

Cuomo Putting Big Challenges On His Agenda

Goals for Second Term, but No Clear Fixes

By THOMAS KAPLAN and JESSE MCKINLEY

Beginning his second term only hours before the death of his father, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo on Thursday promised to confront some of the most deep-rooted challenges facing New York and the nation: unfairness in the criminal justice system, an eroded economic mobility and the distortion of the public education system from a "great equalizer" during his father's youth into a "great discriminator" for children born into poverty today.

Mr. Cuomo, in a speech that was hauntingly reminiscent of former Gov. Mario M. Cuomo's oratorical style, invoked challenges that have stymied presidents, let alone governors. "The American promise itself is being questioned," he said. "The offer of fairness and opportunity that was the American compact is now in doubt."

The governor's inauguration day began with an emotional nod to his father's absence, and ended with word of his passing. "He couldn't be here physically today, my father," Mr. Cuomo said. "But my father is in this room. He's in the heart and mind of every person who's here."

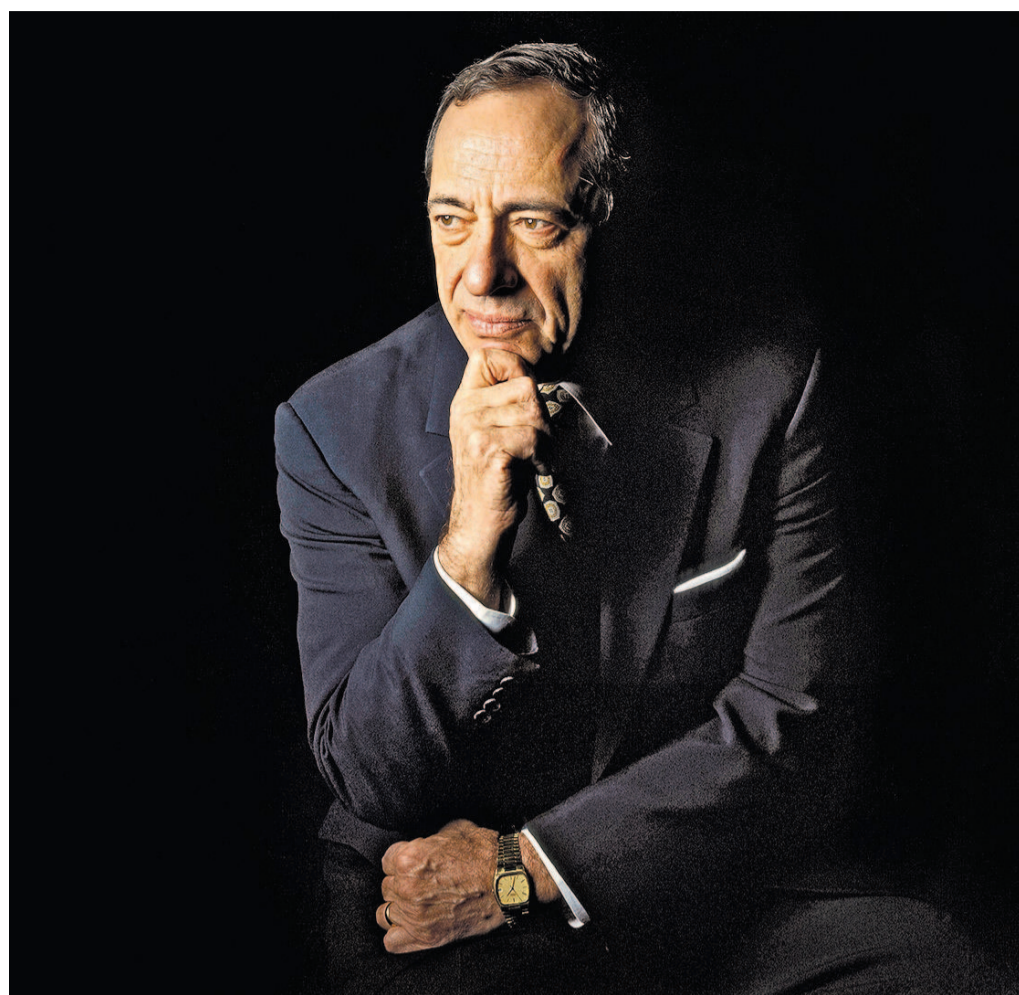
Mr. Cuomo, 57, a Democrat, said New York should lead the way in solving urgent social problems, just as it had opened up the heartland two centuries ago by digging the Erie Canal and, in his own first year in office, had become the biggest state to allow same-sex marriage at that time.

Yet the expansive ambitions laid out by Mr. Cuomo in his inaugural address stood in contrast to the undeniable achievements of his first term, when he grappled with issues, like property taxes and gun control, that were important but held little mystery as to their solutions, which in many cases could be imported from other states.

On Thursday, Mr. Cuomo called on lawmakers and ordinary New Yorkers to summon the courage to tackle broader

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MARIO M. CUOMO, 1932-2015



FRED R. CONRAD

Mario Cuomo in 1995. He died the day his son Andrew began his second term as governor.

Governor, Governor's Father And an Eloquent Liberal Beacon

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

Mario M. Cuomo, the three-term governor of New York who commanded the attention of the country with a compelling public presence, a forceful defense of liberalism and his exhaustive ruminations about whether to run for president, died on Thursday at his home in Manhattan. He was 82.

His family confirmed the death, which occurred only hours after Mr. Cuomo's son Andrew M. Cuomo was inaugurated in Manhattan for a second term as governor.

Mario Cuomo led New York during a turbulent time, 1983 through 1994. His ambitions for an activist government were thwarted by recession. He found himself struggling with the State Legislature not over what the government should do but over what programs should be cut, and what taxes should be raised, simply to balance the budget.

Still, no matter the problems he found in Albany, Mr. Cuomo burst beyond the state's boundaries to personify the liberal wing of his national party and become a source of unending fascination and, ultimately, frustration for Democrats, whose leaders twice pressed him to run for president, in

1988 and 1992, to no avail.

In an era when liberal thought was increasingly discredited, Mr. Cuomo, a man of large intellect and often unrestrained personality, celebrated it, challenging Ronald Reagan at the height of his presidency with an expansive and affirmative view of government and a message of compassion, tinged by the Roman Catholicism that was central to Mr. Cuomo's identity.

A man of contradictions who enjoyed Socratic arguments with himself, Mr. Cuomo seemed to disdain politics even as he embraced it. "What an ugly business this is," he liked to say. Yet he reveled in it, proving himself an uncommonly skilled politician and sometimes a ruthless one.

He was a tenacious debater and a spellbinding speaker at a time when political oratory seemed to be shrinking to the size of the television set. Delivering the keynote address at the 1984 Democratic National Convention in San Francisco, he eclipsed his party's nominee, former Vice President Walter F. Mondale, seizing on Reagan's description of America as "a shining city on a hill" to portray the president as unaware of impoverished Americans. "Mr. President," he said, "you ought to know that

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Ebola Doctors Are Divided On IV Therapy in Africa

Fluid Treatment Is Standard in Developed Nations, but Some See Risks in Field

By DONALD G. McNEIL Jr.

Medical experts seeking to stem the Ebola epidemic are sharply divided over whether most patients in West Africa should, or can, be given intravenous hydration, a therapy that is standard in developed countries. Some argue that more aggressive treatment with IV fluids is medically possible and a moral obligation. But others counsel caution, saying that pushing too hard would put overworked doctors and nurses in danger and that the treatment, if given carelessly, could even kill patients.

The debate comes at a crucial time in the outbreak. New infections are flattening out in most places, better-equipped field hospitals are opening, and more trained professionals are arriving, opening up the possibility of saving many lives in Africa, rather than a few patients flown to intensive care units thousands of miles away.

The World Health Organization sees intravenous rehydration, along with constant measuring of blood chemistry, as the main reason that almost all Ebola patients treated in American and European hospitals have survived, while about 70 percent of those

treated in West Africa have died.

Every hospital there should have "early, liberal use of intravenous fluid and electrolyte replacement," said Dr. Robert A. Fowler, a Canadian critical care specialist who leads a W.H.O. Ebola team. Anything less, he said, is "not medically justified and will result in continued high case-fatality rates."

Experts who favor aggressive rehydration point to several hospitals that claim unusually low death rates as evidence that it is effective. Skeptics say other factors may be at work.

Even two of the most admired medical charities have squared off over the issue. Partners in Health, which has worked in Haiti and Rwanda but is just beginning to treat Ebola patients in West Africa, supports the aggressive treatment. Its officials say the more measured approach taken by Doctors Without Borders is overly cautious.

"M.S.F. is not doing enough," said Dr. Paul Farmer, one of the founders of Partners in Health, using the French initials for Doctors Without Borders, whose staff members have worked on the

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FRANCISCO LEONG/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

A nurse gave an Ebola patient intravenous fluids at the Red Cross treatment center in Kenema, Sierra Leone, in November.



KEVIN C. COX/GETTY IMAGES

Two for the Title Game

Devin Smith, above, and Ohio State upset Alabama in one national semifinal. Earlier, Oregon beat Florida State. Page B6.

In Moments, New Year's Revelry Became Fatal Crush in Shanghai

By DAVID BARBOZA

SHANGHAI — With a dazzling light show set to begin at midnight, a huge crowd of revelers had gathered for an outdoor New Year's Eve in this city's historic riverfront district. They began to grow unruly.

"We were just trying to walk up the steps to see the light show, and then people at the top began pushing their way down," said a 20-year-old man. "Then I heard someone scream, and people began to panic."

The man, who spoke while awaiting a friend at Shanghai No. 1 People's Hospital, said, "We got crushed."

In an instant, a stampede trampled and asphyxiated dozens of people. So thick were the crowds here that ambulances struggled

to reach the victims, who had been partying moments before and now lay suffering or lifeless, some with dirty footprints on their clothes.

By Thursday afternoon, at least 36 people had died in the stampede and 47 were known to be injured, and the police conceded that they had been ill prepared.

Even for China, the world's most populous country, with a history of fatal stampedes and constant worries about crowd control, it was one of the worst public tragedies. It was made more so because the stampede happened during a celebration in a historic showcase area of Shanghai, its version of Times

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Real Estate Titan Sees Brother Wielding a New Weapon: TV

Douglas Durst recalled the last time he saw and spoke with his troubled older brother, Robert.

It was on a short bus ride 13 years ago, a shuttle taking members

of the fabulously rich Durst family to a wedding reception at the St. Regis Hotel in Houston. Beneath the sheen of that festive moment, decades of torment crackled between Robert and Douglas, two of the groom's uncles, then in their late 50s.

That tension is central to a largely untold narrative of one of modern New York's most prominent real estate families, a story that echoes with sibling rivalry as old as humankind. With Robert about to tell his version in a

new documentary, Douglas has spoken publicly for the first time, concerned that his brother, at age 71, is on the verge of opening up a new attack on the family.

They fought as boys, scuffling and punching through childhood. As young men, working in the offices where the family presided over billions of dollars in Manhattan real estate, Robert kept a sharp-pointed plumber's wrench on his desk. Douglas responded by positioning a piece of pipe — "to protect myself," he said — on his own desk.

Eventually, their father, Seymour Durst, removed Robert as his designated successor in running the family's empire and replaced him with Douglas, who had just turned 50. That was in

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INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Trying to Take Israel to Court

The Palestinians' move to join the International Criminal Court does not brush aside the legal obstacles nor guarantee the prosecution of a war crimes case over Gaza. PAGE A6

Deadliest Year Yet in Syria

Figures compiled by the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights indicated that more than 76,000 people died in the conflict in 2014. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A12-13

Boston Braces for Trial

With jury selection set to begin Monday, the city is preparing for its legal reckoning with Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, who stands accused of bombing the 2013 marathon. PAGE A12

NEW YORK A14-19

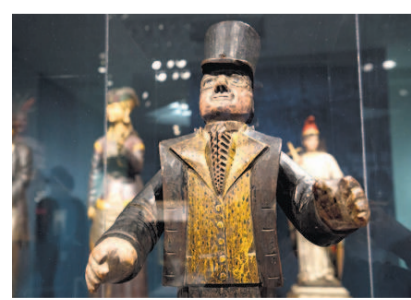
Fewest Deaths of Pedestrians

Last year, 132 pedestrians died in New York City traffic accidents, the lowest total since the city began keeping records a century ago. PAGE A14

WEEKEND C1-30

In the Eye of the Beholder

In the exhibition "A Shared Legacy: Folk Art in America," dozens of artworks and other items from the 19th and early 20th century are flat or, depending on who is looking, captivating. PAGE C23



SPORTSFRIDAY B6-10

Beltway's Latest Outsiders

As players struggled with the sun's glare, the host Washington Capitals defeated the Chicago Blackhawks, 3-2, in the annual Winter Classic outdoor hockey game, held at Nationals Park this year. Troy Brouwer scored the winning goal with 12.9 seconds left. PAGE B7

BUSINESS DAY A3, B1-5

Japan's Working Mothers

As part of a broader effort to energize the economy, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe of Japan pledged to make it easier for women who have children to continue careers, rather than leaving the work force. PAGE A3

Censors vs. Tech Companies

Governments around the world are aggressively tightening the laws that cover personal information on the web, setting up confrontations with the giant technology companies, which are struggling with how to respond. PAGE B1

Local Budgets Loosen Up

After several years of recession-induced cutbacks, state and local governments are starting to spend again. PAGE B1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Paul Krugman

PAGE A21



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Gunmen who were fleeing the office of the Paris newspaper Charlie Hebdo on Wednesday shot a police officer who lay wounded.

TERRORISTS STRIKE PARIS NEWSPAPER, LEAVING 12 DEAD

Targeting Journalists Who Lamponed Islam — One Suspect Surrenders

By DAN BILEFSKY and MAÏA de la BAUME

PARIS — The police organized an enormous manhunt across the Paris region on Wednesday for three suspects they said were involved in a brazen and methodical midday slaughter at a satirical newspaper that had lampooned Islam.

The terrorist attack by masked gunmen on the newspaper, Charlie Hebdo, left 12 people dead — including the top editor, prominent cartoonists and police officers — and was among the deadliest in postwar France. The killers escaped, traumatizing the city and sending shock waves through Europe and beyond.

Officials said late Wednesday that two of the suspects were brothers. They were identified as Said and Chérif Kouachi, 32 and 34. [Page A6.] The third suspect is Hamyd Mourad, 18. News reports said the brothers, known to intelligence services, had been born in Paris, raising the prospect that homegrown Muslim extremists were responsible.

Early Thursday, a spokeswoman for the Paris prosecutor said that Mr. Mourad had walked into a police station in Charleville-Mézières, about 145 miles northwest of Paris, and surrendered.

"He introduced himself and was put in custody," said the spokeswoman, Agnès Thibault-Lecuire. The assault threatened to deepen the distrust of France's

large Muslim population, coming at a time when Islamic radicalism has become a central concern of security officials throughout Europe. In the space of a few minutes, the assault also crystallized the culture clash between religious extremism and the West's devotion to free expression.

Spontaneous rallies expressing support for Charlie Hebdo sprung up later in the day in Paris, throughout Europe and in Union Square in New York.

Officials and witnesses said at least two gunmen had carried out the attack with assault weapons and military-style precision. President François Hollande of France called it a display of extraordinary "barbarism" that was "without a doubt" an act of terrorism. He declared Thursday a national day of mourning.

He also raised the nationwide terror alert to its highest level, Continued on Page A6

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AS POLICE GO IDLE, SO DO CITY COURTS

Quiet Replacing Chaos for New York Judges

By JAMES C. MCKINLEY Jr. and STEPHANIE CLIFFORD

One arraignment courtroom instead of two. Clerks watching "Batman" on their computer screens and playing with their cellphones as they wait for something to happen. And Manhattan's night court shutting down an hour early because there are no more cases to call.

Those were scenes from the city's arraignment courts in the third week of a precipitous drop in arrests by the New York Police Department. The usual chaotic bustle of the courts — the odd mix of transgressors, from murderers to fare-beaters — has given way to unusual scenes of tranquil inactivity.

"It's slow, crazy slow," Marcy Seckler, a veteran Legal Aid lawyer, remarked with a smile, as night court started in Manhattan on Tuesday.

Things did not pick up: Over the course of the night, only 30 defendants came before Judge Abraham Clott, who often rubbed his eyes and yawned. On a typical night, he would see 60 to 90 defendants. No more than 12 people sat in the courtroom at any time, and court officers checked their watches and wandered away from their posts.

At 12:15 a.m. Wednesday, the judge looked out into the gallery and its nine rows of benches, which were all empty. There were no prostitutes, no one accused of publicly drinking or urinating — and there had not been any all night.

Judge Clott declared the session over — 45 minutes early.

For the last two weeks, New York City police officers have sharply curtailed making arrests and issuing summonses. Only 347 criminal summonses were written in the seven days through Sunday, down from 4,077 in the same period a year ago.

The sharp downturn magnifies a continuing divide between the rank-and-file and Mayor Bill de Blasio, whose standing had fallen so low among uniformed officers that some turned their backs to him at the funerals of two slain officers.

Police union leaders met for two hours on Wednesday with the city's police commissioner, Continued on Page A18

Veteran's Campaign Would Rein In Disability Pay

By DAVE PHILIPPUS

COLORADO SPRINGS — Nearly 200 sick and wounded soldiers in a gym at Fort Carson last month listened silently as Lt. Col. Daniel Gade offered a surprising warning: The disability checks designed to help troops like them after they leave the service might actually be harmful.

As he paced back and forth in front of the soldiers, some of them leaning on crutches, Colonel Gade said that too many veterans become financially dependent on those monthly checks, choose not to find jobs and lose the sense of identity and self-worth that can come from work.

"People who stay home because they are getting paid

With Cost Rising, Some Say Aid Discourages Recovery and Work

enough to get by on disability are worse off," he said. "They are more likely to abuse drugs and alcohol. They are more likely to live alone. You've seen these guys. And the system is driving you to become one of them, if you are not careful."

It was a message that many veterans find offensive and misguided. But Colonel Gade is not your typical messenger. He is a combat veteran who lost a leg while serving as a tank company

commander in Iraq in 2005.

Today he is a professor of public policy at the United States Military Academy at West Point, but he spends much of his spare time publishing essays and traveling the country pushing the idea that the Department of Veterans Affairs should move away from paying veterans for their wounds and instead create incentives for them to find work or create businesses.

"It's a difficult issue to broach. People immediately think you are trying to shortchange veterans," he said in an interview. "But I'm in a position to do it because I have skin in the game, literally."

Much like debate over Social Security, discussion of disability Continued on Page A11



Tommy Caldwell on a break from his climb of the Dawn Wall. He now has a clear shot to the top.

Abduction. Lost Finger. Now, the Tallest Hurdle.

By JOHN BRANCH

YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK, Calif. — Whatever part inside of Tommy Caldwell that made him attempt the seemingly impossible — a free climb of El Capitan's Dawn Wall — might have been born in 2000 when he and three others were kidnapped by militants while climbing in the Pamir-Alai range of Kyrgyzstan. They escaped after six days on

the run when Caldwell shoved an armed guard over a cliff.

Or it might have come shortly after, when Caldwell severed his left index finger with a table saw during a home renovation.

As with a concert pianist or a surgeon, the index finger is a useful digit for a world-class rock climber, and some worried that Caldwell's career was over.

Instead, his biggest climbs have been performed with nine fingers.

But to his parents, Caldwell was hard-wired against giving up from the beginning. He thought he could dig to China.

"He once dug a hole so darn big, we could have used it as a foundation for a small house," Caldwell's father, Mike, said from his home in Estes Park, Colo.

Tommy was 3 when Mike, a climber himself, attached a rope to his son and led him up the 200-foot Twin Owls formation in

Continued on Page B15

Proud to Offend, Paper Carries Torch of Political Provocation

By DOREEN CARVAJAL and SUZANNE DALEY

PARIS — In 2012, when Charlie Hebdo editors defied the government's advice and published crude caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad naked and in sexual poses, the French authorities shut down embassies, cultural centers and schools in about 20 countries.

"Is it really sensible or intelligent to pour oil on the fire?" asked Laurent Fabius, the foreign minister at the time.

But Charlie Hebdo's editor, Stéphane Charbonnier, who died in the attack on the paper's offices Wednesday, was not deterred.

Week after week, the small, struggling paper amused and horrified, taking pride in offending one and all and carrying on a

venerable European tradition dating to the days of the French Revolution, when satire was used to pillory Marie Antoinette, and later to challenge politicians, the police, bankers and religions of all kinds.

This week's issue was no exception. It featured a mock debate about whether Jesus exists and a black-and-white New Year's greeting card from the leader of the Islamic State, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, with the caption, "To your health."

No subject was off limits. The paper offered pages of colorful cartoons depicting France's top politicians and intellectuals as wine-swilling slackers indulging in sexual acts, or suggesting the Continued on Page A7

'Dangerous Moment' for Europe As Fear and Resentment Grow

By STEVEN ERLANGER and KATRIN BENNHOLD

LONDON — The sophisticated, military-style strike Wednesday on a French newspaper known for satirizing Islam staggered a continent already seething with anti-immigrant sentiments in some quarters, feeding far-right nationalist parties like France's National Front.

"This is a dangerous moment for European societies," said Peter Neumann, director of the International Center for the Study of Radicalization at King's College London. "With increasing radicalization among supporters of jihadist organizations and the white working class increasingly feeling disenfranchised and uncoupled from elites, things are

coming to a head."

Olivier Roy, a French scholar of Islam and radicalism, called the Paris assault — the most deadly terrorist attack on French soil since the Algerian war ended in the early 1960s — "a quantitative and therefore qualitative turning point," noting the target and the number of victims. "This was a maximum-impact attack," he said. "They did this to shock the public, and in that sense they succeeded."

Anti-immigrant attitudes have been on the rise in recent years in Europe, propelled in part by a moribund economy and high unemployment, as well as increas-

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NATIONAL A10-16

Too Cold for Comfort

Across the Midwest and New England, winter announced itself with a bitterly cold blast that shut schools and hampered transportation. Donielle Johnson braved the cold in Palatine, Ill. PAGE A10



New Hope Against Infections

A method for producing antibiotics by extracting drugs from dirt may help solve the problem of infections that resist commonly used drugs. PAGE A13

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Ayatollah Is Skeptical of Talks

Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, said the United States could not be trusted to lift sanctions even if a nuclear agreement is reached. PAGE A4

NEW YORK A17-21

New Trappings for Takeout

Food establishments in New York City will be barred from using plastic foam cups or containers as of July 1. PAGE A17

Hit by Lifting of Cellphone Ban

The policy reversal is likely to spell the end for trucks that stored students' cellphones during school hours. PAGE A17

BUSINESS DAY B1-9

Software Eclipses Hardware

In his State of the Art column, Farhad Manjoo writes that the tech giants are learning the next hot consumer product may not be a gadget, but the smart software on a gadget, like the Dropcam Pro, right. PAGE B1



Oil Companies Use Fewer Rigs

The number of rigs in operation had stayed steady as oil prices collapsed, but that is starting to change. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-10

Return of Auction Guarantees

Minimum price guarantees to sellers of coveted art, a speculative practice that wounded major auction houses like Sotheby's and Christie's a few years ago, have re-emerged. PAGE C1

SPORTSTHURSDAY B12-16

Winston in Draft; Accuser Sues

Jameis Winston said he would leave for the N.F.L., and the woman who accused him of rape sued Florida State. PAGE B12

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Gail Collins

PAGE A23

THURSDAY STYLE E1-8

Designers' Latest Crush

Fashion is celebrating the "older" woman, with ads featuring Julia Roberts, 47, Charlotte Rampling, 68, and 80-year-old Joan Didion, right, in Céline. Still, Vanessa Friedman writes, the industry may not be ready to design for those who have moved past the short, sheer and sleeveless. PAGE E6



MAYOR VS. POLICE: MANY MISSTEPS BEHIND THE RIFT

BASIC TRUST SHATTERED

Errors Included Belief
That Deep Problems
Would Blow Over

This article is by Michael M. Grynbaum, J. David Goodman and Al Baker.

Not long after Mayor Bill de Blasio sat beside the Rev. Al Sharpton at a July summit meeting on police reform, a political adviser gave the mayor a blunt assessment: You have a problem with the cops.

Rank-and-file officers felt disrespected by the mayor, the adviser explained, and were dismayed to see Mr. Sharpton, a longtime critic of the New York Police Department, embraced at City Hall.

But Mr. de Blasio, a Democrat, rejected the notion that officers disliked him. His message, the adviser later recalled, was clear: Everything was under control.

That confidence would last until late last month, when the murders of two officers in Brooklyn prompted the department to adopt a stance of rebellion. Uniformed officers protested against the mayor in public, and low-level arrests virtually stopped. Mr. de Blasio, a liberal who had staked his mayoralty on re-educating the police force, is struggling to secure its basic trust.

In recent days, Mr. de Blasio has sounded downcast, according to aides who have spoken with him. The manager of his mayoral campaign has returned to help. And his team is considering focus groups and a poll to refine the mayor's message to New Yorkers who may have soured on him.

How Mr. de Blasio reached this point is a story of accumulated slights, political miscalculations and the slowness of members of his inner circle, almost none of whom have close ties to law enforcement, in reacting to the warning signs of what would become the gravest crisis of his young mayoralty.

It is also a story of a Police Department that has proved vexing for mayors to manage in recent years, and whose members have grown increasingly frustrated with their leaders and critics alike.

Eager to show respect for officers, the mayor instead unwittingly antagonized them, committing gaffes whose consequences his team was slow to grasp.

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Report on Chokeholds

New York City's police inspector general found that officers were quick to resort to a move that has been banned. Page A15.

Huge Show of Solidarity in Paris Against Terrorism



The leaders in Paris included, from left, Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel, Ibrahim Boubacar Keita of Mali, François Hollande of France, Angela Merkel of Germany, Donald Tusk, ex-prime minister of Poland, and Mahmoud Abbas of the Palestinian Authority. Below, cards evoked the murdered editor Stéphane Charbonnier.



In Honor of Dead, World Leaders Link Arms

By LIZ ALDERMAN

PARIS — More than a million people joined over 40 presidents and prime ministers on the streets of Paris on Sunday in the most striking show of solidarity in the West against the threat of Islamic extremism since the Sept. 11 attacks.

Responding to terrorist strikes that killed 17 people in France and riveted worldwide attention, Jews, Muslims, Christians, atheists and people of all races, ages and political stripes swarmed central Paris beneath a bright blue sky, calling for peace and an end to violent extremism.

The Interior Ministry described the demonstration as the largest in modern French history, with as many as 1.6 million people. Many waved the tricolor French flag and brandished pens in raised fists to commemorate those killed Wednesday in an attack on the satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo, as well as four others killed at a Jewish supermarket on Friday. Thousands hoisted black and white signs bearing three words that have ricocheted through social media as a slogan of unity and defiance: "Je suis Charlie."

The crowd included Pascale Trager-Lewis, 45, a lawyer, and her husband, Christian Chevalier, 45, who brought their two daughters because they wanted them to witness a historic event. "We came because my husband is an authentic French person; I am Jewish," Ms. Trager-Lewis said. "My elder daughter's godmother is a Muslim, and my closest friend almost became a nun. I came for the Jews who were

Continued on Page A6

In Cold Political Terms, Far Right And French President Both Gain

By STEVEN ERLANGER

PARIS — Amid the horrors of the last week, François Hollande is widely judged to have kept his calm, acted decisively and spoken the words of condemnation, defiance and unity expected of a French president, who by tradition is called on to embody the nation.

In the days after a series of terror attacks, Mr. Hollande, long seen by much of his electorate as weak and indecisive, has had a great boost politically. As he gathered around him dozens of world leaders for Sunday's vast rally in support of liberty, solidarity and tolerance, he seemed for the moment to rise to their stature.

But no one expects this mood of solidarity to last very long; indeed, the attacks have already sharpened his clash with the far-right leader Marine Le Pen. Mr. Hollande remains the most unpopular French president since

World War II. He is troubled by a weak economy, high unemployment and an underlying atmosphere of anxiety and even fear, among both Muslims and Jews, about the impact of homegrown Islamic radicalism.

In coming weeks, he and his government are certain to confront painful questions about intelligence and security lapses and whether the carnage of last week could have been averted.

"Hollande has been extremely good in this crisis, showing calm and self-control, and using all the

Continued on Page A8

GUNMAN'S VIDEO Amedy Coulibaly, a Paris gunman, vowed loyalty to ISIS in a video. PAGE A6

THE VICTIMS A look at the lives of those killed at Charlie Hebdo and elsewhere in Paris. PAGE A8

Jihadism Born in a Paris Park And Fueled in the Prison Yard

By JIM YARDLEY

PARIS — They jogged together or did calisthenics along the hilly lawns and tulip-dotted gardens of Buttes-Chaumont, the public park in northeastern Paris built more than a century ago under Emperor Napoleon III. Or they met in nearby apartments with a janitor turned self-proclaimed imam, a man deemed too radical by one local mosque because of his call for waging jihad in Iraq.

The group of young Muslim men, some still teenagers, became known to the French authorities as the Buttes-Chaumont group after the police in 2005 broke up their pipeline for sending young French Muslims from their immigrant neighborhood to fight against American troops in Iraq. The arrests seemingly shattered the group, and some officials and experts were skeptical that members ever posed a threat to France.

But the shocking terror attacks last week in Paris have now made plain that the Buttes-Chaumont network produced some of Europe's most militant jihadists, including Chérif Kouachi, one of the three terrorists whose three-day rampage left 17 people dead and who was killed by the police.

Other alumni from the group have died in Iraq or remained committed to radical Islam, including a French-Tunisian now aligned with the Islamic State who has claimed responsibility for a handful of assassinations in Tunisia, including the July 2013 murder of a leading left-wing politician.

"They were considered the least dangerous," Jean-Pierre Filiu, a professor of Middle East studies and specialist on French Islamic terror cells, said of the Buttes-Chaumont group. "And

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G.O.P. Governors' Pivot to Pragmatism Is Likely to Face a Test

By CAMPBELL ROBERTSON
and TRIP GABRIEL

NASHVILLE — Four years ago, a wave of new Republican governors administered shock therapy to the states they won, rolling back union rights, approving restrictions on abortion and deeply cutting taxes and spending.

Republicans triumphed again in the 2014 midterm governor's races, winning re-election almost everywhere and expanding control to Democratic strongholds like Illinois and Maryland.

But rather than reprising the Tea Party insurrection of 2010, Republican governors taking

their oaths this month have expressed more muted, less ideological priorities.

"One of the things about being governor is when you're forced to actually balance your budget it makes people become much more pragmatic very quickly," said Gov. Bill Haslam of Tennessee, who easily won re-election in November and was recently elected chairman of the Republican Governors Association.

Yet that pragmatism is likely to be tested in the 24 states where Republicans also control the legislature and where bills are expected that would further restrict abortion, roll back the Common Core education standards

and ensure that the president's health care law does not gain a foothold in any more states. Many conservative lawmakers in these states see a turn toward moderation by Republican leaders as being at odds with the public mood, particularly after such a decisive electoral sweep.

"Conservatives really did vote conservative, and they want the leadership to reflect that," said John Cooper, a conservative state senator in Arkansas, where a fellow Republican, Asa Hutchinson, just won the governor's race. "I think Asa knows that."

The dynamic is different in each state capital, but in most the governors will probably take the lead, according to a sampling of

state lawmakers and strategists. In Nevada, for example, Republicans now control both chambers of the Legislature and the governor's office for the first time since 1929. Gov. Brian Sandoval, who was sworn in for a second term last week in Carson City, has gained the upper hand in alliance with moderate Republicans in the Assembly against a crop of no-new-taxes conservatives.

Chuck Muth, president of the conservative group Citizen Outreach, who has been critical of Mr. Sandoval and the moderate legislative leaders, said he believed, albeit somewhat reluctantly, that the 2014 elections

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The Political and the Personal

The Golden Globes made nods to the world's turmoil, but a big winner, of best drama and two other awards, was "Boyhood," a portrait of Ellar Coltrane, left, with Ethan Hawke. Page C1.

