a weather delay to hold the second-round lead at the P.G.A. Championship. Tiger Woods failed to make the cut after a 74.

PAGE D1

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

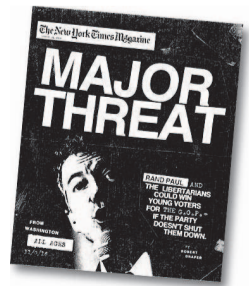
##### Thomas L. Friedman

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#### THE MAGAZINE

##### Freedom Rocks

Libertarians have a pitch for young voters and, in Rand Paul, a candidate who supports most of their ideals. Has the libertarian moment finally arrived?



THIS WEEKEND



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## Spy Agencies Urge Caution On Phone Deal

### Try to Keep U.S. Data Out of Foreign Hands

By ERIC LICHTBLAU

WASHINGTON — An obscure federal contract for a company charged with routing millions of phone calls and text messages in the United States has prompted an unusual lobbying battle in which intelligence officials are arguing that the nation's surveillance secrets could be at risk.

The contractor that wins the bid would essentially act as the air traffic controller for the nation's phone system, which is run by private companies but is essentially overseen by the government.

And with a European-based company now favored for the job, some current and former intelligence officials — who normally stay out of the business of awarding federal contracts — say they are concerned that the government's ability to trace reams of phone data used in terrorism and law enforcement investigations could be hindered.

A small Virginia company, Neustar, has held the job since the late 1990s, but a private phone-industry panel has recommended to the Federal Communications Commission that an American division of Ericsson, the Swedish-based technology company, get the work instead. No final decision has been made.

In its bid to hold on to the \$446 million job, Neustar has hired Michael Chertoff, a well-connected former secretary of homeland security, to examine the implications of the proposed switch.

In a 45-page report that Neustar plans to send to the F.C.C. this week, Mr. Chertoff, now a private consultant, argues that national security concerns have been slighted in the contracting process. An advance copy of his report is available on Page A3.

## House Hopefuls In G.O.P. Seek Rightward Shift

By JONATHAN WEISMAN

One nominee proposed reclassifying single parenthood as child abuse. Another suggested that four "blood moons" would herald "world-changing, shaking-type events" and said Islam was not a religion but a "complete geopolitical structure" unworthy of tax exemption. Still another labeled Hillary Rodham Clinton "the Antichrist."

Congressional Republicans successfully ended their primary season with minimal damage, but in at least a dozen safe or largely safe Republican House districts where more mild-mannered Republicans are exiting, their likely replacements will pull the party to the right, a move likely to increase division in an already polarized Congress.

"Congressman Hall is a very genial and well-liked guy, and I hope that eventually I'm perceived that way too," said John Ratcliffe, who in the Texas Republican primary defeated Ralph M. Hall, a 91-year-old with nearly 34 years in the House. But, he added: "The district that I will represent is far more conservative than most districts. Leadership will or should understand what the people in my district want — more conservative approaches and more conservative standards."

For the House speaker, John A. Boehner, the newest crop of conservatives will present at best a

Continued on Page A16



People used umbrellas as shields from pepper spray fired by riot police officers, as protests flared in Hong Kong on Sunday.

BOBBY YIP/REUTERS

## Mostly Black Cities, Mostly White City Halls

By RICHARD FAUSSET

CONYERS, Ga. — Since moving to this small city on the eastern flank of Atlanta's suburban sprawl, Lorna Francis, a hairdresser and a single mother, has found a handsome brick house to rent on a well-groomed cul-de-sac. She has found a good public school for her teenage daughter.

Something Ms. Francis, who is black, has not found is time to register and vote. She was unaware that the most recent mayoral election was held last November.

"Life's been busy — I've been trying to make that money," Ms. Francis said one morning this month from her two-car garage,

### New Majorities Don't Necessarily Produce Ballot Victories

where she was micromanaging a particularly complex hairdo for a regular client. "And honestly, I only vote in major elections."

That kind of disengagement is one of the many reasons that only one of the six elected positions in this municipality of 15,000 is held by an African-American, even as a wave of new black residents has radiated out from nearby Atlanta, creating a black majority here for the first time in the

city's 160-year history.

Disparities between the percentage of black residents and the number of black elected officials are facts of life in scores of American cities, particularly in the South. The unrest that followed the shooting death of 18-year-old Michael Brown in Ferguson, Mo., has emphasized how much local elections can matter, and prompted a push there for increased black voter participation.

The disparities result from many factors: voter apathy, especially in low-visibility local elections; the civic disconnect of a transient population; the low financial rewards and long hours demanded of local officeholders; and voting systems, including

Continued on Page A12

## HONG KONG POLICE CONFRONT CROWD

### Moves to Crush Protests Draw More to Streets

By CHRIS BUCKLEY and ALAN WONG

HONG KONG — Downtown Hong Kong turned into a battlefield of tear gas and seething crowds on Sunday after the police moved against a student democracy protest, inciting public fury that brought tens of thousands of people onto the streets of a city long known as a stable financial center.

Hours after the riot police sought late Sunday to break up the protest, large crowds of demonstrators remained nearby, sometimes confronting lines of officers and chanting for them to lay down their truncheons and shields. Police officers were also injured in skirmishes with protesters.

The heavy-handed police measures, including the city's first use of tear gas in years and the presence of officers with long-barreled guns, appeared to galvanize the public, drawing more people onto the streets. On Monday morning, protesters controlled major thoroughfares in at least three parts of the city. A few unions and the Hong Kong Federation of Students called for strikes, and the federation urged a boycott of classes.

Late Monday morning, the Hong Kong government said it had pulled back the riot police from roads where protesters had blocked traffic. The government urged protesters to end their sit-in demonstrations.

The confrontation threatened

Continued on Page A8



DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

### Pedalers vs. Pedestrians

Bikes and foot traffic crossed paths Sunday on a jammed West Drive in Central Park. Two deaths of pedestrians struck by bicycles have exposed the chaos of the six-mile park loop. Page A19.

## BANGKOK JOURNAL

# You Call This Thai Food? The Robotic Taster Will Be the Judge

By THOMAS FULLER

BANGKOK — Hopscotching the globe as Thailand's prime minister, Yingluck Shinawatra repeatedly encountered a distressing problem: bad Thai food.

Too often, she found, the meals she sampled at Thai restaurants abroad were unworthy of the name, too bland to be called genuine Thai cooking. The problem

bothered her enough to raise it at a cabinet meeting.

Her political party has since been thrown out of office, in a May military coup, but her initiative in culinary diplomacy lives on.

At a gala dinner at a ritzy Bangkok hotel on Tuesday the government will unveil its project to standardize the art of Thai food — with a robot.

Diplomats and dignitaries have

been invited to witness the debut of a machine that its promoters say can scientifically evaluate Thai cuisine, telling the difference, for instance, between a properly prepared green curry with just the right mix of Thai basil, curry paste and fresh coconut cream, and a lame imitation.

A boxy contraption filled with sensors and microchips, the so-called e-delicious machine scans food samples to produce a chemi-

cal signature, which it measures against a standard deemed to be the authentic version.

The government-financed Thai Delicious Committee, which oversaw the development of the machine, describes it as "an intelligent robot that measures smell and taste in food ingredients through sensor technology in order to measure taste like a food

Continued on Page A10



GIORGIO TARASCHI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Thai green curry meets a machine to determine if the food is authentic Thai fare.

## INTERNATIONAL A4-10

### Hikers Feared Dead in Japan

Mount Ontake, a volcano west of Tokyo, erupted as hundreds of climbers hoping to get a glimpse of early autumn leaves were on its slopes. Dozens on the mountain are feared dead. PAGE A4



## NATIONAL A3, 11-16

### E.R. Sticker Shock

Even with solid insurance coverage, more emergency room patients leave with big medical bills because non-network doctors are brought in. PAGE A13

## BUSINESS DAY B1-8

### Dire Warnings on E-Smoking

Tobacco giants are putting strong health warnings on e-cigarettes, raising some skepticism on their motives. PAGE B1

### Writers Protest Amazon

Hundreds of authors are joining a coalition protesting Amazon's tactics and are calling for a federal inquiry. PAGE B1

## NEW YORK A19-23

### A Life's Dreams Lost

Maria Fernandes had three jobs, which left her with so little time to rest that a nap between shifts cost her everything. The Working Life. PAGE A19

### Change for Youngest at Rikers

Solitary confinement will no longer be a punishment for 16- and 17-year-old inmates at the jail. PAGE A20

## ARTS C1-7

### Book Tour as Traveling Show

Lena Dunham's tour for "Not That Kind of Girl" will offer poetry readings, music, comedy and food trucks. PAGE C1

## SPORTSMONDAY D1-8

### Single Ends a Singular Career

Derek Jeter appeared in his new uniform — a business suit — after bringing his 20-year career to a close with a hit in the third inning of the Yankees' win over the Red Sox. PAGE D1



## FASHION A18

### Gaultier's Last Looks

In Paris, the curtain came down on Jean Paul Gaultier's ready-to-wear career amid a shower of gold spangles, a faux "Miss Gaultier" pageant that trotted out his greatest hits, and a parade of models of all ages. The clothes weren't bad, either. Review by Vanessa Friedman. PAGE A18

## EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

### Paul Krugman

PAGE A27



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## STATES EASE LAWS THAT PROTECTED POOR BORROWERS

### LOBBYING BY INDUSTRY

#### Lenders Add to Profits by Charging Interest of Up to 36%

By MICHAEL CORKERY

Lenders have come under fire in Washington in recent years. Yet one corner of the financial industry — lending to people with poor credit scores — has found sympathetic audiences in many state capitals.

Over the last two years, lawmakers in at least eight states have voted to increase the fees or the interest rates that lenders can charge on certain personal loans used by millions of poor or financially struggling borrowers.

The overhaul of the state lending laws comes after a lobbying push by the consumer loan industry and a wave of campaign donations to state lawmakers. In North Carolina, for example, lenders and their lobbyists overcame unusually dogged opposition from military commanders, who two years earlier had warned that raising rates on loans could harm their troops.

The lenders argued that interest rate caps had not kept pace with the increased costs of doing business, including running branches and hiring employees. Unless they can make an acceptable profit, the industry says, lenders will not be able to offer loans allowing people with damaged credit to pay for car repairs or medical bills.

But a recent regulatory filing by one of the nation's largest subprime consumer lenders, Citigroup's OneMain Financial unit, shows that making personal loans to people on the financial margins can be a highly profitable business — even before state lending laws were changed. Last year, OneMain's profit increased 31 percent from 2012.

"There was simply no need to change the law," said Rick Glazier, a North Carolina lawmaker, who opposed the industry's effort to change the rate structure in his state. "It was one of the most brazen efforts by a special interest group to increase its own profits that I have ever seen."