SPORTSMONDAY D1-10

Packers and Colts Advance

Andrew Quarless (81) helped the Packers beat Dallas to reach the N.F.C. title game against the Seahawks. The Colts upset the Broncos, 24-13, and will face the Patriots for the A.F.C. title. PAGE D1



INTERNATIONAL A4-8

Sri Lanka's Election Upset

South Asians have shown a marked desire recently to vote their leaders out. Still, Sri Lanka's election last week was a surprise. PAGE A4

NEW YORK A11-15

Millions Paid to Settle 3 Cases

The city comptroller will pay \$17 million in the cases of three brothers who were wrongfully convicted. PAGE A11

New IDs for New Yorkers

New York City is introducing municipal ID cards, seen as a boon for undocumented immigrants and others. PAGE A11

NATIONAL A9-10

Transparency on Breaches

President Obama wants new federal legislation to compel American companies to be more forthcoming about online breaches like the kind that hit Sony, Target and Home Depot. PAGE A10

F.B.I. Expands Its Scope

A newly declassified report shows that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has increased its use of the warrantless surveillance program. PAGE A10

New Hospital Debt Rules

White House rules discourage aggressive collection tactics by nonprofit hospitals against low-income people. PAGE A9

OBITUARIES A16-17

Anita Ekberg Dies at 83

An international symbol of lush beauty and unbridled sensuality in the 1960 Federico Fellini film "La Dolce Vita," the Swedish star later found the role difficult to transcend. PAGE A17



BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Oil Prices Could Hurt Banks

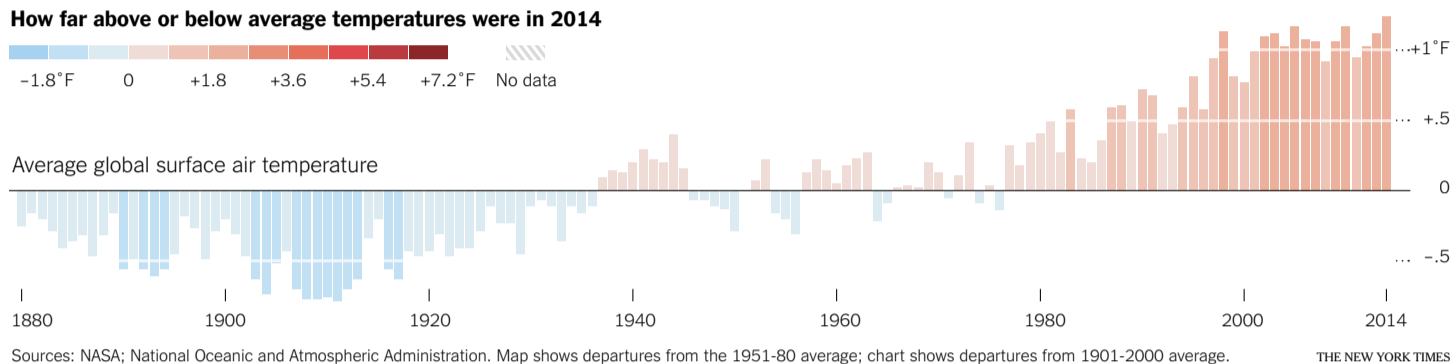
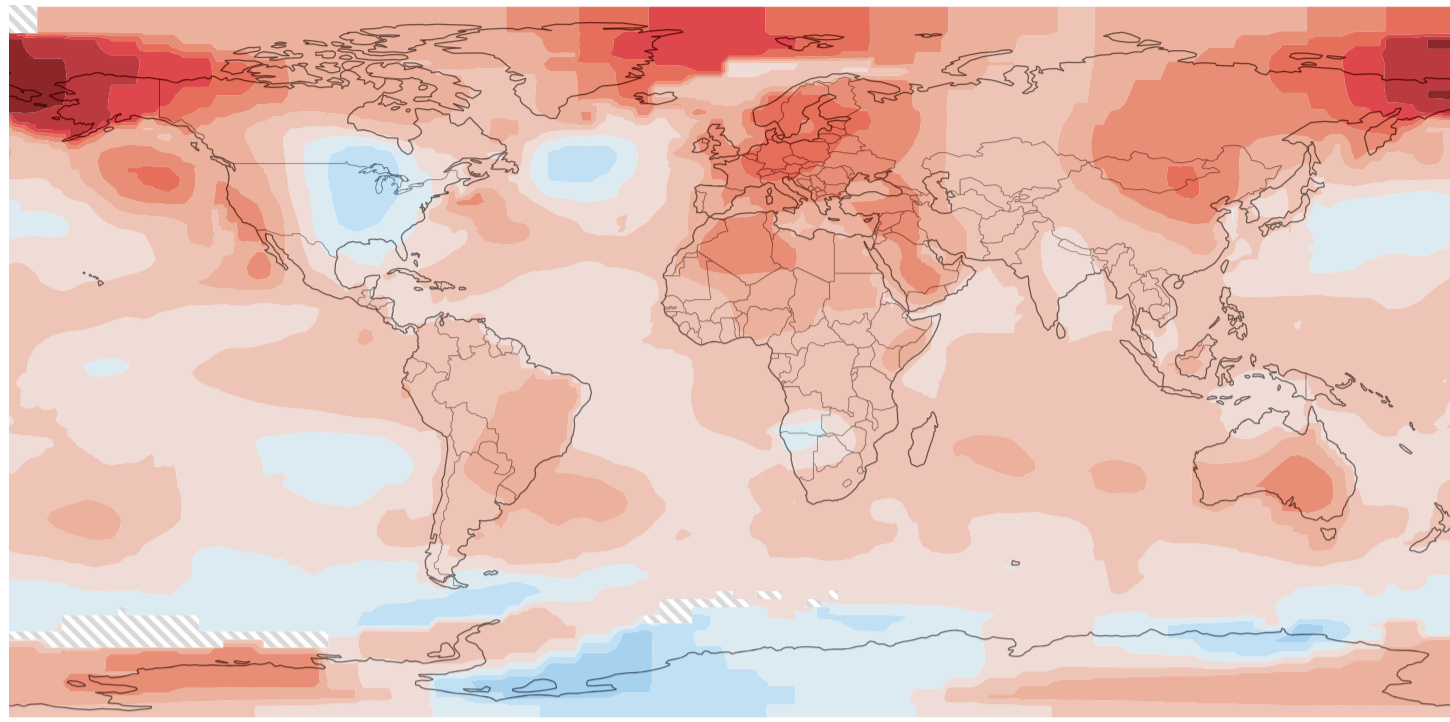
The energy industry has been one of the few bright spots for banks since the recent financial crisis. Now, falling profits on crude oil are likely to leave some energy companies unable to repay loans, and the banks that have eagerly extended credit to them realize the boom may be over. PAGE B1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

Paul Krugman

PAGE A19





Sources: NASA; National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. Map shows departures from the 1951-80 average; chart shows departures from 1901-2000 average.

2014 Breaks Heat Record, Challenging Global Warming Skeptics

By JUSTIN GILLIS

Last year was the hottest on earth since record-keeping began in 1880, scientists reported on Friday, underscoring warnings about the risks of runaway greenhouse gas emissions and undermining claims by climate change contrarians that global warming had somehow stopped.

In the annals of climatology, 2014 surpassed 2010 as the warmest year. The 10 warmest years have all occurred since 1997, a reflection of the relentless planetary warming that scientists say is a consequence of human activity and poses profound long-term risks to civilization and nature.

Steep Rise Is Seen — Lately, Records Last Only a Few Years

trast to the unusual heat in the West. Some experts think the weather pattern that produced those American extremes is an indirect consequence of the release of greenhouse gases, though that is not proven.

scale weather pattern in which the Pacific Ocean pumps an enormous amount of heat into the atmosphere. Skeptics of climate change have long argued that global warming stopped around 1998, when an unusually powerful El Niño produced the hottest year of the 20th century.

'No, No, No, No,' But Ann Romney Now Says Maybe

By JASON HOROWITZ

In an interview last fall, Ann Romney made clear that her husband's political career — and his family's support for it — were over.



Ann Romney

"Done," she told The Los Angeles Times in October. "Completely. Not only Mitt and I are done, but the kids are done. Done. Done. Done. Done."

As the couple trek to Republican gatherings in San Diego and Mr. Romney woos donors in New York, he and his supporters have sought to convey the seriousness with which he is considering a candidacy by pointing out that his wife of 45 years is fully on board.

The Rehabilitation of Joe Paterno, Back at No. 1

By JERÉ LONGMAN and MARC TRACY

Amid the child-molesting scandal at Penn State, Joe Paterno lost his job, more than 100 victories as a coach and his reputation as a kind of football Renaissance man.



A statue of Penn State Coach Joe Paterno was removed in 2012, the year he died amid a scandal over an assistant's sexual abuse.

But nearly three years after Mr. Paterno's death at age 85, his reputation is experiencing something of a revival. On Friday, as part of a settlement in a lawsuit filed by Pennsylvania officials, the N.C.A.A. agreed to restore 111 victories that it had rescinded from Mr. Paterno after the scandal, in which a former longtime assistant coach, Jerry Sandusky, was found to have sexually molested boys.

It will be left to others to decide whether Friday's decision fully restores Mr. Paterno's reputation, said his son Jay, a former assistant coach at Penn State. "It's never been about the wins," Jay Paterno said in a telephone interview.

reached in a 2012 consent decree that imposed a \$60 million fine on the university, a four-year ban from bowl games, a temporary reduction in football scholarships and the removal of more than 100 victories.

JUSTICES TO DECIDE MARRIAGE RIGHTS FOR GAY COUPLES

Broad Ruling Expected — May Force All States to Allow Same-Sex Unions

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court on Friday agreed to decide whether all 50 states must allow gay and lesbian couples to marry, positioning it to resolve one of the great civil rights questions in a generation before its current term ends in June.

the day when same-sex couples across the country will be able to share equally in the joys, protections and responsibilities of marriage," said Jon W. Davidson, the legal director of Lambda Legal. Supporters of traditional marriage said the Supreme Court now has a chance to return the issue to voters and legislators.

Largely as a consequence of the Supreme Court's decision not to act, the number of states allowing same-sex marriage has since grown to 36, and more than 70 percent of Americans live in places where gay couples can marry.

The Supreme Court's lack of action in October and its last three major gay rights rulings suggest that the court will rule in favor of same-sex marriage. But the court also has a history of caution in this area.

The cases the Supreme Court agreed to hear on Friday were brought by some 15 same-sex couples in four states. The plaintiffs said they have a fundamental right to marry and to be treated as opposite-sex couples are, adding that bans they challenged demeaned their dignity, imposed countless practical difficulties and inflicted particular harm on their children.

It agreed once before to hear a constitutional challenge to a same-sex marriage ban, in 2012 in

Continued on Page A3



A flag backing same-sex marriage, at the Supreme Court.

A French Town Linked to Jihad Asks Itself Why

By ANDREW HIGGINS

LUNEL, France — When this picturesque southern French town of just 25,700 people first learned late last year that six local Muslims had been killed fighting for Islam in Syria, accounting for 10 percent of the total number of French killed there, the right-wing mayor quietly asked the head of the local mosque for help.

Patriot Act Idea Rises in France, And Is Ridiculed

By MATT APUZZO and STEVEN ERLANGER

WASHINGTON — The arrests came quickly after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks. There was the Muslim man suspected of making anti-American statements. The Middle Eastern grocer, whose shop, a tipster said, had more clerks than it needed. Soon hundreds of men, mostly Muslims, were in American jails on immigration charges, suspected of being involved in the attacks.

He did. But instead of condemning the surge of young recruits, Mr. Goumri told local news media that the policies of President François Hollande were the main culprit and complained that it was not his job to denounce the jihadists when nobody protested French citizens who traveled to Israel to help the army "kill Palestinian babies."

After shootings last week at a satirical newspaper and a kosher market in Paris, France finds itself grappling anew with a question the United States is still confronting: how to fight terrorism while protecting civil liberties. The answer is acute in a country that is sharply critical of American counterterrorism policies, which many see as a fearful over-reaction to 9/11.

Continued on Page A8

NATIONAL A11-13

Health Care Official Resigns Marilyn B. Tavenner, who oversaw the flawed rollout of HealthCare.gov, quit as administrator of the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services. PAGE A12

Broader Surveillance of Calls The federal government revealed it had records of more phone calls, this time from drug traffic inquiries. PAGE A13

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Court Wades Into Mideast Rift An international court opened an inquiry into possible war crimes committed in the Palestinian territories. PAGE A4



NEW YORK A14-15, 18 Immigrant Is Denied Re-entry Angelo Cabrera returned to Mexico last year after nearly a quarter-century as a New Yorker to try to legalize his status in the United States. Now, the authorities say, he cannot return. PAGE A14

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Franc's Jump Takes a Toll Switzerland's decision to remove a cap on its currency caught global traders flat-footed, and some trading houses absorbed big losses. Analysts worry that the fallout could get worse. PAGE B1

Low Inflation, Plaguing the Fed A key measure of inflation showed little growth, good news for shoppers but a wrench in the works for policy makers planning to raise interest rates. PAGE B1

Flights to Cuba? Not Yet The travel ban is lifted, but it will take a while for U.S. airlines to get permission for regular flights to Cuba. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-7

Watching a Revolt Go Wrong Shot amid Syria's civil war, the documentary "Our Terrible Country" follows a leading dissident who despairs as Islamic extremists gain power. PAGE C1

SPORTS SATURDAY D1-6

Winds of Change in Tennis Katrina Adams is the youngest person, the first African-American and the first former pro player to lead the United States Tennis Association. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A16-17 Gail Collins PAGE A17

BOOK REVIEW



THIS WEEKEND



OBAMA WILL SEEK TO REDUCE TAXES ON MIDDLE CLASS

CHALLENGING THE G.O.P.

Long Odds in Congress — Would Shift More Costs to the Rich

By JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS

WASHINGTON — President Obama will use his State of the Union address to call on Congress to raise taxes and fees on the wealthiest taxpayers and the largest financial firms to finance an array of tax cuts for the middle class, pressing to reshape the tax code to help working families, administration officials said on Saturday.

The proposal faces long odds in the Republican-controlled Congress, led by lawmakers who have long opposed raising taxes and who argue that doing so would hamper economic growth at a time the country cannot afford it. And it was quickly dismissed by leading Republicans as a nonstarter.

But the decision to present the plan during Tuesday's speech marks the start of a debate over taxes and the economy that will shape both Mr. Obama's legacy and the 2016 presidential campaign.

It is also the latest indication that the president, untethered from political constraints after Democratic losses in the midterm elections, is moving aggressively to set the terms of that discussion, even as he pushes audacious moves in other areas, like immigration and relations with Cuba.

The president's plan would raise \$320 billion over the next decade, while adding new provisions cutting taxes by \$175 billion over the same period. The revenue generated would also cover

Continued on Page 22

Odd Byproduct Of Legal Weed: Homes Blow Up

By JACK HEALY

DENVER — When Colorado legalized marijuana two years ago, nobody was quite ready for the problem of exploding houses.

But that is exactly what firefighters, courts and lawmakers across the state are confronting these days: amateur marijuana alchemists who are turning their kitchens and basements into "Breaking Bad"-style laboratories, using flammable chemicals to extract potent drops of a marijuana concentrate commonly called hash oil, and sometimes accidentally blowing up their homes and lighting themselves on fire in the process.

The trend is not limited to Colorado — officials from Florida to Illinois to California have reported similar problems — but the blasts are creating a special headache for lawmakers and courts here, the state at the center of legal marijuana. Even as cities try to clamp down on homemade hash oil and lawmakers consider outlawing it, some enthusiasts argue for their right to make it safely without butane, and criminal defense lawyers say the practice can no longer be considered a crime under the 2012

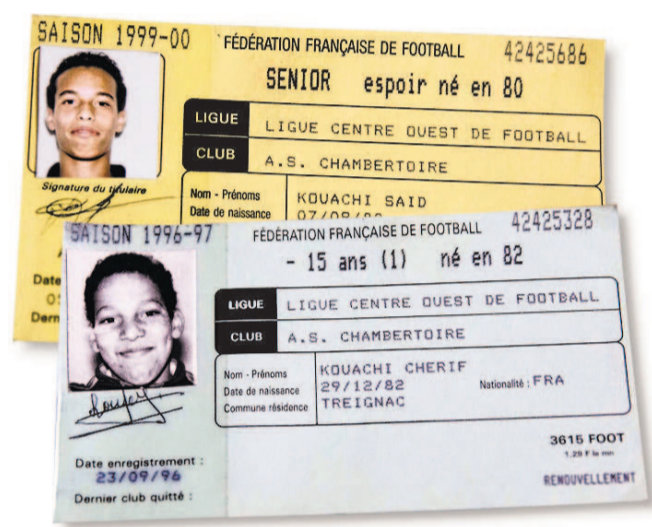
Continued on Page 17

From Scared Amateur to Paris Slaughterer



POLARIS IMAGES

The newsroom of the satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo in Paris, after two brothers walked in on Jan. 7 and shot to death 12 people in the name of Islam.



SCHOOL DAYS With their parents dead, Chérif and Saïd Kouachi lived in a foster center as adolescents and attended school in the Corrèze region of France. While there, they played soccer in the Central West League.



MARLENE AWAAD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

By RUKMINI CALLIMACHI and JIM YARDLEY

PARIS — In the year after the United States' invasion of Iraq, a 22-year-old pizza delivery man here couldn't take it anymore. Sickened by images of American soldiers humiliating Muslims at the Abu Ghraib prison, he made plans to go fight United States forces. He studied a virtual AK-47 on a website. Then he took lessons from a man, using a hand-drawn picture of a gun.

It was an almost laughable attempt at jihad, and as the day of his departure approached, the delivery man, Chérif Kouachi, felt increasingly unsure of himself.

When the police arrested him hours before his 6:45 a.m. Alitalia flight on Jan. 25, 2005, he was relieved. "Several times, I felt like pulling out. I didn't want to die there," he later told investigators. "I told myself that if I chickened out, they would call me a coward, so I decided to go anyway, despite the reservations I had."

A decade later, Chérif Kouachi, flanked by his older brother Saïd, 34, no longer had any reservations, as the two jihadists in black, sheathed in body armor, gave a global audience a ruthless demonstration in terrorism.

Walking with military precision into the guarded Paris offices of the satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo, they killed 12 people in the name of Islam. Then in the hours before the brothers died in a gunfight with the police, Chérif nonchalantly took a telephone call from a reporter to make sure the world knew they were carrying out the attack on behalf of Al Qaeda's branch in Yemen.

The 10-year evolution from easily spooked amateur to hardened killer is a story of steadily deepening radicalism that occurred virtually under the noses of French authorities, who twice had Chérif in their grasp. Af-

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CAPUCINE GRANIER-DEFERRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

PRISON LINKS The Fleury-Mérogis prison, where Chérif Kouachi spent nearly 20 months and developed ties with jihadists like Djamel Beghal, a top Qaeda operative, bearded and shown at right with Mr. Kouachi in a surveillance image.



Bushes, as Distinct and Alike as Brothers Can Be

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — One day last fall, former President George W. Bush called Mel Sembler, a Republican donor from Florida who had served as his ambassador to Italy. Mr. Sembler had just had a pacemaker implanted into



TIM SLOAN/AFP — GETTY IMAGES

President Bush campaigning in 2004 with his brother Jeb.

his chest, and his wife had also recently had surgery. Mr. Bush wanted to check on how they were faring.

But after the health inquiries, Mr. Bush abruptly interjected, "O.K., Mel," he said, "is Jeb going to run?"

"Wait a minute," Mr. Sembler recalled answering. "You're asking me is Jeb going to run? He's your brother."

It was a lighthearted exchange, yet also revealing. As former Gov. Jeb Bush of Florida gears up for a possible campaign for the presidency, he is seen as the brother of the last Republican to live in the White House and therefore, in some ways, the second coming of George W. Bush. But the reality is the Bush brothers are not especially close.

While loving and supportive of each other, the two brothers do not talk that often, according to family intimates. Seven years apart in age, they travel in different circles and have distinct political networks. The older brother has been a vocal advocate of a Jeb Bush campaign but, like everyone else, reads tea leaves about whether he will run. Indeed, before Jeb Bush announced that he would explore a campaign, the former president confided to associates privately, "I may be the last one to know."

On issues, the two certainly share a similar outlook and philosophy. While other Republicans repudiated aspects of the last Bush presidency, Jeb never did. "It's just until death do us part,"

Continued on Page 20

As Rules Protect Quarterback, Defenses Are on the Defensive

As Tony Romo, the Dallas Cowboys' quarterback, dropped back to pass last Sunday in an N.F.L. playoff game, the Green Bay Packers' Clay Matthews dashed past an offensive lineman and into the backfield. Sensing pressure, Romo stepped to his right. He threw an incomplete pass as Matthews closed in, then braced himself for a hit that never came. Instead of leveling him, Matthews, one of the league's most fearsome linebackers, pulled up. The only contact was a chest bump, and Mat-

thews raised his hands to signal that he had done nothing wrong. This is what football can look like in the concussion-era N.F.L., a climate in which some of the brutal hits that long appealed to fans are increasingly a fading memory as quarterbacks, long the most protected players on the field, and receivers are given free rein to dazzle. Through rules changes, stricter enforcement, and player fines and suspensions, the N.F.L. in recent years has sought to remove the most extreme violence from an inherently violent sport.

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The effect can be seen in the

SUNDAY REVIEW

Maureen Dowd

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INTERNATIONAL 6-15

A Populist's Pitch in Greece

A left-wing candidate for prime minister would like to turn Greece away from its path of adhering to European demands for austerity in return for aid. PAGE 6

NATIONAL 4, 16-22

Cheaper Oil Aids Workers

In states like Maine, families can look forward to savings of \$1,500 to \$3,000 this year thanks to lower prices for heating oil and gasoline. PAGE 4

Rallying Around King's Legacy

Protesters mobilized by the shooting deaths of young blacks are using Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s legacy and his birthday as a rallying point. PAGE 16

Chicago Second Again?

Chicago, President Obama's adopted hometown, is suddenly worried that it is no longer a solid bet to host his presidential library. PAGE 16



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Economic Plan Is a Quandary For Clinton '16

How to Address Anger Over Wealth Gap

By AMY CHOZICK

With advice from more than 200 policy experts, Hillary Rodham Clinton is trying to answer what has emerged as a central question of her early presidential campaign strategy: how to address the anger about income inequality without overly vilifying the wealthy.

Mrs. Clinton has not had to wade into domestic policy since before she became secretary of state in 2009, and she has spent the past few months engaged in policy discussions with economists on the left and closer to the Democratic Party's center who are grappling with the discontent set off by the gap between rich and poor. Sorting through the often divergent advice to develop an economic plan could affect the timing and planning of the official announcement of her campaign.

Although people close to Mrs. Clinton say she has not yet settled on a specific platform, she is expected to embrace several principles. They include standard Democratic initiatives like raising the minimum wage, investing in infrastructure, closing corporate tax loopholes and cutting taxes for the middle class. Other ideas are newer, such as providing incentives to corporations to increase profit-sharing with employees and changing labor laws to give workers more collective bargaining power.

Behind many of these proposals is a philosophy, endorsed by Mrs. Clinton's closest economic advisers and often referred to as inclusive capitalism, that contends that a majority of Americans do not want to punish the rich; they just want to feel that

Continued on Page 18

Greek Austerity Spawns Fakery: Playing Nurse

By DANNY HAKIM

ATHENS — Fotini Katsigianni wears a white nurse's hat that protrudes prominently from the top of her head. She is head nurse at Evangelismos Hospital, one of the city's most prominent.

So she was surprised last month when she was approached by a man in the hospital's hallway. At the time, Ms. Katsigianni's husband was a patient there. The strange man extended an arm with a business card and averted his face, so she could not identify him. He offered to rent her a cut-rate nurse.

"He told me for 30 euros I could have whatever I want!" Ms. Katsigianni said, laughing at the idea of the head nurse being solicited to buy illegal nursing care.

First the men come to the hospitals of Greece during visiting hours, leaving business cards with pictures of nurses under pillows and in waiting rooms. Then the women come at night, mostly foreigners from countries like Georgia, Romania and Bulgaria. They are the nurses of Greece who aren't really nurses.

Greece's dire finances have gutted its health care system. Universal coverage effectively ended under the austerity measures imposed under the terms of the country's bailout. Budget

Continued on Page 4

Hidden Wealth Flows to Elite New York Condos

By LOUISE STORY
and STEPHANIE SAUL

On the 74th floor of the Time Warner Center, Condominium 74B was purchased in 2010 for \$15.65 million by a secretive entity called 25CC ST74B L.L.C. It traces to the family of Vitaly Malkin, a former Russian senator and banker who was barred from entering Canada because of suspected connections to organized crime. Last fall, another shell company bought a condo down the hall for \$21.4 million from a Greek businessman named Dimitrios Contominas,

TOWERS OF SECRECY

First of five articles.

who was arrested a year ago as part of a corruption sweep in Greece. A few floors down are three condos owned by another shell company, Columbus Skyline L.L.C., which belongs to the family of a Chinese businessman and contractor named Wang Wenliang. His construction company was found housing workers in New Jersey in hazardous, unsanitary conditions.

Behind the dark glass towers of the Time Warner Center looming over Central Park, a majority of owners have taken steps to keep their identities hidden, registering condos in trusts, limited liability companies or other entities that shield their names. By piercing the secrecy of more than 200 shell companies, The New York Times documented a decade of ownership in this iconic Manhattan way station for global money transforming the city's real estate market.

Many of the owners represent a cross-section of American wealth: chief executives and celebrities, doctors and



TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Condo ownership in the Time Warner Center reflects the rising use of shell companies to buy high-end real estate.

lawyers, technology entrepreneurs and Wall Street traders.

But The Times also found a growing proportion of wealthy foreigners, at least 16 of whom have been the subject of government inquiries around the world, either personally or as heads of companies. The cases range from housing and environmental violations to financial fraud. Four owners have been arrested, and another four have been

the subject of fines or penalties for illegal activities.

The foreign owners have included government officials and close associates of officials from Russia, Colombia, Malaysia, China, Kazakhstan and Mexico.

They have been able to make these multimillion-dollar purchases with few questions asked because of United States laws that foster the movement of

largely untraceable money through shell companies.

Vast sums are flowing unchecked around the world as never before — whether motivated by corruption, tax avoidance or investment strategy, and enabled by an ever-more-borderless economy and a proliferation of ways to move and hide assets.

Alighting in places like London, Sin-

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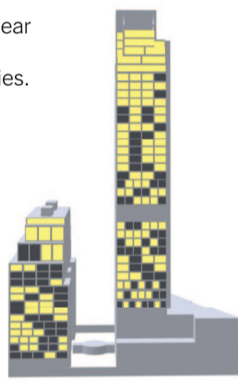
Billionaires' Haven

In expensive condo developments near Central Park, the identities of most owners are hidden by shell companies.

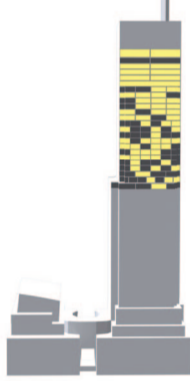
■ Unit owned in person's name
■ Unit owned by shell company



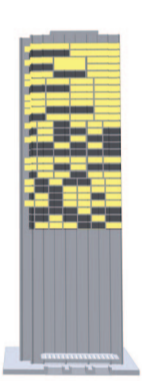
The Plaza
69% of condos owned by shell companies (not including hotel)



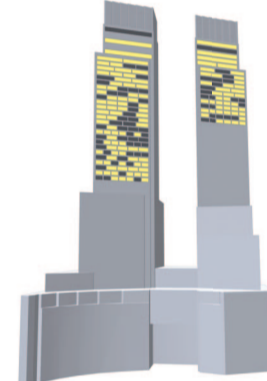
15 Central Park West
58%



Bloomberg Tower
57%



Trump International
57%



Time Warner Center
64%



One57
77%

Note: The graphic represents the number of apartments on each floor. Sources: PropertyShark, N.Y.C. Department of Buildings THE NEW YORK TIMES

For Saudis and Pakistan, a Bird of Contention

By DECLAN WALSH

For decades, royal Arab hunting expeditions have traveled to the far reaches of Pakistan in pursuit of the houbara bustard — a waddling, migratory bird whose meat, they believe, contains aphrodisiac powers.

Little expense is spared for the

elaborate winter hunts. Cargo planes fly tents and luxury jeeps into custom-built desert airstrips, followed by private jets carrying the kings and princes of Persian Gulf countries along with their precious charges: expensive hunting falcons that are used to kill the white-plumed houbara.

This year's hunt, however, has

run into difficulty.

It started in November, when the High Court in Baluchistan, the vast and tumultuous Pakistani province that is a favored hunting ground, canceled all foreign hunting permits in response to complaints from conservationists.

Those experts say the houbara's habitat, and perhaps the long-term survival of the species, which is already considered threatened, has been endangered by the ferocious pace of hunting.

That legal order ballooned into a minor political crisis last week when a senior Saudi prince and his entourage landed in Baluchistan, attracting unusually critical media attention and a legal battle that is scheduled to reach the country's Supreme Court in the coming days.

Anger among conservationists was heightened by the fact that the prince — Fahd bin Sultan bin Abdul Aziz, the governor of Tabuk province — along with his entourage had killed 2,100 houbara over 21 days during last

Continued on Page 14

MEMO FROM ARGENTINA

Whodunit? In Obsessed Nation, Question Becomes Who Didn't

By SIMON ROMERO

BUENOS AIRES — The president did it. No, it was the Argentine spymaster plotting against her. Maybe it really was a suicide, the tragic fall of a man whose case was coming undone. Or was it Iran, the Israeli Mossad, the C.I.A.? And what about the lingering influence of the Nazis who fled here after World War II?

Ever since the fatal shooting of Alberto Nisman, the prosecutor who accused President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner of conspiring with Iran to cover up responsibility for the bombing of a Jewish community center, this country has been awash in theories about who pulled the trigger, and why.

Whether in hushed conversations in cafes, at corner news stalls, or at a lonely beach town

hot-dog stand, much of Argentina seems to have an idea about how Mr. Nisman ended up on his apartment floor with a gunshot wound to the head — the night before he was scheduled to testify about his accusations to lawmakers.

"It has to either be the armed faction of narco-Nazi-jihadist international terrorism, or it has to be the Jewish-Marxism mafia that also involves the C.I.A., Israel and the Mossad," said Carlos Wiesemann, 65, a hot-dog vendor in the town of Pinamar, weighing his list of suspected forces while drinking whiskey with a friend.

Indeed, the obsession with Mr. Nisman's death — and the expansiveness of the theories to explain it — has grown so intense that some Argentines are poring

Continued on Page 11

INTERNATIONAL 6-14

Nigeria Postpones Elections

Officials are citing security concerns because of the terror group Boko Haram, but some see the delay as a move to thwart political opponents. PAGE 11

NATIONAL 15-22

West Splits on Arming Ukraine

The German chancellor, Angela Merkel, said in Munich that she opposes providing lethal military aid to Kiev and instead supports a cease-fire. PAGE 9

SPORTSSUNDAY

NBC Anchor Is to Take Leave

Because his false accounts of being in a helicopter crash made him "too much a part of the news," Brian Williams said he would step down temporarily. PAGE 17

SUNDAY REVIEW

Hockey as First Intended

In the past decade, pond hockey has grown from a curiosity into one of the sport's most popular genres. But its national champion is not definitive. PAGE 1

Nicholas Kristof

PAGE 1



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HOUSE APPROVES SECURITY BUDGET, WITHOUT STRINGS

A SHUTDOWN IS AVERTED

Conservatives Lose Out as Immigration Fight Is Set Aside

By ASHLEY PARKER

WASHINGTON — The fight over funding the Department of Homeland Security that began with Republicans thundering about a lawless president abusing power to change immigration policy ended with a quiet capitulation Tuesday when the House voted to fund the agency and avert a partial shutdown.

In the end, Speaker John A. Boehner was forced to build a majority on Democratic votes to pass the bill, 257 to 167, with just 75 Republican supporters. But although the uprising among conservatives burned hot into the week, there was no suggestion that Mr. Boehner's leadership was imperiled. Instead, many Republicans expressed a sense of resigned relief.

The bill, which President Obama will sign, dealt only with an appropriation for the department. Republicans agreed to drop their push for provisions that would have gutted Mr. Obama's executive actions on immigration.

"How did we end up with kind of a slow demise, you mean, even after a very hefty kind of rhetoric?" asked Representative John Fleming, Republican of Louisiana. "Well, apparently that's the way it's done around here. I don't agree with it."

Representative Mick Mulvaney, Republican of South Carolina, called the outcome "an unmitigated loss for conservatives." But he, like many other members who voted against the bill, also said there had been no serious discussion in the conference about trying to remove Mr. Boehner from his speakership.

Mr. Boehner's decision, surprising in its timing, reduced the potential for the political fallout that Republicans would have faced if the department's operational

Continued on Page A17

In Congress, Netanyahu Faults 'Bad Deal' on Iran



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel spoke before a joint meeting of Congress on Tuesday. President Obama dismissed the speech as "theater."

Police Routinely Violate Rights Of Blacks in Ferguson, U.S. Says

By MATT APUZZO

WASHINGTON — Ferguson, Mo., is a third white, but the crime statistics compiled in the city over the past two years seemed to suggest that only black people were breaking the law. They accounted for 85 percent of traffic stops, 90 percent of tickets and 93 percent of arrests. In cases like jaywalking, which often hinge on police discretion, blacks accounted for 95 percent of all arrests.

The racial disparity in those statistics was so stark that the Justice Department has concluded in a report scheduled for release on Wednesday that there was only one explanation: The Ferguson Police Department was routinely violating the constitutional rights of its black resi-

dents. The report, based on a six-month investigation, provides a glimpse into the roots of the racial tensions that boiled over in Ferguson last summer after a black teenager, Michael Brown, was fatally shot by a white police officer, making it a worldwide flash point in the debate over race and policing in America. It describes a city where the police used force almost exclusively on blacks and regularly stopped people without probable cause. Racial bias is so ingrained, the report said, that Ferguson officials circulated racist jokes on their government email accounts.

In a November 2008 email, a city official said Barack Obama

Continued on Page A13

Using Private Email, Clinton Thwarted Records Requests

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT and AMY CHOZICK

WASHINGTON — In 2012, congressional investigators asked the State Department for a wide range of documents related to the attack on the United States diplomatic compound in Benghazi, Libya. The department eventually responded, furnishing House committees with thousands of documents.

But it turns out that that was not everything. The State Department had not searched the email account of former Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton because she had maintained a private account, which shielded it from such searches, department officials acknowledged on Tuesday.

It was only last month that the House committee appointed to in-

vestigate Benghazi was provided with about 300 of Mrs. Clinton's emails related to the attacks. That was shortly after Mrs. Clinton turned over, at the State Department's request, some 50,000 pages of government-related emails that she had kept on her private account.

It was one of several instances in which records requests sent to the State Department, which had no access to Mrs. Clinton's emails, came up

Continued on Page A18

A Strong Warning, Swiftly Countered by Obama

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — With dark warnings and a call to action, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel used one of the world's most prominent venues on Tuesday to denounce what he called a "bad deal" being negotiated with Iran and to mount an audacious challenge to President Obama.

In an extraordinary spectacle pitting the leaders of two close allies against each other, Mr. Netanyahu took the rostrum in the historic chamber of the House of Representatives to tell a joint meeting of Congress that instead of stopping Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons, Mr. Obama's diplomatic initiative "would all but guarantee" that it does, in turn setting off a regional arms race.

"This deal won't be a farewell to arms," Mr. Netanyahu told the lawmakers, who responded to him with a succession of standing ovations. "It would be a farewell to arms control. And the Middle East would soon be crisscrossed by nuclear tripwires. A region where small skirmishes can trigger big wars would turn into a nuclear tinderbox."