The legislative victories in states including Kentucky, Arizona, Missouri, Indiana and Florida have come at a particularly opportune time for Citigroup, as the bank prepares to sell or spin

Continued on Page A3



PHOTOGRAPHS BY PAULA BRONSTEIN/GETTY IMAGES

Thousands of protesters in Hong Kong gathered for televised talks between student leaders of their movement and city officials.

### NEWS ANALYSIS

## A Steady Loss Of Confidence

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — In taking office during two overseas wars and the Great Recession, President Obama set out to restore society's frayed faith in its public institutions, saying that the question was not whether government was too big or small, "but whether it works." Six years later, Americans seem more dubious than ever that it really does.

With every passing week or month, it seems, some government agency or another has had a misstep or has been caught up in scandals that have deeply eroded public confidence. The Internal Revenue Service targets political groups, the Border Patrol is overwhelmed by children illegally crossing the Rio Grande, the Department of Veterans Affairs covers up poor service, and the Secret Service fails to guard the president and his White House.

Now public esteem for the long-respected Centers for Disease Control and Prevention has plummeted with the arrival of Ebola on American shores. A new CBS News poll found that only 37 percent of Americans thought the

Continued on Page A3

## On TV, Hong Kong Openly Debates Democracy

By MICHAEL FORSYTHE and ALAN WONG

HONG KONG — After weeks of protests that have shaken this financial hub of 7.2 million people, residents thought they had seen it all. Then, on Tuesday night, something even more extraordinary happened, on live television: a polite debate between earnest students wearing black "Freedom Now" T-shirts and top Hong Kong leaders over the future of democracy.

Five student leaders, hair disheveled, took on the officials, who were old enough to be their parents, in the frank discourse. They spoke Cantonese, the prevailing local Chinese dialect, with simultaneous translations into English and sign language.

The students wanted officials to commit to greater liberties in future elections. "What is the next step?" Alex Chow, 24, the secretary general of the Hong Kong Federation of Students, asked Hong Kong's No. 2 official, Carrie Lam, 57.

Officials in the two-hour debate made no promises and said they were there to listen. Still, the exchange suggested a softening in the crisis that has convulsed Hong Kong for nearly a month and a possible exit ramp from it.

It was a remarkably civil and scholarly discussion, all the more so given the generational divide



between the sides. Each cited articles of Hong Kong's Constitution, chapter and verse, to back its points.

Even more remarkable was that it was happening in Hong Kong, the former British colony only a few miles from mainland China, where such a freewheeling public political discussion had not been heard in at least a quarter-century, since students occupied Tiananmen Square in Beijing. That protest provoked a bloody crackdown that has reverberated through China ever since.

At issue in Hong Kong was how voters would choose its top leader, the chief executive, in elections planned for 2017. For the

first time, all five million eligible voters may cast ballots.

But China's Communist Party-controlled legislature, which has the final say on how Hong Kong changes its Constitution, restricted the way people can win a spot on the ballot, a decision that democracy advocates say effectively excludes those who offend Beijing.

That sent people into the streets in late September, and they have been there ever since, erecting colorful tent cities on some of Hong Kong's busiest avenues. Yet on Tuesday night, both sides, the government and the students who have been the driving force behind the protests,

Continued on Page A5

BEN BRADLEE, 1921-2014

## A Washington Editor, and Watergate Warrior

By MARILYN BERGER

Ben Bradlee, who presided over The Washington Post's Watergate reporting that led to the fall of President Richard M. Nixon and that stamped him in American culture as the quintessential newspaper editor of his era — gruff, charming and tenacious — died on Tuesday. He was 93.

Mr. Bradlee died at home of natural causes, The Post reported.

With full backing from his publisher, Katharine Graham, Mr. Bradlee led The Post into the first rank of American newspapers, courting controversy and giving it standing as a thorn in the side of Washington officials.

When government officials called to complain, Mr. Bradlee acted as a buffer between them and his staff. "Just get it right," he would tell his reporters. Most of the time they did, but there



BILL O'LEARY/THE WASHINGTON POST, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Ben Bradlee, longtime editor of The Washington Post, in 1995.

were mistakes, one so big that the paper had to return a Pulitzer Prize.

Mr. Bradlee — "this last of the lion-king newspaper editors," as Phil Bronstein, a former editor of The San Francisco Chronicle, de-

scribed him — could be classy or profane, an energetic figure with a boxer's nose who almost invariably dressed in a white-collared, bold-striped Turnbull & Asser

Continued on Page A13

## When School Is Harder to Get Into Than U.S. Was

By BENJAMIN MUELLER

WESTBURY, N.Y. — Before dawn breaks and the morning light spills onto his bedroom floor, Carlos Garcia Lobo bounces out of bed, his eyes alight with anticipation, and asks his mother if he can go to school.

Each time, she replies to her 8-year-old son: Not yet.

Four months after fleeing Honduras with a 15-year-old cousin, Carlos has reached what his family said seemed like an impassable frontier. Like dozens of the roughly 2,500 unaccompanied immigrant children who have been released to relatives or other sponsors on Long Island so far this year, Carlos has been unable to register for school.

The impasse has baffled parents, who say their scant resources have proved no match for school district bureaucracies. Required by law to attend school, children are nevertheless stuck at home, despite unrelenting efforts by their parents and others



KIRSTEN LUCE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Carlos Garcia Lobo, 8, has not been allowed to go to school.

to prove that they are eligible. Suffolk and Nassau Counties, on Long Island, rank third and fifth, respectively, in the United States, after counties centered on Houston and Los Angeles, in the number of unaccompanied minors they have absorbed so far this year; Miami-Dade County is

fourth.

Many of the children are barred because their families cannot gather the documents that schools require to prove they are residents of the district or have guardianship — obstacles that contravene legal guidance on enrollment procedures the State Education Department issued in September. Concern over similar deterrents across the country led Attorney General Eric H. Holder Jr. in May to hide districts for "raising barriers for undocumented children," in that way violating a 1982 Supreme Court decision that guarantees their right to an education.

Driven from Honduras by gangs that brandished machetes and robbed his grandmother's home, Carlos trekked to the border in June with his cousin and a guide, bumping along on buses "all day and night," he recalled.

On July 10, Carlos joined his mother, Yeinni Lobo, who came to the United States when he was

Continued on Page A23

### NATIONAL A12-19

#### A Legacy on Terror Cases

As Attorney General Eric H. Holder Jr. prepares to step down, reshaping the government's approach to terror trials may be his biggest success. PAGE A17

#### Both Parties Focus on Energy

Ads mentioning energy and the environment have surged to record levels during the midterm campaign. PAGE A12

### NEW YORK A20-24

#### New Jersey Coaches Suspended

The school board approved the suspension of five Sayreville high school coaches in a hazing scandal. PAGE A21

### INTERNATIONAL A4-11

#### A New Style, Post-Karzai

The new Afghan president emphasizes efficiency over ceremony. PAGE A4

#### Pistorius Sentenced to 5 Years

Oscar Pistorius was taken to prison but might serve only 10 months. PAGE A4



### BUSINESS DAY B1-10

#### Air Bag Warning Goes Awry

A day after drivers were urged to check for defective air bags, a government website left many confused. PAGE B1

### SPORTS WEDNESDAY B11-15

#### The Giants Strike First

The San Francisco Giants cruised past the Kansas City Royals, 7-1, in Game One of the World Series. PAGE B11

### OBITUARIES A13, 24-25

#### Nelson Bunker Hunt Dies

The colorful tycoon, who tried to corner the silver market, was 88. PAGE A24

### DINING D1-8

#### Easier Than Pie

To showcase all those glorious fall apples, there is nothing more foolproof to make than a classic tarte Tatin, below, a caramelized confection that is cooked fruit-side-down on a stovetop, then baked. Recipe Lab. PAGE D1



### ARTS C1-8

#### A Searching Work

"The Death of Klinghoffer" contains music as raw as the events it depicts. A review by Anthony Tommasini. PAGE C1

#### Born in the Counterculture

A new coffee table book celebrates 40 years of High Times magazine. PAGE C1

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

#### Thomas L. Friedman

PAGE A27



0 354 613 9

## Putin's Friend Profits in Purge Of Schoolbooks

By JO BECKER  
and STEVEN LEE MYERS

MOSCOW — The purge began in late winter. One by one, hundreds of textbooks that Russian schoolchildren had relied upon for years were deemed unsuitable for use in the country's 43,000 schools. The reasons varied, but they shared a certain bureaucratic obstinacy.

One publisher saw all of his company's English-language textbooks barred because he had failed to include their subtitles on the paperwork required for government approval. More than three dozen books that use a popular creative teaching style were dropped from a list of authorized titles because the publisher had submitted copies of supporting documents, rather than the originals.

Then there was the case of the colorful math textbooks published by a decorated educator, Lyudmila G. Peterson, cashiered for using characters from popular foreign children's stories. Illustrating math problems with

### PUTIN'S WAY

Knocking Out Competition

the likes of Snow White, Eeyore and Owl, in one expert's decisive opinion, was "hardly designed to instill a sense of patriotism" in young Russian minds.

By the time the school year began this fall, the number of approved textbooks for Russia's 14 million schoolchildren had been slashed by more than half. The summary winnowing by the Ministry of Education and Science upset lesson plans, threatened the livelihoods of nearly two-dozen small publishers and left principals, teachers and parents puzzled and angry.

There was, however, one standout winner: A publishing house whose newly appointed chairman was a member of President Vladimir V. Putin's inner circle, Arkady R. Rotenberg, a judo sparring partner from Mr. Putin's St. Petersburg youth.

The publisher, Enlightenment, survived the education ministry's culling almost untouched.

"I have never seen such a level of cynicism and chaos before."

Continued on Page 20

## Braving Ebola



"When I am home, I feel that I am not doing the right thing. So some of the days I am off, I will come back and say hi to the patients — just to give them that courage that there is still life for them, that they can come out."

**J. SAM SIAKOR, 30,  
HYGIENE SUPERVISOR**

Mr. Siakor, a university student, teacher and gospel artist, has lost an uncle and an aunt, both health care workers, to Ebola. Now, he supervises the water, sanitation and hygiene teams at an Ebola clinic in Suakoko, Liberia.

The caregivers, chlorine sprayers, gravediggers and survivors of one Ebola clinic in rural Liberia reflect on life inside the gates.

Photographs and interviews by Daniel Berehulak. Pages 18 and 19. Online at [nytimes.com/braving-ebola](http://nytimes.com/braving-ebola).

## BOTH PARTIES SEE CAMPAIGN TILTING TO REPUBLICANS

### DEMOCRATS ON DEFENSE

#### Election Day Closing In, the Battle Narrows to 9 Senate Seats

By JONATHAN MARTIN

WASHINGTON — Republicans entered the final weekend before the midterm elections clearly holding the better hand to control the Senate and poised to add to their House majority. But a decidedly sour electorate and a sizable number of undecided voters added a measure of suspense.