Such dire predictions could make it much harder for Mr. Obama to sell an agreement to a Republican-led Congress even if his negotiators reach one in Geneva. The president quickly tried to counter the prime minister by dismissing the speech as "thea-

Continued on Page A10

STRATEGIC RIFT American and Israeli ideas for dealing with Iran may be irreconcilable. PAGE A10

REACTION A partisan chasm in Washington over the speech and the man delivering it. PAGE A11

OBAMA'S TEST The president's case for a potential nuclear deal with Iran sustains a hit. PAGE A11

School Agenda Bedevils Chicago Mayor in Race

By MONICA DAVEY and JULIE BOSMAN

CHICAGO — The sky-blue paint has begun to peel on the three-story building that was once Anthony Overton Elementary. Window air-conditioners are speckled with rust. Doors where children used to rush in and out are sealed with plywood.

The empty shell of this school on Chicago's largely black South Side stands as a reminder of one of Rahm Emanuel's defining acts as mayor: overseeing the closing of nearly 50 public schools deemed underperforming, underutilized or both. It was the largest closing of schools in memory, with many of them in black or Latino neighborhoods.

For the mayor, this was one step toward bringing better education to students trapped in failing schools amid a fiscal crisis. Overton, after all, was nothing to



ANDREW NELLES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Overton Elementary, one of nearly 50 schools that were closed.

brag about. Its test scores put it in the lowest tier of the nation's third-largest school district, and it had been placed on probation by school officials for three years.

The population in Chicago had shrunk over time, some students had chosen alternatives like

charter schools, and Overton was only half full.

But for families who saw Overton as an institution that gave the neighborhood stability, the decision was a blow. "It hurts," said

Continued on Page A3

Obama's Plan: Signal to Justices They're Health Law's Only Hope

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — As the Supreme Court prepares to hear arguments on Wednesday on whether to invalidate a crucial part of the president's health care law, Obama administration officials say they are doing nothing to prepare for what could be a catastrophic defeat.

Administration officials insist that any steps they could take to prepare for the potential crisis would be politically unworkable and ineffective, and that pursuing them would wrongly signal to the justices that reasonable solutions existed. The do-nothing strategy is meant to reinforce for the court what White House officials believe: that a loss in the health care case would be unavoidably disastrous for millions of people.

There are no contingency plans in place if the court invalidates the Affordable Care Act subsidies that 7.5 million people in 34 states are receiving, administration officials said. No one is strategizing with governors or insurance company executives or lawmakers. There is no public relations plan to reassure people who might suddenly have to pay more for insurance.

If the court rejects the subsidies — a decision unlikely to arrive until the end of the session in late June or early July — health experts said premiums could triple within weeks, causing millions of people to lose coverage. That could quickly lead to a collapse of the health insurance

Continued on Page A16

NATIONAL A12-19

Ex-C.I.A. Chief in Plea Deal



The former C.I.A. director David H. Petraeus reached a plea deal with the Justice Department and admitted providing his highly classified journals to a mistress. PAGE A15

Alabama Marriages Halted

The Alabama Supreme Court ordered probate judges to stop issuing marriage licenses to same-sex couples, ruling in opposition to a federal judge that the state's ban on the marriages did not violate the U.S. Constitution. PAGE A12

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Conflict Over Iraq Effort

Tensions between Iraq and the United States over how to battle the Islamic State broke into the open, as U.S. warplanes sat out a major Iraqi counteroffensive amid concerns over a prominent role played by Iran. PAGE A6

NEW YORK A21-23

Dangerous Ice in the City

While New York City requires sidewalks to be cleared after snowstorms, patches of ice remain in front of vacant properties, making even short walks treacherous in neighborhoods such as Longwood in the Bronx. PAGE A21

BUSINESS DAY B1-11

Funds' Fees Weigh on Savings

Researchers say most Americans won't have enough money to retire comfortably, and so financial advisers urge them to save more. But Wall Street is soaking up a big chunk of those savings, Eduardo Porter writes. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-8

'American Crime' to Debut



John Ridley, the Oscar-winning writer of "12 Years a Slave," tackles race and class in the ABC series, on Thursdays. PAGE C1

OBITUARIES A19-20

Pioneer of Conservatism Dies

M. Stanton Evans, an early leader of the conservative movement in American politics, was an author of its central manifesto, the Sharon Statement, and a defender of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. He was 80. PAGE A20

FOOD D1-7

A Waste-Not Movement



When bruised fruit is used for smoothies and carrot tops are saved for pesto, efficiency in the kitchen can become as satisfying as it is frugal and environmentally sound. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

Thomas L. Friedman PAGE A25



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IRAN AGREES TO DETAILED NUCLEAR OUTLINE



Secretary of State John Kerry and other officials in Lausanne, Switzerland, listened to President Obama's speech on the deal.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Clenched Fist Loosens a Bit

A Gamble by Obama At a Moment of Truth

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — On the day he took office, President Obama reached out to America's enemies, offering in his first inaugural address to "extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist." More than six years later, he has arrived at a moment of truth in testing that proposition with one of the nation's most intransigent adversaries.

The framework nuclear agreement he reached with Iran on Thursday did not provide the definitive answer to whether Mr. Obama's audacious gamble will pay off. The fist Iran has shaken at the so-called Great Satan since 1979 has not completely relaxed. But the fingers are loosening, and the agreement, while still incomplete, held out the prospect that it might yet become a handshake.

For a president whose ambitions to remake the world have been repeatedly frustrated, the possibility of a reconciliation after 36 years of hostility between Washington and Tehran now seems tantalizingly within reach, a way to be worthy of the Nobel Peace Prize that even he believed was awarded prematurely. Yet the deal remains unfinished and unsigned, and critics worry that he is giving up too much while grasping for the illusion of peace.

"Right now, he has no foreign policy legacy," said Cliff Kupchan, an Iran specialist who has been tracking the talks as chairman of the Eurasia Group, a consulting firm. "He's got a list of foreign policy failures. A deal with Iran and the ensuing transformation of politics in the Middle East would provide one of the more robust foreign policy legacies of any recent presidencies."

Continued on Page A9

First Step Toward a Wider Deal by June

By MICHAEL R. GORDON and DAVID E. SANGER

LAUSANNE, Switzerland — Iran and the United States, along with five other world powers, announced on Thursday a surprisingly specific and comprehensive understanding on limiting Tehran's nuclear program for the next 15 years, though they left several specific issues to a final agreement in June.

After two years of negotiations, capped by eight tumultuous days and nights of talks that appeared on the brink of breakdown several times, Secretary of State John Kerry and his Iranian counterpart, Mohammad Javad Zarif, announced the plan, which, if carried out, would keep Iran's nuclear facilities open under strict production limits, and which holds the potential of reordering America's relationship with a country that has been an avowed adversary for 35 years.

Mr. Kerry and Energy Secretary Ernest J. Moniz, a nuclear scientist who played a crucial role in the last stages of the negotiations, said the pact satisfied their primary goal of ensuring that Iran, if it decided to, could not race for a nuclear weapon in less than a year, although those constraints against "breakout" would be in effect only for the first decade of the accord.

President Obama, for whom remaking the American relationship with Iran has been a central objective since his 2008 campaign, stepped into the Rose Garden moments later to celebrate what he called "a historic understanding with Iran." He warned Republicans in Congress that if they tried to impose new sanctions to undermine the effort, the United States would be blamed for a diplomatic failure.

He insisted that the deal "cuts off every pathway" for Iran to develop a nuclear weapon and es-

Continued on Page A8

Religion Laws Quickly Fall Into Retreat

By MONICA DAVEY and LAURIE GOODSTEIN

INDIANAPOLIS — Roman Catholic nuns and brothers in robes along with conservative activists and lawmakers, all surrounded Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana last week as he signed what was billed as a religious freedom law. Smiling and proud, some of them had cheered the bill as a way to protect religious business owners from having to provide cakes and flowers to same-sex weddings.

But on Thursday, as the state's top Republican legislative leaders here announced they were changing the law to specify that it will not authorize discrimination because of sexual orientation or gender identity, a far different cast stood behind them, including a prominent gay businessman and corporate leaders from Eli Lilly, the Indiana Pacers and the Indiana Chamber of Commerce.

And this time, the mood was tense: There were simple nods of support, no wide smiles. The shift in Indiana has played out with remarkable speed, and under the shadow of a soon-to-arrive Final Four men's basketball tournament and the national attention that promises. For a place that a little more than a

Continued on Page A12

Bowing to an Uproar

Indiana and Arkansas revise measures promoted as religious freedom bills. Page A12.

Somali Militants Kill 147 at Kenyan University

This article was written by Jeffrey Gettleman, Isma'il Kuskush and Rukmini Callimachi.

NAIROBI, Kenya — Somali militants burst into a university in eastern Kenya on Thursday and killed nearly 150 students in the worst terrorist attack since the 1998 bombing of the United States Embassy here, laying bare the nation's continuing vulnerability after years of battling Islamist extremism.

A small group of militants, most likely between four and 10, roved from dorm to dorm, separating Christian from Muslim students and killing the Christians, the authorities said. Students described being awakened before dawn by the sound of gunfire and fleeing for their lives as masked attackers closed in.

Officials said that by the time Kenyan commandos cornered and killed the attackers on an up-

Going Dorm to Dorm, Sparing Muslims and Shooting Christians

per floor, 147 people lay dead.

Despite new security laws, significant Western help and a heightened state of vigilance that has already put police officers on almost every major street corner in the capital, Nairobi, Kenya remains squarely in the cross hairs of the Shabab, the Somali terrorist group that immediately claimed responsibility for the attack on Thursday.

The Shabab has killed hundreds of Kenyans — on country buses, in churches, in remote coastal towns and inside one of Kenya's fanciest malls during a devastating siege in 2013 that left 67 people dead and rattled Ken-

ya's prized image as a cornerstone of stability in this part of Africa. The Kenyan government is so desperate to stop the Shabab, one of the most violent franchises of Al Qaeda, that some officials have even proposed building a 424-mile wall across the entire Somali border.

Kenya's tourist industry, one of the pillars of its economy, has been badly damaged by the terrorist attacks, and the bloodshed on Thursday is sure to make things worse. There are also fears that the Shabab's relentless emphasis on singling out Christians could inflame religious strife in a country already wrestling with tensions between a Muslim minority, which has complained about government persecution, and a Christian majority that increasingly feels under attack.

The violence Thursday came

Continued on Page A4



Rescuers led a woman out of a building at Garissa University College on Thursday after an attack by Shabab gunmen.

Saudi Prestige Suffers a Blow In Yemen Fight

By DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK and KAREEM FAHIM

CAIRO — Two months after ascending to the throne, King Salman of Saudi Arabia bet his prestige as a new leader on rallying his Arab allies for a military campaign to save Yemen from an Iranian takeover — all under the direction of his son, the new defense minister and chief of the royal court.

The results a week later showed just how big a risk they took.

The Houthis, portrayed as Iranian proxies by the Saudis but few others, have continued their advances despite nine nights of Saudi-led airstrikes. On Thursday, Houthi fighters captured a presidential palace in the southern port of Aden, killed a Saudi soldier in a skirmish at the border and wounded five others.

Islamist militants, meanwhile, capitalized on the chaos caused by the airstrikes to free a leader of Al Qaeda and hundreds of others from prison and to partly seize control of a crucial city in

Continued on Page A7

Stewart's Heir, Laughing in Apartheid's Shadow

By NORIMITSU ONISHI and DAVE ITZKOFF

JOHANNESBURG — Years before he was chosen to succeed Jon Stewart on "The Daily Show," before he made his debut on that Comedy Central news satire or appeared on any American television program, a rising stand-up named Trevor Noah explained why his racial background was both empowering

and confining.

Speaking from his native South Africa in 2008, Mr. Noah, the son of a black Xhosa mother and a white Swiss father, said that his countrymen had variously accepted and rejected him as being black, and embraced and denied him as being mixed race.

Never fitting in anywhere, Mr. Noah said in a documentary film called "You Laugh but It's True," was the ultimate license to speak his mind.

"You've lived everywhere and nowhere," Mr. Noah said. "You've been everyone and no one. So you can say everything and nothing."

Now 31 and seemingly plucked from out of nowhere to follow Mr. Stewart, one of America's most influential and outspoken late-night hosts, Mr. Noah has been provided an unparalleled platform on which to share his voice.

Though his comedic sensibility

Continued on Page A3

Men's Style

The New York Times



INTRODUCING MEN'S STYLE

A monthly guide to dressing, grooming and just being a guy.

BOB DUKE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

NEW YORK A16-19

2 Women Held in Bomb Plot

The Queens residents are accused of planning to build a bomb, according to an undercover investigation. PAGE A16

Challenging a Boy Scouts Ban

In a test for the national organization, the Greater New York Councils hired an openly gay 18-year-old. PAGE A17



INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Co-Pilot Researched Suicide

German officials said the co-pilot of the jet that crashed in the French Alps had searched online about suicide and security measures for cockpit doors. PAGE A6

Iraqi Forces Discount U.S. Aid

As their forces close in on Tikrit, Iraqi military officials refuse to give much credit to American airstrikes. PAGE A6

BUSINESS DAY B1-6

Europe's Hard Line on Tech

American tech giants face intensifying scrutiny in Europe, which could eventually hurt their bottom line. PAGE B1

NATIONAL A11-15

Case Focuses on 'Super PACs'

In the case against Senator Robert Menendez, a central factor is the elaborate structure of technically independent political action committees. PAGE A15

Californians vs. the Drought

Facing mandatory cuts to water use, Californians worried that efforts to conserve wouldn't ease a drought. PAGE A11

SPORTSFRIDAY B7-14

Boston's Bid May Be in Trouble

There may not be enough time to persuade Bostonians to support their city's bid to host the 2024 Olympics. PAGE B7

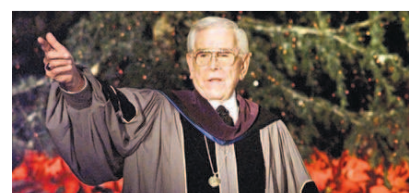
OBITUARIES A20-21

Prolific Filmmaker Dies at 106

Manoel de Oliveira started in the silent era and had a productive twilight, working well into his 11th decade. PAGE A21

Rev. Robert H. Schuller Dies

The clergyman, who transformed a small ministry into an empire, building the Crystal Cathedral, was 88. PAGE A20



ARTS C1-30

Celebrating a Black Exodus

"One-Way Ticket" at MoMA gathers Jacob Lawrence black migration paintings for the first time in decades. PAGE C21

An Attraction That Won't Die

Stephen Daldry's revival of "Skyline" on Broadway stars Carey Mulligan and Bill Nighy as ex-lovers. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Paul Kruman

PAGE A23



A NORWAY TOWN AND ITS PIPELINE TO JIHAD IN SYRIA

ODD RADICAL HOT SPOT

Eight Fighters Rise From
Around One Street,
Puzzling Officials

By ANDREW HIGGINS

FREDERIKSTAD, Norway — The real trouble started when they stopped causing trouble. Torleif Sanchez Hammer and his friends — all residents of the same small cluster of clapboard houses in southern Norway — had been having run-ins with the police for years but then suddenly halted their marijuana-fueled gatherings in the basement apartment of Mr. Hammer's widowed mother.

Police officers in this placid Norwegian town had busted their marijuana parties so regularly that "we knew them all on a first-name basis," recalled Ragnar Foss, head of a local police unit responsible for youth crime. But, two years ago, they cleaned up their act. "We wondered what had happened but were glad when they dropped off our radar," Mr. Foss said.

One by one over the following months, Mr. Hammer and at least seven other young men who lived on or around just one street, Lislebyveien, made their way to Syria to wage jihad alongside the Islamic State and other militant groups.

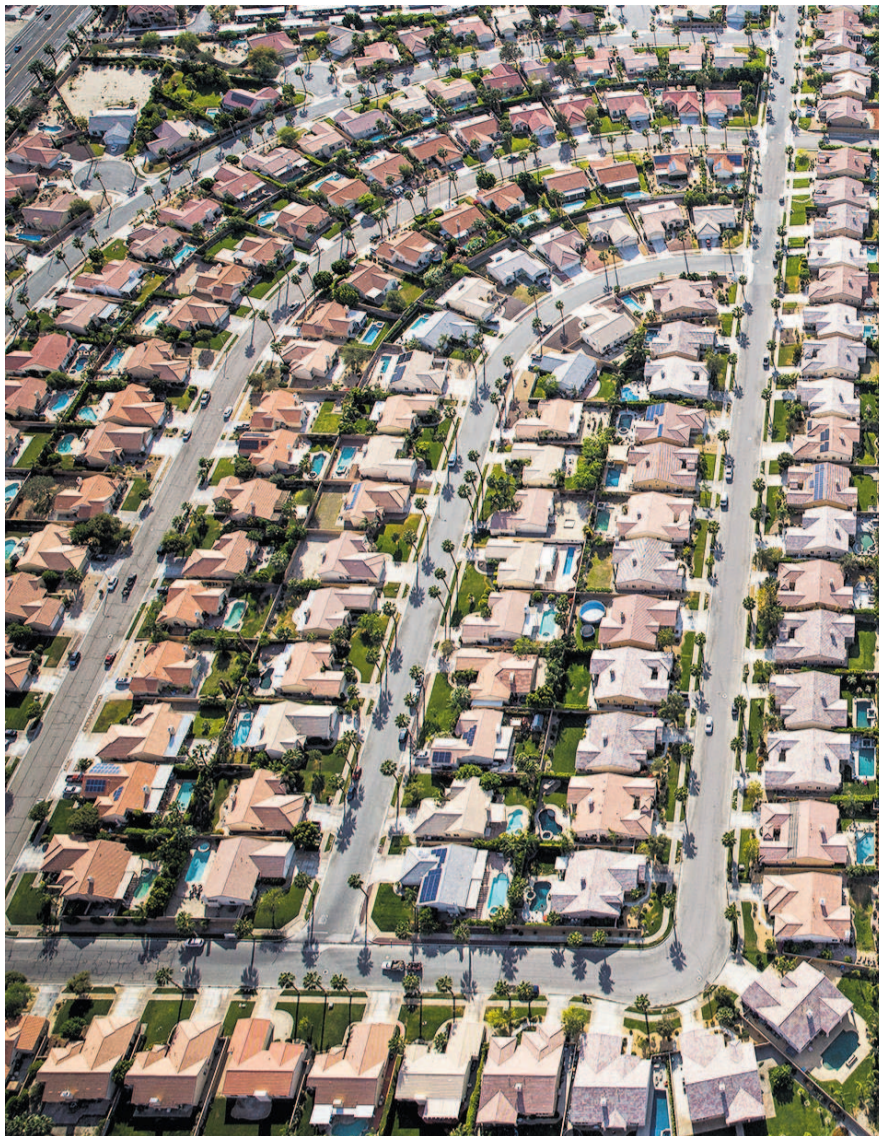
As Europe tries to fathom such journeys by its young Muslims, politicians and scholars have variously blamed the influence of the Internet and radical mosques, or sources of despair like discrimination and unemployment.

But the subterranean currents that pushed so many young men to Syria from Lisleby, a Frederikstad district of just 6,000, stand out as an example of a phenomenon none of those theories can explain: Why it is that certain towns, and even small areas within them, generate a disproportionate number of jihadists?

It "is a big puzzle," said Jon Fitje Hoffman, director of strategic analysis at Norway's domestic intelligence agency, the Police Security Service, known as PST. It is also one that has flummoxed security services from Denmark to Germany to France.

In interviews, the families of those who traveled to Syria, other residents and local officials de-

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DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

In California, where lush developments like this one in Cathedral City abut bone-dry desert, a long drought is forcing residents to reconsider the state's identity.

Jeb Bush as Inevitable Choice? Republicans Say Not So Fast

By NICHOLAS CONFESSORE and MAGGIE HABERMAN

Three months into what allies once confidently described as a "shock and awe" drive to overcome his rivals and dominate the Republican presidential field, Jeb Bush's early campaigning looks like the juggernaut that wasn't.

He is grappling with the Republican Party's prickly and demanding ideological blocs, particularly evangelical leaders and pro-Israel hawks. He is struggling to win over grass-roots activists in Iowa and New Hampshire, states he has visited only a handful of times. And Mr. Bush's undisputed advantage — the millions of dollars streaming rapidly into his political organization — may not be enough to knock out other contenders.

For all the Republican "bundlers" who have signed up to raise money for Mr. Bush, others remain uncommitted or are hedging their bets by aiding more

than one candidate. Some are privately chafing at what they view as the Bush camp's presumption of their loyalty.

Other wealthy donors, mindful of their power to reshape the Republican race with "super PAC" donations, have been more direct: The casino magnate Sheldon Adelson recently made what two people briefed on it described as an "animated" call to one of Mr. Bush's top supporters after former Secretary of State James A. Baker III, a Bush adviser, criticized Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel in a speech in March.

It is a far cry, party officials, activists and donors said, from the early success of George W. Bush, Mr. Bush's brother, in securing the 2000 Republican presidential nomination.

For the Bush family, inevitabil-

Continued on Page 16

G.O.P.'s Israel Support Deepens As Political Contributions Shift

By ERIC LIPTON

WASHINGTON — As the proposed agreement over Iran's nuclear program is debated in coming weeks, President Obama will make his case to a Congress controlled by Republicans who are more fervently pro-Israel than ever, partly a result of ideology, but also a product of a surge in donations and campaign spending on their behalf by a small group of wealthy donors.

One of the surprisingly high-profile critics is Senator Tom Cotton of Arkansas, who burst to prominence with a letter signed by 46 Republican colleagues to leaders of Iran warning against a deal. Mr. Cotton, echoing criticism by Israeli leaders, swiftly denounced the framework reached on Thursday as "a list of dangerous U.S. concessions that will put Iran on the path to nuclear weapons" — words, his colleagues say, that expressed his deep concern about Iran's threat

to Israel's security. But it is also true that Mr. Cotton and other Republicans benefited from millions in campaign spending in 2014 by several pro-Israel Republican billionaires and other influential American donors who helped them topple Democratic opponents.

Republicans currently in the Senate raised more money during the 2014 election cycle in direct, federally regulated campaign contributions from individuals and political action committees deemed pro-Israel than their Democratic counterparts, according to data compiled by the Center for Responsive Politics and analyzed for The New York Times by a second nonprofit, MapLight. The Republican advantage was the first in more than a decade.

The alliances in Congress that

Continued on Page 16

CALIFORNIA IMAGE VS. DRY REALITY

Drought Tests History of
Endless Growth

This article is by Adam Nagourney, Jack Healy and Nelson D. Schwartz.

LOS ANGELES — For more than a century, California has been the state where people flocked for a better life — 164,000 square miles of mountains, farmland and coastline, shimmering with ambition and dreams, money and beauty. It was the cutting-edge symbol of possibility: Hollywood, Silicon Valley, aerospace, agriculture and vineyards.

But now a punishing drought — and the unprecedented measures the state announced last week to compel people to reduce water consumption — is forcing a reconsideration of whether the aspiration of untrammeled growth that has for so long been this state's driving engine has run against the limits of nature.

The 25 percent cut in water consumption ordered by Gov. Jerry Brown raises fundamental questions about what life in California will be like in the years ahead, and even whether this

THE PARCHED WEST A State in Flux

state faces the prospect of people leaving for wetter climates — assuming, as Mr. Brown and other state leaders do, that this marks a permanent change in the climate, rather than a particularly severe cyclical drought.

This state has survived many a catastrophe before — and defied the doomsayers who have regularly proclaimed the death of the California dream — as it emerged, often stronger, from the challenges of earthquakes, an energy crisis and, most recently, a budgetary collapse that forced years of devastating cuts in spending. These days, the economy is thriving, the population is growing, the state budget is in surplus, and development is exploding from Silicon Valley to San Diego; the evidence of it can be

Continued on Page 18

'Gertie's Babies,' Sold at Birth, Use DNA to Unlock Secret Past

By KIRK JOHNSON

COEUR D'ALENE, Idaho — Sue Docken's start in life, in 1951, with a no-questions-asked cash adoption at the hands of a midwife, had strong elements of the crime scene that it was.

Her adoptive father was told to stay in the car and keep the motor running. His wife went into a nondescript office building in Butte, Mont., where she met with the midwife, Gertrude Pitkanen, and was handed the hours-old infant and the afterbirth, offered a peek through a curtain at the young mother lying in a bed, and told to leave. The afterbirth was thrown out the window on the drive home. Ms. Docken was later told by her adoptive parents, who paid \$500 for her that day.

Ms. Docken is one of about two dozen people, mostly in the West, belonging to a self-styled club whose members call themselves "Gertie's Babies." (More are believed to be out there, unknown

perhaps even to themselves.) Their lives are diverse, connected only by a common thread, Ms. Pitkanen. Sometimes known more grandly as Gertrude Pitkanen Van Orden, she delivered and sold babies, performed abortions — and mostly evaded legal consequence — in Butte from the 1920s through the 1950s. The se-

Continued on Page 15



RAJAH BOSE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Gertrude Pitkanen sold babies but largely evaded legal woes.

Seeing a Cash Cow in Museums' Precious Art

By DOREEN CARVAJAL

MÜNSTER, Germany — The director of the art museum here dreads the idea of losing some of his town's biggest cultural attractions. He worries about a Henry Moore sculpture that has been on exhibition for almost 40 years, knowing it could vanish along with Renaissance panels and Eduardo Chillida benches in a sale to settle government debts.

"There's an expression in German: 'Don't sell your family silver,'" said the director, Hermann Arnhold of the Westphalian State Museum for Art and Cultural History. "Would you sell the story of your family? If you sell important artworks, that means selling a part of your history."

Yet, what once seemed unthinkable is suddenly palatable in Europe: The continent's art treasures more and more are losing sacred status as an inheritance belonging to the people.

With government subsidies to public institutions being cut back, museums in countries like Britain, the Netherlands and Germa-



LEON NEAL/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

The Northampton Museum in Britain wanted to sell a 4,500-year-old limestone statue of Sekhemka to finance a remodeling.

ny need the income from art sales to close budget gaps, make repairs or finance expansions. That has led to fears that masterpieces will disappear from public view to adorn the living room walls of a Saudi prince or hedge-fund billionaire.

"If you want to safeguard cul-

tural identity, you cannot sell the best pieces of your collection," said Marilena Vecco, an assistant professor of cultural economics at Erasmus University in Rotterdam. "This is the challenge for all museums."

The cutbacks in cultural sub-

Continued on Page 11

INTERNATIONAL 6-13

Mourning the Dead in Kenya

Scores of families waited at a morgue in Nairobi to identify relatives who died last week when armed men belonging to the Shabab, a Somali Islamist extremist group, stormed a university campus and killed nearly 150 students. PAGE 10



NATIONAL 14-21

A Pivotal Election in Ferguson

Voters in Ferguson, Mo., will go to the polls on Tuesday for a City Council election that could change the face of the predominantly white local government in the mostly black city. PAGE 14

New Climate Change Strategy

Gov. Jay Inslee of Washington hopes to push his environmental policies by financing bread-and-butter programs with carbon emissions fees. PAGE 14

Thriving in Crises

Senator Robert Menendez of New Jersey, who faces bribery charges, has a record of rising in disasters. PAGE 17

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Silicon Valley's Least-Friended

Jay Edelson is a class-action lawyer whose firm specializes in filing lawsuits against technology companies, claiming privacy violations. PAGE 1

Watching What You Eat

Business is booming at labs like IEH in Seattle that make sure food is not tainted and is what it claims to be. PAGE 1

SPORTSSUNDAY

Gearing Up, Powering Down

Defense is likely to dominate the coming baseball season, and the Orioles and Nationals could break through. PAGE 1

SPORTSSUNDAY

Wisconsin and Duke in Final

Sam Dekker, below, and Wisconsin ended Kentucky's bid for an undefeated season with a 71-64 victory and will face Duke, also a No. 1 seed, in Monday's title game. The Blue Devils rolled past seventh-seeded Michigan State. PAGE 1



SUNDAY REVIEW

Cromwell's Return

After 500 years, the cunning Thomas Cromwell, henchman to a cardinal, fixer for King Henry VIII and a model for political skulduggery then and now, is the focus of "Wolf Hall," a "Masterpiece" series on PBS, and a new two-part Broadway production. Both are drawn from Hilary Mantel novels. PAGE 5

SUNDAY REVIEW

Maureen Dowd

PAGE 1



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Paul Is Taking Untested Route To Nomination

Contrarian Enters Race Seeking Broader Base

By JEREMY W. PETERS

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — Senator Rand Paul's entry on Tuesday into the race for the White House said as much about his own political aspirations as it did about a vexing truth for Republicans: Many of them believe their party is simply not big enough to elect a president in 2016.

Offering a conservative message threaded with a contrarian strain of libertarianism that he hopes will appeal to minority and



WILLIAM DESHAZER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Rand Paul supporter at his announcement on Tuesday.

younger voters, Mr. Paul is taking perhaps the most unconventional and untested route to assembling the broader coalition that many Republicans say they will need to remain a viable national party.

In announcing his candidacy to an animated crowd of 1,500 people of all ages who stood shoulder to shoulder in a downtown hotel ballroom, Mr. Paul said his message was "for all Americans, whether you wear a suit, a uniform or overalls, whether you're white or black, rich or poor."

"It's time for a new way," he continued, "a way predicated on justice, opportunity and freedom. Those of us who have enjoyed the American dream must break down the wall that separates us from the other America."

As the only candidate who supports less punitive drug laws, more probing oversight of the nation's intelligence agencies and a reduced military footprint abroad, Mr. Paul raises uncomfortable questions for a party whose nominating process in-

Continued on Page A15

IRAN'S LEADERS FALL INTO LINE BEHIND ACCORD

PROTESTERS CONDEMNED

After the Nuclear Deal, Hard-Liners Seem on the Outside

By THOMAS ERDBRINK

TEHRAN — Since the Islamic Revolution in 1979, Iranian hard-liners have been free to take to the streets and object to any form of compromise with the West, and particularly the United States.

But when a conspicuously small group of hard-liners did so on Tuesday morning in front of the Parliament building, holding up placards and shouting slogans against the nuclear framework agreed to last week in Lausanne, Switzerland, the Iranian Interior Ministry condemned the demonstration as illegal, because the protesters had failed to obtain a permit. There were also very few reporters.

It was perhaps the first time that conservatives — in this case mostly young people genuinely disappointed over the compromises Iran has made to reach a nuclear agreement — seemed disconnected from the power structure here.

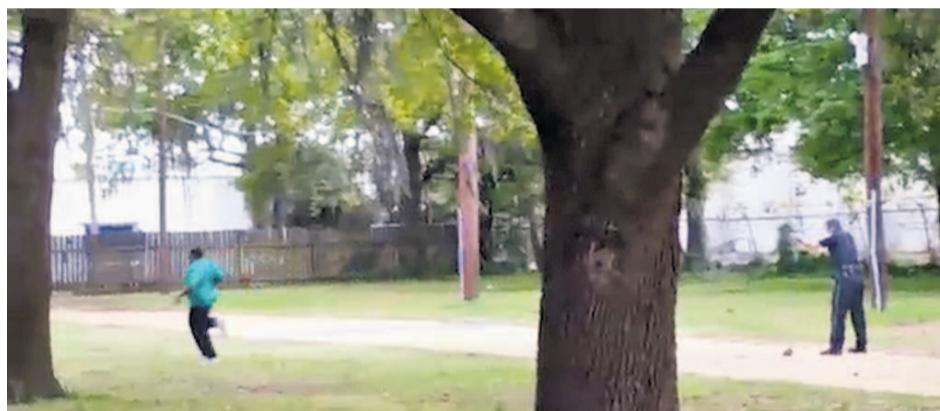
Analysts say the message from the top is clear: Get with the program. Senior officials, important clerics, lawmakers and Revolutionary Guards commanders, who in the past have reflexively opposed any accommodation with the West, now go out of their way to laud Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif and his team of negotiators, as well as the government of President Hassan Rouhani.

On Tuesday, Gen. Mohammad Ali Jafari, the highest-ranking commander of the Revolutionary Guards Corps, joined the chorus. "The Iranian nation and the Iranian Revolutionary Guards Corps thank these dear negotiators for their honest attempts and political jihad, and for their resistance on the defined red lines," the semiofficial Mehr news agency quoted him as saying.

One influential cleric even is-

Continued on Page A8

OFFICER IS CHARGED WITH MURDER OF A BLACK MAN SHOT IN THE BACK



A video taken Saturday in North Charleston, S.C., showed Officer Michael T. Slager firing eight times at Walter L. Scott, who ran after a traffic stop. For several minutes after the shooting, Mr. Scott remained face down with his hands cuffed behind his back.

South Carolina Killing Is Caught on Video — 8 Shots Fired

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT and MATT APUZZO

WASHINGTON — A white police officer in North Charleston, S.C., was charged with murder on Tuesday after a video surfaced showing him shooting in the back and killing an apparently unarmed black man while the man ran away.

The officer, Michael T. Slager, 33, said he had feared for his life because the man had taken his stun gun in a scuffle after a traffic stop on Saturday. A video, however, shows the officer firing eight times as the man, Walter L. Scott, 50, fled. The North Charleston mayor announced the state charges at a news conference Tuesday evening.

The shooting came on the heels of high-profile instances of police officers' using lethal force in New York, Cleveland, Ferguson, Mo., and elsewhere. The deaths have set off a national debate over whether the police are too quick to use force, particularly in cases involving black men.

A White House task force has recommended a host of changes to the nation's police policies, and President Obama sent Attorney General Eric H. Holder Jr. to cities around the country to try to improve police relations with minority neighborhoods.

North Charleston is South Carolina's third-largest city, with a population of about 100,000. African-Americans make up about 47 percent of residents, and whites account for about 37 percent. The Police Department is about 80 percent white, according to data collected by the Justice Department in 2007, the most recent period available.

"When you're wrong, you're wrong," Mayor

Continued on Page A14



Study Warns of Diet Supplement Dangers Kept Quiet by F.D.A.

By ANAHAD O'CONNOR

Popular weight-loss and workout supplements on sale in hundreds of vitamin shops across the nation contain a chemical nearly identical to amphetamine, the powerful stimulant, and pose dangers to the health of those who take them, according to a new study. The Canadian health authorities in December called the chemical, BMPEA, "a serious health risk," and pulled supplements that contain it from store shelves.

The Food and Drug Administration documented two years ago that nine such supplements contained the same chemical, but never made public the names of the products or the companies that made them. Neither has it recalled the products or issued a health alert to consumers, as it



SAM HODGSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A potentially risky supplement on a vitamin store shelf.

has done with other tainted supplements. The F.D.A. said in a statement that its review of supplements containing the stimulant "does not identify a specific safety concern at this time."

But public health experts contend that the F.D.A.'s reluctance to act in this case is symptomatic of a broader problem. The agency

is not effectively policing the \$33-billion-a-year supplements industry in part because top agency regulators come from the industry and have conflicts of interest, they say. In recent years, two of the agency's top officials overseeing supplements, including one currently on the job, were former leaders of the largest supplements industry trade and lobbying group.

Daniel Fabricant, who ran the agency's division of dietary supplement programs from 2011 to 2014, had been a senior executive at that trade group, the Natural Products Association, which has spent millions of dollars lobbying to block new laws that would hold supplement makers to stricter standards. He left the F.D.A. last year and returned to the association as its chief executive. His replacement in the F.D.A.'s supplement division also comes from

the trade group. "To have former officials in the supplement industry become the chief regulators of that industry at the F.D.A. is like the fox guarding the hen house," said Michael F. Jacobson, the executive director of the Center for Science in the Public Interest, a consumer advocacy group.

Dr. Fabricant disagreed, saying in an interview that having industry officials run the F.D.A.'s supplement division was "an incredible benefit to the agency." He said that during his tenure, the division had worked to get unsafe products off the market and issued a mandatory recall of a supplement involved in a deadly multistate outbreak of liver disease. "I did more there in three and a half years than was done in the 16 years prior," he said.

Continued on Page A12

Kansas Limits Abortion Method, Opening a New Line of Attack

By ERIK ECKHOLM and FRANCES ROBLES

Kansas on Tuesday became the first state to sharply restrict or alter the most common technique used for second-trimester abortions, opening a new, emotionally charged line of attack by anti-abortion forces who hope to take it swiftly to other states.

A bill signed into law by Gov. Sam Brownback, a Republican and longtime abortion opponent, outlaws what it calls "dismemberment abortion," defined in part as "knowingly dismembering a living unborn child and extracting such unborn child one piece at a time from the uterus."

The law does not use medical terminology, and its practical impact is uncertain, some experts said. But it appears to ban or re-

quire alteration of the method known as dilation and evacuation, which is used in nearly all abortions after the 12th to 14th week of pregnancy and is seen by many doctors as the safest and most convenient technique for most women.

In the procedure, the cervix is dilated with medication and the fetus is removed with forceps, often in parts. With a new legal approach intended to highlight what for many are uncomfortable aspects of abortions, groups like National Right to Life hope to expand their efforts.

"The Unborn Child Protection From Dismemberment Abortion Act is the first of what we hope

Continued on Page A14

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

A Dinosaur Reclaims Its Name



More than a century after the name Brontosaurus was reclassified as Apatosaurus, left, a study says the name should be resurrected. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A11-18

Chicago Mayor Wins 2nd Term

Rahm Emanuel on Tuesday survived a challenge from Jesus G. Garcia, who was trying to become Chicago's first Latino mayor. PAGE A11

New Leaders in Ferguson

Ferguson, Mo., voters elected two black candidates to the City Council but rejected several candidates who were backed by protest activists. PAGE A16

Water Saving Is Far From Goal

Californians cut water use only 2.8 percent in February, a dismal effort that set off new waves of concern. PAGE A11

NEW YORK A20-22

Funerals Held for Blast Victims

Killed in an explosion in the East Village on March 26, two men were remembered at separate Masses. PAGE A20

Looking for Bias in Teacher Test

A federal judge's scrutiny could thwart state efforts to create more rigorous exams for aspiring teachers. PAGE A21

THE UPSHOT

Family Time in Silicon Valley

Tech companies shower employees with perks, but they are no better than most in accommodating parents. PAGE A3

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B10-15

Third Straight Title for UConn

Morgan Tuck helped Connecticut continue its domination of women's basketball with a win over Notre Dame for the N.C.A.A. title. PAGE B11



FOOD D1-8

Recipes for Rebellion

Long before the tattooed celebrity chef became a cliché, there was Marco Pierre White. Now his groundbreaking 1990 cookbook is back in print. PAGE D1

ARTS C1-7

A Sock With Sass. And Depth.

"Hand to God," now on Broadway, brings back the hilarious terror known as Tyrone, a sock-puppet who crudely and boomerily expresses, and acts on, the unfiltered urges of the distressed adolescent boy whose hand it imprisons. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

Roger Cohen

PAGE A25



Salvatore Ferragamo

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CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, VIA DIGITALGLOBE

A satellite image from March 16 shows work on an emerging artificial island at Mischief Reef in the South China Sea.

Obama Calls For 'Repairing' Of Gays to End

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — A 17-year-old transgender youth, Leelah Alcorn, stunned her friends and a vast Internet audience in December when she threw herself in front of a tractor-trailer after writing in an online suicide note that religious therapists had tried to convert her back to being a boy.

In response, President Obama is calling for an end to such therapies aimed at "repairing" gay, lesbian and transgender youth. His decision on the issue is the latest example of his continuing embrace of gay rights.

In a statement that was posted on Wednesday evening alongside a WhiteHouse.gov petition begun in honor of Ms. Alcorn, Mr. Obama condemned the practice, sometimes called "conversion" or "reparative" therapy, which is supported by some socially conservative organizations and religious doctors.

The petition has received more than 120,000 signatures in three months.

"We share your concern about its potentially devastating effects on the lives of transgender as well as gay, lesbian, bisexual and queer youth," the statement, written by Valerie Jarrett, a senior adviser to Mr. Obama, says. "As part of our dedication to protecting America's youth, this administration supports efforts to ban the use of conversion therapy for minors."

Continued on Page A18

Boston Verdict Is a Conviction On All Counts

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

BOSTON — In the silent well of Courtroom Nine, a clerk read out the jury's verdicts: Guilty. Guilty. Guilty. The word echoed in the courtroom as the clerk pronounced it 30 times, once for each of 30 main counts.

By the end of the 25-minute roll call of charges, which included 69 related questions, a federal jury here had left no doubt how thoroughly it sided with the government against Dzhokhar Tsarnaev in the 2013 bombings at the Boston Marathon, the worst terrorist attack on American soil since Sept. 11, 2001.

The verdicts set the stage for a second, more contentious phase of the trial, in which the same jury will decide whether to sentence Mr. Tsarnaev, 21, to life in prison or death.

"I hope today's verdict provides a small amount of closure for the survivors, families and all impacted by the violent and tragic events surrounding the 2013 Boston Marathon," Mayor Martin J. Walsh said. "The incidents of those days have forever left a mark on our city."

This next phase is likely to

Continued on Page A21



Dzhokhar Tsarnaev

Piling Sand in a Disputed Sea, China Literally Gains Ground

By DAVID E. SANGER and RICK GLADSTONE

WASHINGTON — The clusters of Chinese vessels busily dredge white sand and pump it onto partly submerged coral, aptly named Mischief Reef, transforming it into an island.

Over a matter of weeks, satellite photographs show the island growing bigger, its few shacks on stilts replaced by buildings. What appears to be an amphibious warship, capable of holding 500 to 800 troops, patrols the reef's southern opening.

China has long asserted ownership of the archipelago in the South China Sea known as the Spratly Islands, also claimed by at least three other countries, including the Philippines, an American ally. But the series of detailed photographs taken of Mischief Reef shows the remarkable speed, scale and ambition of China's effort to literally gain ground in the dispute.

The photographs show that since January, China has been dredging enormous amounts of sand from around the reef and using it to build up land mass — what military analysts at the Pentagon are calling "facts on the water" — hundreds of miles from the Chinese mainland.

The Chinese have clearly concluded that it is unlikely anyone will challenge them in an area believed rich in oil and gas and, perhaps more important, strategically vital. Last week Adm. Harry Harris, the commander of the United States Pacific fleet, accused China of undertaking an enormous and unprecedented artificial land creation operation.

"China is creating a great wall of sand with dredges and bulldozers," Admiral Harris said in a speech in Canberra, Australia.

Defense Secretary Ashton B. Carter, on his first trip to Asia, put the American concerns in more diplomatic language, but the message was the same. In an interview to coincide with his visit, published Wednesday in the Yomiuri Shimbun, one of Japan's largest dailies, Mr. Carter said China's actions "seriously increase tensions and reduce prospects for diplomatic solutions" in territory claimed by the Philippines and Vietnam, and indirectly by Taiwan.

He urged Beijing to "limit its activities and exercise restraint to improve regional trust." That is the same diplomatic message the Obama administration has been giving to China since Hillary Rodham Clinton, then the secretary of state, and her Chinese counterpart faced off over the issue at an Asian summit meeting in 2010.

While other countries in Southeast Asia, like Malaysia and Vietnam, have used similar techniques to extend or enlarge territory, none have China's dredging and construction power.

The new satellite photographs were taken by DigitalGlobe, a commercial satellite imagery provider, and analyzed by the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a Washington research group. They certainly confirm the worries expressed by both Mr. Carter and Admiral Harris.

Continued on Page A13

A Stark Image Of a Shooting Carries Impact

Seeing Path to Justice on Bystander's Phone

By FRANCES ROBLES and ALAN BLINDER

NORTH CHARLESTON, S.C. — It was at a vigil Sunday for his slain brother that Anthony Scott found out what he had believed was true all along.

First came the unfathomable news that his younger brother, Walter, had been shot to death by a police officer after being stopped in the early '90s-era Mercedes he had bought just a few days before. Then came the growing doubts about the initial police story that his brother had endangered the officer. Then came the video.

It was delivered by a stranger who approached after family and friends placed flowers and said their prayers at the spot where Walter had died.

"I have something to share with you," he said. They got into Anthony Scott's car. Then the stranger showed him the video on his phone. "I knew it! I knew it!" Mr. Scott exclaimed, and what might have been another shooting of an obscure black man by the police suddenly became an astonishing glimpse of life and death, black and white, police and civilian.

In the video, a white police officer, Michael T. Slager, was seen shooting and killing Walter L. Scott, 50, as Mr. Scott ran away on Saturday after a traffic stop for a broken taillight. The authorities brought murder charges against Officer Slager on Tuesday, the same day the video was released to the public. And on Wednesday, the city said the officer had been fired, though he will continue to receive health benefits for his pregnant wife until the child is born.

The city's swift response — which included voluntarily, and almost immediately, turning the investigation of the shooting over

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CITIZENS' VIDEOS RAISE QUESTIONS ON POLICE CLAIMS

RIISING USE OF CAMERAS

Fatal Shooting in South Carolina Reigniting Debates on Force

By MATT APUZZO and TIMOTHY WILLIAMS

WASHINGTON — Nothing has done more to fuel the national debate over police tactics than the dramatic, sometimes grisly videos: A man gasping "I can't breathe" through a police chokehold on Staten Island, a 12-year-old boy shot dead in a park in Cleveland. And now, perhaps the starkest video yet, showing a South Carolina police officer shooting a fleeing man in the back.

The videos have spurred calls from statehouses to the White House for more officers to attach cameras to their uniforms. While cameras frequently exonerate officers in shootings, the recent spate of videos has raised uncomfortable questions about how much the American criminal justice system can rely on the accounts of police officers when the cameras are not rolling.

"Everyone in this business knows that cops have been given the benefit of the doubt," said Hugh F. Keefe, a Connecticut lawyer who has defended several police officers accused of misconduct. "They're always assumed to be telling the truth, unless there's tangible evidence otherwise."

In the fatal shooting in South Carolina, the most compelling evidence, provided by a bystander with a camera phone, was shaky and at times unfocused. But the video clearly showed the officer, Michael T. Slager, firing eight times as Walter L. Scott, 50, tried to flee after a traffic stop. The officer had said that he fired amid a

Continued on Page A17



Anthony Scott, left, whose brother Walter was killed by the police, at his home near North Charleston, S.C., on Wednesday.



SOFIE AMALIE KLOUGART FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A sexual-education class in Denmark held by Sex and Society.

New Topic in Europe's Sex-Ed Classrooms: Making More Babies

By DANNY HAKIM

COPENHAGEN — Twenty-five Danish 13- and 14-year-olds gathered in a circle to talk about sex. This was going to be awkward.

One student surveyed her red nails while a classmate checked his cellphone. When the discussion turned to masturbation, a girl pointed across the room toward a boy who was already chortling, and then she started to cover her own giggles by cupping a hand over her mouth.

"It's O.K. to laugh," said the instructor, 29-year-old Andreas Beck Kronborg, who looked young enough to be an older

brother. "We're going to talk about stuff that's embarrassing."

Recently, Sex and Society, a nonprofit group that provides much of Denmark's sex education, adjusted its curriculum. The group no longer has a sole emphasis on how to prevent getting pregnant but now also talks about pregnancy in a more positive light.

It is all part of a not-so-subtle push in Europe to encourage people to have more babies. Denmark, like a number of European countries, is growing increasingly anxious about low birthrates. Those concerns have only been intensified by the region's financial and economic crisis, with high unemployment rates among

the young viewed as discouraging potential parents.

The Italian health minister described Italy as a "dying country" in February. Germany has spent heavily on family subsidies but has little to show for it. Greece's depression has further stalled its birthrate. And in Denmark, the birthrate has been below the so-called replacement rate needed to keep a population from declining — just over two children per woman — since the early 1970s.

"For many, many years, we only talked about safe sex, how to prevent getting pregnant," said Marianne Lomholt, the national director of Sex and Society. "Suddenly we just thought, maybe we

should actually also tell them about how to get pregnant."

The demographic shift is more pressing in Europe than almost any other major region, save Japan. There are an estimated 28 Europeans 65 or older for every 100 residents ages 20 to 64, almost twice the world average, according to the United Nations, and compared with 24.7 for the United States. By the end of the century, the United Nations expects the European figure to double.

Such trends will transform societies, potentially reducing economic growth and increasing stress on public pension systems and requiring more elder care.

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NATIONAL A14-22

Cruz War Chest Swells Quickly

Four "super PACs" said they raised \$31 million for Senator Ted Cruz, a sum that could upend expectations in the Republican presidential field. PAGE A20

Clashing Over Marijuana

New limits on the Justice Department's marijuana rules add to the debate over federal versus state control. PAGE A14

INTERNATIONAL A4-13

Iraqis Throw a Jab at ISIS

Iraqi forces struck extremists in Anbar Province, but top officials said the main offensive was still to come. PAGE A10

INTERNATIONAL

France's National Front Feud

Marine Le Pen, head of France's far-right National Front, has split with her father, Jean-Marie Le Pen, over comments he has made about the Holocaust. Ms. Le Pen, shown with him last fall, has tried to clean up the racist image of the party, which he founded. PAGE A6



NEW YORK A23-27

Durst Indicted on Gun Charges

Robert A. Durst, charged with murder in California, is still being held in a Louisiana case, which his lawyers see as a delaying tactic. PAGE A25

ARTS C1-7

A New Leader for BAM

Katy Clark, who oversees the Orchestra of St. Luke's, will be the Brooklyn Academy of Music's next president. PAGE C1

2016 Race Starts, on Film

As Hollywood's political fever builds, films inspired by 2016 hopefuls and their advisers are taking shape. PAGE C1

BUSINESS DAY B1-10

Meeting Suggests Cautious Fed

Policy makers expressed doubts about raising interest rates in June. PAGE B1

Connecting With Apple Watch

Farhad Manjoo finds the device powerful, promising and a bit tricky. PAGE B1



SPORTS THURSDAY B11-18

An (Almost) Endless Season

When the men's college hockey title game takes place Saturday, the season will be 189 days old. PAGE B11

A Loss, Then 37 Straight Wins

After dropping its second game of the season, UConn marched to the N.C.A.A. women's basketball title. PAGE B15

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A28-29

Gail Collins

PAGE A29



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COMCAST IS SAID TO ABANDON BID FOR MAJOR RIVAL

REGULATORY RESISTANCE

Combined Cable Giants Would Have Dwarfed Broadband World

This article is by Emily Steel, David Gelles, Rebecca R. Ruiz and Eric Lipton.

Facing intense regulatory scrutiny, Comcast is planning to abandon its \$45 billion takeover of Time Warner Cable, people briefed on the matter said on Thursday, ending a bid that would have united the country's two largest cable operators and reshaped the rapidly evolving video and broadband markets.

Broadband service, in particular, has become more important than ever, with advances in technology and an array of Internet offerings upending how people watch and pay for television. [Page B1.] Had the deal been approved, the combined company would have controlled as much as 57 percent of the nation's broadband market and just under 30 percent of pay television.

Opponents portrayed Comcast's takeover effort as a land grab that would have given the company too much leverage in the industry, and over the last year lawmakers, consumers, public advocacy groups and media and technology companies rallied against the merger. Complaints reached a fever pitch in recent weeks.

The fears were plenty: that customers would end up paying more for declining service; that the industry behemoth would use its heft to stifle competition in the budding online video business; that there would be a lack of independent and diverse voices on television. Critics also criticized the company for failing to live up to promises it had made in previ-

Continued on Page B2



Brian L. Roberts is the chief of the Comcast Corporation.

The Clintons, The Russians And Uranium

Foundation Got Gifts as Deal Was Pending

By JO BECKER and MIKE MCINTIRE

The headline on the website Pravda trumpeted President Vladimir V. Putin's latest coup, its nationalistic fervor recalling an era when its precursor served as the official mouthpiece of the Kremlin: "Russian Nuclear Energy Conquers the World."

The article, in January 2013, detailed how the Russian atomic energy agency, Rosatom, had taken over a Canadian company with uranium-mining stakes stretching from Central Asia to the American West. The deal made Rosatom one of the world's largest uranium producers and brought Mr. Putin closer to his goal of controlling much of the global uranium supply chain.

But the untold story behind that story is one that involves not just the Russian president, but also a former American president and a woman who would like to be the next one.

At the heart of the tale are several men, leaders of the Canadian mining industry, who have been major donors to the charitable endeavors of former President Bill Clinton and his family. Members of that group built, financed and eventually sold off to the Russians a company that would become known as Uranium One.

Beyond mines in Kazakhstan that are among the most lucrative in the world, the sale gave the Russians control of one-fifth of all uranium production capacity in the United States. Since uranium is considered a strategic asset, with implications for national security, the deal had to be approved by a committee composed of representatives from a number of United States government agencies. Among the agencies that eventually signed off was the State Department, then headed by Mr. Clinton's wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton.

As the Russians gradually assumed control of Uranium One in three separate transactions from 2009 to 2013, Canadian records show, a flow of cash made its way to the Clinton Foundation. Uranium One's chairman used his family foundation to make four donations totaling \$2.35 million. Those contributions were not publicly disclosed by the Clintons, despite an agreement Mrs. Clinton had struck with the Obama White House to publicly identify all donors. Other people with ties to the company made dona-

Continued on Page A20

OBAMA APOLOGIZES AFTER DRONE KILLS AMERICAN AND ITALIAN HELD BY QAEDA



STEPHEN CROWLEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Obama said on Thursday of the hostage killings, "I profoundly regret what happened."

NEWS ANALYSIS

Ghosts in the Cross Hairs

Drone Strikes Reveal Uncomfortable Truth: U.S. Is Often Unsure About Who Will Die

By SCOTT SHANE

Barack Obama inherited two ugly, intractable wars in Iraq and Afghanistan when he became president and set to work to end them. But a third, more covert war he made his own, escalating drone strikes in Pakistan and expanding them to Yemen and Somalia.

The drone's vaunted capability for pinpoint killing appealed to a president intrigued by a new technology and determined to try to keep the United States out of new quagmires. Aides said Mr. Obama liked the idea of picking off dangerous terrorists a few at a time, without endangering American lives or risking the yearslong bloodshed of conventional war.

"Let's kill the people who are trying to kill us," he often told aides.

By most accounts, hundreds of dangerous militants have, indeed, been killed by drones, including some high-ranking Qaeda figures. But for six years, when the heavy cloak of secrecy has occasionally been breached,

the results of some strikes have often turned out to be deeply troubling.

Every independent investigation of the strikes has found far more civilian casualties than administration officials admit. Gradually, it has become clear that when operators in Nevada fire missiles into remote tribal territories on the other side of the world, they often do not know who they are killing, but are making an imperfect best guess.

The president's announcement on Thursday that a January strike on Al Qaeda in Pakistan had killed two Western hostages, and that it took many weeks to confirm their deaths, bolstered the assessments of the program's harshest outside critics. The dark picture was compounded by the additional disclosure that two American members of Al Qaeda were killed in strikes that same month, but neither had been identified in advance and deliberately targeted.

In all, it was a devastating acknowledgment for Mr. Obama,

Continued on Page A11

First Evidence Of a Blunder: 2 Extra Bodies

By MARK MAZZETTI and ERIC SCHMITT

WASHINGTON — The first sign that something had gone terribly wrong was when officers from the C.I.A. saw that six bodies had been pulled from the rubble instead of four.

For weeks, drones had watched the movements of four men around a compound in the Shawal Valley. After the drones struck on Jan. 15, the agency thought that only those four had died.

But when six bodies were taken from the wreckage and hastily buried, it was a clear signal that the spy agency had made a deadly mistake. It took weeks for the extent of the disaster to be revealed: The two additional bodies were those of an American and an Italian hostage. One of them was Warren Weinstein, from Rockville, Md., a veteran

Continued on Page A10



Mr. Weinstein

STRIKE IN PAKISTAN

Two U.S. Inquiries to Look at Policy and Its Future

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — An American aid worker and another man held hostage by Al Qaeda were killed in an American drone strike in Pakistan in January, government officials disclosed on Thursday, underscoring the perils of a largely invisible, long-distance war waged through video screens, joysticks and sometimes incomplete intelligence.

Intending to wipe out a compound linked to the terrorist group, the Central Intelligence Agency authorized the attack with no idea that the hostages were being held there despite hundreds of hours of surveillance, the officials said. Even afterward, they said, the agency did not realize at first that it had killed an American it had long sought to rescue, with the wrenching news becoming clear over time.

The violent death of an American at the hands of his own government proved a searing moment in a drone war that has come to define the nation's battle with Al Qaeda, especially since President Obama took office. Visibly upset, Mr. Obama came to the White House briefing room shortly after his staff issued a written statement announcing the deaths to make a rare personal apology.

"As president and as commander in chief, I take full responsibility for all our counterterrorism operations," the grim-faced president told reporters as television cameras broadcast his words. "I profoundly regret what happened," he added. "On behalf of the United States government, I offer our deepest apologies to the families."

The government is conducting two reviews of the drone strike to determine what went wrong, and the episode could force a broader rethinking of Mr. Obama's approach to fighting Al Qaeda. Under the president's policy, drone strikes are to be authorized only when it can be concluded to a "near certainty" that there will not be civilian casualties.

The two hostages, Warren Weinstein, an American kidnapped in 2011, and Giovanni Lo Porto, an Italian seized in 2012,

Continued on Page A10

U.S. Maps Pinpoint Earthquakes Linked to Quest for Oil and Gas

By RICHARD PÉREZ-PEÑA

The United States Geological Survey on Thursday released its first comprehensive assessment of the link between thousands of earthquakes and oil and gas operations, identifying and mapping 17 regions where quakes have occurred.

The report was the agency's broadest statement yet on a danger that has grown along with the nation's energy production.

By far the hardest-hit state, the report said, is Oklahoma, where earthquakes are hundreds of times more common than they were until a few years ago because of the disposal of wastewa-

ter left over from extracting fuels and from drilling wells by injecting water into the earth. But the report also mapped parts of eight other states, from Lake Erie to the Rocky Mountains, where that practice has caused quakes, and said most of them were at risk for more significant shaking in the future.

"Oklahoma used to experience one or two earthquakes per year of magnitude 3 or greater, and now they're experiencing one or two a day," Mark Petersen, the chief author of the report, said. "Oklahoma now has more earthquakes of that magnitude than

Continued on Page A17



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Lynch Is Confirmed For the Justice Dept.

Loretta E. Lynch, shown in 2014, was confirmed Thursday as attorney general. She will be the first African-American woman to hold the post, replacing Eric H. Holder Jr., the Obama administration's most outspoken voice on race relations and civil rights. Ms. Lynch signaled that her approach would be different, particularly in the debate over police tactics. Page A15.

NATIONAL A15-21

No Prison for Ex-C.I.A. Chief

David H. Petraeus was fined \$100,000 and sentenced to two years' probation for providing classified information to his lover. PAGE A16

INTERNATIONAL A3, A4-14

'Editing' Human Embryos

A Chinese experiment to edit the genes of human embryos, altering the DNA of cells, drew expressions of concern and dread from many scientists. PAGE A3

NEW YORK A22-25

A History of Instability

The man killed by police officers in Queens on Wednesday was arrested at least 14 times and once tried to commit suicide by drinking bleach. PAGE A22

ARTS C1-32

The Whitney Unpacks History

"America Is Hard to See," the inaugural show at the new location in Chelsea, opens on May 1 and is culled from the permanent collection. PAGE C23

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

David Brooks

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HAMILTON
AN AMERICAN MUSICAL

NEW TICKETS ON SALE TODAY FOR SEATS NOVEMBER 2015 THRU MARCH 2016
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Deep Support in Washington For C.I.A.'s Drone Missions

Screenings Create Veneer of Congressional Review

By MARK MAZZETTI and MATT APUZZO

WASHINGTON — About once a month, staff members of the congressional intelligence committees drive across the Potomac River to C.I.A. headquarters in Langley, Va., and watch videos of people being blown up.

As part of the macabre ritual the staff members look at the footage of drone strikes in Pakistan and other countries and a sampling of the intelligence butressing each strike, but not the internal C.I.A. cables discussing the attacks and their aftermath. The screenings have provided a veneer of congressional oversight and have led lawmakers to claim that the targeted killing program is subject to rigorous review, to defend it vigorously in public and to authorize its sizable budget each year.

That unwavering support from Capitol Hill is but one reason the C.I.A.'s killing missions are embedded in American warfare and unlikely to change significantly despite President Obama's announcement on Thursday that a drone strike accidentally killed two innocent hostages, an American and an Italian. The program is under fire like never before, but the White House continues to champion it, and C.I.A. officers who built the program more than a decade ago — some of whom also led the C.I.A. detention program that used torture in secret prisons — have ascended to the agency's powerful senior ranks.

Although lawmakers insist that there is great accountability to the program, interviews with administration and congressional

officials show that Congress holds the program to less careful scrutiny than many members assert. Top C.I.A. officials, who learned the importance of cultivating Congress after the resistance they ran into on the detention program, have dug in to protect the agency's drone operations, frustrating a pledge by Mr. Obama two years ago to overhaul the program and pull it from the shadows.

Perhaps no single C.I.A. officer has been more central to the effort than Michael D'Andrea, a gaunt, chain-smoking convert to Islam who was chief of operations during the birth of the agency's detention and interrogation program and then, as head of the C.I.A. Counterterrorism Center, became an architect of the targeted killing program. Until last month, when Mr. D'Andrea was quietly shifted to another job, he presided over the growth of C.I.A. drone operations and hundreds of strikes in Pakistan and Yemen during nine years in the position.

In secret meetings on Capitol Hill, Mr. D'Andrea was a forceful advocate for the drone program and won supporters among both Republicans and Democrats. Congressional staff members said that he was particularly effective in winning the support of Senator Dianne Feinstein, the California Democrat who was chairwoman of the Senate Intelligence Committee until January, when Republicans assumed control of the chamber.

Ms. Feinstein for years has

Continued on Page 4

Gay Rights Case Caps Transition For Cincinnati

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

CINCINNATI — Jim Obergefell says he "instantly pictured growing old" with John Arthur when they fell in love here in 1992. Just seven weeks after they began dating, Mr. Arthur gave Mr. Obergefell a ring set with diamonds — a sign that, in their hearts if not in law, they were married.

Two decades later, with Mr. Arthur dying of amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (Lou Gehrig's disease), they did marry, aboard a medical charter jet on the tarmac of an airport in Maryland — a state where, unlike Ohio, gay people could wed. When Mr. Arthur, 48, died in October 2013, Ohio refused to list Mr. Obergefell as his spouse on the death certificate. Furious, Mr. Obergefell sued.

Now Mr. Obergefell, 48, a soft-spoken, bespectacled real estate agent who says he never intended life as an activist, is the lead plaintiff in a Supreme Court case that could topple Ohio's ban and

Continued on Page 22



LUKE SHARRETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Jim Obergefell of Cincinnati is a Supreme Court plaintiff.

A Pastor's Son Runs on Faith As Iowa Nears

By TRIP GABRIEL

DES MOINES — Scott Walker, the son of a Baptist preacher, learned a lot about being a politician by going to church.

He was introduced to glad-handing while greeting worshipers beside his father after Sunday services. His confidence as a public speaker began at 2, when he delivered a Christmas greeting from the pulpit, and it blossomed when he preached occasional sermons as a teenager. And now, Mr. Walker's lifelong church involvement may be a powerful asset as he positions himself to run for the Republican presidential nomination and focuses on early primary and caucus states dominated by evangelical voters.

Already a hero to fiscal conservatives — both the Tea Party base and billionaire donors like Charles G. and David H. Koch — Mr. Walker, the governor of Wisconsin, made his most explicit appeal yet to the Christian right on Saturday before hundreds of social conservatives in Iowa. During his toughest times in office, he said, "What sustained us all along the way is we had people who said, 'We prayed for you.'"

His implicit message is that in an unusually fractured Republican field, with 10 or more candidates potentially on the ballot in the Iowa caucuses next year, he is best positioned to unite the party.

Ahead of Saturday's candidate event — organized by the Iowa Faith and Freedom Coalition, part of the national group led by

Continued on Page 19

MAJOR QUAKE RAVAGES NEPAL



Rescue workers in the Nepalese capital, Katmandu, on Saturday, after a magnitude 7.8 quake.

OMAR HAVANA/GETTY IMAGES

TOLL ABOVE 1,800

Katmandu Region Hit Hard — Historic Tower Falls

By ELLEN BARRY

NEW DELHI — A powerful earthquake shook Nepal on Saturday near its capital, Katmandu, killing more than 1,800 people, flattening sections of the city's historic center, and trapping dozens of sightseers in a 200-foot watchtower that came crashing down into a pile of bricks.

As officials in Nepal faced the devastation on Sunday morning, they said that most of the deaths occurred in Katmandu and the surrounding valley and that more than 4,700 people had been injured. But the quake touched a vast expanse of the subcontinent. It set off avalanches around Mount Everest, where at least 17 climbers died. At least 34 deaths occurred in northern India. Buildings swayed in Tibet and Bangladesh.

The earthquake, with a magnitude of 7.8, struck shortly before noon, and residents of Katmandu ran into the streets and other open spaces as buildings fell, throwing up clouds of dust. Wide cracks opened on paved streets and in the walls of city buildings. Motorcycles tipped over and slid off the edge of a highway.

By midafternoon, the United States Geological Survey had counted 12 aftershocks, one of which measured 6.6.

Seismologists have expected a major earthquake in western Nepal, where there is pent-up pressure from the grinding between tectonic plates, the northern Eurasian plate and the up-thrusting Indian plate. Still, witnesses described a chaotic rescue effort during the first hours after the quake as emergency workers and volunteers grabbed tools and bulldozers from construction sites, and dug with hacksaws, mangled reinforcing bars and their hands.

Though many have worried about the stability of the concrete high-rises that have been hastily erected in Katmandu, the most terrible damage on Saturday was to the oldest part of the city, which is studded with temples and palaces made of wood and unmortared brick.

Four of the area's seven Unesco World Heritage sites were severely damaged in the earthquake: Bhaktapur Durbar Square, a temple complex built in the shape of a conch shell; Patan Durbar Square, which dates to the third century; Basantapur

Continued on Page 17

DEATH AT EVEREST An avalanche killed 17 at a base camp. PAGE 16

WORRY IN QUEENS Anxious moments for Nepalese in U.S. PAGE 16

SEISMIC TROUBLE Decades of warnings for Katmandu. PAGE 16



A man trapped in Katmandu. At least 12 aftershocks were reported, one measuring 6.6.

NARENDRA SHRESTHA/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY



Many people died when the nine-story Dharahara Tower, a tourist spot in Katmandu, collapsed.

NARENDRA SHRESTHA/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

Russian Hackers Read Obama's Unclassified Emails, Officials Say

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT and DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON — Some of President Obama's email correspondence was swept up by Russian hackers last year in a breach of the White House's unclassified computer system that was far more intrusive and worrisome than has been publicly acknowl-

edged, according to senior American officials briefed on the investigation.

The hackers, who also got deeply into the State Department's unclassified system, do not appear to have penetrated closely guarded servers that control the message traffic from Mr. Obama's BlackBerry, which he or an aide carries constantly.

But they obtained access to the

email archives of people inside the White House, and perhaps some outside, with whom Mr. Obama regularly communicated. From those accounts, they reached emails that the president had sent and received, according to officials briefed on the investigation.

White House officials said that no classified networks had been compromised, and that the hack-

ers had collected no classified information. Many senior officials have two computers in their offices, one operating on a highly secure classified network and another connected to the outside world for unclassified communications.

But officials have conceded that the unclassified system routinely contains much information

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INTERNATIONAL 6-17

For Finns, Fines Match Wallets

A \$58,000 speeding ticket to a businessman has renewed debate on Finland's sliding scale system of levying fines based on offenders' incomes. PAGE 12

NATIONAL 18-24

Baltimore Protests Grow

A demonstration turned chaotic after crowds jammed the streets of Baltimore to protest the death of a black man while he was in police custody. PAGE 24

Volkswagen Chairman Ousted

Ferdinand Piëch, the Porsche family scion who dominated Volkswagen for more than two decades, was forced off the automaker's supervisory board. PAGE 22

SPORTSSUNDAY

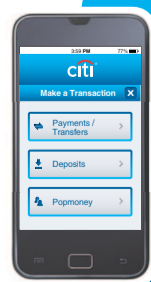
He Beat, Then Followed, a Star

Augie Sanchez defeated Floyd Mayweather Jr. at the 1996 Olympic trials, then watched from afar as Mayweather earned fame and great wealth. PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Maureen Dowd

PAGE 11



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ADVOCATES SEEK SWEEPING RULING IN MARRIAGE CASE

MONTHS IN PREPARATION

Goal Is to Extend Rights for Gay Americans Beyond Unions

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — In the months leading to Tuesday's Supreme Court arguments on same-sex marriage, teams of gay rights lawyers and their allies have held countless strategy sessions, drafted scores of briefs and participated in intense moot courts.