The final drama surrounded the Senate, which has been a Democratic bulwark for President Obama since his party lost its House majority in 2010. Republicans need to gain six seats to seize the Senate, and officials in both parties believe there is a path for them to win at least that many.

Yet the races for a number of seats that will decide the majority remained close, polls showed, prompting Republicans to pour additional money into get-out-the-vote efforts in Alaska, Georgia and Iowa. Democrats were doing the same in Colorado, where they were concerned because groups that tend to favor Republicans voted early in large numbers, and in Iowa.

While an air of mystery hung over no fewer than nine Senate races, the only question surrounding the House was how many seats Republicans would add. If they gain a dozen seats, it will give them an advantage not seen since 1948 and potentially consign the Democrats to minority status until congressional re-districting in the 2020s.

In a sign of a worsening climate, Democratic officials shifted money to incumbents in once-safe districts around Las Vegas and Santa Barbara, Calif. And over the weekend, they put more money toward television ads in districts held by Democrats in Iowa and Minnesota, including that of longtime Representative Collin C. Peterson of Minnesota. Though there are fewer compet-

Continued on Page 25

## Harassment Case Stirs Doubts On Women's Treatment at Yale

By TAMAR LEWIN

NEW HAVEN — A sexual harassment case that has been unfolding without public notice for nearly five years within the Yale School of Medicine has roiled the institution and led to new allegations that the university is insensitive to instances of harassment against women.

The case involves a former head of cardiology who professed his love to a young Italian researcher at the school and sought to intervene in her relationship with a fellow cardiologist under his supervision.

A university committee recommended that he be permanently removed from his position, but the provost reduced that penalty to an 18-month suspension.

After that decision, The New York Times obtained extensive documents related to the case and interviewed 18 faculty members who expressed anger at how

it had been handled, with no public acknowledgment of wrongdoing. After The Times contacted Yale last week, the university announced that the former cardiology chief, Dr. Michael Simons, "had decided" not to return to his post.

The case involving faculty at one of the nation's leading medical schools comes as dozens of colleges are under scrutiny by the federal government for their handling of sexual misconduct allegations against students.

Dr. Simons began his advances to Annarita Di Lorenzo, the Italian researcher, 18 years his junior, on Feb. 12, 2010, by slipping her a handwritten love letter in effortful Italian.

Dr. Di Lorenzo told him that the letter was unwelcome and insulting to her, her new boyfriend and Dr. Simons's wife. But Dr. Si-

Continued on Page 4

## Braced for a Shift in Congress, Obama Is Setting a New Agenda

By PETER BAKER  
and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — Whipsawed by events and facing another midterm electoral defeat, President Obama has directed his team to forge a policy agenda to regain momentum for his final two years in office even as some advisers urge that he rethink the way he governs.

Without waiting for results from elections on Tuesday that few in the White House expect to go well for Mr. Obama, top aides have met for weeks to plot the final quarter of his presidency. Anticipating a less friendly Congress, they are mapping possible compromises with Republicans to expand trade, overhaul taxes and build roads and bridges.

For a president who has lost public support and largely failed to move his agenda on Capitol Hill since winning re-election two years ago, there may be little hope for significant progress if Republicans capture the Senate and add to their House majority.

But if Republicans are fully in charge of Congress rather than mainly an opposition party, both sides may have an incentive to strike deals, at least during a short window before the 2016 presidential campaign consumes Washington.

With or without partners on

Capitol Hill, Mr. Obama will continue to exercise his executive authority to advance Democratic policies on climate change, immigration, energy, gay rights and economic issues, aides said. The president, in fact, may announce quickly after the election a unilateral overhaul of immigration

rules to make it easier for millions who are in the country illegally to stay. And, of course, many presidents in their last years turn more to foreign policy, where they have a freer hand to set direction.

"There's still lots of time to get

Continued on Page 26

### ELECTION 2014



DANIEL ACKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**IOWA** The Senate race has been an endurance test for candidates and voters, like Jody Caldwell, left, at an event in Wilton. PAGE 22

**COLORADO** Republicans held an edge in early voting in the state's first major election run entirely through mail-in ballots. PAGE 22

**NORTH CAROLINA** In a year defined more by what voters in the state do not like than what they do, the Senate candidates have pounded away with broadsides in the most expensive race in the nation. PAGE 22

### INTERNATIONAL 6-21

#### French Rally Against Dam

What had been a local protest over the construction of a dam has turned into a national drama, spawning vigils and front-page news coverage. PAGE 6

### SUNDAYBUSINESS

#### Makeover on 34th Street

Macy's flagship store has long tried to appeal to everyone. But in a \$400 million renovation, it is aiming at millennials and deep-pocketed tourists. PAGE 1

### SPORTSSUNDAY

#### Size Works to His Advantage

Hafthor Julius Bjornsson, a 400-pound Icelandic strongman, had no acting experience before playing the Mountain in "Game of Thrones." PAGE 1

### NEW YORK

#### Neediest Cases Fund, at 103

The 103rd campaign of The New York Times Neediest Cases Fund begins: A mother in Harlem juggles care for two children with disabilities. PAGE 28

### SUNDAY REVIEW

#### Maureen Dowd

PAGE 1



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G.O.P. TAKES SENATE

RIDING VOTER ANGER TO GAIN CONTROL OF CONGRESS

Party's First Step Was to Control Extremists

By JEREMY W. PETERS and CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — It was late spring, and Republican leaders knew that if they wanted to win the Senate, they needed to crush the enemy: not Democrats, but the rebels within their own party.

Candidates like Scott Brown, running for the Senate in New Hampshire, called the National Republican Senatorial Committee to complain that if Mr. McDaniel was not stopped, he could drag the whole party down.

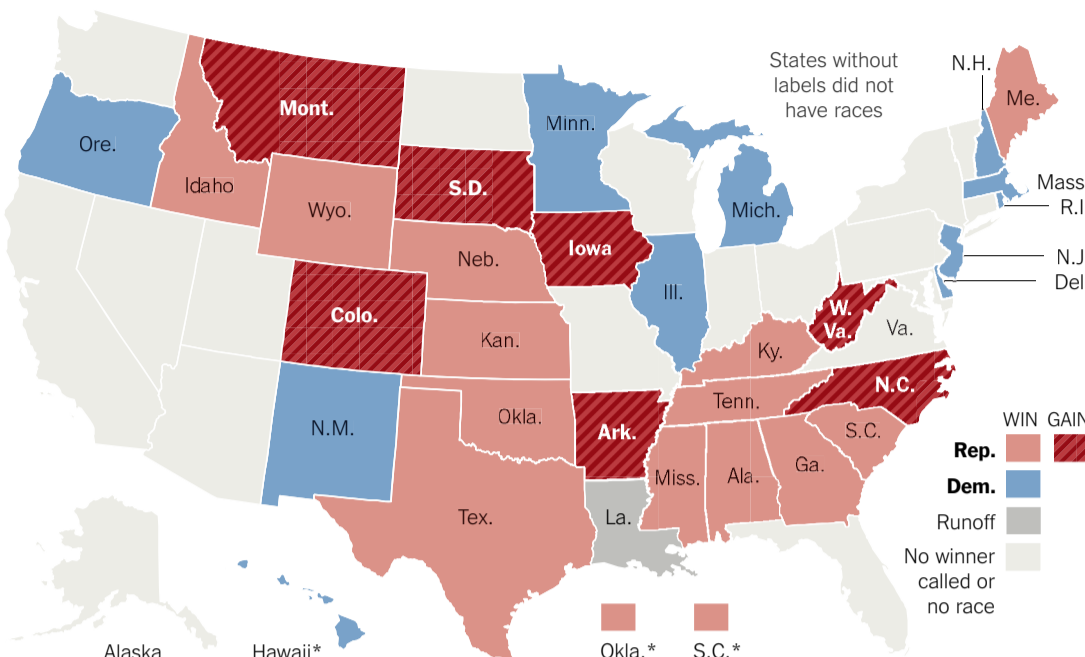
In June, the party establishment — just barely — vanquished Mr. McDaniel, reaching a turning point in their dogged campaign to purge the party of extremists and regain power in the Senate.

Republicans' impressive showing Tuesday night — marking the first time the party will have a majority in both the House and Senate since 2006 — was the result of methodical plotting, careful candidate vetting and abundant preparation to ensure that the party's candidates would avoid repeating the same devastating mistakes that cost them dearly in 2010 and 2012.

"You get your best players on the field in November, avoid doing something that makes us look like we are not adult enough to govern, and hope the wave is big," said Senator Mitch McConnell in an interview in March, not long after Republicans scored a major coup by getting Cory Gardner, a congressman from Colorado and one of the party's strongest candidates this election, into the race.

In interviews, more than two dozen lawmakers and strategists described the meticulous efforts. Little was left to chance: Republican operatives sent fake campaign trackers — interns and staff members brandishing video cameras to record every utterance and move — to trail their own candidates. In media training sessions, candidates were forced to sit through a reel of the

Continued on Page P7



Races for the Senate Results as of midnight Eastern Standard Time.

Democratic Seats Fall in Seven States — Repudiation of President Obama

By JONATHAN WEISMAN and ASHLEY PARKER

Resurgent Republicans took control of the Senate on Tuesday night, expanded their hold on the House, and defended some of the most closely contested governors' races, in a repudiation of President Obama that will reorder the political map in his final years in office.

Propelled by economic dissatisfaction and anger toward the president, Republicans grabbed Democratic Senate seats in North Carolina, Colorado, Iowa, West Virginia, Arkansas, Montana and South Dakota to gain their first Senate majority since 2006.

An election that started as trench warfare, state by state and district by district, crested into a sweeping Republican victory. Contests that were expected to be close were not, and races expected to go Democratic broke narrowly for the Republicans.

of anxiety, leaving voters in a punishing mood, particularly for Democrats in Southern states and the Mountain West, where political polarization deepened.

The biggest surprises of the night came in North Carolina, where the Republican, Thom Tillis, came from behind to beat Senator Kay Hagan, and in Virginia. There, Senator Mark Warner, a former Democratic governor of the state, was thought to be one of the safest incumbents in his party, and instead found himself clinging to the narrowest of leads against a former Republican Party chairman, Ed Gillespie.

Those contests were measures of how difficult the terrain was for Democrats in an election where Republicans put together their strategy as a referendum on the competence of government, embodied by Mr. Obama.

House seats where Democrats had fought off Republican encroachment for years were finally toppled. Gov. Scott Walker, a Republican, was easily re-elected in Wisconsin, a state that voted

Continued on Page P2



CHUCK BURTON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

NORTH CAROLINA Thom Tillis, a Republican, came from behind to defeat Senator Kay Hagan.



CHARLIE NEIBERGALL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

IOWA Joni Ernst, a Republican, made history with her victory in the Senate campaign.

A President Left Fighting to Keep His Relevance

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — Two things were clear long before the votes were counted on Tuesday night: President Obama would face a Congress with more Republicans for his final two years in office, and the results would be seen as a repudiation of his leadership.