Their relentless preparation has two goals. One is to win. The other is to win big.

"Many roads lead to marriage," said Susan Sommer, a lawyer with Lambda Legal. "But some roads would be even better than others."

The lawyers scoured the transcripts of arguments in earlier gay rights cases, honing answers to questions that had thrown other lawyers. They visited the Supreme Court to observe unrelated cases, taking in the rhythms of the questioning and assessing the justices' habits of mind.

At the moot courts, they peppered the two lawyers who will argue for their side with tough, sarcastic questions modeled on the ones Justice Antonin Scalia is prone to asking.

Should the Supreme Court rule that there is a constitutional right to same-sex marriage, as many expect it to, the decision could be narrow or broad. Gay rights groups are hoping to secure not only the right to marry but also a symbolic and practical victory that would transform the status of gay Americans, affirming their dignity and protecting them from

Continued on Page A16

'16 Rivals Unite In Push to Alter Justice System

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — The last time a Clinton and a Bush ran for president, the country was awash in crime and the two parties were competing to show who could be tougher on murderers, rapists and drug dealers. Sentences were lengthened and new prisons sprouted up across the country.

But more than two decades later, declared and presumed candidates for president are competing over how to reverse what they see as the policy excesses of the 1990s and the mass incarceration that has followed. Democrats and Republicans alike are putting forth ideas to reduce the prison population and rethink a system that has locked up a generation of young men, particularly African-Americans.

Former Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, Senator Ted Cruz and Senator Rand Paul want to ease mandatory minimum sentences. Gov. Chris Christie wants to release nonviolent offenders pending trial with-

Continued on Page A19

Clashes Rock Baltimore After Funeral; Curfew Is Set



MATT ROURKE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Baltimore police officers standing guard Monday night. At least 15 officers were injured and dozens of people were arrested.

National Guard Is Called Amid Looting

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

BALTIMORE — Maryland's governor activated the National Guard on Monday and the city of Baltimore announced a curfew for all residents as a turbulent day that began with the funeral of 25-year-old Freddie Gray, the nation's latest symbol of police brutality, ended with rioting by rock-throwing youths, arson, looting and at least 15 police officers injured.

The violence that shook the city broke out in the late afternoon in the Mondawmin neighborhood of northwest Baltimore, where Mr. Gray's funeral had taken place. Angry residents threw bottles, rocks and chunks of concrete at officers who lined up in riot gear with shields deployed. Cars were set on fire, store windows were shattered, a CVS drugstore was looted, and the cafe inside a century-old Italian deli was destroyed. Trouble also erupted at the city's Lexington Market.

By nighttime, the chaos seemed to be competing with a push for calm. Looters pulled junk food from convenience stores within a few blocks of police in riot gear and cars that had been set ablaze. At the same time, young men in black T-shirts from a local anti-violence group urged their neighbors to go back inside. A large fire burned in east Baltimore, consuming a partly built development project of the Southern Baptist Church that was to include housing for the elderly.

Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake arrived at the scene of the blaze and said it was under investigation. "We don't know if it is related to the riots," she said.

Gov. Larry Hogan declared a state of emergency, and the Maryland State Police, who took command of the response, said they would ask for 5,000 law enforcement officials from the mid-Atlantic region to help quell the violence. Some National Guard units were to arrive on Monday night, with others deploying on Tuesday in armored Humvees.

In Washington, Attorney General Loretta E. Lynch, on her first day on the job, briefed President Obama, who in turn called Governor Hogan. Mr. Hogan said the president urged him to have law enforcement officers exercise restraint, and he assured the president they would. "But," the gov-

Continued on Page A15

On the Street

Scenes of chaos and calm as protesters with varying causes march in Baltimore. Page A15.

Nepal Villages Cut Off by Quake Wait for Aid and Bury the Dead

By THOMAS FULLER and ELLEN BARRY

SAURPANI, Nepal — Five hours by car from Katmandu, then by foot for several miles past the spot where the road is blocked by boulders and mud, people from the villages near the epicenter of Nepal's powerful earthquake are burying their dead, despairing of help arriving anytime soon.

On Monday afternoon, Parbati Dhakal and several dozen of her neighbors walked two hours down a jungle path, carrying 11 bodies attached to bamboo poles. They stopped at a riverbank where they lowered the dead into holes.

One of the villagers pointed to the people gathered there and identified them, one by one: "Father just buried; mother just buried; sister just buried."

Back in Saurpani, an ethnic Gurkha village at the epicenter of Saturday's quake, Ms. Dhakal said, "we have no shelter, no food and all the bodies are scattered around."

Two days after Nepal's worst earthquake in 80 years, the official death toll rose to more than 4,000, and humanitarian aid was starting to flow to the capital. Katmandu's airport had been so overloaded by aid and passenger planes that incoming flights sat for hours on the runway. Nepali expatriates were flying in, desperate to track down family members, and setting off down the airport access road on foot,

rolling suitcases behind them.

But outside the capital, many of the worst-hit villages in the ridges around Katmandu remain a black hole, surrounded by landslides that make them inaccessible even to the country's armed forces. The Nepali authorities on Monday began airdropping packages of tarpaulins, dry food and medicine into mountain villages, but an attempt to land helicopters was abandoned, said Brig. Gen. Jagadish Chandra Pokharel,

an army spokesman.

The government is only gradually getting a grasp of the destruction in these isolated places. It is nearly impossible to identify which villages are most in need, and how many may be dead or injured, said Jeffrey Shannon, director of programs for Mercy Corps in Nepal.

"Right now, what we're hearing from everybody, including our own staff, is that we don't know," he said. "As people start

to travel these roads, to reach these communities, you run into landslides. They're simply inaccessible, the ones that need the most help."

The chief bureaucrat in Gorkha district, Udhav Timilsina, said rescue crews were unable even to distribute relief, because they are confronting as many as eight to 10 landslides between one village and its nearest neighbor. He said 250 deaths had been reported.

Continued on Page A12



ATHIT PERAWONGMETHA/REUTERS

An injured boy slept on the ground outside a hospital in Dhading Besi, west of Katmandu.

Before Braving the Open Sea, African Migrants Must Navigate a Lawless Libya

By DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK

ZAWIYAH, Libya — The two 8-year-old Eritrean boys had ridden for days across the deserts of Ethiopia, Sudan and Libya packed in the back of a truck with two other children and a dozen adults. Then they spent another month trapped in a crowded farmhouse that the smugglers

used as a pen to store their human cargo.

Finally, in the dark of night, a rubber dinghy ferried the two boys, Hermon Angosom and Efreem Fitwi, out to a creaking fishing boat jammed with more than 200 others, including 39 children — the youngest a 2-year-old in the arms of his mother.

Both cried. "We were afraid of the boat," Hermon recounted im-

passively.

The boys had joined the unceasing flow of Arab and African migrants who are churned through the lawlessness of post-Qaddafi Libya and spewed out into the Mediterranean — more than 170,000 last year and at least as many expected this year.

It is a journey through a failed state in which border security is all but nonexistent, corruption is

rampant, the coast guard rarely leaves port, and the proliferating human smuggling operations are growing ever more callous and brazen. Human trafficking from Libya across the Mediterranean was a \$170 million business last year, according to conservative estimates in a recent United Nations report.

Since the overthrow of Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi in 2011,

warring militias have become the only law in much of Libya. Smugglers have "nothing to be afraid of," as one put it, because security along the coast has disappeared. And the multiplying tales of death at sea have done nothing to diminish the demand for crossings.

African migrants who came for

Continued on Page A6

INTERNATIONAL A4-13

Japan's Military Role Shifts



President Obama and Prime Minister Shinzo Abe of Japan, in Washington for a state visit, have reached an accord that will broaden the reach of Japan's military, which is now limited to defending its own soil. PAGE A13

NATIONAL A14-19

Taking a Slow-Start Strategy

Scott Walker has put plans in motion to cede early Republican primary contests to Jeb Bush, his presumed chief rival in the 2016 race for president, in favor of a long-game strategy. PAGE A14

Pope Takes On Climate Change

As Pope Francis prepares to deliver an encyclical on the effects of human-caused climate change on the poor, he is alarming some conservatives in the United States. PAGE A17

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Uncertainty in Greece's Woes

With Greece out of cash and in an impasse with its creditors, the prospect of a messy exit from the euro seems distressingly likely. But no one knows how the market will react. PAGE B1

NEW YORK A20-24

6 Shot, 2 Fatally, in Brooklyn

Two men are dead and several people wounded when gunfire erupted outside a church after a funeral. PAGE A21

OBITUARIES A24-25

Jayne Meadows Dies at 95

A versatile and accomplished actress who performed on Broadway, in the movies and on television, she was also the wife, business partner and co-star of the comedian and talk-show host Steve Allen. PAGE A25



SCIENCE TIMES D1-6

An Aquarium's Life Preservers

Overfishing, habitat loss and pollution threaten sea creatures. The New England Aquarium is fighting back with micro-grants to protect aquatic life, like the scalloped hammerhead shark, left. PAGE D1



ARTS C1-7

'On the Move,' a Scientist's Life

Oliver Sacks, who has long studied the mysteries of the brain, turns his analytic powers on his own life as time grows short. A review. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

David Brooks

PAGE A27



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WIN McNAMEE/GETTY IMAGES

Wreckage from Train No. 188, which derailed in Philadelphia on Tuesday. Investigators and rescue workers continued to search for passengers on Wednesday.

TRAIN DERAILED GOING 106 M.P.H. ON SHARP CURVE

AT LEAST 7 ARE KILLED

Service in Northeast Is Snarled After Wreck in Philadelphia

This article is by Sheryl Gay Stolberg, Jad Mouawad and Emma G. Fitzsimmons.

PHILADELPHIA — An engineer jammed on the emergency brakes just seconds before Tuesday's fatal Amtrak derailment, but the train — traveling at 106 miles an hour, more than twice the speed limit — slowed only slightly, federal authorities said, before hurtling off its tracks, killing at least seven people and injuring more than 200.

Survivors who emerged battered and bloodied described a chaotic scene, with passengers thrown against walls, furniture and one another, and luggage and other items and falling on terrified riders. By Wednesday night, as cars were being removed, some passengers still had not been accounted for.

Investigators say that it is too early to know whether speed alone caused the wreck and that they will examine other factors, such as track conditions, throttle and brake settings and alarms in the engineer's cab. They were also studying video from a camera mounted on the locomotive, and they plan to interview the engineer, who spoke to the police but may have given only limited information, Mayor Michael A. Nutter said.

"As we know, it takes a long time to decelerate a train," said Robert Sumwalt, the National Transportation Safety Board official who is leading the investigation, in a news conference. He added, "You're supposed to enter the curve at 50 miles per hour. He was already in the curve."

The crash occurred on a stretch of the Northeast Corridor — the Washington-to-Boston route — that did not have a signal system known as positive train control, which can dictate speeds and slow trains around curves.

Mr. Sumwalt said positive train control could have prevented the crash. "Based on what we know

Continued on Page A17

CONGRESS Hours after the crash, Amtrak was at the center of a bitter partisan fight on Capitol Hill. PAGE A18

VICTIMS The dead include a midshipman, a chief executive and a software engineer. PAGE A16

SAFETY Technology exists that could have automatically slowed or stopped the train. PAGE A17

Pope Aids Push For Statehood By Palestinians

By JODI RUDOREN and DIAA HADID

JERUSALEM — The Vatican announced Wednesday that it would soon sign a treaty that includes recognition of the "state of Palestine," lending significant symbolic weight to an intensifying Palestinian push for international support for sovereignty that bypasses the paralyzed negotiations with Israel.

Palestinian leaders celebrated the Holy See's endorsement as particularly important, given the international stature of Pope Francis. For Israelis, it was an emotional blow, since Francis has deep relationships with Jews dating back decades, and Christians are critical backers of their enterprise.

"The Vatican is not just a state. The Vatican represents hundreds of millions of Christians worldwide, including Palestinians, and has vast moral significance," said Husam Zomlot, a senior Palestinian foreign-affairs official.

Continued on Page A8

Brother's Past Proves Tricky For Jeb Bush

By MAGGIE HABERMAN and MICHAEL BARBARO

A young woman berated Jeb Bush in Reno, Nev., on Wednesday for his brother's bungled war in Iraq, saying it had spawned the group calling itself the Islamic State. "Your brother created ISIS," she declared. Mr. Bush said he "respectfully" disagreed.

A middle-aged man pressed Mr. Bush to answer whether he would have supported the 2003 Iraqi invasion given the intelligence known today. Mr. Bush acknowledged mistakes but sprinkled in praise. "I give him credit," he said of his brother, for the 2007 troop surge.

By the morning's end, when a wary-sounding Mr. Bush told reporters, "If I run, it will be 2016, not 2000," it almost came across as wishful thinking.

Mr. Bush began exploring a presidential run by declaring that he would be his own man. But he is struggling to navigate his relationship with George W. Bush

Continued on Page A14

'A Crazy Shake.' Then Metal Tearing, and Chaos.

By KATE ZERNIKE

Jeremy Wladis was well settled into an evening train home from Washington on Tuesday, a commute he does at least once a week, his tablet, his smartphone, a notebook and pen arrayed in front of him to work.

The train pulled into a curve, then suddenly, a bump. "I didn't think of it, except you're on an Amtrak train and you don't usually get a bump," he recalled. Then a shake, "a crazy shake," Mr. Wladis said, "the whole thing was rattling, you heard tears and metal and you thought you were going to tip over."

As the train car landed at a 30-degree angle, two people from

A Regular Commute Quickly Becomes Something Else

several rows back were vaulted into the luggage rack above him. Mr. Wladis, 51, was jolted from the aisle seat into the window, and pinned by a tray table.

Laptops, cellphones, bags and purses went flying. "I was covered by human beings, by stuff," he said Wednesday morning.

"The first bump, you didn't know what it was, except that it was something strong. The second, you knew something was

wrong. And the third, forget about it, now you're praying."

What had been a regular commute for so many along the Northeast Corridor — with its routine and its frustrations — quickly became chaos on Tuesday night when a seven-car Amtrak train derailed as it sped around a curve heading north from Philadelphia.

With the train twisted into what survivors described as "a pretzel," seven people died, with many others, particularly at the front, critically injured. Passengers described seeing skulls fractured, faces damaged, leg bones jutting through skin.

Some cars rolled several times,

Continued on Page A16

Christie's Has First \$1 Billion Week

By SCOTT REYBURN

It was a week the art world had never seen before. For the first time, an auction house sold more than \$1 billion of art — over three days at that — a vast outpouring of money that amazed even the wealthy and the celebrities who flocked to the auction floor.

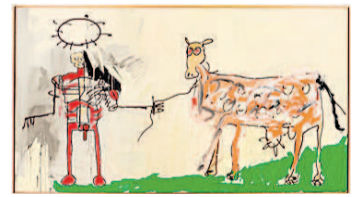
On Wednesday, Christie's said it sold \$658.5 million worth of work at its postwar and contemporary art auction, added to the

\$705.9 million for 20th-century works auctioned off on Monday. The billion-dollar threshold was a symbolic coup for Christie's and seemed to widen the divide with its rival Sotheby's, even if actual profits were unclear.

Sotheby's on Tuesday raised \$379.7 million, with fees, from 63 lots of American-oriented contemporary pieces. At its auction last week, it proclaimed the result, \$368 million, as the second highest modern and Impressionist sale in its history.

"It's a spectacle of excess at the highest level," said Abigail Asher, partner in the New York and Los Angeles art consultants Guggenheim Asher Associates Inc., who was at Monday's auction. "The last few years have

Continued on Page A24



2013 THE ESTATE OF JEAN-MICHEL BASQUIAT/ADAGP, PARIS/ARS, NEW YORK "The Field Next to the Other Road" sold for \$371 million.



RICH DOCHERTY

Police Shoot Suspect in Hammer Attacks

Officer Geraldo Casaigne after wounding David Baril, who struck Officer Lauren O'Rourke, on Wednesday in Midtown. The police say Mr. Baril attacked several people this week. Page A20.

Picture of Love Gave Way to a Charge of Murder on the Hudson

By LISA W. FODERARO

POUGHKEEPSIE, N.Y. — They seemed the picture of love, a handsome couple who doted on their cat, partied with friends at local pubs and paddled the Hudson River in kayaks they stored in their apartment here.

Then, on a Sunday evening in

April, Angelika Graswald, 35, made a desperate 911 call from the river. The kayak her fiancé, Vincent Viafore, 46, was in capsized, and she could not find him in the cold water. He is presumed dead.

Ten days later, as she laid flowers in his honor on Bannerman Island, the spot the couple had been visiting the day of Mr. Via-

fore's death, the police arrested Ms. Graswald and charged her with second-degree murder. At the time, the police said that after his disappearance, she made a number of conflicting statements that implicated her in his death.

But at a bail hearing in Orange County on Wednesday, prosecutors went further. Julie Mohl, an assistant district attorney, quoted

Ms. Graswald — in what sounded more like a confession — saying that she had tampered with Mr. Viafore's kayak and that it had "felt good knowing he was going to die."

Ms. Mohl said Ms. Graswald was aware she was the beneficiary in two life insurance policies belonging to Mr. Viafore. Ms.

Continued on Page A22

NATIONAL A11-19

Senate to Vote on Trade Bill

After lobbying by President Obama, Senate leaders agreed to vote on granting him accelerated power to complete a sweeping trade deal. PAGE A12

House Takes Up Phone Records

The House voted to end the National Security Agency sweep of phone records. A Senate fight is expected. PAGE A11

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Fears of a Mideast Arms Race

As the United States and Iran work on a nuclear deal, Saudi Arabia and other Arab states vow to match whatever nuclear capacity Iran retains. PAGE A6

Claims of a Coup in Burundi

Crowds in Burundi celebrated President Pierre Nkurunziza's ouster, but it was not clear if a coup had been successfully carried out. PAGE A7



SPORTSTHURSDAY B13-18

Rangers Advance, Barely



Derek Stepan scored in overtime as the Rangers edged the Capitals, 2-1, in Game 7 and moved on to the conference finals. PAGE B13

BUSINESS DAY B1-12

Guilty Plea, and Back to Work

After big banks plead guilty in rate-rigging and currency manipulation cases, they face little long-term fallout. PAGE B1

Verizon's Bold Game Plan

The AOL deal positions Verizon as a disruptive force in the telecom and technology industries. Common Sense. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-7

Solace in the Theater

Mimi O'Donnell has returned to theater directing after the death of her partner, Philip Seymour Hoffman. PAGE C1

SPECIAL TODAY

Retirement

With family structures changing and more people becoming empty nesters, pets are playing a larger role in the lives of older Americans, and retirement homes are adapting. Also, how retirees can turn to social media in times of illness and loss. SECTION F

THURSDAY STYLES D1-10



The Forecast: Light and Airy

Fashion pacesetters are casting aside the bright colors and patterns of the recent past in favor of a fresh, summery staple, the little white dress. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Gail Collins

PAGE A27



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NEW YORK SINCE 1837

VETERANS PIERCE VEIL OF MYSTERY ON IRAQ AILMENTS

EXPOSURE TO CHEMICAL

12 Years Later, Military Details Contents of Toxic Barrels

By C. J. CHIVERS

The toxic vapors acted quickly against the Second Platoon of the 811th Ordnance Company, whose soldiers were moving abandoned barrels out of an Iraqi Republican Guard warehouse in 2003. The building, one soldier said, was littered with dead birds.

As the soldiers pushed the barrels over and began rolling them, some of the contents leaked, they said, filling the air with a bitter, penetrating smell. Soon, many were dizzy and suffering from running noses and tearing eyes. A few were vomiting, disoriented, tingling or numb.

After the soldiers staggered outside for air, multiple detection tests indicated the presence of nerve agent. Others suggested blister agent, too. The results seemed to confirm the victims' fear that they had stumbled upon unused stocks of Iraq's chemical weapons.

From Camp Taji, where the barrels had been found, more than 20 exposed soldiers were evacuated in helicopters to a military hospital in Balad, where they were met by soldiers wearing gas masks and ordered to undress before being allowed inside for medical care.

"They drew a box in the sand and had armed guards and were like: 'Do not get out of that box. Do not get out of that box,'" said Nathan Willie, a private first class at the time. "I was kind of freaked out."

Since last fall, the United States military has acknowledged that American soldiers

Continued on Page A10



CHRISTOPHE ARCHAMBAULT/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Migrants from Myanmar, abandoned by their boat's captain and crew, retrieved food airdropped Thursday by the Thai military.

Turned Away From Land and Abandoned at Sea

By THOMAS FULLER and JOE COCHRANE

IN THE ANDAMAN SEA OFF THAILAND — A wooden fishing boat carrying several hundred desperate migrants from Myanmar was spotted adrift in the Andaman Sea between Thailand and Malaysia on Thursday, part of an exodus in which thousands of people have taken to the sea in recent weeks with no country willing to take them in.

Cries of "Please help us! I have no water!" rose from the boat as a vessel carrying journalists approached. "Please give me water!"

The green and red fishing boat, packed with men, women and children squatting on the deck with only plastic tarps to protect

Scarce Food and Water as Migrants Try to Escape Myanmar

them from the sun, had been turned away by the Malaysian authorities on Wednesday, passengers said.

They said that they had been on the boat for three months and that the boat's captain and crew abandoned them six days ago. Ten passengers died during the voyage, and their bodies were thrown overboard, the passengers said.

"I am very hungry," said a 15-year-old boy, Mohamed Siraj, who said he was from western

Myanmar. "Quickly help us please."

It was not clear how much help they would receive. The Thai military, alerted to their presence by The New York Times, provided some water and food on Thursday, then assisted the boat's departure farther out to sea early Friday, according to the governor of Satun Province, Dechrat Sim-siri.

The boat's plight provided a dramatic example of the migration crisis confronting the region: An estimated 6,000 to 20,000 migrants are at sea, fleeing ethnic persecution in Myanmar and poverty in Bangladesh, while countries are pointing fingers at one another and declining to take responsibility themselves.

Most of the migrants were thought to be headed to Malaysia, but after more than 1,500 came ashore in Malaysia and Indonesia in the last week, both countries declared their intention to turn away any more boats carrying migrants.

Thai officials have not articulated an official policy since the crisis began, beyond convening a regional conference to discuss the problem this month. Thailand is not known to have allowed any of the migrants to land there. The commander of the naval vessel that met the migrant boat here on Thursday, Lt. Cmdr. Veerapong Nakprasit, said it had "entered il-

Continued on Page A8

Defying U.S., Colombia Ends A Drug Tactic

By WILLIAM NEUMAN

BOGOTÁ, Colombia — The government of Colombia on Thursday night rejected a major tool in the American-backed anti-drug campaign — ordering a halt to the aerial spraying of the country's vast illegal plantings of coca, the crop used to make cocaine, citing concerns that the spray causes cancer.

The decision ends a program that has continued for more than two decades, raising questions about the viability of long-accepted strategies in the war on drugs in the region.

Colombia is one of the closest allies of the United States in Latin America and its most stalwart partner on antidrug policy, but the change of strategy has the potential to add a new element of tension to the relationship.

Just last week, American officials warned that the amount of land used to grow coca in Colombia grew by 39 percent last year as aerial spraying to kill or stunt the crop, already a contentious issue here, declined.

"The folks who run counter-narcotics never want to give up any of their tools, and there are

Continued on Page A7

What Do You Do With 33 Million Dead Birds?

By STEPHANIE STROM

SIOUX CENTER, Iowa — J. T. Dean is facing a gargantuan task.

Mr. Dean, a son of the founder of one of the country's biggest egg producers, the Center Fresh Group, must kill and dispose of about 5.5 million laying hens housed in 26 metal barns that rise among the rolling corn and soybean fields here.

Deadly avian flu viruses have affected more than 33 million turkeys, chickens and ducks in over a dozen states since December. The toll at Center Fresh farms alone accounts for nearly 17 percent of the nation's poultry that has either been killed by bird flu or is being euthanized to prevent its spread.

While farmers in Asia and elsewhere have had to grapple with avian flu epidemics, no farmers in the United States have ever confronted a health crisis among livestock like this one, which seemed to travel along migratory bird pathways from the Pacific Northwest to the Midwestern states. Almost every day brings confirmation by the Agriculture Department that at least another hundred thousand or so birds



RYAN DONNELL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Disposing of dead fowl at Sunrise Farms in Iowa. Avian flu has affected 33 million turkeys, chickens and ducks in the nation.

must be destroyed; some days, the number exceeds several million.

On Thursday, South Dakota reported its first possible infection on a chicken farm with 1.3 million birds in the eastern part of the state.

Mounds and mounds of carcasses have piled up in vast

barns here in the northwestern corner of Iowa, where farmers and officials have been appealing for help to deal with disposal of such a vast number of flocks. Workers wearing masks and protective gear have scrambled to clear the barns, but it is a painstaking process. In these close-

Continued on Page B4

Stephanopoulos Gifts Reinforce G.O.P. Doubts

By JEREMY W. PETERS and JOHN KOBLIN

WASHINGTON — Even after more than a decade as an analyst, anchor and public face for ABC News, George Stephanopoulos has never been able to shake the image that many Republicans have of him: Clinton hatchet man.

That image was glaring to the Republican strategists who blocked him from moderating a debate last year in the Senate race in Iowa.

It was the elephant in the room in 2011 when, after an interview that Mitt Romney's advisers saw as especially argumentative, Mr. Stephanopoulos visited the campaign's headquarters to try to reassure them that he was impartial.

And it has nagged at the chairman of the Republican National Committee, Reince Priebus, who has told people repeatedly that he does not want the anchorman anywhere near a debate stage in 2016.

On Thursday, the question of Mr. Stephanopoulos's political

leanings and his future as a leader of the network's campaign coverage spilled out into the open as he acknowledged donating \$75,000 to the Bill, Hillary and Chelsea Clinton Foundation over the past three years. He withdrew from playing any role in a planned Republican primary debate on ABC and called his donations an "uncharacteristic lapse."

"I'm sorry because I don't want anything to compromise my integrity or the standards of ABC News," he said. "I don't want to do anything that would raise

Continued on Page A16

INTERNATIONAL A3-11

An Orchestra at the Vanguard



The Minnesota Orchestra's Havana trip is the first by a major ensemble from the United States since a thaw in relations with Cuba. PAGE A3

ISIS Threatens Ancient Site

Islamic State militants have advanced to the outskirts of Palmyra, Syria, putting the area's antiquities at risk of looting and destruction. PAGE A4

Aiming to Reassure Gulf Allies

President Obama vowed new military support for Persian Gulf states, but not the defense pact they sought. PAGE A10

NEW YORK A21-28

Slow Start for State Jobs Effort

A program heavily promoted by Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo as a way to "supercharge" the state's economy has, in its first year, created just 76 jobs. PAGE A24

NATIONAL A12-20

Police Contest View of Arrest

Lawyers for some of the Baltimore officers charged in the death of Freddie Gray say their clients acted by the book in his arrest. PAGE A12

The Nuns' Story

Catholic nuns recounted the sometimes painful route to reconciliation after the Vatican accused them of straying from Catholic teaching. PAGE A12

Conflict Over Spy Program

A House vote on phone data showed tensions between a need for secrecy and open debate. News Analysis. PAGE A14

SPORTSFRIDAY B10-15

Patriots Fire Back at N.F.L.

The Patriots rebutted the N.F.L. report on the team's use of underinflated footballs, and Tom Brady appealed his suspension. PAGE B10



ARTS C1-32

What Ono Imagined



In 1971, Yoko Ono pretended that she had a solo show of her work at the Museum of Modern Art. Her real one opens on Sunday. PAGE C28

'Simpsons' Stalwart Departs

Harry Shearer has done the voices of Springfield characters including Mr. Burns, Smithers and Otto. PAGE C2

BUSINESS DAY B1-9

Step Forward for Trade Bill

A Senate vote clears the way for a contentious debate on global trade. PAGE B1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A30-31

Paul Krugman

PAGE A31



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URIEL SINAI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tourists in a hotel pool overlooking the Negev desert in Israel. Fresh water is delivered here from the Sea of Galilee, part of a successful water self-sufficiency drive.

U.S. Tax Case Grew to Stun Soccer World

By MATT APUZZO

WASHINGTON — Chuck Blazer was a powerful figure in international soccer, and he enjoyed the trappings that came with the role: two apartments at Trump Tower in Manhattan, expensive cars, luxury properties in Miami and the Bahamas.

But for all of Mr. Blazer's lavish living, he did not file personal income tax returns. And in August 2011, Steve Berryman, an I.R.S. agent in Los Angeles, opened a criminal investigation.



Sepp Blatter

Thousands of miles away in New York, two F.B.I. agents, Jared Randall and John Penza, were working on an investigation of their own, one that had spun off an unrelated Russian organized-crime case in December 2010.

The agents on opposite sides of the country were looking at some of the same people. In December 2011, news reports revealed that the F.B.I. was asking questions about FIFA, global soccer's governing body, and the California investigators called New York. The two agencies joined forces, setting in motion the sprawling international case that led to the arrests of top soccer officials this week.

The investigation, which involved coordination with police agencies and diplomats in 33 countries, was described by law enforcement officials as one of the most complicated international white-collar cases in recent memory. Fourteen people have been indicted in bribery and kickback schemes linked to corruption in the highest echelons of FIFA. And United States authorities say

AT THE CENTER With the FIFA indictments, the low-key Loretta E. Lynch finds herself the object of worldwide attention. PAGE D1

COMPROMISING ON ISRAEL The Palestinians dropped a bid to suspend Israel from FIFA. PAGE A6

Clinton Award Included Cash To Foundation

Model's Charity Made \$500,000 Donation

By DEBORAH SONTAG

To commemorate the 10th anniversary of the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, Petra Nemcova, a Czech model who survived the disaster by clinging to a palm tree, decided to pull out all the stops for the annual fund-raiser of her school-building charity, the Happy Hearts Fund.

She booked Cipriani 42nd Street, which greeted guests with Bellini cocktails on silver trays. She flew in Sheryl Crow with her band and crew for a 20-minute set. She special-ordered heart-shaped floral centerpieces, heart-shaped chocolate parfaits, heart-shaped tiramisù and, because orange is the charity's color, an orange carpet rather than a red one. She imported a Swiss auctioneer and handed out orange rulers to serve as auction paddles, playfully threatening to use hers to spank the highest bidder for an Ibiza vacation.

The gala cost \$363,413. But the real splurge? Bill Clinton.

The former president of the United States agreed to accept a lifetime achievement award at the June 2014 event after Ms. Nemcova offered a \$500,000 contribution to the Bill, Hillary and Chelsea Clinton Foundation. The donation, made late last year after the foundation sent the charity an invoice, amounted to almost a quarter of the evening's net proceeds — enough to build 10 preschools in Indonesia.

Happy Hearts' former executive director believes the transaction was a quid pro quo, which rerouted donations intended for a small charity with the concrete mission of rebuilding schools after natural disasters to a large foundation with a broader agenda and a budget 100 times bigger.

"The Clinton Foundation had rejected the Happy Hearts Fund invitation more than once, until there was a thinly veiled solicitation and then the offer of an honorarium," said the former executive director, Sue Veres Royal, who held that position at the time of the gala and was dismissed a few weeks later amid conflicts

Continued on Page A12

Aided by Sea, Israel Defeats Old Foe: Drought

By ISABEL KERSHNER

JERUSALEM — At the peak of the drought, Shabi Zvieli, an Israeli gardener, feared for his livelihood.

A hefty tax was placed on excessive household water consumption, penalizing families with lawns, swimming pools or leaky pipes. So many of Mr. Zvieli's clients went over to synthetic grass and swapped their seasonal blooms for hardy, indigenous plants more suited to a semiarid climate. "I worried about where gardening was going," said Mr. Zvieli, 56, who has tended peo-

Self-Sufficiency From Desalination and Recycling

ple's yards for about 25 years.

Across the country, Israelis were told to cut their shower time by two minutes. Washing cars with hoses was outlawed and those few wealthy enough to absorb the cost of maintaining a lawn were permitted to water it only at night.

"We were in a situation where

we were very, very close to someone opening a tap somewhere in the country and no water would come out," said Uri Schor, the spokesman and public education director of the government's Water Authority.

But that was about six years ago. Today, there is plenty of water in Israel. A lighter version of an old "Israel is drying up" campaign has been dusted off to advertise baby diapers. "The fear has gone," said Mr. Zvieli, whose customers have gone back to planting flowers.

As California and other western areas of the United States

Continued on Page A6



JASON SZENES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Nothing to See Now: Rangers Are Ousted

Goalie Henrik Lundqvist, center, and his teammates reacted on the bench in the closing minutes of the Rangers' 2-0 defeat to the Lightning in Game 7 of the Eastern Conference finals. Page D1.

China Laws Elevate Party and Stifle Dissent. Mao Would Approve.

By EDWARD WONG

BEIJING — China's new national security law, released in draft form this month, has little to say about such traditional security matters as military power, counterespionage or defending the nation's borders.

Instead, to the surprise and alarm of many people here, it reads more like a Communist

Party ideology paper and a call to arms aimed at defending the party's grip on power. The law, together with two other recently published draft laws, constitutes the most expansive articulation yet of President Xi Jinping's vision of national security, and the widest interpretation of threats to the Communist Party and the state since the Mao era.

Analysts say the laws are aimed at giving the security

forces and courts greater leeway in muzzling Chinese civil society and corraling the influence of Western institutions and ideas, which Mr. Xi views as a threat.

Deploying the kind of retro-nationalist language that has become standard fare under Mr. Xi, the national security law says security must be maintained in all aspects of society, from culture to education to technology, "to realize the great rejuvenation of Chi-

nese nation."

"This draft focuses on politics, ideology and culture," said Zhang Xuezhong, a civil rights lawyer and former law professor at East China University of Political Science and Law in Shanghai.