But that was not the way Mr. Obama saw it. The electoral map was stacked against him, he argued, making Democrats underdogs from the start. And his own party kept him off the trail, meaning he never really got the chance to make his case.

The Republican capture of the Senate culminated a season of discontent for the president — and may yet open a period of even deeper frustration. Sagging in the polls and unwelcome in most competitive races across the country, Mr. Obama bristled as the last campaign that would influence his presidency played out while he sat largely on the sidelines.

But in a hyperactive, deeply polarized time in history, Mr. Obama now faces a daunting challenge in reasserting his relevance in a capital that will soon enough shift its attention to the

Continued on Page P6



ÁNGEL FRANCO/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Cuomo Secures A Second Term, But Loses Clout

By THOMAS KAPLAN

This was the election in which Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo had every reason to think he would outdo his father.

He had kept his promise to steady New York's teetering state government, restoring a sense of competent leadership in Albany after years of turmoil. He had cemented an image of himself as the Cuomo who got things done — not just gave memorable speeches — by recording high-profile victories legalizing same-sex marriage, capping property tax increases and tightening gun-control laws.

Instead, Mr. Cuomo, 56, who easily won re-election on Tuesday — but with what appeared to be a considerably smaller majority than the 65 percent that Gov. Mario M. Cuomo got during his bid for a second term, in 1986 — enters the next four years with less political clout than when the campaign began. Gone is the

Continued on Page P10

ELECTION 2014

CONGRESS

Republicans Gain in House

Riding a wave of dissatisfaction with President Obama, Republicans expanded their House majority, appearing to pick up at least eight seats, with victories that will embolden Speaker John A. Boehner, above, as he tries to manage a rebellious Tea Party caucus. PAGE P3

GOVERNORS

Crucial Wins for G.O.P.

Republicans won the two most intensely followed, influential governors' races of the year as Gov. Rick Scott of Florida, left, and Gov. Scott Walker of Wisconsin were re-elected. The victories added to a strong night for the party's governors. PAGE P1

VOTERS

At the Polls, Frustration Ruled

A bleak view of American politics resonated across the country, with voters heading in and out of polls expressing frustration and resentment toward all things Washington. But, George Nelson, left, a Democrat from Georgia, felt history's weight at the polls. PAGE P1

OTHER NEWS

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Spy Warns on Web Freedom

A top British intelligence official criticized American technology companies, saying that they enable terrorists to thrive on the Internet. PAGE A4

BUSINESS DAY B1-10

Seeking a Rapid Ebola Test

Researchers are racing to develop technology that detects Ebola in minutes rather than in hours or days. PAGE B2

NEW YORK A14-17

A Defendant Far From Silent

Gigi Jordan, a multimillionaire accused of killing her 8-year-old son, has hired a public relations firm and given jailhouse interviews as she awaits a verdict in her murder trial. PAGE A15

ARTS C1-8

Allegory Amid the Stars

The space epic "Interstellar" delivers a potent parable mirroring the mood on Earth. A review by A.O. Scott. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

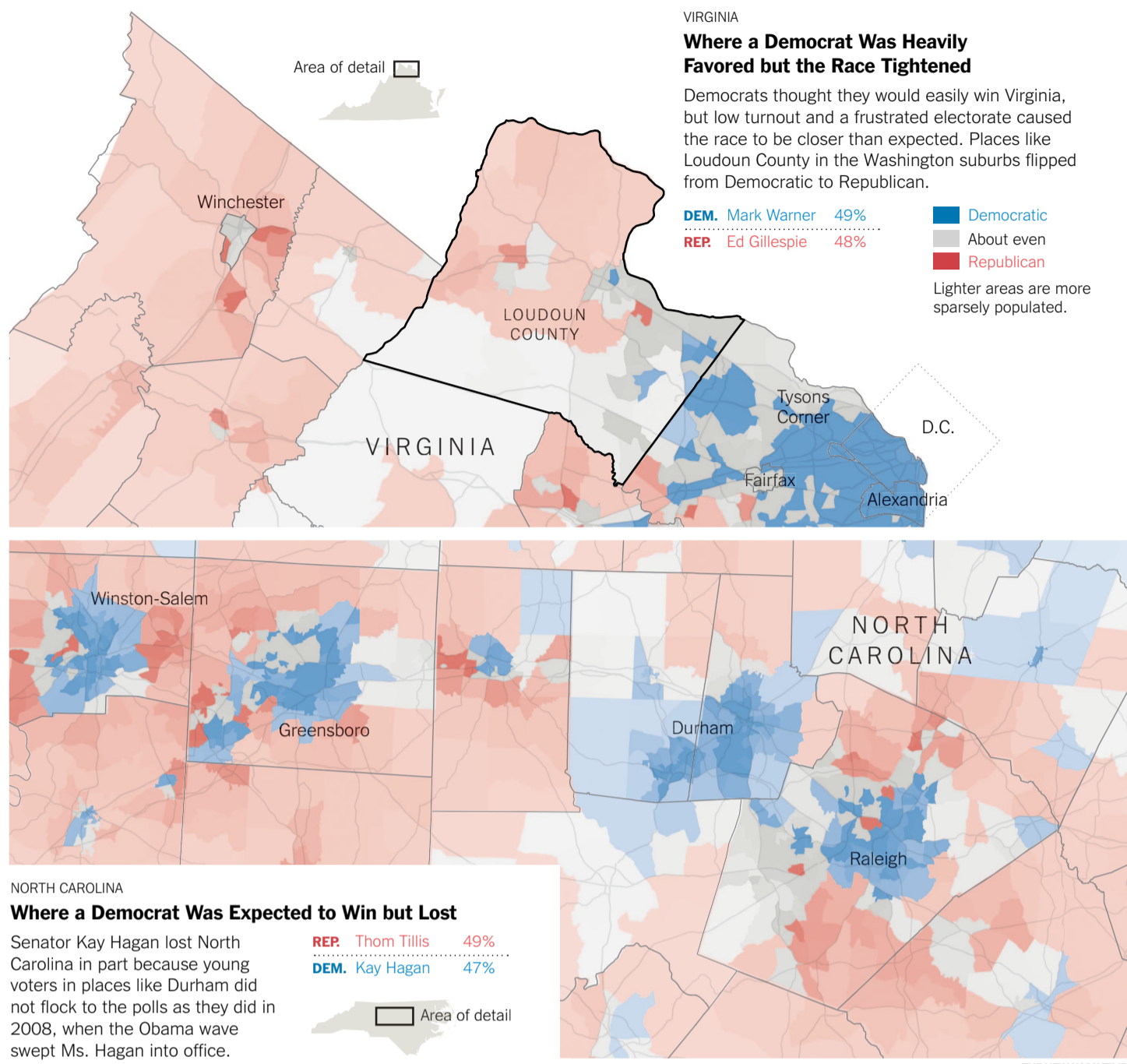
Thomas L. Friedman

RELATIVES AND FRIENDS are often asked to share memories of the diarist, especially around anniversaries of watershed Holocaust dates. PAGE A14

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Advertisement for Harry Winston jewelry, featuring a diamond ring and the text 'HARRY WINSTON RARE JEWELS OF THE WORLD'.

## Obama Vows to Work With, and Without, Republicans



### President Says He Will Overhaul Immigration Policy Unilaterally

By JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS and PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — President Obama shook off an electoral drubbing on Wednesday and said he was eager to find common ground with Republicans during the final two years of his presidency, but he swiftly defied their objections by vowing to bypass Congress and use his executive authority to change the nation's immigration system.



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES  
President Obama's tone was upbeat despite election losses.

In a sign of how he intends to govern under a new political order with ascendant Republican leaders, Mr. Obama renewed his commitment to act on his own to allow millions of undocumented immigrants to stay in the country.

His remarks, at a news conference in the East Room of the White House, were meant to put the vitriol of the campaign behind him — he responded to disaffected Americans by saying that "I hear you" and that his election mandate was to "get stuff done." But his promised action on immigration underscored the profound partisan disagreements that persist in Washington.

Republicans quickly accused the president of reaching out to them with one hand while slapping them with the other. [Page P2.]

Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, a Republican who is in line to be the majority leader in the new Congress, warned Mr. Obama in a news conference in Louisville not to act on immigration on his own.

"It's like waving a red flag in

front of a bull," Mr. McConnell said.

The back-and-forth came on a grim day at the White House after an election that cost the Democrats the Senate and called into question the president's capacity to accomplish much of substance in his remaining time in office.

For all the talk of cooperation, Mr. Obama confronted the reality that gridlock may still rule Washington, curtailing his legacy and frustrating his lofty ambitions.

Mr. Obama seemed determined not to let the setback consume what is left of his presidency. Relentlessly cheerful during his afternoon news conference, Mr. Obama congratulated Republicans on their election success and offered words of conciliation. But he volunteered little regret or a sense that he needed to change course.

"It doesn't make me mopey. It energizes me, because it means Continued on Page P3

### In States Seen to Be Tilting Left, Voters Defy Democrats' Forecast

By JONATHAN MARTIN

Republicans working on the Senate race in Colorado sensed something was shifting even before the votes were counted.

Voters in suburban Denver — who had backed President Obama twice — were abandoning Senator Mark Udall, a Democrat, in the final days before the election.

"We thought the evening could be decided early," said Cory Gardner, the Republican who defeated Mr. Udall.

More striking than any Republican gains in red-state America on Tuesday were the party's Senate victories in Colorado and North Carolina and the near miss in Virginia.

All are states that both parties believed were trending Democratic, and that Democrats boasted would before long be out of reach to Republicans.

But a powerful lesson for both

parties emerged from the returns: Demographic shifts that are gradually reshaping the American electorate, making it more racially diverse and younger, cannot overcome a difficult political environment and a weak message in a nonpresidential year.

And the Democratic edge in sophisticated technological voter mobilization and targeting is eroding, as Republicans adopt similar techniques and catch up.

"Democrats have sold this myth about their magic on the ground," said Brad Todd, a strategist for Mr. Gardner. "But they threw the best they had at us, and it wasn't enough."

Tuesday's results are causing leaders of both parties, and those with their eye on the White House, to re-examine their as-

Continued on Page P9

### Outside Groups With Deep Pockets Lift G.O.P.

By NICHOLAS CONFESSORE

Last fall, Steven Law, the president of the nation's largest Republican "super PAC," met with two of his party's biggest donors in a Houston office. Both had given generously to Mr. Law's organization, American Crossroads, and other Republican outside groups in 2012, when they spent more than \$700 million but failed to defeat President Obama or flip the Senate to Republican control. The donors were polite but incredulous.

"How is this year going to be any different?" one asked.

The donors got their answer on Tuesday, when Republicans won at least seven seats in the Senate, cementing full control of Congress. The election was not only a major victory for the Republican Party, but a pivotal moment for the super PACs and political nonprofit groups that helped the party defeat Democrats across the country.

Over the last year and a half,

#### With Nimble Strategy, 'Super PACs' Show Power in Victory

the conservative outside groups retooled and revamped, using lessons in how to exploit voter data, opposition research and advertising learned from their less moneyed but more effective Democratic counterparts during 2012.

As federal courts opened new avenues of influence for the wealthy and lenient enforcement effectively neutered what few legal and regulatory restraints remained on big-money politics, they took advantage of every available tool.

To shield donors from scrutiny, they moved most of their spending through nonprofit groups not subject to federal disclosure requirements. To be more nimble, they created subsidiaries de-

voted to specific races. They begged donors for money, overcame internal rivalries that lingered through Election Day, and ultimately deployed at least \$300 million in a favorable political environment, helping drive the 2014 midterms to become the costliest in history.

All told, the political network overseen by the conservative billionaires Charles G. and David H. Koch appeared to be the largest overall source of outside television spending on behalf of Republicans. Seven Koch-backed groups spent roughly \$77 million on television advertising, officials said, including 11 Senate races, and almost double that amount on grass-roots organizing.

Koch groups appeared to be the biggest outside spenders on television in Arkansas, Iowa and Louisiana, airing a combined \$25 million in ads. Republican candidates won Arkansas and Iowa, and a Republican is favored to win a runoff in Louisiana.

American Crossroads and its Continued on Page P9

#### ELECTION 2014

**SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS** The Republican wave washed over the whole country, but it was in the South that the swamping of state-wide Democratic prospects appeared most complete. PAGE P1

**NAMES TO WATCH** The youngest woman ever elected to Congress and a conservative intellectual with Tea Party appeal are among the Republicans' rising stars in the 114th Congress. PAGE P1

**SUCCESS IN STATES** Republicans took control of the most state legislatures in nearly 100 years and approached a record number of governors' seats. PAGE P4

**HOME LOSSES** The chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee saw his party lose 14 House seats, three in his own state, New York. PAGE P11

**REPUBLICAN DIVIDEND** Business interests are gearing up for a push on legislative goals like an overhaul of corporate taxes. PAGE B1

### Fall of the Banner Ad: The Monster That Swallowed the Web

Twenty years ago last month, a team of well-meaning designers, coders and magazine publishers inadvertently unleashed on an unsuspecting world one of the most misguided and destructive technologies of the Internet age: the web banner ad.

If that is an exaggeration, it is only a slight one. The first banner ads — those long rectangular ads

at the top of a web page — looked innocent enough; a half-dozen spots for a variety of large companies, including AT&T, Volvo and Zima, they made their debut on HotWired, the web offshoot of Wired Magazine, on Oct. 27, 1994. People who took part in their creation say the first banners were a resounding success, garnering adulation from readers and advertisers.

But their success birthed a monster that went on to swallow the web whole and has created

two decades of havoc. "It's almost like a prank that was played by the technology industry on the media industry 20 years ago," said Chris Dixon, a technology investor at the firm Andreessen Horowitz who has long lamented the reach and permanence of the banner ad.

These days, finally, the banner ad is in decline. That is because the web, the medium in which it has thrived, is also in decline. Today we live in a mobile, social world, spending most of our time

online using apps that load faster and are much prettier and more useful than websites. Instead of banners, many of these apps, including Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, make money through ads that appear in users' social feeds, rather than off to the side of the page.

But what's so bad about banners?

For one, they have ruined the appearance and usability of the web, covering every available

Continued on Page B11



MATTHEW MILLMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**If a Tiny House Is Just Too Big**  
Retro trailers, sometimes moored in the yard like the Airstream above, become cozy second homes. Design Notebook, Page D1.

INTERNATIONAL A3-15

**Islamic State Loses Momentum**  
Militants with the Islamic State seemed unstoppable a few months ago, but analysts say the group's days of quick, easy gains in Iraq may be ending. PAGE A5

NATIONAL A19-21

**A First at Guantánamo**  
Under a new system of parole-board-like hearings, a Kuwaiti held for nearly 13 years in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, was released. PAGE A19

NEW YORK A22-28

**Mother Guilty of Manslaughter**  
Prosecutors had sought a murder conviction for Gigi Jordan, who claimed "extreme emotional disturbance" in the 2010 poisoning of her son, 8. PAGE A22

ARTS C1-8

**Publicity Spat Over an Actress**  
Jessica Chastain, who stars in two overlapping films, "Interstellar" and "A Most Violent Year," is barely allowed to promote one of them. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A30-31

**Gail Collins** PAGE A31



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## A Nuclear Deal Is Likely to Hit Hurdles in Iran

### Accord May Be Near, but Dissenters Rise

By THOMAS ERDBRINK

TEHRAN — Far from the flashing cameras and microphones in Vienna, where Secretary of State John Kerry is joining Iranian and United States diplomats in a final push to reach a compromise on Tehran's nuclear program, a different sort of political drama unfolded in the Iranian capital this week: Hard-liners got together to criticize the objects of their "worries," as they put it, the moderates advocating a deal.

"My brothers, we are in danger," one of the conference organizers, Ali Hassanzadeh, told the audience, as a video portrayed the moderate president, Hassan Rouhani, and his negotiators as glib tools of the United States.

In Iran, the final decision on a nuclear deal lies with Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, the supreme leader. And if history is an accurate guide, the real debate over an accord, should one be reached, will not begin to unfold until after it is announced. When that debate gets underway, the voices of the hard-liners — the clerics, Revolutionary Guards commanders, conservative lawmakers and others who are by and large closest to the supreme leader — will be raised against any compromise on Iran's right to enrich uranium.

But there is another developing line of thought in Iran that is far more hopeful, and reflects the desires of many urban Iranians. Some insiders say that a nuclear deal is being planned by powerful figures in the Iranian leadership as the start of a fundamental shift in Iran's ideology, aimed not only at normalizing relations with the world but also at rebranding the now 35-year-old Islamic Revolution, turning away from its founding principles of anti-imperialism, anti-Americanism and strict limits on personal freedoms.

There was nothing of that in  
*Continued on Page A3*

## EAVESDROPPING LED TO INQUIRY OF EX-DIPLOMAT

### RARE VIEW OF SPY CASE

#### Scrutiny After Pakistani Official Hints at Leak of U.S. Secrets

This article is by Matt Apuzzo, Michael S. Schmidt and Mark Mazzetti.

WASHINGTON — American investigators intercepted a conversation this year in which a Pakistani official suggested that his government was receiving American secrets from a prominent former State Department diplomat, officials said, setting off an espionage investigation that has stunned diplomatic circles here.

That conversation led to months of secret surveillance on the former diplomat, Robin L. Raphel, and an F.B.I. raid last month at her home, where agents discovered classified information, the officials said.

The investigation is an unexpected turn in a distinguished career that has spanned four decades. Ms. Raphel (pronounced RAY-full) rose to become one of the highest-ranking female diplomats and a fixture in foreign policy circles, serving as ambassador to Tunisia and as assistant secretary of state for South Asian affairs in the Clinton administration.

Ms. Raphel, 67, considered one of the leading American experts on Pakistan, was stripped of her security clearances last month and no longer has access to the State Department building.

The investigation is a rare example of an F.B.I. espionage case breaking into public view. Counterintelligence — the art of spotting and thwarting spies — is the F.B.I.'s second-highest priority, after fighting terrorism, but the operations are conducted almost entirely in secret. On any given

*Continued on Page A10*

# OBAMA MOVES AHEAD ON IMMIGRATION



POOL PHOTO BY JIM BOURG

President Obama, announcing immigration actions Thursday, said the moves were lawful.

## Asserting Power While Daring the G.O.P.

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — President Obama chose confrontation over conciliation on Thursday as he asserted the powers of the Oval Office to reshape the nation's immigration system and all but dared members of next year's Republican-controlled Congress to reverse his actions on behalf of millions of immigrants.

In a 15-minute address from the East Room of the White House that sought to appeal to a nation's compassion, Mr. Obama told Americans that deporting millions is "not who we are" and cited Scripture, saying, "We shall not oppress a stranger for we know the heart of a stranger — we were strangers once, too."

The prime-time speech reflected Mr. Obama's years of frustration with congressional gridlock and his desire to frame the last years of his presidency with far-reaching executive actions. His directive will shield up to five million people from deportation and allow many to work legally, although it offers no path to citizenship.

"The actions I'm taking are not only lawful, they're the kinds of actions taken by every single Republican president and every Democratic president for the past half-century," Mr. Obama said. "To those members of Congress who question my authority to make our immigration system work better, or question the wisdom of me acting where Congress has failed, I have one answer: Pass a bill."

In a series of rhetorical questions, he cast the immigration debate in emotional terms. "Are we a nation that tolerates the hypocrisy of a system where workers who pick our fruit and make our beds never have a chance to get right with the law?" he asked. Later he added, "Whether our forebears were strangers who

*Continued on Page A18*

**PRECEDENTS** Past presidents have granted legal status to unauthorized immigrants. PAGE A19

**REPUBLICANS REACT** Some party leaders worry about alienating Hispanic voters. PAGE A18

## Wielding Search Data to Change Police Policy

By RICHARD A. OPPEL JR.

DURHAM, N.C. — One month after a Latino youth died from a gunshot as he sat handcuffed in the back of a police cruiser here last year, 150 demonstrators converged on Police Headquarters, some shouting "murderers" as baton-wielding officers in riot gear fired tear gas.

The police say the youth shot himself with a hidden gun. But to many residents of this city, which is 40 percent black, the incident

### When Sensing Unfair Targeting, Activists Let Numbers Talk

ent turn. Rather than relying on demonstrations to force change, a coalition of ministers, lawyers and community and political activists turned instead to numbers. They used an analysis of state data from 2002 to 2013 that showed that the Durham police searched black male motorists at more than twice the rate of white males during stops. Drugs and other illicit materials were found no more often on blacks.

After having initially rejected protesters' demands, the city abruptly changed course and agreed to require the police, beginning last month, to obtain written consent to search vehicles in cases where they do not have probable cause. The consent forms, in English and Spanish, tell drivers they do not have to allow the searches.

*Continued on Page A20*

## Urbane Director Loved By Crowds and Critics

By BRUCE WEBER

Mike Nichols, one of America's most celebrated directors, whose long, protean résumé of critic- and crowd-pleasing work earned him adulation both on Broadway and in Hollywood, died on Wednesday in Manhattan. He was 83.

His death was announced by James Goldston, the president of ABC News. Mr. Nichols was married to the ABC broadcaster Diane Sawyer. A network spokeswoman said the cause was cardiac arrest, giving no other details.

Dryly urbane, Mr. Nichols had a gift for communicating with actors and a keen comic timing, which he honed early in his career as half of the popular sketch-comedy team Nichols and May. An immigrant whose work was marked by trenchant perceptions of American culture, he achieved — in films like "The Graduate," "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?" and "Carnal Knowledge" and in comedies and dramas on stage — what Orson Welles and Elia Kazan but few if any other directors have: popular and artistic success in both film and theater.