The two other draft laws — also related to what might be described as ideological security — are a so-called counterterrorism

Continued on Page A8



INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Challenging Japan's Self-Image

Miss Universe Japan, who is biracial, wants her country to accept mixed-race citizens. PAGE A4

Cuba Sheds a Stigma

The Obama administration removed Cuba from the State Department's list of state sponsors of terrorism. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A10-14

From Tax Cuts to Increases

Kansas lawmakers, who passed huge tax cuts last year, are now considering the unthinkable: raising taxes to fix the state's budget problems. PAGE A10

Author Apologizes for Study

But his findings were sound in a survey of attitudes on same-sex marriage, a graduate student said. PAGE A10

ARTS C1-7

Fresh Face of the French Elite

The Haitian-born Dany Laferrière is the first non-French citizen inducted into the Académie Française. PAGE C1



NEW YORK A15-17

What Happened on the Hudson

The police say a woman admitted to killing her kayaking fiancé, but her words may not yield a conviction. PAGE A15

Life Term for Silk Road Creator

A federal judge called Ross Ulbricht's role in the online drug bazaar "destructive to our social fabric." PAGE A15

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

A Stop-and-Go Recovery

The government revised its estimate of growth for the first quarter, saying that the economy had contracted for the third time since 2009. PAGE B1

SPORTS SATURDAY D1-6

Boston Olympic Bid Faltering

The bid report that helped Boston win the competition as the United States' candidate to host the 2024 Olympics may now undermine the effort. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

Gail Collins

PAGE A19



TRAVEL

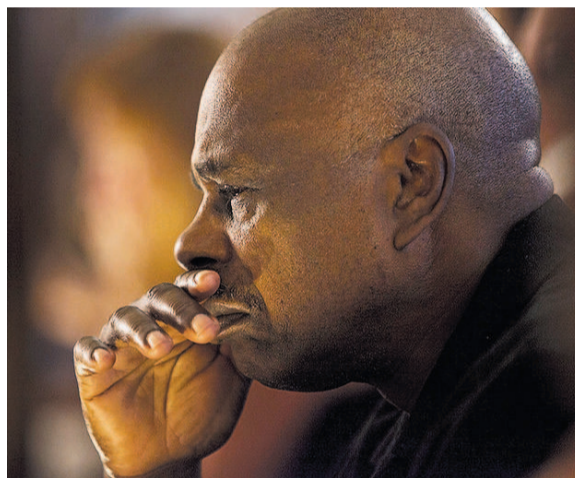
Surf, Sun and Snow

The Hawaii that most visitors don't know holds vast geographical diversity, like the snow that covers Mauna Kea, on the Big Island. THIS WEEKEND



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CHARLESTON MASSACRE SUSPECT HELD AS CITY GRIEVES



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP, TRAVIS DOVE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; RANDALL HILL/REUTERS; RAINIER EHRHARDT/ASSOCIATED PRESS
Top and right, scenes from a vigil at Morris Brown African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, S.C., for the victims. The desk of State Senator Clementa C. Pinckney was draped in black cloth with a single rose in an empty chamber at the Statehouse.

Races Unite for Nine Killed by Gunman at Black Church

This article is by Nick Corasaniti, Richard Pérez-Peña and Lizette Alvarez.

CHARLESTON, S.C. — The mass murder of nine people who gathered Wednesday night for Bible study at a landmark black church has shaken a city whose history from slavery to the Civil War to the present is inseparable from the nation's anguished struggle with race.

Fourteen hours after the massacre at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church, in which the Rev. Clementa C. Pinckney, the church pastor and a prominent state senator, was among the dead, the police in Shelby, N.C., acting on a tip from a motorist, on Thursday arrested Dylann Storm Roof, a 21-year-old white man with an unsettled personal life and a recent history of anti-black views.

The killings, with victims ranging in age from 26 to 87, left people stunned and grieving. Witnesses said Mr. Roof sat with church members for an hour and then started venting against African-Americans and opened fire on the group.

At Morris Brown A.M.E.

Church here, blacks, whites, Christians and Jews gathered to proclaim that a racist gunman would not divide a community already tested by the fatal police shooting in April of an unarmed African-American, Walter Scott.

"We cannot make sense of what has happened, but we can come together," declared the Rev. George Felder Jr., pastor of New Hope A.M.E. Church.

Gov. Nikki R. Haley fought back tears, her voice trembling and cracking, at a news conference here. "We woke up today, and the heart and soul of South Carolina was broken," she said. "Parents are having to explain to their kids how they can go to church and feel safe, and that is not something we ever thought we'd deal with."

President Obama, once again having to confront the nation's divisions, saw systemic issues of guns, violence and race in the tragedy in Charleston.

"We don't have all the facts, but we do know that, once again, innocent people were killed in part because someone who wanted to inflict harm had no trouble

Continued on Page A16

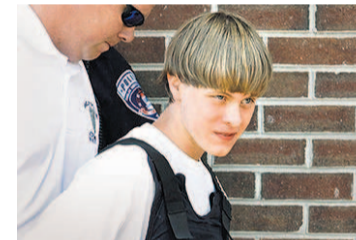
Flying the Flags of White Power

This article is by Frances Robles, Jason Horowitz and Shaila Dewan.

LEXINGTON, S.C. — The Facebook profile picture chosen by Dylann Storm Roof in May is thick with symbolism. It shows Mr. Roof, a scowling young white man, wearing a black jacket adorned with two flags — one from apartheid-era South Africa, the other from white-ruled Rhodesia — that have been adopted as emblems by modern-day white supremacists.

Mr. Roof, 21, was arrested Thursday in North Carolina after law enforcement officers identified him as the suspect in the mass shooting at a black church in Charleston, S.C., on Wednesday night. The shooting left nine dead, including the pastor, the Rev. Clementa C. Pinckney.

Officials said the shooting was being investigated as a hate crime. Although it was not clear if Mr. Roof had actually joined any organized white supremacist groups, people who knew him said that in recent months, a



JASON MICZEK/REUTERS

Dylann Roof, suspected in the Charleston, S.C., shootings.

young man they described as extremely shy had begun to harbor racist views and make increasingly violent statements about attacking black people.

Joseph Meek, 20, a childhood friend who reconnected with Mr. Roof this year, said Mr. Roof had changed, spewing racist ideas and talking about wanting "to hurt a whole bunch of people."

"He was saying all this stuff about how the races should be segregated, that whites should be with whites," Mr. Meek said. "I could tell there was something inside him, there was something he

Continued on Page A18

Scene of Carnage Has Long History of Pain, Pride and Dignity

By JONATHAN WEISMAN

CHARLESTON, S.C. — Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church is one of the oldest, most storied black congregations in the South. Its members met in secret in the years when black churches were outlawed here before the Civil War, and it contains a shrine to one of its founders, who helped organize a slave revolt in 1822.

So the mass shooting that took

the lives of nine churchgoers, including a state senator who was pastor, Clementa C. Pinckney, had a particularly deep resonance here in this genteel city, proud and mindful of its history but still torn by race and class.

"Christ said to Peter, 'Upon this rock I will build my church,'" said Representative James E. Clyburn, Democrat of South Carolina, the highest-ranking African-American in the House. He flew to Charleston on Thursday morning to attend a prayer vigil

CONFRONTING TRAGEDY AGAIN

President Obama once more responded to a moment of racial turmoil in the country. Page A18.

for the shooting victims.

"Emanuel A.M.E. Church is the rock upon which the A.M.E. Church throughout the South is built," Mr. Clyburn said. "That church has more historic significance to Charleston than any other church in this community."

Intentionally or not, the gunman had found in Emanuel A.M.E., and in its 41-year-old pastor, rich symbols to attack with deadly racial hatred. Pastor Pinckney was a well-known civil rights leader in Charleston. He was elected to the South Carolina House at age 23, and then to the State Senate at age 27.

After Walter Scott, an African-American, was shot in the back by a North Charleston police offi-

Continued on Page A17

Deal Is Near on Far-Reaching Reforms at Rikers In Footsteps of Popes Seeking Worldly Change

By BENJAMIN WEISER

New York City officials have tentatively agreed to sweeping reforms that would remake Rikers Island, including the appointment of a federal monitor to oversee the jail complex, explicit prohibitions against guards' striking prisoners in the head and even the introduction of body cameras worn by guards.

Other reforms city officials are poised to endorse include the development of a computerized system to better track the use of force by correction officers, the implementation of an early warning program to flag guards who



RICHARD PERRY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Rikers Island jail complex seen from the East River.

use force against inmates three or more times in six months, injuring at least one of them, and the installation of 8,000 new surveillance cameras throughout the jail complex.

The measures are part of a far-reaching legal settlement that has been largely agreed upon, after months of negotiation, by lawyers for the administration of Mayor Bill de Blasio and the office of Preet Bharara, the United States attorney for the Southern District of New York, as well as the Legal Aid Society and a group of private lawyers who in 2011 filed a class-action lawsuit against the city, which Mr. Bharara's office joined in December, according to people who have been briefed on the talks.

They cautioned that there was no final deal and that certain remaining disputes could still get in

Continued on Page A23

By LAURIE GOODSTEIN

When an elderly Pope Leo XIII released a document in 1891 on the rights of workers to unionize and of owners to hold private property, European capitalists and socialists alike cried foul. Why should we listen, they fumed, to a pope's pronouncements on economics and politics?

Now, 124 years later, Pope Francis has set off an uproar over his document on the environment and the threat of climate change, an encyclical released Thursday called "Laudato Si'" or "Praise Be to You: On Care for Our Common Home." [Page A6.]



MAURIZIO BRAMBATTI

Pope Francis issued a paper on combating climate change.

Once again industrialists, politicians and critics are fuming, contending that the pope should stick to religion and stop meddling in matters in which he has no competence.

"Pope Francis' message on global warming was a confusing distraction that dilutes his great moral authority and leadership at a time when it is desperately needed to combat real — and present — crises in the Church and in Western culture," said Richard A. Viguierie, who pioneered the use of direct-mail fund-raising to help build the political and religious right.

But Francis is following in the footsteps of popes and bishops who, for generations, have written documents on pressing social problems by applying religious teaching to events so contemporary that they seem ripped from

Continued on Page A6

NATIONAL A12-18

Skeleton's Ancestry Decoded



A new analysis of DNA refutes the theory that an 8,500-year-old skeleton, called Kennewick Man, was European. The man, shown as a sculpture, was most closely related to contemporary Native Americans. PAGE A14

INTERNATIONAL A3-11

New Gains by the Taliban

Fighters in Afghanistan overran part of a crucial district in Helmand Province, a southern area that American and British troops had long fought to keep out of the Taliban's control. PAGE A3

Hong Kong Takes a Gamble

Pro-democracy lawmakers in Hong Kong rejected China's plan for the direct election of the city's top leader because Beijing could veto candidates. PAGE A4

WEEKEND C1-30

The People's Music, In Concrete Canyons

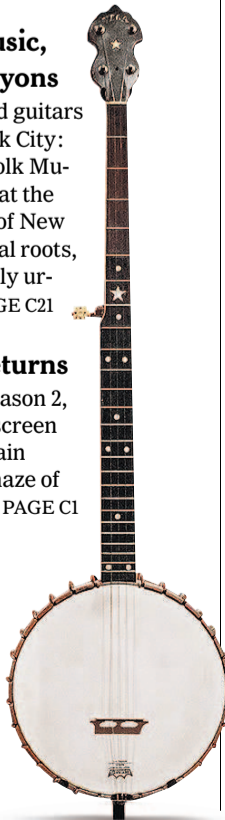
Well-used banjos and guitars line the walls of "Folk City: New York and the Folk Music Revival," a show at the Museum of the City of New York. Despite its rural roots, the revival was solidly urban. A review. PAGE C21

HBO Drama Returns

"True Detective," Season 2, has star power and screen charisma, but the main characters live in a haze of gloom. A review. PAGE C1

All in Her Head

The animation studio Pixar returns to form with "Inside Out," a film that takes place mostly in the head of an 11-year-old girl voiced by Kaitlyn Dias. A review. PAGE C1



BUSINESS DAY B1-10

A Cautious Move at NBC

NBC's handling of Brian Williams suggests that the network is slow to digest changes that are reshaping the relationship between news anchors and consumers. News Analysis. PAGE B1

SPORTSFRIDAY B11-16

Misery for Woods at U.S. Open

Tiger Woods shot an 80, his worst score at the event, and Henrik Stenson and Dustin Johnson had the lead. PAGE B11

OBITUARIES A24-25

Tied to a Crime by Her Name

Joyce Ann Brown, who spent years in prison for robbery in a case of mistaken identity, has died at 68. PAGE A25

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Paul Krugman

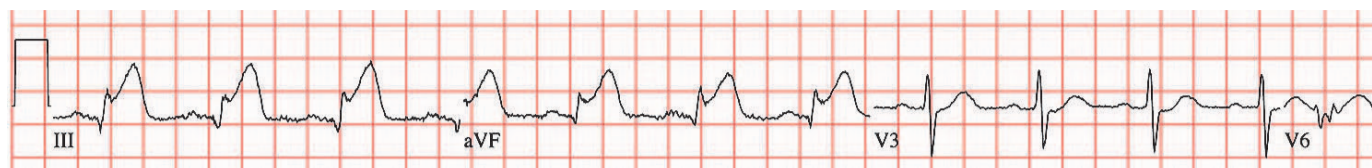
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Jamie Ferrer during a heart attack at Our Lady of Lourdes in Camden, N.J. Top, an attack charted on an electrocardiogram.

Racing the Clock, Saving the Heart

Faster Care Helps Death Rate Plunge 38% in Decade

By GINA KOLATA

CAMDEN, N.J. — Yvette Samuels was listening to jazz late one night when she felt a stabbing pain down her left shoulder. She suspected a heart attack — she had heard about the symptoms from watching a Rosie O'Donnell standup routine on television — and managed to scratch on the door that connected her single room to her neighbor's. He found her collapsed on the floor.

Paramedics arrived minutes later and slapped electrocardiogram leads on her chest, transmitting the telltale pattern of a heart attack to Our Lady of Lourdes Medical Center here.

As the ambulance raced through the streets, lights swirling, sirens screaming, Ms. Samuels, who took phone orders for a

MENDING HEARTS

A Push for Speed

company that delivers milk, asked the paramedic, "Can this kill me?" He murmured yes, then told the driver, "Step on it!" She thought to herself, "This will be my last view of the world, the last time I will see the night sky."

Instead, she survived, her heart undamaged, the beneficiary of the changing face of heart attack care. With no new medical discoveries, no new technologies, no payment incentives — and little public notice — hospitals in recent years have slashed the time it takes to clear a blockage in a patient's arteries and get blood flowing again to the heart.

The changes have been driven by a de-

tailed analysis of the holdups in treating patients and a nationwide campaign led by the American College of Cardiology, a professional society for specialists in heart disease, and the American Heart Association. Hospitals across the country have adopted common-sense steps that include having paramedics transmit electrocardiogram readings directly from ambulances to emergency rooms and summoning medical teams with a single call that sets off all beepers at once.

From 2003 to 2013, the death rate from coronary heart disease fell about 38 percent, according to the American Heart Association, citing data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. The National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute, the primary federal agency that funds heart research, says this decline has been

Continued on Page 14

A Hectic Day at Church, And Then a Hellish Visitor

Charleston Victims' Last Hours Were Blur of Meetings, Study, and Then Horror

This article is by Richard Fausset, John Eligon, Jason Horowitz and Frances Robles.

CHARLESTON, S.C. — Wednesday was a busy day at the Emanuel A.M.E. Church.

The pastor, the Rev. Clementa C. Pinckney, a tall, rangy man with a deep voice, would normally have stayed in Columbia, the capital, for his job as a state senator. But he had returned to his congregation here for an important meeting with the presiding elder of the district. There was the matter of the church elevator, long under construction. The budget needed review. And three congregants were officially received as new preachers. One by one, they stepped before the group to receive a certificate and applause.

The meeting in the church basement ended around 8 p.m., and the crowd of about 50 dwindled to 12 of the congregation's most devout members, who would remain for the Wednesday night Bible study.

That was when the visitor, a young white man, came to the door, asking for the minister. It was unusual for a stranger, much less a white one, to come to the Wednesday night session, but Bible study was open to all, and Mr. Pinckney welcomed him. They sat together around a green table, prayed, sang and then opened to the Gospel of Mark, 4:16-20, which likens the word of God to a seed that must fall on good soil to bear fruit.

At about 9, gunfire and terrified cries shattered the evening calm. In the pastor's office, Mr. Pinckney's wife, who had been waiting patiently with their younger daughter, turned off the lights, locked the door, hugged her child close and called 911.

When the shooting was over, nine congregants were dead, including Mr. Pinckney and two of the newly ordained ministers, each shot multiple times with a .45-caliber handgun. The stranger — identified by the police as Dylann Roof, 21, a high school dropout and sometime landscaper — has been charged with nine counts of murder.

"You are raping our women and taking over our country," Mr. Roof said to the victims, all of them black, before killing them, witnesses told the police.

In a matter of unforeseen mo-

Renewed Focus on Race

The killings at Emanuel A.M.E. Church have touched off another round of soul-searching over race relations in America.

PAGE 17

ments, the future of the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church and its 350 active members would be changed forever. Church leaders were lost, along with worshipers young and middle-aged. Children were left motherless. A girls' track team lost its coach; a university's admissions coordinator. And residents of all races in Charleston, a city that places such value on its houses of worship that it calls itself the Holy City, recoiled in horror as one of its most storied buildings was desecrated by intolerant rage and transformed, if briefly, into a charnel house.

A parishioner, Elizabeth Als-

Continued on Page 16



Dylann Roof at a South Carolina plantation historical site, in a picture posted online.

Roof's Photos Appear on Site With Manifesto

By FRANCES ROBLES

COLUMBIA, S.C. — Dylann Roof spat on and burned the American flag, but waved the Confederate.

He posed for pictures wearing a No. 88 T-shirt, had 88 Facebook friends and wrote that number — white supremacist code for "Heil Hitler" — in the South Carolina sand.

A website discovered Saturday appears to offer the first serious look at Mr. Roof's thinking, including how the case of Trayvon Martin, the black Florida teenager shot to death in 2012 by George Zimmerman, a neighborhood watch volunteer, triggered his racist rage. The site shows a stash of 60 photographs, many of them of Mr. Roof at Confederate heritage sites or slavery museums, and includes a nearly 2,500-word manifesto in which the author criticized blacks as be-

Continued on Page 17

For Faithful, Social Justice Goals Demand Action on Environment

By JUSTIN GILLIS

For an earnest young Christian named Ben Lowe, revelation came on the shores of Lake Tanganyika, in Africa. A relentless warming of the lake was reducing the catch of fish, the people were going hungry — and he had learned of scientific evidence that climate change was to blame.

For the Rev. Brian Sauder, who grew up attending a small Anabaptist church in rural Illinois, the moment came in a college classroom. Studying the fallout from environmental degradation, he learned of poor people who had to walk hours longer each day to gather firewood from depleted forests.

For both men, Christian duties that their upbringing had led

them to regard as separate — taking care of the earth and taking care of the poor — merged into a morally urgent problem. "Why haven't I ever made this connection before?" Mr. Sauder recalled asking himself.

It is a connection that many people of faith all over the world are starting to make.

The sweeping pastoral letter issued by Pope Francis on Thursday may prove to be a watershed, highlighting the issues of social justice at the heart of the environmental crisis. But the pope's encyclical is, in a sense, simply an exclamation mark on a broad shift in thinking that has been underway for decades and extends

Continued on Page 11

Oh, to Be Young, Millennial, And So Wanted by Marketers

By HILARY STOUT

The makers of Tic Tacs had a problem on their hands.

After 18 months of internal study, they had concluded that the all-important millennial generation might not be content with a mere mint.

No, the millennials wanted entertainment, release from boredom, "emotional rescue."

So this month a new and more amusing Tic Tac is coming to store shelves — the Tic Tac Mixer, which changes flavors as it melts on the tongue. From cherry to cola, for example, or from peach to lemonade.

It's yet another play in the millennial mania that is overtaking all manner of businesses, and seems to be getting more ob-



sessive by the day. Not since the baby boomers came of age has a generation been the target of such fixation.

But this has a 21st-century style of urgency — with 24/7 microbranding, psychographic analysis, a high-priced shadow industry of consultants and study after study. (A few from

Continued on Page 4

Attack Gave Chinese Hackers Privileged Access to U.S. Systems

This article is by David E. Sanger, Nicole Perroth and Michael D. Shear.

WASHINGTON — For more than five years, American intelligence agencies followed several groups of Chinese hackers who were systematically draining information from defense contractors, energy firms and electronics makers, their targets shifting to fit Beijing's latest economic priorities.

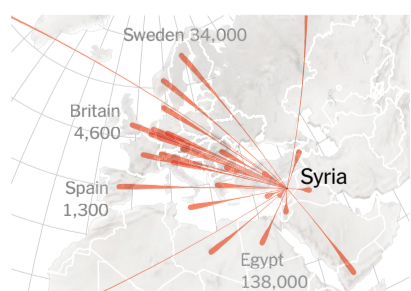
But last summer, officials lost the trail as some of the hackers changed focus again, burrowing deep into United States government computer systems that contain vast troves of personnel data, according to American officials briefed on a federal investigation into the attack and private

security experts.

Undetected for nearly a year, the Chinese intruders executed a sophisticated attack that gave them "administrator privileges" into the computer networks at the Office of Personnel Management, mimicking the credentials of people who run the agency's systems, two senior administration officials said. The hackers began siphoning off a rush of data after constructing what amounted to an electronic pipeline that led back to China, investigators told Congress last week in classified briefings.

Much of the personnel data had been stored in the lightly protected systems of the Department of the Interior, because it

Continued on Page 13



INTERNATIONAL 6-11

Desperate Flight From Turmoil

Nearly 60 million people are displaced around the world because of conflict and persecution at home, according to a United Nations report. A series of maps chart the refugee crisis. PAGE 10

INTERNATIONAL

Taking Crime by the Horns

Military police officers on Marajó Island, Brazil, patrol atop water buffaloes, an approach they say helps to reduce tensions with the public. PAGE 6

NATIONAL 12-19, 22

Credible Sighting of 2 Escapees

State Police converged on an area in western New York where they believed two escaped killers were seen. PAGE 19

Backlogs Still Plague V.A.

A year after outrage erupted over the waits that veterans faced on health care, the situation is worse. PAGE 12

NATIONAL

Anthem Makes Offer for Rival

The \$47 billion offer for Cigna on Saturday is the latest step toward consolidation among health insurers. PAGE 4

SUNDAY BUSINESS

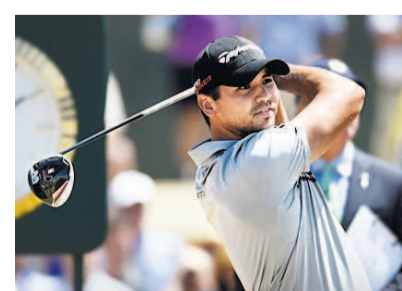
Trial for a Coal Baron

After a 2010 mining disaster, Massey Energy's longtime chief, Don Blankenship, faces criminal charges. PAGE 1

ARTS & LEISURE

D'Angelo's New Message

Frustrated by racial injustice, the R&B singer looks to the 1960s. PAGE 1



SPORTSSUNDAY

Bouncing Back, Into the Lead

A day after collapsing on the course with vertigo, Jason Day was two under par to move into a tie for the United States Open lead with three other golfers entering the final round. PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

What's Wrong With Polling?

It has grown much harder to predict who will win an election, and 2016 will be harder still. Polling has had some disasters in the last two years, in Israel, Britain and the United States. Two trends are driving unreliability: the growth of cellphones and the decline in people willing to answer surveys. PAGE 1

OP-ED

Frank Bruni

PAGE 3



JUSTICES GIVE OBAMA ANOTHER HEALTH CARE VICTORY



President Obama and Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. in the White House on Thursday after the Supreme Court's decision.

6-3 Ruling Upholds U.S. Subsidies — Scalia Scathing in Dissent

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court ruled on Thursday that President Obama's health care law allows the federal government to provide nationwide tax subsidies to help poor and middle-class people buy health insurance, a sweeping vindication that endorsed the larger purpose of Mr. Obama's signature legislative achievement.

The 6-to-3 ruling means that it is all but certain that the Affordable Care Act will survive after Mr. Obama leaves office in 2017. For the second time in three years, the law survived an encounter with the Supreme Court. But the court's tone was different this time. The first decision, in 2012, was fractured and grudging, while Thursday's ruling was more assertive.

"Congress passed the Affordable Care Act to improve health insurance markets, not to destroy them," Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. wrote for a united six-justice majority. In 2012's closely divided decision, Chief Justice Roberts also wrote the controlling opinion, but that time no other justice joined it in full.

In dissent on Thursday, Justice Antonin Scalia called the major-

ity's reasoning "quite absurd" and "interpretive jiggery-poker-y."

He announced his dissent from the bench, a sign of bitter disagreement. His summary was laced with notes of incredulity and sarcasm, sometimes drawing amused murmurs in the courtroom as he described the "interpretive somersaults" he said the majority had performed to reach the decision.

"We really should start calling this law *Scotus-care*," Justice Scalia said, to laughter from the audience.

In a hastily arranged appearance in the Rose Garden on Thursday morning, a triumphant Mr. Obama praised the ruling. "After multiple challenges to this law before the Supreme Court, the Affordable Care Act is here to stay," he said, adding: "What we're not going to do is unravel what has now been woven into the fabric of America."

The ruling was a blow to Republicans, who have been trying to gut the law since it was enacted. But House Speaker John A. Boehner vowed that the politi-

Continued on Page A16

If Law 'Is Here to Stay,' So Are Doubts About It

This article is by Robert Pear, Margot Sanger-Katz and Reed Abelson.

WASHINGTON — The Affordable Care Act, saved by the Supreme Court for the second time in three years, has changed the fabric of health care in America, providing treatment and coverage to millions of the uninsured while transforming the insurance and hospital industries. But the law still faces stiff political resistance in many quarters and could yet return as an explosive issue in the 2016 elections.

The impact of the law appears most clearly in the shrinking number of uninsured Americans. In 2014, the number of people without health insurance cover-

Act Is Reshaping Care, but Detractors Are Determined

age fell to 36 million from 44.8 million in 2013, a decline of nearly 20 percent, according to data released this week by the National Center for Health Statistics.

That decline was made possible in part by federal insurance subsidies, which the court upheld on Thursday, and by the expansion of Medicaid in more than half of the states, which was financed under the law.

Health insurance companies have reinvented themselves,

adopting new business models. The law requires them to accept anyone who applies for insurance and prohibits them from charging sick people more, as they did for decades. Insurers not only survived but are thriving, and the industry is being swept by interest in mergers as companies try to cut costs and premiums while preserving their profits.

The law has also, by many accounts, contributed to a significant slowdown in the growth of national health spending and the cost of Medicare, a pacesetter whose influence extends far beyond its 55 million beneficiaries. No one can say for sure whether the trend will continue, or how much of it is attributable to the

Continued on Page A17

THE REACTION Gleeeful Democrats said the health care debate was over, but disappointed Republicans were vowing to find a way to get rid of the president's health care law. PAGE A17

THE LEGACY President Obama's reputation for domestic policy has always depended on the Affordable Care Act becoming a permanent part of the American health care system. PAGE A16

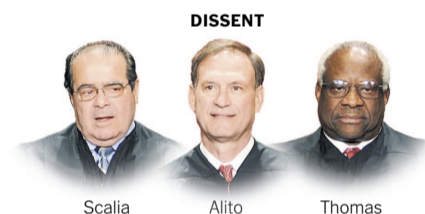
THE UPSHOT With all consumers having equal access to federal subsidies, it seems likely that the states with their own plans will revert to a federal system. PAGE A15

IN OTHER ACTION Taking a broad view, the court allowed suits under a theory that rights groups say is crucial in fighting housing discrimination. PAGE A17

MAJORITY
"A fair reading of legislation demands a fair understanding of the legislative plan. Congress passed the Affordable Care Act to improve health insurance markets, not to destroy them. If at all possible, we must interpret the Act in a way that is consistent with the former, and avoids the latter."



Sotomayor Ginsburg Kagan Breyer Kennedy Roberts



DISSENT

Scalia Alito Thomas

Escapee Traded Art for Favors From a Guard

This article is by Susanne Craig, William K. Rashbaum and Benjamin Mueller.

PLATTSBURGH, N.Y. — The two convicted killers who broke out of a maximum-security prison in northern New York this month made their escape using rudimentary electrical and engineering skills, stealth and a canny ability to manipulate members of the prison staff.

But the authorities now believe another unlikely talent of one of the inmates helped facilitate their carefully orchestrated prison break: his skills as an artist.

A longtime corrections officer has admitted to investigators that he smuggled a screwdriver and pliers into the prison and did other favors for Richard W. Matt, one of the escaped killers, in exchange for a dozen elaborate paintings and other drawings by him, according to court documents and a person with knowledge of the guard's statements.

The officer, Gene Palmer, who has worked at the prison since 1987, told investigators that he even helped Mr. Matt mail one of the paintings, of the television character Tony Soprano, to a woman in Florida, who sold it on eBay for \$2,000, according to the

Continued on Page A23

Called to Pulpit, Then to Politics In Life Cut Short

By KEVIN SACK

RIDGELAND, S.C. — The morning worship had ended at St. John A.M.E. Church, and as Clementa Pinckney walked through the simple country sanctuary with its 10 rows of pews, he was startled to hear a disembodied voice. It was soft, almost whispery, and yet clearly audible. "Preach," it said. "I have called you to preach the Gospel."

He was only 13. But, in a story he often repeated, he discerned it to be the voice of God, and within months he stood before an audience of hundreds of African Methodist Episcopal pastors to present himself as a candidate for ministerial training. The bishop, the most powerful official in the state, asked what he hoped to become. The boy did not hesitate. "A humble bishop of the A.M.E. church," he answered, with no hint of a smile.

"People were trying to keep a straight face," said the Rev. John Paul Brown, then the pastor at St. John, remembering the group's amusement at the youngster's preternatural earnestness and ambition. "But the laughter could not be restrained."

Clementa Carlos Pinckney, who was martyred last week in

Continued on Page A15



A canal bisects a field in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, which faces demands from farmers and environmental groups.

Fragile Delta Is a Key Battleground in California's Water Wars

By ERICA GOODE

BYRON, Calif. — Fighting over water is a tradition in California, but nowhere are the lines of dispute more sharply drawn than here in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, a 720,000-acre network of islands and canals that is the hub of the state's water system.

Giant pumps pull in water flowing to the delta from the mountainous north of the state,

THE PARCHED WEST

Reshaped and Rerouted

where the majority of precipitation falls, and send it to farms, towns and cities in the Central Valley and Southern California, where the demand for water is greatest.

For decades, the shortcomings of this water transportation system, among the most ambitious and complex ever constructed,

have been a source of conflict and complaint.

But in the fourth year of a profound drought, the delta has become a central battle zone, pitting north against south, farmers against environmental groups, farmers against one another and many local residents against California's governor, Jerry Brown, whose plan to fix the delta's problems upsets them almost as much as the drought itself.

"In major battles, crossroads are always fought over," said

Steve Mello, who farms in the north delta. "And this is the crossroads for most of the water in the north state that they are seeking to export south."

Water pumped from the delta, the largest estuary on the West Coast, accounts for only about 15 percent of the total water from aboveground sources that is used in California.

But the delta pumps help feed more than three million acres of

Continued on Page A19



INTERNATIONAL A3-11

Burundians Flee to Embassy

As police officers in Burundi clamped down on protests, scores clambered into the U.S. Embassy complex. PAGE A4

ISIS Attacks in Northern Syria

Islamic State militants struck back after recent losses with new offensives in the town of Kobani in Syria's north. PAGE A6

NATIONAL A12-19

Vaccine Debate in California

The California State Assembly approved a bill requiring all schoolchildren to be vaccinated unless there is a medical reason not to do so. PAGE A12

Clinton Email Inquiry

The State Department said it has emails from Hillary Clinton's account beyond those she provided. PAGE A16

NEW YORK A20-24

Legislators End Up With Deal

As a turbulent session ended, lawmakers approved a deal on rent regulation, education and other issues. PAGE A22



SPORTSFRIDAY B9-14

The Knicks Pick . . . Whom?

The Knicks chose Kristaps Porzingis, above, a 7-foot-1 Latvian, with the fourth pick in the N.B.A. draft. PAGE B9

Room for Improvement

The U.S. soccer team hopes to play better when it faces China in a Women's World Cup quarterfinal Friday. PAGE B14

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Lesson in Argentina for Greece

Argentina's economy has largely recovered from a 2001 default on nearly \$100 billion in debt, the largest at the time. But it had natural resources and a large population, assets that Greece doesn't have, James Stewart writes. PAGE B1

Humana Said to Pursue a Sale

Aetna and Cigna are in the running to acquire Humana, the smallest of the big five insurers, according to a person briefed on the matter. PAGE B1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

David Brooks PAGE A27



WEEKEND C1-28

A 'Swan Lake' for the Ages

Misty Copeland, with James Whiteside, made her debut as the first African-American with American Ballet Theater to dance Odette/Odile. Review. PAGE C5



0 354613 9

'EQUAL DIGNITY'

5-4 Ruling Makes Same-Sex Marriage a Right Nationwide



Michael Crow and Robert Woodcock



Breanne Brodak and Cortney Tucker



Traci Bliss Panzner and Julie Ann Lake



George Harris and Jack Evans



Natalie, Christina and Alice Leslie



Christopher Brown and Tom Fennell



Kenneth Denson and Gabriel Mendez



Crystal Zimmer and Lena Williams



Marge Eide and Ann Sorrell



Barbara Schwartz and Julia Troxler



Lori Hazelton and Stephanie Ward



Terrence McNally and Thomas Kirdahy

Forceful Dissents From the Court And Nation

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — In a long-sought victory for the gay rights movement, the Supreme Court ruled by a 5-to-4 vote on Friday that the Constitution guarantees a right to same-sex marriage.