An almost perennial prizewinner, he was one of only a dozen or so people to have won an Oscar, a Tony, an Emmy and a Grammy.

His career encompassed an entire era of screen and stage entertainment. On Broadway, where he



BRIGITTE LACOMBE

Mike Nichols, above in 1998, was a master of the screen and stage. An appraisal, Page B14.

won an astonishing nine Tonys (including two as a producer), he once had four shows running simultaneously. He directed Neil Simon's early comedies "Barefoot in the Park" and "The Odd Couple" in the 1960s; the zany Monty Python musical, "Spamalot," four decades later; and, nearly a decade after that, an acclaimed revival of Arthur Miller's bruising masterpiece, "Death of a Salesman."

In June 2012, at age 80, he accepted the Tony for directing "Salesman." When his name was announced at the Beacon Theater on the Upper West

*Continued on Page B14*

## De Blasio Urges 'Culture Change' at Rikers Island

By MICHAEL WINERIP and MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ

Mayor Bill de Blasio declared on Thursday that Rikers Island "deeply needs a culture change" and called ending the pervasive violence at the jail complex a top priority of his administration, acknowledging that he had previously underestimated the level of dysfunction there.

In his most expansive remarks to date about the problems at Rikers, Mr. de Blasio characterized the New York Correction Department, which oversees the complex, as the city's most troubled agency, and said he would visit Rikers for the first time as mayor on Dec. 18 to see for himself what should be done to fix it.

Mr. de Blasio described halting the brutality against inmates at



OZIER MUHAMMAD/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Joseph Ponte, correction commissioner, with the mayor.

the jail complex as a moral obligation and conceded that for years inmates were released from Rikers "more broken than when they came in."

Speaking with reporters at an hourlong news conference de-

voted almost exclusively to Rikers, the mayor admitted that he had possessed little knowledge about the institution's problems when he took office this year.

"I have to tell you that when I came into office I probably had a little bit of faith, a little too much faith, that things had been handled properly in the past," he said. "I didn't know that this many failed policies had gone unchanged. I did not know that so much failed leadership had been left in place."

Mr. de Blasio has been under pressure to show that his administration is making progress in reducing the violence and corruption at Rikers. In July, a report by The New York Times referred to a secret internal study showing that 129 inmates had suffered serious injuries during en-

*Continued on Page A28*

### INTERNATIONAL A3-14

#### Tunisian Women Turn Radical

The deaths of five women in a police raid on suspected insurgents illustrates how extremism has touched virtually every part of Tunisian society. PAGE A4

### NEW YORK A23-28



#### Another Day, Same Weather

Western New York faced more heavy snow coming off Lake Erie, and the weight of it was threatening roofs. The death toll climbed to 10. PAGE A26

### NATIONAL A16-20

#### Sting Operations Face Scrutiny

Undercover sting operations have become a staple of federal law enforcement agencies in fighting crime, but a growing number of federal judges are questioning the tactic, saying it raises concerns about entrapment. PAGE A16

#### A New Clue to a C.I.A. Puzzle

The creator of a puzzle-sculpture in a courtyard at the C.I.A. has offered a new clue to solving one piece that has long stumped code breakers. PAGE A16

#### New View on Heavy Drinking

Most people who drink excessively are not actually alcoholics, so changing their behavior may be easier than once thought, a new report says. PAGE A17

### SPORTSFRIDAY B9-13

#### A Nun's Devotion to Football

Sister Lisa Maurer coaches kickers and punters at the College of St. Scholastica in Duluth, Minn., which is 10-0 this season entering the N.C.A.A. Division III playoffs. PAGE B9

### BUSINESS DAY B1-8

#### Senate Hearing on Airbags

After testimony from accident victims injured by defective airbags that can rupture violently, senators turned their attention to the executives from the Japanese auto supply company Takata and a growing global recall. PAGE B1

#### Head of Sotheby's to Resign

After a prominent critic called for sweeping changes, the company said the departure of William F. Ruprecht was "by mutual consent." PAGE B1

### WEEKENDARTS C1-32

#### One Umbrella for Harvard Art

Combining three museums in a glassy Renzo Piano envelope was arduous but fruitful, writes Holland Cotter. PAGE C23

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A30-31

#### Paul Krugman

PAGE A31



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## HONG KONG POLICE TURN BACK SIEGE ON GOVERNMENT

### ESCALATION OF PROTESTS

Clashes Outside Offices  
Erupt as Authorities  
Move Into Camps

By CHRIS BUCKLEY  
and AUSTIN RAMZY

HONG KONG — Pro-democracy demonstrators in Hong Kong suffered a setback on Monday, when their attempt overnight to besiege government offices collapsed and the police thrust into the protesters' biggest street camp.

The reversal came after a night of seesaw clashes in the political heart of the city, ending weeks of anxious calm at the protesters' main street camp and throwing into question how much longer the Hong Kong government would tolerate hundreds of tents only a stone's throw from the city's administrative and legislative complex.

Fear rippled through the protest camp, with some student leaders defending the decision to escalate the confrontation with the police, and others wondering whether the protest leaders had made the right decision.

Many protesters wore masks and goggles, worried that the police would use pepper spray.

"The police have never gotten so close to the heart of our camp," said Augustine Chung, a 24-year-old employee of a nongovernmental organization who was among the protesters. "I can only hope the student leaders know what to do next."

Sunday night began with rousing speeches and calls for peaceful disobedience from the student leaders in the main protest camp, in the Admiralty neighborhood. But the bravado gave way to chaotic, panicky strife at the nearby government complex, where the police did indeed use pepper spray and batons to drive back protesters.

The tumult erupted soon after student leaders urged protesters to besiege city government offices in an attempt to force concessions to their demands for democratic elections for the city's leader. The protesters have said that election plans for the city offered by the Chinese government will not give voters a real say. Student protest leaders, who have dithered and debated over the direction of their movement, said their patience had expired.

"We feel that the government feels no pressure if this movement simply drags on like this," said Oscar Lai, a leader of Scholarism, a protest group of high school and university students, who urged protesters to peacefully block the Hong Kong leader's office. "This escalation shows that Hong Kong people can't wait anymore."

"Surround the government,"  
Continued on Page A12



KIN CHEUNG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Police officers threw a pro-democracy protester to the ground outside government headquarters in Hong Kong on Sunday.

## Ebola Now Preoccupies Once-Skeptical Leader

By ADAM NOSSITER

CONAKRY, Guinea — The phone rang. It was the president. "The ambulances? Yes, excellency, we need at least 15 to cover our needs," the nation's harried Ebola czar answered.

But the president of Guinea was just getting started, calling back a few minutes later. "Yes, excellency, to transport the samples, we need good vehicles," the Ebola czar answered patiently.

Then the president, Alpha Condé, wanted to know about new Ebola treatment centers and the new Ebola database on cell-phones. And how about those experimental tests, or the car for the chief of staff?

### Shift From Inattention to Close Oversight in Guinea

"I'll send you the information right away," answered the Ebola czar, Dr. Sakoba Keita, cradling his head in his hands. After 15 minutes, the president hung up. A rueful smile played on the doctor's lips. It was 5:30 in the afternoon, but the day was far from over. The president called his Ebola point man back 10 minutes later with more questions.

Guinea went through 50 years of autocracy, military coups, mas-

sacres of civilians and plundering by its rulers. Now the aging political outsider elected to govern this nation — who spent much of his adult life in exile in Paris — is mustering a late-career tenacity to confront the deadly epidemic that still infects hundreds in this battered West African nation.

The change of heart has been sharp. At the start of the outbreak, Mr. Condé was incredulous, denying its seriousness and wasting crucial weeks that could have helped contain it.

Predicting "rapid and final success" in late March, he said the situation was "well under control" only a month later, even as health officials under him mas-

Continued on Page A4

## For Boehner, New Powers, And New Peril

By CARL HULSE  
and JEREMY W. PETERS

WASHINGTON — John A. Boehner does not want to be remembered as the Shutdown Speaker.

As Congress returns from recess on Monday facing a Dec. 11 deadline for funding the government, Mr. Boehner and his fellow Republican leaders are working to persuade the rank and file — furious over President Obama's executive action on immigration — that engaging in a spending confrontation is the wrong way to counter the White House. That would set the wrong tone, they argue, as Republicans prepare to take over Congress and fulfill promises to govern responsibly.

He made his views clear on Nov. 13, when House Republicans gathered in the Capitol for their first meeting since their emphatic sweep on Election Day. Representative Vicky Hartzler of Missouri posed the question on everyone's mind: How was the leader of the enlarged and emboldened House majority going to respond if Mr. Obama unilaterally eased the threat of deportation for millions of illegal immigrants?

Mr. Boehner, according to those present, promised to fight the president "tooth and nail." But he warned that the party members needed to coalesce around a strategy that gives them a stronger chance of success in combating Mr. Obama.

Continued on Page A19



SAMUEL ARANDA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

"While shaving I think of Ebola, while eating I think of Ebola," said President Alpha Condé.

## An Art Form Rises: Audio Without the Book

By ALEXANDRA ALTER

Print has been good to Jeffery Deaver. Over the last 26 years, Mr. Deaver, a lawyer-turned-thriller writer, has published 35 novels and sold 40 million copies of them globally.

But his latest work, "The Starling Project," a globe-spanning mystery about a grizzled war crimes investigator, isn't available in bookstores. It won't be printed at all. The story was conceived, written and produced as an original audio drama for Audible, the audiobook producer and retailer. If Mr. Deaver's readers

want the story, they'll have to listen to it.

"My fans are quite loyal," Mr. Deaver said. "If they hear I've done this and that it's a thriller, I think they'll come to it."

"The Starling Project," which came out in mid-November, will test the appetite for an emerging art form that blends the immersive charm of old-time radio drama with digital technology. It's also the latest sign that audiobooks, which have long been regarded as a quaint backwater of the publishing industry and an appendage to print, are coming into their own as a creative medium.

Just as original TV series like "House of Cards" and "Orange Is the New Black" transformed Netflix into a content creator as well as a distributor, Audible is aiming to distinguish itself in the booming audiobook market with original audio dramas that are written specifically for the form.

So far, Audible has commissioned and produced around 30 original works, as varied as a serialized thriller about a conspiracy that drives India and Pakistan to the brink of nuclear war, and original short stories set in the world of Charlaine Harris's

Continued on Page A3

## Mine Boss Indicted, Coal Country Sees New Era

By TRIP GABRIEL

WHITESVILLE, W.Va. — On a memorial to West Virginia's most recent mining disaster, the silhouettes of 29 figures are etched into black granite, men posed with arms around each another like teammates.

On the back of the solemn slab, the disaster is put in the context of the state's long history of coal tragedies, including a 1968 explosion that killed scores, and a dozen other deadly events earlier in the century.