"No longer may this liberty be denied," Justice Anthony M. Kennedy wrote for the majority in the historic decision. "No union is more profound than marriage, for it embodies the highest ideals of love, fidelity, devotion, sacrifice and family. In forming a marital union, two people become something greater than once they were."

Marriage is a "keystone of our social order," Justice Kennedy said, adding that the plaintiffs in the case were seeking "equal dignity in the eyes of the law."

The decision, which was the culmination of decades of litigation and activism, set off jubilation and tearful embraces across the country, the first same-sex marriages in several states, and resistance — or at least stalling — in others. It came against the backdrop of fast-moving changes in public opinion, with polls indicating that most Americans now approve of the unions.

The court's four more liberal justices joined Justice Kennedy's majority opinion. Each member of the court's conservative wing filed a separate dissent, in tones ranging from resigned dismay to bitter scorn.

In dissent, Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. said the Constitution had nothing to say on the subject of same-sex marriage.

"If you are among the many Americans — of whatever sexual orientation — who favor expanding same-sex marriage, by all means celebrate today's decision," Chief Justice Roberts wrote. "Celebrate the achievement of a desired goal. Celebrate the opportunity for a new expression of commitment to a partner. Celebrate the availability of new benefits. But do not celebrate the Constitution. It had nothing to do with it."

In a second dissent, Justice An-

Continued on Page A11

"It would misunderstand these men and women to say they disrespect the idea of marriage. Their plea is that they do respect it, respect it so deeply that they seek to find its fulfillment for themselves."

JUSTICE ANTHONY M. KENNEDY, from the majority opinion

Historic Day for Gay Rights, but a Twinge of Loss for Gay Culture

By JODI KANTOR

From Capitol Hill in Seattle to Dupont Circle in Washington, gay bars and nightclubs have turned into vitamin stores, frozen yogurt shops and memories. Some of those that remain are filled increasingly with straight patrons, while many former customers say their social lives now revolve around preschools and playgrounds.

Rainbow-hued "Just Be You"

messages have been flashing across Chase A.T.M. screens in honor of Pride month, conveying acceptance but also corporate blandness. Directors, filmmakers and artists are talking about moving past themes of sexual orientation, which they say no longer generate as much dramatic energy.

The Supreme Court on Friday expanded same-sex marriage rights across the country, a crowning achievement but also a confounding challenge to a group

that has often prided itself on being different. The more victories that accumulate for gay rights, the faster some gay institutions, rituals and markers are fading out. And so just as the gay marriage movement peaks, so does a debate about whether gay identity is dimming, overtaken by its own success.

"What do gay men have in common when they don't have oppression?" asked Andrew Sullivan, one of the intellectual architects of the marriage move-

ment. "I don't know the answer to that yet."

John Waters, the film director and patron saint of the American marginal, warned graduates to heed the shift in a recent commencement speech at the Rhode Island School of Design. "Refuse to isolate yourself. Separatism is for losers," he said, adding, "Gay is not enough anymore."

No one is arguing that prejudice has come close to disappearing, especially outside major

Continued on Page A12

THE OPPOSITION Many conservatives hope that stronger legal protections for religious beliefs and other exemptions will allow them to avoid any involvement in same-sex marriages. PAGE A14

THE REACTION It was a day of celebration for some, denunciation for others and delays and confusion in some of the country's most conservative pockets. PAGE A13

THE CHIEF JUSTICE Even though he wound up in the minority, the views of Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. came across as consistent and principled. PAGE A13

Attacks on 3 Continents Expose Global Hurdles in Terror Fight

By BEN HUBBARD

BEIRUT, Lebanon — In a matter of hours and on three different continents, militants carried out attacks on Friday that killed scores of civilians, horrified populations and raised thorny questions about the evolving nature of international terrorism and what can be done to fight it.

On the surface, the attacks appeared to be linked only by timing.

In France, a man stormed an American-owned chemical plant, decapitated one person and apparently tried to blow up the facility. In Tunisia, a gunman drew an assault rifle from a beach umbrella and killed at least 38 people at a seaside resort. And in Kuwait, a suicide bomber blew himself up inside a mosque during communal prayers, killing at least 25 Shiite worshippers.

The Islamic State group claimed responsibility for the at-



A body on a Tunisian beach.

tacks in Tunisia and Kuwait, according to statements on Twitter. But it almost did not matter for terrorism's global implications whether the three attacks were coordinated. Each in a different way underlined the difficulties of anticipating threats and protecting civilians from small-scale terrorist actions, whether in a mosque, at work or at the beach.

The attacks occurred at a time of fast evolution for the world's most dangerous terrorist organizations, which continue to find

Continued on Page A8

Obama Scorns Racism in Soaring, Singing Eulogy

By KEVIN SACK and GARDINER HARRIS

CHARLESTON, S.C. — In one of his presidency's most impassioned reflections on race, President Obama eulogized the Rev. Clementa C. Pinckney on Friday by calling on the nation to emulate the grace that he displayed in his work and that the people of South Carolina demonstrated after the massacre of nine worshippers at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Before nearly 6,000 mourners and a worldwide television audience, Mr. Obama, who met Mr. Pinckney during his first presidential campaign, placed the shootings in the context of America's long history of violence against African-Americans. He also reiterated his plea to restrict the availability of firearms and called for the removal of the Confederate battle flag from the grounds of the State House in Columbia.

Mr. Obama thrilled the mostly African-American audience by



President Obama gave the eulogy for the Rev. Clementa C. Pinckney, closing with a refrain from "Amazing Grace."

preaching with revivalist cadences, and by closing his 40-minute address by singing, in solo, the opening refrain of "Amazing Grace." The crowd came to its feet and joined in, leading the Rev. Norvel Goff, a

presiding elder in the A.M.E. church, to later "thank the Reverend President."

"Maybe we now realize the way racial bias can infect us even when we don't realize it," Mr.

Continued on Page A15

Escaped Killer Is Fatally Shot In New York

By WILLIAM K. RASHBAUM and BENJAMIN MUELLER

Richard W. Matt, one of two convicted murderers who engineered an elaborate escape from New York's largest prison, was shot and killed on Friday by a federal agent, the authorities said, ending one prong of a three-week manhunt that spread over large stretches of the state's northern terrain.

A team of agents from the federal Customs and Border Protection agency found Mr. Matt in the woods in Malone, N.Y., after he fired a shot at the back of a camping trailer, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo said at a news conference. Officers heard him cough as he fled on foot, and a federal agent killed him when Mr. Matt, still armed with a 20-gauge shotgun, refused orders to put up his hands, the

Continued on Page A18

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Greek Referendum Is Sought

Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras, right, made a surprise appearance on Greek television to ask for a public vote on the indebted nation's latest bailout offer, which he called "unbearable." PAGE B1



Unlikely Allies on Trade Deal

The drive to get Democratic support for the Pacific trade pact came down to four days of tricky maneuvering. PAGE B1

INTERNATIONAL A3-9

Migrant Crisis Divides Europe

At a meeting that exposed deep divisions and even disarray, European leaders failed to agree on a concrete plan to share the burden of caring for 40,000 migrants. PAGE A4

Fear and Turmoil in Burundi

Burundian protesters, turned away from the United States Embassy, say they are "living in fear" as the nation braced for elections Monday. PAGE A4

Minister of the Long-Term

A Harvard philosopher has settled into his role fostering long-term thinking about Brazil, his native land. PAGE A3

SPORTSSATURDAY D1-6

U.S. in World Cup Semifinals

In her 200th game for the United States soccer team, Carli Lloyd, right, scored on a header in the 51st minute to lift the Americans to a 1-0 quarterfinal victory over China. PAGE D1



Federer's Long Odds

If Roger Federer, 33, wins Wimbledon for the eighth time, he will be its oldest champion in the Open era. PAGE D2

NEW YORK A17-19; A22

6-Figure Payouts at Waldorf

The owners of the Waldorf Astoria have reached a record deal with the hotel union in which the hotel could pay almost \$149 million in severance packages to its employees over two years. PAGE A17

ARTS C1-7

A Terminator, Revived

At 67, Arnold Schwarzenegger, who is, well, back in "Terminator Genisys," discusses aging and action heroes. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Gail Collins

PAGE A21

THIS WEEKEND





CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Gay pride events on Sunday in many cities, including New York, were made more celebratory by Friday's Supreme Court ruling.

GREECE WILL SHUT BANKS IN FALLOUT FROM DEBT CRISIS

Alarm Rises in Europe as Talks Fail — Markets Brace for Disruptions

By JIM YARDLEY

ATHENS — Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras announced Sunday night that Greece's banks would be closed as of Monday, as the fallout from ruptured debt negotiations with the nation's creditors began inflicting pain on ordinary people while raising alarm in Washington, Brussels and Berlin.

The emergency measures escalated the confused and unpredictable state of a crisis that some analysts say could ripple through global financial markets and undercut European unity. Most Asian markets opened lower on Monday.

With so much at stake, leaders in other capitals encouraged a continued search for a way to prevent Greece from being forced out of Europe's currency union. Greece owes a large debt payment by the end of Tuesday, and has scheduled a referendum for next Sunday on whether to accept the terms of an offer from its creditors to release bailout aid it needs to meet its financial obligations.

Mr. Tsipras announced the emergency banking shutdown, which will also close the stock exchange, and imposed capital controls several hours after the European Central Bank said it would not expand an emergency loan program that had been propping up Greek banks for weeks. The banking system had neared insolvency after panicked account holders withdrew billions of euros, a pattern that continued over the weekend.

"It is clearer than ever that this decision has no other goal than blackmailing the Greek people and obstructing the smooth democratic procedure of the referendum," Mr. Tsipras said in a brief televised address.

DIGGING IN Many Greeks anxiously prepared for the uncertainty ahead, some hoarding gas and groceries. PAGE A6

THE HEDGE FUNDS Panic is setting in over what happens when the markets reopen. PAGE B1

THE EURO A rising risk of Greece leaving the currency. PAGE B3

Mr. Tsipras attributed the action to the unwillingness of the country's creditors to extend the bailout program, set to end Tuesday, until next Sunday, so that Greece could hold its national referendum. The referendum was a surprise move by Mr. Tsipras, announced early Saturday, as he declared that voters should decide whether to accept the terms of the creditors' latest aid proposal — terms he considers onerous.

Greece's creditors — the other 18 eurozone countries, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund — in effect cut off negotiations with Mr. Tsipras after he called for the referendum, raising concerns

Continued on Page A6

Revelry and Soul-Searching on Gay Pride Day

A Bicoastal Toast to Equal Rights

By MATT FLEGENHEIMER and VIVIAN YEE

The revelers carried hand-made signs and rainbow flags, screeching noisemakers and fussy children.

A familiar chant — at least before the coda — wafted over 41st Street in Midtown Manhattan.

"What do we want?"
"Marriage equality!"
"When did we get it?"
"Friday!"

Two days after the United States Supreme Court affirmed same-sex marriage as a right, well-timed pride parades on Sunday in the country's twin hubs of gay activism, New York City and San Francisco, promised a sort of social catharsis — a bicoastal toast to the nation's rapid shift on gay rights and an extended curtain call for the movement that drove it.

"All 50 states!" the New York crowd roared at one point. It was no longer a plea, but a celebration.

If even a typical pride parade can blur the lines between friend and stranger, the proceedings on Sunday assumed the feel of a

large-scale wedding reception, uniting graying activists, fledgling families and party seekers in a historic moment that all seemed keenly aware they occupied.

"Doesn't matter race, religion, gender," said Dean Barnes, 49, a minister with the Metropolitan Community Church of New York. "When people find love with each other, they should be equally treated."

Mr. Barnes first attended New York's pride parade 18 years ago, he said, when he came out. Now he rides a gleaming royal blue motorcycle with the Sirens, a biker group that leads the parade. On Sunday, his daughter and her wife were there to cheer him on.

Riding down Fifth Avenue in Manhattan in a red convertible, two couples who were plaintiffs in separate marriage equality cases held signs attesting to the longevity of their relationships.

"Together 33 years," read one, by Jo-Ann Shain and her wife, Mary Jo Kennedy.

"Together 37 years," said the

Continued on Page A11

Churches Grapple With New Era

By MICHAEL PAULSON

WEST CHICAGO, Ill. — The tone of the worship service was set at the start. An opening prayer declared it "a dark day." The sermon focused on a psalm of lament. In between, a pastor read a statement proclaiming the church's elders and staff "deeply saddened."

In downtown Chicago, as in several other cities around the country, Sunday was marked by jubilation, the annual gay pride festivities made more celebratory by Friday's Supreme Court decision legalizing same-sex marriage nationwide. But here at Wheaton Bible Church, a suburban evangelical congregation that draws about 2,600 people to its five weekend worship services, it was a day of sorrow.

"I came in with a great sense of lament, because of what happened on Friday," the church's teaching pastor, Lon Allison, told worshippers before reading a statement declaring, "We cannot accept or adhere to any legal, political or cultural redefinition of biblical marriage, nor will we



JOSHUA LOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Sunday services at New Life Covenant Church in Chicago.

conduct or endorse same-sex ceremonies."

The dramatic shift in public opinion, and now in the nation's laws, has left evangelical Protestants, who make up about a quarter of the American population, in an uncomfortable position. Out of step with the broader society, and often derided as discriminatory or hateful, many are feeling under siege as they try to live out their understanding of biblical teachings, and worry that a

Continued on Page A12

5 Days That Left a Rebel Flag Wavering, and Likely to Fall

By MICHAEL BARBARO and JONATHAN MARTIN

Inside the old granite State House in South Carolina, one day after the massacre in a Charleston church, an African-American receptionist politely gave everyone who called to complain about the Confederate battle flag the same response: "Sorry, there's nothing to be done."

But Karen Hunter, one of those callers, would not let it go. "If we all had that attitude," Ms. Hunter told her, "we'd still be slaves." Within hours, Ms. Hunter drafted an online petition that demanded the flag's removal from the State House grounds. It would be signed by more than 566,000 people.

At the nearby Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, Lewis F. Gossett Jr., the president of a powerful South Carolina business group, felt his emotions swell as black and white parishioners locked hands and mourned the nine African-Americans who were killed in Charleston on June

17. The next morning, he emailed his executive committee: It was time for their organization to lead a charge to take down the Confederate flag. "I think it could happen very fast," he told them.

Fifty miles east, in his district of rolling farms, State Representative Grady A. Brown, a Democrat and a great-grandson of a Confederate soldier, sorted through 1,000 messages, the largest volume of mail he had received since joining the General Assembly. People poured out their souls on "page after page after page," he said. The vast majority asked him to remove the flag. So, he concluded, that is what he would do.

The stunningly quick collapse of support for the Confederate flag has been told largely through the public pronouncements of one governor, Nikki R. Haley of South Carolina, who persuaded the legislature to reconsider the

Continued on Page A13

Sprawling Hunt Ends as 2nd Escapee Is Shot by New York Trooper



WWNY-TV

David Sweat, 35, after being shot on Sunday, two days after the inmate he escaped from prison with was shot and killed.

This article is by Rick Rojas, J. David Goodman and William K. Rashbaum.

CONSTABLE, N.Y. — David Sweat, the remaining prison escapee on the run in northern New York, was shot by a state trooper and taken into custody on Sunday after a 23-day manhunt that began with an improbable escape from two maximum-security cells and ended in the rain-drenched woods just south of the Canadian border.

Mr. Sweat, 35, a murderer who had been serving a sentence of life without parole, was in critical condition at Albany Medical Center late Sunday night, according to Dennis P. McKenna, the hospital's medical director.

The shooting occurred here around 3:20 p.m. after a State Police sergeant spotted a man jogging down a road, stopped to question him and recognized him as Mr. Sweat, said Superintendent Joseph A. D'Amico of the New York State Police. The sergeant, Jay Cook, told Mr. Sweat to come over to him, but instead Mr. Sweat turned and fled across

a field toward the tree line, Mr. D'Amico said. Sergeant Cook, a firearms instructor who was patrolling by himself, gave chase and finally opened fire, striking Mr. Sweat twice in the torso, because he realized the fugitive was going to make it to the woods and possibly disappear, Mr. D'Amico said.

More than 1,300 officers in rainslicked gear had helped to tighten a cordon around Mr. Sweat on Sunday as the search, which had at times appeared to lurch between small New York towns as officials chased shreds of reported sightings, focused in on 22 square miles of rugged terrain. The confrontation with Mr. Sweat took place two days after his partner in flight from the authorities, Richard W. Matt, was shot and killed by a federal agent in the woods of Malone, N.Y.

"The nightmare is finally over," Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo said, speaking with Mr. D'Amico on Sunday evening surrounded by law enforcement officers at a news conference here marked by cheers and applause. "These

Continued on Page A16

INTERNATIONAL A3-9

Path of Tunisia's Attacker

Relatives of the graduate student behind an attack at a Tunisian resort that killed 39 people were looking back for signs of his radicalization. Below, tourists mourning on the beach. PAGE A4



INTERNATIONAL

Sticking Points in Iran Talks

Just two days before a deadline for a final deal on Iran's nuclear program, negotiators remained divided over how to limit and monitor it. PAGE A3

NATIONAL A10-13

A Veto War in Maine

The state's governor, Paul R. LePage, and Legislature are locked in a war of words, vetoes and overrides. PAGE A10

Cargo Rocket Disintegrates

A SpaceX rocket carrying a payload for the International Space Station fell apart minutes after takeoff. PAGE A10

BUSINESS DAY B1-6

Weak Privacy Pledges Online

Companies promise to keep their customers' data safe. But that promise is often voided if a company is sold or part of a merger. PAGE B1

Google Maps and Rail Crossings

The government is working with Google to provide locations of grade, or level, crossings in Google's map app. PAGE B1

SPORTSMONDAY D1-7

A Hill's Days Are Numbered

The Astros plan to remove a defining feature at Minute Maid Park, and outfielders aren't sad to see it go. PAGE D2

SPORTSMONDAY

4 R.B.I. in Debut, by a Pitcher

The Mets' Steven Matz, a highly regarded prospect, allowed only two runs in a win over the Reds. Even more impressive than his left arm was his bat, which he used to set a team record. PAGE D1



ARTS C1-7

So Much Wealth to Squander

Kevin Kwan's "China Rich Girlfriend," the sequel to his debut novel "Crazy Rich Asians" and the second volume in what has been projected as a gossipy, good-humored trilogy, features tales of the young and superrich in Asia as they waste huge sums of money. A review by Janet Maslin. PAGE C4

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

Paul Krugman

PAGE A19





STEFANOS RAPANIS/REUTERS

Greeks argued Monday with a bank worker, left, hoping to get their pensions as bank closings caused chaos nationwide. Page A9.

Loads of Debt: Global Ailment With Few Cures

By PETER EAVIS

There are some problems that not even \$10 trillion can solve.

That gargantuan sum of money is what central banks around the world have spent in recent years as they have tried to stimulate their economies and fight financial crises. The tidal wave of cheap money has played a huge role in generating growth in many countries, cutting unemployment and preventing panic.

But it has not been able to do away with days like Monday, when fear again coursed through global financial markets. The main causes of the steep declines in stock and bond markets were announcements out of Greece and Puerto Rico. [Page B1.]

And in China, the precipitous declines in its stock market were also a sobering reminder that stubborn problems lurked in the global economy.

Stifling debt loads, for instance, continue to weigh on governments around the world. Greece's government has repeatedly called for relief from some of its debt obligations, and Puerto Rico's governor said on Sunday that its debt was "not payable." Both borrowers are extreme cases, but high borrowing, either by corporations or governments, is also bogging down the globally significant economies of Brazil, Turkey, Italy and China. And economists say that central

Continued on Page B4

Clinton Courts Donors in a More Polarized Pool

By NICHOLAS CONFESSORE and DEREK WILLIS

Hillary Rodham Clinton will seek out donors to her presidential campaign from a Democratic fund-raising landscape vastly altered since her first presidential bid and far more ideologically aligned with the party's liberal activists.

Democrats now get far less money from Wall Street, military contractors, health care companies and other industries that for decades ladled out cash more

evenly to both parties, according to a New York Times analysis of data collected by the Center for Responsive Politics, a watchdog group. And the party now relies far more on constituencies that have achieved new clout in the era of "super PACs" and carefully targeted digital fund-raising.

As many as one-fifth of elite Democratic "bundlers" — volunteers who raise money from friends and business associates — are active in gay-rights causes or are themselves gay or lesbian. Outside Democratic groups rely heavily on wealthy environmen-

talists, such as the billionaires Tom Steyer and Michael R. Bloomberg, and on labor unions, whose financial might has been magnified by the Supreme Court's Citizens United decision in 2010 even as their membership rolls decline.

Female donors and bundlers have become both a bigger source of funding and a more organized financial force in party affairs: Emily's List, a political group dedicated to electing female Democrats, now has five

Continued on Page A14



HATEM SAFWAT/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

Bomb Kills Egypt's Top Prosecutor

The death of Hisham Barakat marked a broadening of an antigovernment insurgency. Page A7.

Is Marijuana Legal in Your State? Perhaps Not for Federal Work

By MATTHEW ROSENBERG and MARK MAZZETTI

WASHINGTON — For all the aspiring and current spies, diplomats and F.B.I. agents living in states that have liberalized marijuana laws, the federal government has a stern warning: Put down the bong, throw out the vaporizer and lose the rolling pa-

pers. It may now be legal in Colorado, in Washington State and elsewhere to possess and smoke marijuana, but federal laws outlawing its use — and rules that make it a firing offense for government workers — have remained rigid. As a result, recruiters for federal agencies are arriving on university campuses in those states with the sobering message that

marijuana use will not be tolerated.

So members of a new generation are getting an early lesson in what their predecessors have done for as long as there have been espionage, diplomacy and bureaucracy. They are lying and stalling when necessary to avoid, in the case of the newcomers, failing a drug test.

As any regular marijuana

smoker will tell you, it usually takes about two weeks for evidence of marijuana use to disappear from urine, a urine sample being the method by which drug use ordinarily is tested.

"Delaying something is part of what a good diplomat is supposed to know how to do," said John, a young American diplomat

Continued on Page A15

Supreme Court To Weigh Race In Admissions

Revives Texas Case on Affirmative Action

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court agreed on Monday to take a second look at the use of race in admissions decisions by the University of Texas at Austin, reviving a potent challenge to affirmative action in higher education.

The move, which supporters of race-conscious admissions programs called baffling and ominous, signaled that the court may limit or even end such affirmative action. The advocates speculated that the court's most conservative members had cast the four votes needed to grant review of the case in the hope that Justice Anthony M. Kennedy would supply the fifth vote to strike down the Texas admissions plan.

Justice Kennedy has never voted to uphold an affirmative action program.

The consequences would be striking if the court sided with the plaintiff in the case, a white woman named Abigail Fisher, and did away with racial preferences in higher education. It would, all sides agree, reduce the number of black and Latino students at nearly every selective college and graduate school, with more Asian-American and white students gaining entrance instead.

"Over the last few days, liberals have been celebrating a string of important victories involving health care and same-sex marriage," said Justin Driver, a law professor at the University of Chicago. "But liberals have also

Continued on Page A13

JUSTICES APPROVE EXECUTION DRUG IN A 5-TO-4 VOTE

A SHARP CLASH OF VIEWS

Two in Dissent Question Constitutionality of the Death Penalty

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court ruled on Monday against three death row inmates who had sought to bar the use of an execution drug they said risked causing excruciating pain.

In the process, two dissenting members of the court — Justices Stephen G. Breyer and Ruth Bader Ginsburg — came very close to announcing that they were ready to rule the death penalty unconstitutional. This gave rise to slashing debate with Justices Antonin Scalia and Clarence Thomas about the reliability and effectiveness of the punishment, a dispute that overshadowed the core issue in the case.

The 5-to-4 decision on the execution drug broke along familiar lines, with Justice Anthony M. Kennedy joining the court's more conservative members to allow its use.

Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr., writing for the majority, said the inmates had failed to identify an available and preferable method of execution and failed to make the case that the challenged drug entailed a substantial risk of severe pain.

The drug, the sedative midazolam, played a part in three long and apparently painful executions last year. It was used in an effort to render inmates unconscious before they were injected with other drugs that cause severe pain.

In dissent, Justice Sonia Sotomayor, who joined the other three members of the court's liberal wing, said, "The court's avail-

Continued on Page A13

E.P.A. RULE BLOCKED The court, ruling against an ambitious environmental initiative, said the costs to industry must be considered in limiting toxic pollutants from coal-fired power plants. PAGE A12

ARIZONA PANEL UPHOLD Objections by G.O.P. lawmakers to an independent panel's drawing legislative districts were rebuffed. PAGE A13

ABORTION CLINIC RELIEF Ten Texas facilities can stay open while justices consider hearing an appeal of a ruling against them. PAGE A12

Panel Freezes Regulated Rents In an Unprecedented Decision

By MIREYA NAVARRO

The board that regulates rents for more than one million rent-stabilized apartments in New York City voted on Monday night for a freeze on one-year leases, an unprecedented move in its 46-year history.

The 7-to-2 vote by the city's Rent Guidelines Board was an acknowledgment of the precarious situation of many tenants whose incomes have not kept pace with housing costs. It also was the first decision on rent levels by a nine-member board appointed in its entirety by Mayor Bill de Blasio.

The board, one of the few tools the mayor has to directly influ-

ence the cost of housing in the city, also voted to increase rents on two-year leases by 2 percent, a historic low.

The mayor refrained from publicly calling for a rent freeze as he had done last year. But his housing plan aims at building new affordable housing while staying off the loss of existing affordable units — either through rent increases or the removal of stabilized apartments from regulation.

Mr. de Blasio, a Democrat, praised the decision: "We know tenants have been forced to make painful choices that pitted ever-

Continued on Page A20



INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Turnout Low for Burundi Vote

Officials in Burundi pressed ahead with local and parliamentary elections, but crowds in the capital were thin and tensions high over the president's plans to seek a third term. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A11-15

In Line With Marriage Ruling

The last major pockets of resistance to same-sex marriage shrank as officials in states across the South began offering licenses. PAGE A11

School Vouchers Invalidated

Colorado's Supreme Court said allowing public money to go to religious schools violates the State Constitution. PAGE A11

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

More Eligible for Overtime Pay

A move by the White House increases the overtime threshold for workers to \$50,440 a year from \$23,660. PAGE B1

United to Use Biofuel in a Jet

To reduce emissions, United says it will start using fuel made from farm waste to help power its jets. PAGE B1

NEW YORK A17-21

Re-examining an Escape

New details emerged about the hunt for two escapees, as the F.B.I. opened a corruption inquiry at the prison. PAGE A17

SCIENCE TIMES D1-6

Little-Known Kings of the Sea

The bristlemouth fish is smaller than a finger, glows in the dark and has fangs, and it is the most numerous vertebrate on the planet. PAGE D1



ARTS C1-7

Unsparring Look at Soul Singer

A documentary about Amy Winehouse is an unflinching portrait of the singer's legacy that has not been well received by her family. PAGE C1

SPORTSTUESDAY B8-12

Favorites Cruise at Wimbledon

No. 1-seeded Serena Williams, who is seeking her 21st Grand Slam title, and Novak Djokovic, who is trying to win his second consecutive Wimbledon crown, won their first-round matches in straight sets. PAGE B9

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

David Brooks

PAGE A23



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WORLD LEADERS STRIKE AGREEMENT WITH IRAN TO CURB NUCLEAR ABILITY AND LIFT SANCTIONS

G.O.P. Pledges to Kill Pact, but Veto Looms

By JONATHAN WEISMAN and JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS

WASHINGTON — Before Congress had even begun its official review, Republican leaders vowed Tuesday to kill President Obama's nuclear accord with Iran, setting up a fierce fight to save the president's signature diplomatic achievement.

Congress will have 60 days to review the deal, once all documents have been sent to the Capitol, after which it can pass a resolution of approval, pass one of disapproval or do nothing. Mr. Obama would veto a resolution of disapproval, and the opponents could derail the agreement only if they could rally the required two-thirds vote of Congress to override his action.

"I want to go through this process and make sure we fully understand what we're voting on," said Senator Bob Corker, Republican of Tennessee and chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "In the end, those who believe this truly is going to keep Iran from getting a nuclear weapon will vote for it. Those who believe that is not the case, and the world is not going to be safer — in some ways it may pave the way for them to get a nuclear weapon — will vote

Continued on Page A10



President Obama defended the nuclear deal with Iran.

ISRAEL'S VIEW "Historic mistake" with a "rogue regime." PAGE A11

OIL SUPPLY Iran needs time to increase its production. PAGE A8

FRIEDMAN President Obama pleads his case. PAGE A27

I.M.F. Insisting On Debt Relief In Greek Deal

By JACK EWING

FRANKFURT — The International Monetary Fund threatened to withdraw support for Greece's bailout on Tuesday unless European leaders agree to substantial debt relief, an immediate challenge to the region's plan to rescue the country.

The aggressive stance sets up a standoff with Germany and other eurozone creditors, which have been reluctant to provide additional debt relief. The I.M.F. role is considered crucial for any bailout, not only to provide funding but also to supervise Greece's compliance with the terms.

A new rescue program for Greece "would have to meet our criteria," a senior I.M.F. official told reporters on Tuesday, speaking on the condition of anonymity. "One of those criteria is debt sustainability."

Debt relief has been a contentious issue in the negotiations over the Greek bailout.

Athens has pushed aggressive. Continued on Page A12

CAN IRAN KEEP ENRICHING URANIUM?

Yes. It will be allowed to produce and stock a small amount of uranium enriched at low levels — not suitable for a bomb without further processing. The stockpile limit lasts 15 years.

WILL IRAN STILL BE ABLE TO MAKE A BOMB?

If it abides by the terms of the deal, no, for at least the next decade. It would not have enough material on hand, or centrifuges running, to make a bomb's worth of weapons-grade uranium in less than a year.

WILL INSPECTORS HAVE ACCESS TO MILITARY FACILITIES?

Inspectors can ask to visit sites where they suspect nuclear activity. But the provision is short of "anywhere, anytime," because the inspectors need evidence to request a military visit.

WHEN WILL THE SANCTIONS BE LIFTED?

The major oil and financial sanctions could be lifted this year if Iran complies with the principal requirements in the deal.

HOW CAN THE U.S. BE SURE THAT IRAN WON'T CHEAT?

It can't. Iran agreed to provide the inspectors greater access and information regarding its nuclear program, and to allow investigation of suspicious sites, but there are no guarantees.

HOW LONG WILL THE DEAL LAST?

The deal limits Iran's enrichment capacity for 15 years. Caps on research and development begin to loosen in about 10 years, but some restrictions remain in place for as long as 25 years.

Accord Is Based on Verification, Not Trust, Obama Says

By MICHAEL R. GORDON and DAVID E. SANGER

VIENNA — Iran and a group of six nations led by the United States reached a historic accord on Tuesday to significantly limit Tehran's nuclear ability for more than a decade in return for lifting international oil and financial sanctions.

The deal culminates 20 months of negotiations on an agreement that President Obama had long sought as the biggest diplomatic achievement of his presidency. Whether it portends a new relationship between the United States and Iran — after decades of coups, hostage-taking, terrorism and sanctions — remains a bigger question.

Mr. Obama, in an early morning appearance at the White House that was broadcast live in Iran, began what promised to be an arduous effort to sell the deal to Congress and the American public, saying the agreement is "not built on trust — it is built on verification."

He made it abundantly clear he would fight to preserve the deal from critics in Congress who are

beginning a 60-day review, declaring, "I will veto any legislation that prevents the successful implementation of this deal."

Almost as soon as the agreement was announced, to cheers in Vienna and on the streets of Tehran, its harshest critics said it would ultimately empower Iran rather than limit its capability. Israel's prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, called it a "historic mistake" that would create a "terrorist nuclear superpower."

A review of the 109-page text of Continued on Page A9



Hassan Rouhani says, "Prayers have come true."

NEWS ANALYSIS

President's Leap of Faith

By DAVID E. SANGER

VIENNA — In his opening to China more than 40 years ago, Richard M. Nixon made a huge Cold War gamble that he could forge a working relationship with a Communist country that had built a small arsenal of nuclear weapons and clearly had long-term ambitions for global power.

For President Obama, the deal struck Tuesday morning with Iran represents a similar leap of faith, a bet that by defusing the country's nuclear threat — even if just for a decade or so — he and his successors would have the time and space to restructure one of the United States' deepest adversarial relationships.

Mr. Obama will be long out of office before any reasonable assessment can be made as to

whether that roll of the dice paid off. The best guess today, even among the most passionate supporters of the president's Iran project, is that the judgment will be mixed.

Little in the deal announced on Tuesday eliminates Iran's ability to become a threshold nuclear power eventually — it just delays the day. To Mr. Obama's many critics, including Henry A. Kissinger, the architect of the China opening, that is a fatal flaw. It does nothing, Mr. Kissinger wrote recently with another former secretary of state, George P. Shultz, to change "three and a half decades of militant hostility to the West."

Continued on Page A10



Pluto on Their Minds

The zany headgear came out at the Johns Hopkins Applied Physics Laboratory as the New Horizons probe flew within 8,000 miles of Pluto on Tuesday, capping a decade's journey. Page A19.

Rift Grows as Mexico Rejects U.S. Help in Hunt for Kingpin

By AZAM AHMED and DAMIEN CAVE

MEXICO CITY — Hours after the world's most infamous drug lord, Joaquín Guzmán Loera, escaped Mexico's highest security prison over the weekend, the United States offered everything it has — marshals, drones, even a special task force — to help recapture him.

But the Mexicans have kept the Americans at bay, without giving an answer on the extra help, according to Mexican and American officials. They say the delay has confounded law enforcement agencies on both sides of the border and undermined efforts to find Mr. Guzmán, the billionaire head of the Sinaloa cartel known as El Chapo, before his wealth and global connections help him disappear.

"We can't really understand why they are refusing to give an answer," said one Mexican official, who works in the country's security apparatus but was not authorized to speak publicly about his government's deliberations. "We're just on standby."



Mexican soldiers at a highway checkpoint on Tuesday.

Mexico's hesitations over the American offer reflect years of strain between the countries as their ambitious joint effort against the cartels has waned, including a drop in extraditions to the United States and divided priorities in Mexico.