In not one of those cases did a coal mine owner face criminal

charges for the loss of life. That history ended in November, with the indictment of Donald L. Blankenship, the chief executive whose company owned the Upper Big Branch mine near here, where an explosion of methane gas in 2010 spread like a fireball through more than two miles of tunnels, feeding on illegally high levels of coal dust.

Legal experts call the case against Mr. Blankenship, a figure both feared and renowned for his power in West Virginia, a turning point after a century in which the power of coal barons over poli-

Continued on Page A20



TY WRIGHT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Upper Big Branch Miners Memorial in West Virginia.



NATIONAL A16-20

### Girls Here, Boys There

A growing number of public schools are moving to single-sex classrooms, like Dillard Elementary in Fort Lauderdale, above, but educators disagree on the merits of the strategy. PAGE A16

### NATIONAL

#### Pregnancy and the Law

The Supreme Court is poised to hear the case of a pregnant package delivery driver whose company placed her on unpaid leave. PAGE A18

### INTERNATIONAL A4-14

#### Qatar Frees U.S. Couple

A judge said the prosecution had no case against the two, accused of killing their adopted daughter. PAGE A4

#### Russian Influence Suspected

Officials in Romania believe a Russian energy giant may be bankrolling anti-fracking protests there. PAGE A6

### NEW YORK A22-25

#### Heroin Antidote's Price Jumps

Prices for naloxone, a popular form of a medication used to reverse the effects of a heroin overdose, are spiking, in some cases by 50 percent or more. PAGE A22

### BUSINESS DAY B1-7

#### Weak Start for Holiday Sales

Despite big bargains, retail sales are estimated to have fallen 11 percent from Thanksgiving weekend in 2013. PAGE B1

#### Star Witness Against Apple

Blunt emails by Steve Jobs, Apple's late co-founder, are being used against the company in a lawsuit. PAGE B1

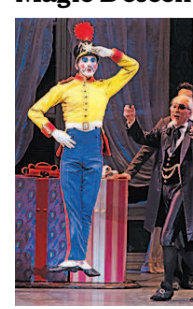
### ARTS C1-8

#### A Town and Its Secrets

Brock Clarke's new book sends a happy Dane to an American town full of spies. A review by Janet Maslin. PAGE C1

#### Magic Descends (and Ascends)

"The Nutcracker" is back at New York City Ballet, and George Balanchine's ballet shows why it is a beloved rite of passage for fans and dancers alike. A review by Gia Kourlas. PAGE C1



### SPORTSMONDAY D1-7

#### Missing Player Is Found Dead

Ohio State's Kosta Karageorge, missing since Wednesday, died of an apparently self-inflicted gunshot wound. PAGE D2

#### The Shrinking Big Man

A slimmed-down Marc Gasol, the Memphis Grizzlies' center, may be headed for free agency. PAGE D1

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

#### Paul Krugman

PAGE A27



## SENATE PANEL FAULTS C.I.A. OVER BRUTALITY AND DECEIT IN TERRORISM INTERROGATIONS

**TWO CASE STUDIES:** How torture was credited for intelligence that was already in hand.

### Rejecting Claim That Tactic Led To Bin Laden

By CHARLIE SAVAGE and JAMES RISEN

WASHINGTON — Months before the operation that killed Osama bin Laden in 2011, the Central Intelligence Agency secretly prepared a public-relations plan that would stress that information gathered from its disputed interrogation program had played a critical role in the hunt. Starting the day after the raid, agency officials in classified briefings made that point to Congress.

But in page after page of previously classified evidence, the Senate Intelligence Committee report on C.I.A. torture, released Tuesday, rejects the notion that torturing detainees contributed to finding Bin Laden — a conclusion that was also strongly implied in "Zero Dark Thirty," the popular 2012 movie about the hunt for the Qaeda leader.

"The vast majority of the intelligence" about the Qaeda courier who led the agency to Bin Laden "was originally acquired from sources unrelated to the C.I.A.'s detention and interrogation program, and the most accurate information acquired from a C.I.A. detainee was provided prior to the C.I.A. subjecting the detainee to the C.I.A.'s enhanced interrogation techniques," the Senate report said.

It added that most of "the documents, statements and testimony" from the C.I.A. regarding a connection between the torture of detainees and the Bin Laden hunt were "inaccurate and incongruent with C.I.A. records."

On Tuesday, the C.I.A. disputed the committee's portrayal that it had been misleading and disingenuous about the role of that program in the hunt for Bin Laden.

The crucial breakthrough in the hunt was the identification of the courier, known as Abu Ahmad al-Kuwaiti, who was the terrorist leader's link to the outside world from his secret compound

Continued on Page A16

**WHAT BUSH KNEW** The White House was said to have been often kept in the dark. PAGE A16

**C.I.A. REBUTTAL** The report on interrogation prompted a defensive blitz by the agency. PAGE A15

### KILLING OSAMA BIN LADEN



**THE CASE** C.I.A. officials, after the 2011 raid that killed Bin Laden, said the interrogation program led them to a courier for Bin Laden, who in turn led them to his hideout.

**COMMITTEE'S CONCLUSION** As early as 2002, the C.I.A. had a wealth of evidence about the courier, Abu Ahmad al-Kuwaiti. By the end of the year, the C.I.A. was wiretapping his phone and email.

A detainee named Hassan Ghul was key to finding the courier, and Mr. Ghul was cooperative from the outset: he "sang like a tweetie bird," one officer said. Still, the C.I.A. decided to torture Mr. Ghul, subjecting him to sleep deprivation and stress positions. He hallucinated. His heart fell out of rhythm. But he provided "no actionable threat information."

**REPORT EXCERPT** "Within days of the raid on UBL's compound, CIA

officials represented that CIA detainees provided the 'tipoff'

information on Abu Ahmad al-Kuwaiti. A review of CIA records

found that the initial intelligence obtained, as well as the

information the CIA identified as the most critical — or the most

valuable — on Abu Ahmad al-Kuwaiti, was not related to the use

of the CIA's enhanced interrogation techniques."

### THWARTING OF DIRTY BOMB AND CAPTURE OF JOSÉ PADILLA



**THE CASE** The Bush administration said its interrogation of Abu Zubaydah, a terrorism suspect, revealed a dirty bomb plot by José Padilla and led to Mr. Padilla's capture. His arrest has been held up for years as proof that waterboarding and other tactics worked.

**COMMITTEE'S CONCLUSION** Abu Zubaydah's information on Mr. Padilla was sketchy, and he provided it well before he was waterboarded. (Mr. Padilla was arrested in May 2002, three months before the C.I.A. interrogation program began.)

Despite many administration statements to the contrary, C.I.A. officials never took Mr. Padilla's dirty bomb plot seriously. He had based the plot on a satirical Internet article.

**REPORT EXCERPT** "A review of CIA operational cables and other CIA

records found that the use of the CIA's enhanced interrogation

techniques played no role in the identification of 'Jose Padilla' or

the thwarting of the Dirty Bomb or Tall Buildings plotting."

## Uber Under Scrutiny as States Criticize Screening of Drivers

By MIKE ISAAC

Uber champions its "industry-leading standards" for vetting its drivers. On its website, it describes its background checks as "often more rigorous" than those in the traditional taxi industry.

But in statehouses across the country, Uber has fought against legislation requiring background checks as strong as those demanded of traditional taxis. Other ride-sharing companies like Lyft and Sidecar, Uber's chief rivals, have also pushed against the laws, but supporters of stronger background checks say Uber has been by far the most aggressive.

In Colorado, the company helped persuade lawmakers to ease drivers' background checks in a bill that legalized ride-sharing companies. In Illinois, after a lobbying push, Gov. Pat Quinn vetoed a bill that would have

forced Uber to strengthen those checks.

And in California, Uber and other companies like it helped kill a law that would have required drivers to undergo a background check by the state's Justice Department, as is required of taxi drivers.

At the same time, the rigor of Uber's checks has come into question. On Monday, Uber was banned in New Delhi after a driver was accused of raping a customer; New Delhi authorities said the driver, who was previously accused of raping another female passenger in 2011, was not properly vetted by Uber.

"We don't know if their background checks are good, bad or indifferent," said Max Tyler, a Colorado state representative who is critical of Uber's approach

Continued on Page A3

## It's Not the Old Days, but Berkeley Sees a New Spark of Protest

This article is by Adam Nagourney, Carol Pogash and Tamar Lewin.

BERKELEY, Calif. — This is the college town where the Free Speech Movement was born 50 years ago, spreading across the nation with sit-ins, marches, demonstrations and arrests. So at first glance, the demonstrations against police conduct in Ferguson, Mo., and on Staten Island that gripped Berkeley over the past few days should be no surprise.

But the University of California campus here today is nothing like the one that became the symbol of student activism in the 1960s, with its demonstrations for civil rights and protests against the Vietnam War.

Large-scale activism here is mostly the nostalgic cause of the aging Berkeley graduates who never really left and who talk of the "F.S.M.," in-the-know shorthand for the Free Speech Movement. A small number of them



JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A protest in Berkeley, Calif., on Monday night against police violence was a return to what life used to be like for students.

showed up in October for a subdued and decidedly gray 50th anniversary rally marking the arrest that started it all.

Now, Berkeley is again racked by protests, fueled in part by the student body here. On recent

nights, protesters have come out in force — more than 1,500 were estimated to have taken part in Monday night's demonstrations, in which 159 people were arrested, an Amtrak train was stopped in its tracks, a central freeway

was closed down for hours, and the BART system was halted.

On Tuesday, the Berkeley City Council — fearful of threatened disruptions — canceled its regular meeting.

Students were certainly among those joining the marches that have swept across the campus, and they were a particularly noticeable contingent on Monday night. The sight of them gave heart to older Berkeley denizens who had despaired — in a "whatever happened to the good old days" kind of way — over what they described as the student spirit of their era giving way to careerism.

But most of the demonstrators involved in the protests over the weekend, some of whom wore bandannas over their faces, appeared to be older and not necessarily from Berkeley. And students who participated said they were soured when the activism veered into civil disobedience.

"We were with the protests all

Continued on Page A24

### NATIONAL A22-26

#### A Spending Deal and a Spare

Congressional leaders reached a deal on a package to fund the government through September, but readied a back-up plan to avoid a shutdown. PAGE A26

#### Considering His Minority Role

Senator Harry Reid said his diminished position won't keep him from picking fights with Republicans. PAGE A26

### NEW YORK A27-32

#### Police Kill Synagogue Attacker

A man with a history of mental illness stabbed a rabbinical student in Brooklyn before being shot. PAGE A27



### NEW YORK

#### Wrapping Up a Royal Visit

The Duke and Duchess of Cambridge visited the National September 11 Memorial and Museum, and the duke also drew crowds on a quick trip to the Empire State Building. PAGE A32

### INTERNATIONAL A4-20

#### Tiff Leads to Resignation

A Korean Air Lines executive resigned after causing an uproar by delaying a flight from New York over the snack service. PAGE A4

### BUSINESS DAY B1-10

#### Change at Bloomberg News

The news organization's editor, Matthew Winkler, will be replaced by John Micklethwait of The Economist. PAGE B1

#### Airbag Long Worried Takata

Documents show that the auto supplier's engineers were concerned about a dangerous propellant in 1995. PAGE B1

### ARTS C1-8

#### The Secret Novelist of Naples

In a rare interview, an Italian novelist who has won an ardent following as Elena Ferrante reveals many things — except her real name. PAGE C1

#### Hollywood's All-Woman A List

Landing in the right spot on an annual list of entertainment-industry players is taken seriously, very seriously. PAGE C1

### FOOD D1-10

#### The Scent of a Comeback

Schmaltz, the chicken fat suffusing European Jewish cuisine, is back on the table after years as a punchline. PAGE D1

### OBITUARIES A33

#### Defiance Led to Rights Ruling

When police officers in Cleveland could not prove they had a warrant to search her home for a man they said was hiding there, Dollree Mapp objected. Her case led to a landmark Supreme Court ruling in 1961 that extended limits on police power and evidence. She died this fall in Georgia. PAGE A33

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A34-35

#### Thomas L. Friedman

PAGE A35



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## U.S. WILL RESTORE FULL RELATIONS WITH CUBA, ERASING A LAST TRACE OF COLD WAR HOSTILITY

Fidel Castro in a tank during the 1961 invasion.



Refugees in the boatlift.

Mr. Castro in 1996.



Alan Gross after his release.

### American Is Freed — Surprise Deal Ends Long Stalemate

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — President Obama on Wednesday ordered the restoration of full diplomatic relations with Cuba and the opening of an embassy in Havana for the first time in more than a half-century as he vowed to "cut loose the shackles of the past" and sweep aside one of the last vestiges of the Cold War.

The surprise announcement came at the end of 18 months of secret talks that produced a prisoner swap negotiated with the help of Pope Francis and concluded by a telephone call between Mr. Obama and President Raúl Castro. The historic deal broke an enduring stalemate between two countries divided by just 90 miles of water but oceans of mistrust and hostility dating from the days of Theodore Roosevelt's charge up San Juan Hill and the nuclear brinkmanship of the Cuban missile crisis.

"We will end an outdated approach that for decades has failed to advance our interests, and instead we will begin to normalize relations between our two countries," Mr. Obama said in a nationally televised statement from the White House. The deal, he added, will "begin a new chapter among the nations of the Americas" and move beyond a "rigid policy that is rooted in events that took place before most of us were born."

In doing so, Mr. Obama ventured into diplomatic territory where the last 10 presidents refused to go, and Republicans, along with a senior Democrat, quickly characterized the rapprochement with the Castro family as appeasement of the hemisphere's leading dictatorship. Republican lawmakers who will take control of the Senate as well as the House next month made clear they would resist lifting the 54-year-old trade embargo.

"This entire policy shift announced today is based on an illusion, on a lie, the lie and the illusion that more commerce

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<b>1960</b> U.S. imposes an embargo on Cuba.	<b>1961</b> U.S.-backed Cuban exiles launch a failed military invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs.	<b>1962</b> U.S. confronts the Soviet Union over nuclear missiles in Cuba.	<b>1980</b> About 125,000 Cubans flee to Florida in the Mariel boatlift.	<b>1982</b> Congress designates Cuba a state sponsor of terrorism.	<b>1996</b> Economic sanctions are stiffened after Cuba shoots down two U.S. planes.	<b>1998</b> The Clinton administration charges five Cuban agents with acting against the U.S.	<b>2009</b> President Obama loosens restrictions on travel and remittances. Cuba detains Alan Gross, an American contractor accused of crimes against the state.	<b>2014</b> U.S. and Cuba release prisoners from both sides and announce they will restore full relations.
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THE NEW YORK TIMES; PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE CANADIAN PRESS (FIDEL CASTRO IN 1961 AND 1996), UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL (REFUGEES), REUTERS (ALAN GROSS)

### As Havana Celebrates Historic Shift, Economic and Political Hopes Rise

This article is by **Damien Cave, Randal C. Archibald and Victoria Burnett.**

HAVANA — They crowded around old, battered televisions in Havana and erupted in tears and applause at a spectacle they could scarcely imagine, let alone believe: President Raúl Castro, followed by President Obama, heralding a new era of relations between Cuba and the United States.

But for Armando Gutiérrez, who operates a small inn in Havana, what it really comes down to is beds. He needs better ones, and the usual scramble to find them and other supplies often comes up empty.

Now, Mr. Gutiérrez hopes the salvation of his business is at hand.

"It will be step by step for sure, but we are super happy, all of us without words really to express this history," Mr. Gutiérrez said by phone — a phone he

plans to replace with a better one if the United States makes good on its pledge to send more telecommunications equipment.

As politically charged as Mr. Obama's new stance may be in the United States, the sweeping changes he outlined on Wednesday will have a much more profound impact on Cuba — where isolation by the United States has fundamentally shaped the island's economy, its politics and even its sense of national identity.

For decades, the American embargo of Cuba has been the political sword and shield of the Castros, held responsible for stifling their nation's development, depriving their people of the most basic needs, and justifying their tight control over all aspects of society.

Now their powerful rival is promising significant expansions in travel, exports

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### Journey in a World of Popes and Spies Overcame Years of Diplomatic Discord

By MARK LANDLER and MICHAEL R. GORDON

WASHINGTON — The deal that freed an American jailed in Cuba and ended 53 years of diplomatic estrangement between the United States and Cuba was blessed at the highest levels of the Holy See but cut in the shadowy netherworld of espionage.

A personal appeal from Pope Francis, American officials said, was critical in persuading Cuba's president, Raúl Castro, to agree to a prisoner swap and the freeing of the American aid worker Alan P. Gross. The pope, officials said, acted as a "guarantor" that both sides would live up to the terms of a deal reached in secret.

The most tangible breakthrough, however, came almost a year into the talks, when the United States, at loggerheads with Cuba, proposed to swap three Cuban agents jailed in the United States for

a Cuban working for American intelligence who had been held in a jail in Cuba for nearly 20 years.

By introducing another figure to the talks — the kind of horse-trading that was standard in Cold War spy swaps — the White House was able to sidestep the appearance that it was trading Cuban spies directly for Mr. Gross. Cuba had sought a straight swap but the United States resisted, saying Mr. Gross had been wrongfully imprisoned.

All told, the negotiations to free Mr. Gross and reopen ties with Cuba took a year and a half. In nine meetings, held in Canada and the Vatican, a tiny circle of aides to Mr. Castro and President Obama hashed out the gritty details as well as grand questions of history.

Looming over their efforts was a

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### Cuomo Bans Fracking, Saying Risks Trump Economic Potential

By THOMAS KAPLAN

Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo's administration announced on Wednesday that it would ban hydraulic fracturing in New York State because of concerns over health risks, ending years of debate over a method of extracting natural gas.

Fracking, as it is known, was heavily promoted as a source of economic revival for depressed communities along New York's border with Pennsylvania, and Mr. Cuomo had once been poised to embrace it.

Instead, the move to ban fracking left him acknowledging that, despite the intense focus he has given to solving deep economic troubles afflicting large areas upstate, the riddle remained largely

unsolved. "I've never had anyone say to me, 'I believe fracking is great,'" he said. "Not a single person in those communities. What I get is, 'I have no alternative but fracking.'"

In a double blow to areas that had anticipated a resurgence led by fracking, a state panel on Wednesday backed plans for three new Las Vegas-style casinos, but none along the Pennsylvania border in the Southern Tier region. The panel, whose advice Mr. Cuomo said would quite likely be heeded, backed casino proposals in the Catskills, near Albany and between Syracuse and Rochester. [Page A31.]

For Mr. Cuomo, a Democrat,

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### U.S. Is Said to Find North Korea Behind Cyberattack on Sony

By DAVID E. SANGER and NICOLE PERLROTH

WASHINGTON — American officials have concluded that North Korea was "centrally involved" in the hacking of Sony Pictures computers, even as the studio canceled the release of a far-fetched comedy about the assassination of the North's leader that is believed to have led to the cyberattack.

Senior administration officials, who would not speak on the record about the intelligence findings, said the White House was debating whether to publicly accuse North Korea of what amounts to a cyberterrorism attack. Sony capitulated after the hackers threatened additional attacks, perhaps on theaters themselves, if the movie, "The Interview," was released.



DAVID GOLDMAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**A RETREAT** Sony canceled release of "The Interview." Page B1.

Officials said it was not clear how the White House would respond. Some within the Obama administration argue that the government of Kim Jong-un must

be confronted directly. But that raises questions of what actions the administration could credibly threaten, or how much evidence to make public without revealing

details of how it determined North Korea's culpability, including the possible penetration of the North's computer networks.

Other administration officials said a direct confrontation with the North would provide North Korea with the kind of dispute it covets. Japan, where Sony is an iconic corporate name, has argued that a public accusation could interfere with delicate diplomatic negotiations for the return of Japanese citizens kidnapped years ago.

The government is "considering a range of options in weighing a potential response," said Bernadette Meehan, a spokeswoman for the National Security Council.

The administration's sudden urgency came after a new threat was delivered this week to desktop computers at Sony's offices, warning that if "The Interview"   
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Pakistan was paralyzed by the horror of a school attack in Peshawar, as reports detailed the Taliban's methodical approach to slaughter. PAGE A6

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**Hushing the City's Cacophony**  
New York officials are considering regulations that would encourage the use of quieter jackhammers. PAGE A31

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**Hockey Comeback in Michigan**  
In an area with deep hockey ties, Michigan Tech's team is resurgent. PAGE B13

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**Fed Promises to Be Patient**  
The Federal Reserve's chairwoman, Janet L. Yellen, said the central bank still expected to cut interest rates next year, but she said policy makers would wait for just the right time. PAGE B1

**\$57 Million to Whistle-Blower**  
An ex-Countrywide Financial executive helped prosecutors get a record settlement out of Bank of America. PAGE B4

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**Slum Life in India, Onstage**  
A London stage adaptation of the book "Behind the Beautiful Forevers" explores the desperate lives of the Indian underclasses. A review by Charles Isherwood. PAGE C1

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**Last of the 'Morrow Boys' Dies**  
Richard C. Hottel covered D-Day and the Battle of the Bulge and became the last of a team of radio journalists led by Edward R. Murrow. He was 97. PAGE A37

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**Hope for Stroke Patients**  
Researchers have found that using a stent, left, to snare and remove a blood clot greatly improves the prognosis for people with the most severe and disabling strokes. PAGE A4

**14 Are Charged In Drug Deaths**  
Among them were two executives of a pharmacy company who face murder charges after tainted medication killed 64 people. PAGE A25

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