Mexico's interior secretary, Miguel Ángel Osorio Chong, said Monday night that the two countries were cooperating, just as Mexico worked closely with Guatemala to secure its southern border. But at a news conference about the search for Mr. Guzmán, who absconded through an elab-

Continued on Page A6

ARTS C1-6

Comic Novel's Second Chance

"Oreo," a feminist, multiracial satire, is as fresh in reissue as it was in 1974, when few noticed it. A review. PAGE C1

Hometown Greets 'Watchman'

Turnout was relatively low in Harper Lee's hometown for the release of her novel "Go Set a Watchman." PAGE C1



INTERNATIONAL A4-15

Afghanistan's Shared Trauma

Afghan men and women who work as therapists face struggles of their own in a country plagued by years of war, upheaval and poverty. PAGE A4

Fighters Seize Yemeni Airport

In a significant defeat, Houthis rebels lost control of Aden's airport to fighters backed by Saudi Arabia. PAGE A4

NEW YORK A20-25

Garner Family Seeks Changes

Eric Garner's relatives say a settlement with New York over his death will not end a push for police reforms. PAGE A20

NATIONAL A16-19

Tackling Puerto Rican Drought

One of the worst droughts in Puerto Rico's history has brought water rationing, which has led to creative methods for collecting every drop. PAGE A16

Planned Parenthood Targeted

Abortion foes renewed a fight against Planned Parenthood after a video captured an official from the group talking about fetal parts for research. PAGE A16

Studies Back Wider Statin Use

Two studies lend support to guidelines that could vastly increase the number of Americans advised to take cholesterol-lowering drugs called statins. PAGE A3

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B8-13

Familiar End to All-Star Game

The American League won its third straight contest, 6-3. PAGE B8

FOOD D1-12

Mixing It Up on the Grill

Sausages, ribs, chicken and salad, cooked outside on an open fire. PAGE D1



BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Closer Look at N.Y.S.E. Cuts

Cost-cutting may have left the exchange without the technical expertise to tackle last week's three-hour failure. PAGE B1

Battle of the Summer Sales

With retail sales sluggish, Amazon, Walmart and Target are scrambling to lure consumers with big discounts. PAGE B1

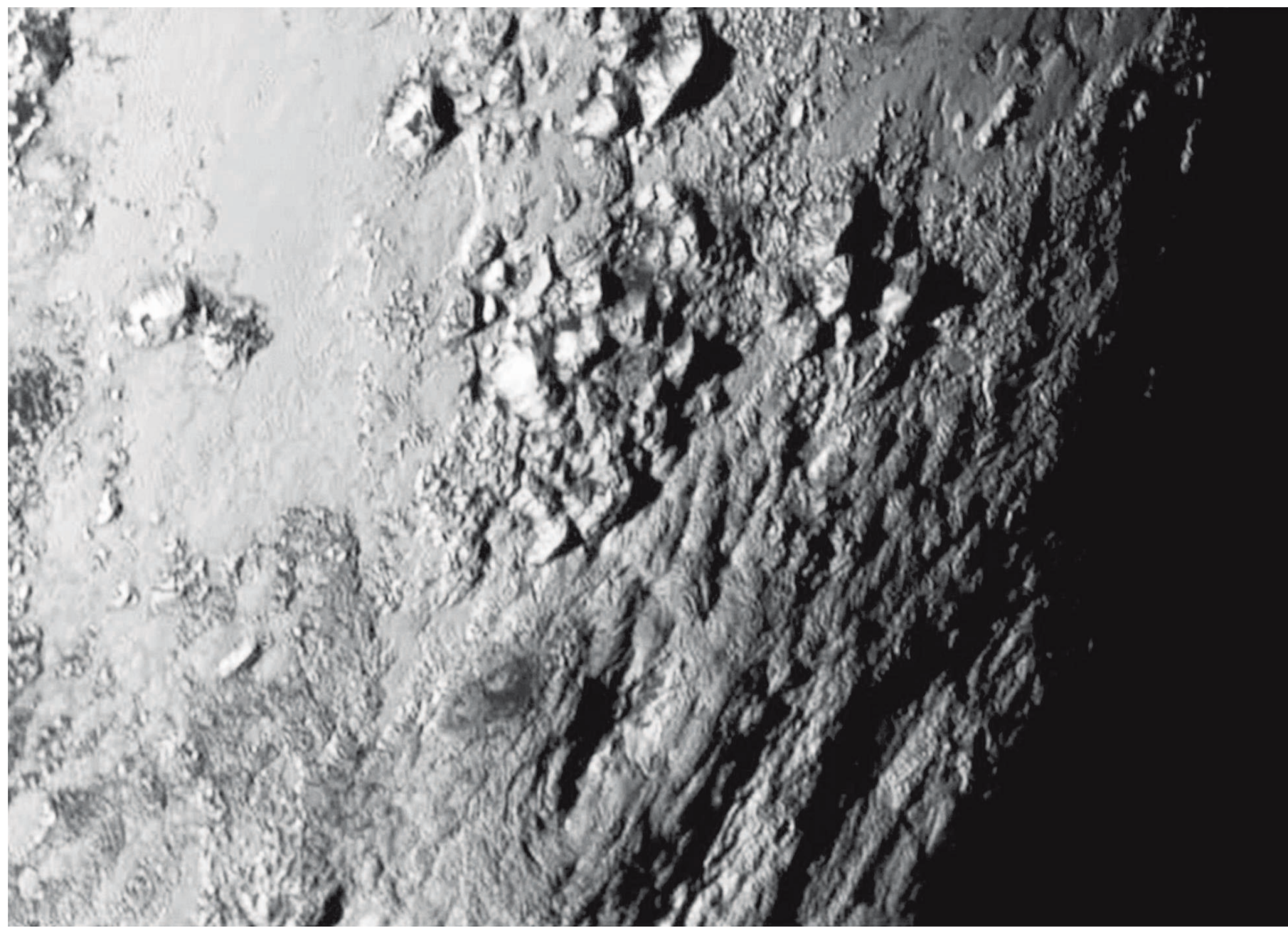
EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Frank Bruni

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Pluto's Portrait: Ice Mountains, No Craters and, for Scientists, a 'Toy Store'

By KENNETH CHANG

LAUREL, Md. — The first close-up image of Pluto has revealed mountains as tall as the Rockies, and an absence of craters — discoveries that, to their delight, baffled scientists working on NASA's New Horizons mission and provided punctuation for a journey nine and a half years in the making.

Only 112 years after the Wright Brothers were barely able to get their airplane off the ground, a machine from Earth has crossed the solar system to a small, icy world three billion miles away. The flyby on Tuesday, when New Horizons buzzed within 7,800 miles of the former ninth planet, came 50 years to the day after NASA's Mariner 4 spacecraft made a similar first pass by Mars.

Pluto until a few weeks ago was a blurry dot. Within the past couple of days, it has been transformed into a dynamic world with varied geography, discoveries that point to the possibility of ice volcanoes and churning tectonics. All of this new information could provide clues to how planets form and even to the origins of some of the building blocks of life.

"I don't think any one of us could have imagined that this could have been a better toy store," S. Alan Stern, the mission's principal investigator, said during a news conference on Wednesday.

William Grundy, an investigator working to analyze the surface composition of Pluto, chimed in: "This is what we came for."

"This exceeds what we came for," added Catherine Olkin, the deputy project



Area of detail

An image of Pluto showed mountains about as high as the Rockies.

scientist.

Earlier in the day, New Horizons had sent back the first batch of a bountiful trove of data that it had collected during its close flyby of Pluto. Dr. Stern said the rooms where teams got their first look at the images were "something close to bedlam."

A day before, NASA had released a mesmerizing image of the full 1,472-mile-wide disc of Pluto, highlighted by a bright heart-shaped swath of terrain. The newer image focused on a much smaller patch, about 150 miles across, near the bottom of the heart shape, and captured features as small as a half-mile across.

The first surprise was the rugged topography — mountains up to 11,000 feet high. But these mountains are almost c-

Continued on Page A17

YEARS OF TRADING AND COMPROMISE SEALED IRAN DEAL

ASSIST FROM A SULTAN

Concluding That Halting Bomb Development Eclipsed All Else

By DAVID E. SANGER and MICHAEL R. GORDON

VIENNA — One by one, the roadblocks to a nuclear accord between Iran and the United States had been painstakingly cleared. But as the negotiations went into their third week in the neoclassical Coburg Palace hotel this month, a major dispute lingered: whether a ban on Iran's ability to purchase conventional weapons and missile technology would remain in place.

The American delegation, led by Secretary of State John Kerry, insisted on extending the ban. But Mohammad Javad Zarif, the Iranian foreign minister and his country's chief negotiator, was opposed. Backing him were the Russians and Chinese, equal parties in the talks, who saw a lucrative market in selling arms to Tehran.

A compromise was struck that fully satisfied neither side: a five-year ban on the sale of conventional weapons and an eight-year ban on ballistic missiles.

Privately, Mr. Kerry told his team that any lifting of the ban was bound to inflame many in Congress, where fears of empowering Iran would mix with presidential politics. But shortly before midnight on Monday he called President Obama, and together they agreed that it was not worth losing what they saw as the best chance to roll back Iran's nuclear program simply because there was a risk that sometime in the future Iran would be able to acquire far less

Continued on Page A10

IN CONGRESS The White House is pinning hope on undecided Democrats and independents. PAGE A12

SELLING THE DEAL President Obama began an effort to sway skeptics at home and abroad. PAGE A11

Unscathed as War Games Begin, Texans Keep Watch, 'Just in Case'

By MANNY FERNANDEZ

CHRISTOVAL, Tex. — Despite the Internet chatter about trains with shackles and Walmart stores being closed to be used as detention camps, this small West Texas town on Wednesday seemed to be surviving the start of Jade Helm 15, the military exercise that some people fear is actually a ruse for a federal takeover of the state.

No military equipment or personnel were visible. No tanks were rumbling past the beige-metal community center on Main Street next door to the fire station here, the scene of 4-H Club meetings and family reunions. But that did not mean that people were not on the alert.

"I've been looking," said Dr. Jack Campbell, 61, who was picking up his mail at the post office.

Dr. Campbell said that he had concerns about the exercise, and that he purchased extra ammunition for the weapons he kept in his home. "Just in case," added Dr. Campbell, an emergency physician in San Angelo, Tex., 20 miles away. "People are just vigilant. Not vigilantes, but vigilant. They don't want to be caught off guard."

Another resident said a friend of his, a Vietnam veteran, started



TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Dr. Jack Campbell, of Christoval, Tex., said he decided to buy extra ammunition.

burying some of his firearms to hide them. Members of the Christoval Volunteer Fire Department, which owns the community center, signed an agreement with military officials stating — oddly to some, suspiciously to others — that the Army would pay for any damage to the building after it used it.

Sindy Miller, who runs a hair salon on Main Street, said fear of a military takeover had been the talk of Christoval.

"They're worried that they're

Continued on Page A15

Clinton Lags in Engaging Grass-Roots Donors

By NICHOLAS CONFESSORE and MAGGIE HABERMAN

Hillary Rodham Clinton's presidential campaign has been slow to harness the fund-raising power of the Democratic Party's legions of grass-roots donors, according to reports filed Wednesday, a weakness that her campaign is racing to combat.

Of the \$47.5 million that Mrs. Clinton has raised, less than one-fifth has come from donations of \$200 or less. That is a far smaller proportion than that of her Democratic and Republican rivals who have excited grass-roots donors on the left and right, such as Senators Bernie Sanders of Vermont and Ted Cruz of Texas. While Mr. Sanders raised far less than Mrs. Clinton over all — about \$15 million, including money transferred from his Senate account — about four-fifths of that amount came from smaller donors.

The slow response of grass-roots donors is a consequence, Mrs. Clinton's aides and advisers said, of the deliberately low-key approach she has taken on the campaign trail — with few of the big rallies and campaign events that can help build voter lists and drive donations — along with the challenge in persuading some donors that Mrs. Clinton, who is far ahead in primary polls, needs



MARK WILSON/GETTY IMAGES

Hillary Rodham Clinton visiting Capitol Hill on Tuesday.

their money.

The deficit could represent a financial and strategic liability for Mrs. Clinton if she were to win the nomination. The pool of Republican donors willing to write the maximum \$2,700 check has grown so large that no Democrat, not even Mrs. Clinton, is likely to be able to match a mainstream Republican nominee on high-dollar fund-raising over the long term. In 2012, President Obama and his party were able to match the Republican candidate, Mitt Romney, only by raising far more money than Mr. Romney from small donors.

"Given the prodigious amount of money on the Republican side, the Democratic nominee absolutely has to overperform" among small donors, said David Axelrod, who advised Mr. Obama's two successful presidential campaigns.

Campaign officials said that operational hurdles and administrative delays also have impeded her outreach to small donors. On the day that Mrs. Clinton sent out emails in April announcing her presidential bid, a campaign official said, many of the messages bounced back. Fewer than

Continued on Page A16

Back to Wall, Greece Adopts Austerity Steps

By SUZANNE DALEY and JAMES KANTER

ATHENS — Under threat from the nation's creditors to move quickly or lose any chance of obtaining a desperately needed new bailout package, Greece's Parliament approved painful new austerity measures early Thursday, virtually guaranteeing that life would get harder for millions of Greeks.

With banks closed and the economy on the verge of collapse, Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras had urged the adoption of the measures, saying that while it was a difficult deal the creditors were offering, it was the only one available and would avert a humanitarian and fiscal disaster.

The measures passed easily, with a vote of 229 to 64, with six abstentions. Yet much of the support came from opposition parties. Thirty-two members of Mr. Tsipras's own Syriza party voted no, including three of his ministers, throwing the stability of his left-wing coalition government into question.

Mr. Tsipras, who unexpectedly took the floor before the vote to

Continued on Page A6

NEW YORK A18-21

Final Salute on Fifth Avenue

Children and nostalgic adults filled F. A. O. Schwarz on its last day of business, and it is not yet clear where the renowned toy store's next home will be. PAGE A19



Revisiting a Minor Offense

The Police Department has suggested it might reduce penalties on public urination, a quintessential quality-of-life crime whose effects have a tendency to linger physically and legally. PAGE A18

NATIONAL A14-17

A Cattle Call to Straying Youth

Wyoming, where cattle outnumber people by two to one, has embarked on a new quest: trying to persuade its young people to return home. PAGE A14

New Round in Abortion Battle

An anti-abortion group's video prompts House Republicans to call for an investigation of Planned Parenthood. PAGE A14

INTERNATIONAL A4-13

Bird's Role in Prison Break

Officials believe that the drug kingpin known as El Chapo used a bird to help in his escape from prison. PAGE A4

THURSDAY STYLES D1-8

Men's Wear for a New Age

New York designers have regained the creative edge that will allow them to compete with the European stars of men's fashion. PAGE D1



SPORTSTHURSDAY B10-14

At Open, All Eyes on Spieth

With Rory McIlroy out of the British Open, Jordan Spieth is getting lots of attention, some of it unwanted. PAGE B10

BUSINESS DAY B1-9

Enthusiasm Builds for Netflix

Profit may be down for the streaming service, but subscriptions are well up, and so is its share price as the company plots a global expansion. PAGE B1

Another Worry for FIFA

Soccer's leaders, stung by scandal, face new scrutiny about working conditions in Qatar, host of the World Cup. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES B14-15

Marlene Sanders, 84, Is Dead

One of the first women to break into TV journalism, she was a reporter and Emmy-winning writer. PAGE B14

ARTS C1-8

A City Fueled by Creativity

New spaces and works, like the button-covered soundsuit from the American artist Nick Cave, are adding to Detroit's vibrant art scene. PAGE C1



EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Nicholas Kristof

PAGE A23



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Fighting for space on a jammed street amid construction in Yanjiao, China. The Beijing suburb will be part of a new megalopolis.

SIM CHI YIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Who Advises Candidate Trump? (A Hint: His Name Is Donald)

By **MAGGIE HABERMAN** and **MICHAEL BARBARO**

In what passes for normal inside Donald J. Trump's unorthodox campaign for president, he flew from Arkansas to Iowa on his Trump-embellished jet on Friday, arrived the next morning at a candidate forum without any prepared remarks and, wearing a bright red tie that evoked his days on "The Apprentice," told the world exactly what he thought about Senator John McCain's reputation as a war hero.

It was an improvised fit of pique, roundly and vigorously denounced by his rivals all weekend, that exposed the biggest vulnerability of Mr. Trump's campaign for president: It is built entirely around the instincts and grievances of its unpredictable candidate — and does not rely on a conventional political operation that protects presidential hopefuls from themselves.

In a reaction that highlighted the problem, Mr. Trump refused on Sunday to apologize for de-

claring that Mr. McCain is "not a war hero" because he was captured and instead boasted in an interview that his talk in Iowa had aroused "the biggest standing ovation" of the day.

The remarks about Mr. McCain, the 2008 Republican presidential nominee, ended any qualms party officials had about criticizing Mr. Trump for fear of alienating his supporters and might normally have led to days of backpedaling and extended explanations. Even as Mr. Trump insisted that no one was troubled by his comments, his small group of aides emailed one another about how to respond to the growing criticism.

But the word "sorry" is not in Mr. Trump's lexicon, and apologizing was not an option that was discussed, people privy to the internal debate said.

In a sign of the seat-of-the-

Continued on Page A12

Pain and Hope as China Molds Its Capital Into New Supercity

By **IAN JOHNSON**

YANJIAO, China — Every morning at 5:30, Liu Desheng joins a dozen retirees waiting for the express bus to central Beijing from this small city in Hebei Province. They stand at the front of the line but never board, instead waiting as bus after bus pulls up, each picking up 50 people from the ever-lengthening line behind the retirees.

Around 6:30, their adult children arrive. The line, now snaking down the street, has become an hourlong wait. People cut in, and a shoving match breaks out. But the retirees have saved their children this ordeal. When the next bus pulls up, the young adults take their parents' places at the head of the line and board first, settling into coveted seats for a 25-mile ride that can take up to three hours.

"There's not much I can contribute to the family anymore," Mr. Liu, 62, said as his son waved goodbye from a bus window. "He

is exhausted every day, so I can help him get a bit more rest, I'll do it."

The Liu family's commuting habit is a small but telling part of a megacity in the making.

For decades, China's government has tried to limit the size of Beijing, the capital, through draconian residency permits. Now, the government has embarked on an ambitious plan to make Beijing the center of a new supercity of 130 million people.

The planned megalopolis, a metropolitan area that would be about six times the size of New York's, is meant to revamp northern China's economy and become a laboratory for modern urban growth.

"The supercity is the vanguard of economic reform," said Liu Gang, a professor at Nankai University in Tianjin who advises local governments on regional de-

Continued on Page A6

The 'Rageful Guy' Who Pries Secrets From the Government

By **RAVI SOMAIYA**

LOS ANGELES — When the reporter Jason Leopold gets ready to take on the United States government, he psychs himself up by listening to the heavy metal bands Slayer and Pantera.

Mr. Leopold describes himself as "a pretty rageful guy." He argued recently with staff members at his son's preschool because he objected to their references to "Indians" and they objected to his wearing family-unfriendly punk rock T-shirts to school meetings.

Mr. Leopold, 45, who works for Vice News, reserves most of his aggression for dealing with the government. He has revealed about 20,000 pages of government documents, some of them the basis for explosive news stories. Despite his appearance — on a recent day his T-shirt featured the band name "Sick of It All" — his secret weapon is the opposite of anarchic: an encyclopedic knowledge of the Freedom of Information Act, the labyrinthine administration machine that serves it and the kind of legal judo often required to pry in-



SAM COMEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Jason Leopold of Vice News.

formation from it.

His small office, just off the kitchen in his home here, is littered with envelopes from various branches of the government and computer disks filled with secrets. His persistence has led to numerous revelations — some in documents that have been released exclusively to him, and others in documents that have been released to multiple reporters after pressure has been brought by Mr. Leopold.

They have included a series of disclosures from Guantánamo Bay; racist emails from the Ferguson, Mo., Police Department released after the shooting death

Continued on Page B5

A McDonald's With Many Off-the-Menu Sales

By **KIM BARKER**

Some customers pour beer into clear McCafé plastic cups and drink it right in the open. A man called Shamrock swills straight vodka from a Dasani water bottle at a table near the entrance.

The other day, a man headed straight for the bathroom, pausing only to open his backpack and grab a bag of heroin, known as "dog food." Another day, a couple shared a McDonald's vanilla shake at a side table and swallowed "sticks," the anti-anxiety prescription drug Xanax, and "pins," the anti-anxiety pill Klonopin. On a recent Wednesday, an ambulance showed up to carry away a regular who had been stabbed in an adjacent doorway, leaving blood all over the sidewalk.

The Times Square of today often seems like a theme park, a blend of wax museums, flashy billboards and slow-walking, street-clogging tourists. But this nearby McDonald's, on Eighth Avenue between 34th and 35th Streets, is a throwback to a seedier era in New York, a place where those same tourists sit amid drug addicts looking for a fix or nodding out at tables after taking methadone, or maybe something



HILARY SWIFT/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Nichole, a former heroin user, regularly hangs out at the McDonald's on Eighth Avenue, near 35th Street, in Manhattan.

else.

"The tourists don't know anything," said Nichole, 29, a former heroin user who lives in a shelter and goes to the McDonald's regularly with her boyfriend. "I love when they walk in here and look around and everybody is nodding out on a table. Because they have no idea what's going on. They're like, 'Why is everybody sleeping in here?'"

Why there? Because within a

Video Captures 4 Murders, But Killers Go Unpunished

Unarmed Men Are Gunned Down at Sea, Where No Legal System Prevails

By **IAN URBINA**

SHARJAH KHALID PORT, United Arab Emirates — The man bobbing in the sea raises his arms in a seeming sign of surrender before he is shot in the head. He floats face down as his blood stains the blue water.

A slow-motion slaughter unfolds over the next 6 minutes and 58 seconds. Three other men floating in the ocean, some clinging to what looks like the wreckage of an overturned wooden boat, are surrounded by several large white tuna longliners. The sky above is clear and blue; the sea below, dark and choppy. As the ships' engines idle loudly, at least 40 rounds are fired as the unarmed men are methodically picked off.

"Shoot, shoot, shoot!" commands a voice over one of the ship's loudspeakers as the final man is killed. Soon after, a group of men on deck who appear to be crew members laugh among themselves, then pose for selfies.

Despite dozens of witnesses on at least four ships, those killings remain a mystery. No one even reported the incident — there is no requirement to do so under maritime law nor any clear method for mariners, who move from port to port, to volunteer what they know. Law enforcement officials learned of the deaths only after a video of the killings was found on a cellphone left in a taxi in Fiji last year, then posted on the Internet.

With no bodies, no identified victims and no exact location of where the shootings occurred, it is unclear which, if any, government will take responsibility for leading an investigation. Taiwanese fishing authorities, who based on the video connected a fishing boat from Taiwan to the scene but learned little from the captain, say they believe the dead men were part of a failed pirate attack. But maritime security experts, warning that piracy has become a convenient cover for sometimes fatal score-settling, said it is just as likely that the men were local fishermen in disputed waters, mutinied crew, castoff stowaways or thieves caught stealing fish or bait.

"Summary execution, vigilan-



A sequence of images taken from a video of men being killed at sea that was found on a cellphone left in a taxi in Fiji.

THE OUTLAW OCEAN

Killing With Impunity

tism, overzealous defense, call it what you will," said Klaus Luhta, a lawyer with the International Organization of Masters, Mates & Pilots, a seafarers' union. "This boils down just the same to a case of murder at sea and a question of why it's allowed to happen."

The oceans, plied by more ships than ever before, are also more armed and dangerous than any time since World War II, naval historians say. Thousands of seamen every year are victims of violence, with hundreds killed, according to maritime security officials, insurers and naval researchers. Last year in three regions alone — the western Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia and the Gulf of Guinea off West Africa — more than 5,200 seafarers were attacked by pirates and robbers

Continued on Page A8

For G.O.P., Visit By Pope Comes With Tensions

By **JENNIFER STEINHAUER**

WASHINGTON — In the Reading, Ohio, neighborhood where Speaker John A. Boehner grew up, nearly every house had two things on the wall: a crucifix and a photo of the pope. "You never ever expected to meet the pope," said Jerry Vanden Eynden, a lifelong friend of Mr. Boehner's. "In all of our minds, the pope was the closest thing to meeting God in person here on earth."

When Pope Francis comes to Capitol Hill in September, he will be the first pontiff to address a joint meeting of Congress, where more than 30 percent of the members are Catholic. The visit will fulfill a long-held dream of Mr. Boehner, who says only his working-class roots as a bar owner's son are more essential to his core than his Catholic upbringing. He has extended offers to popes for the last 20 years, and Francis, after taking nearly a year to consider, was the first to accept.

The pope's visit comes with in-

Continued on Page A3



NEW YORK A14-17

Details of a Deadly Crash

The driver of a pickup involved in a fatal collision with a limousine on Long Island has pleaded not guilty to driving while intoxicated, and prosecutors say they expect to upgrade charges. Four women died in the crash. *PAGE A14*

INTERNATIONAL A3-10

U.N. to Vote on Nuclear Deal

Members of Congress are angry that the Security Council could take action on lifting sanctions on Iran before they have debated the agreement. *PAGE A9*

Abuzz With Russian Troops

The Russian military has largely abandoned efforts to disguise its activities along the border with Ukraine. *PAGE A4*

SPORTSMONDAY D1-7

Back on Field, Sans Pinstripes

The retired Yankees outfielder Hideki Matsui suited up for the Nippon Club's President Cup in New York. *PAGE D1*



NATIONAL A11-13

Drones Hamper Wildfire Fight

Officials say drones operated by hobbyists seeking close-up video are posing a danger to the low-flying aircraft being used in fighting wildfires in California, like an air tanker, above, during a blaze last week near Phelan. *PAGE A11*

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Microsoft Shifts Its Strategy

Microsoft is releasing a new version of its Windows operating system, and one of the biggest changes is the price. It will be free — a sign of evolving dynamics in the tech industry. *PAGE B1*

Wary of Greek Pact's Overhaul

Creditors have made demands to raise taxes and cut costs, expand competition and fight corruption, but critics worry that none of that will help the Greek economy grow. *PAGE B1*

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

Paul Krugman

PAGE A19



ARTS C1-7

What's in a Book? Let's Look

Dr. Seuss's new book inspires a Seuss-ian review from Michiko Kakutani. *PAGE C1*



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ADAM DEAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Millions of employees in China are feeling the pain of a slowing economy. Above, signs in Guangzhou advertising factory work.

China Turned to Risky Devaluation as Export Machine Stalled

By KEITH BRADSHAW

HONG KONG — When Prime Minister Li Keqiang convened the Chinese cabinet last month, the troubled economy was the main topic on the agenda.

The stock market had stumbled after a yearlong boom. Money was flooding out of the country. Most ominously, China's export machine had stalled, prompting labor strikes.

In a little-noted advisory to government agencies, the cabinet said it was essential to fix the export problem, and the currency had to be part of the solution.

With the government keeping a tight grip on the value of the renminbi, Chinese goods were more expensive than rivals' products overseas. The currencies of other emerging markets had fallen, and China's exporters could not easily compete.

Soon after, the Communist Par-

ty leaders issued a statement also urging action on exports.

It all set the stage for the currency devaluation last week that resulted in the biggest drop in the renminbi since 1994.

The cabinet's call to action: The country needed to give the currency more flexibility and to reinvigorate exports. If officials did not act, China risked deeper turmoil at home, threatening the stability of the government.

But the sharp focus on the do-

mestic agenda also complicates China's global ambitions. By devaluing the currency, the authorities, who have been pushing a big expansion of global investments, are eroding some of the country's buying power overseas.

China appears willing to make those trade-offs. Manufacturing, the core engine of growth in the world's second-largest economy, is just too critical. And the pressures have been mounting, with

Continued on Page A8



PORNCHAI KITTIWONGSAKUL/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Deadly Bombing in Bangkok

The scene of a blast Monday that killed at least 20 near a shrine and a shopping district. Page A4.

Pay What You Want? Joy, and Guilt, for Diners

By JAN HOFFMAN

How often have you bought something you felt was not worth the money?

What if you could set the price?

What factors would influence your number?

For years, behavioral scientists have studied such questions.

They often look at a model called P.W.Y.W. (Pay what you

want, that is.) The idea may seem like a consumer's giddiest fantasy. But a real-life extreme version of the experiment unfolding at a restaurant in Montclair, N.J., is affirming the researchers' predictions. It has been prompting a panoply of reactions — including anxiety, delight, incredulity, guilt and, yes, rampant opportunism.

Zod Arifai, a local chef, is offering customers a menu with no prices for the month of August, encouraging them to order as

many dishes as they would like at his two side-by-side restaurants. When diners signal for the check, servers ask, "How much would you like to pay?"

With no price guidelines — such as a museum's "suggested donation" — the offer compels diners to gaze inward and develop ad hoc criteria, to look at a fresh-faced server in the eye and announce the meal's value.

Ayelet Gneezy, an associate
Continued on Page A20

Facing a Gap, Clinton Warms To Big Donors

By AMY CHOZICK and ERIC LICHTBLAU

Hillary Rodham Clinton recently spent four days straight scurrying across the Western United States, mingling for hours at a time with hundreds of Democratic donors from the Rockies to Portland, Ore., from Southern California to the southern tip of Texas, and everywhere seeking the maximum primary campaign contribution allowed by law: \$2,700.

But her breakneck pace, and the kind of old-fashioned face-to-face fund-raising that Mrs. Clinton and her husband, former President Bill Clinton, have perfected over the years, are no match so far for the cash pouring into Republican "super PACs" and other groups with no donation limits, one gargantuan check at a time.

Republican presidential candidates have gained a near monopoly on donors of \$1 million or more, a New York Times analysis of financial records shows. Fifty-six donors gave at least that much to committees supporting Republicans like Senator Ted Cruz of Texas, former Gov. Jeb Bush of Florida and former Gov. Rick Perry of Texas, for a total of \$124.2 million — about 12 times as much as Democrats' biggest do-

Continued on Page A16

Religion Meets Rebellion: How ISIS Lured 3 Friends

London Girls Heeded Siren Call Tailored to Teenage Dreams and Vulnerabilities

By KATRIN BENNHOLD

LONDON — The night before Khadiza Sultana left for Syria she was dancing in her teenage bedroom. It was a Monday during the February school vacation. Her niece and close friend, at 13 only three years younger than Khadiza, had come for a sleep-over. The two girls wore matching pajamas and giggled as they gyrated in unison to the beat.

Khadiza offered her niece her room that night and shared a bed with her mother. She was a devoted daughter, particularly since her father had died.

The scene in her bedroom, saved on the niece's cellphone on Feb. 16 and replayed dozens of times by Khadiza's relatives since, shows the girl they thought they knew: joyful, sociable, funny and kind.

As it turned out, it was also the carefully choreographed goodbye of a determined and exceptionally bright teenager who had spent months methodically planning to leave her childhood home in Bethnal Green, East London, with two schoolmates and follow the path of another friend who had already traveled to the territory controlled by the Islamic State.

On Tuesday morning, Khadiza got up early and put on the Lacoste perfume both she and her niece liked. She told her mother that she was going to school to pick up some workbooks and spend the day in the library. She grabbed a small day pack and promised to return by

4:30 p.m. It was only that night that the family realized something was wrong. When Khadiza had not come back by 5:30, her mother asked her oldest sister, Halima Khanom, to message her, but there was no reply. Ms. Khanom drove to the library to look for her sister, but she was not there. She went to the school, but the staff said no student had come in that day.

By the time she came back home, her mother had checked Khadiza's wardrobe and found that besides some strategically

STATE OF TERROR

Recruiting the Restless

arranged items it was empty. "That's when I started panicking," Ms. Khanom, 32, said in a recent interview at the family home. Two tote bags were missing from the house. "She must have taken her things gradually and packed a suitcase somewhere else."

Early the next morning her family reported Khadiza missing. An hour later, three officers from SO15, the counterterrorism squad of the Metropolitan Police, knocked on the door. "We believe your daughter has traveled to Turkey with two of her friends," one said.

Even then, Ms. Khanom said, recalling the conversation, "Syria
Continued on Page A12



Recordings at Gatwick Airport showed Khadiza Sultana, left, Shamima Begum and Amira Abase passing through security.

Work Policies May Be Kinder, But Brutal Competition Isn't

By NOAM SCHEIBER

On Wall Street, in Silicon Valley, across the legal profession and the corporate world, a growing chorus of companies are singing the praises of a kinder workplace, announcing policies like generous maternity leave at Netflix, and Goldman Sachs's rule against investment-banking analysts working on Saturdays.

But a closer look at the forces that drive the relentless pace at elite companies suggests that — however much the most sought-after employers in the country may be changing their official

policies — brutal competition remains an inescapable component of workers' daily lives. In some ways it's getting worse.

"Jimmy Carter tried to get a rule in place for his executive White House staff to be gone and having dinner with their family in the evening, and it broke down," said Robert H. Frank, a prominent economist at Cornell University who writes often for The New York Times. "In a competitive environment, that's what you get."

As Professor Frank, who has written a book about the phenomenon known as winner-take-all economics, explains, the basic problem is that the rewards for ascending to top jobs at companies like Netflix and Goldman
Continued on Page B3

AMAZON PLEA Jeff Bezos urged employees to report any "callous" management practices. PAGE B1

NATIONAL A14-17

Anti-Abortion Efforts Intensify

Public officials in some Republican-controlled states are rushing to halt government funding for Planned Parenthood or investigate it after hidden-camera videos caused a stir. PAGE A14

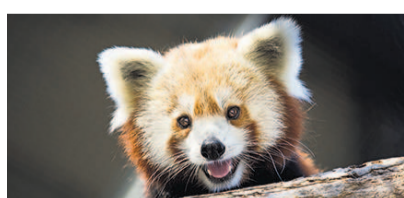
\$2.5 Million to Counter Heroin

Faced with surging heroin use, the White House announced a program to improve the government's response, focusing on treatment. PAGE A15

SPORTS TUESDAY B7-13

Players Lose Battle to Unionize

The National Labor Relations Board dismissed a petition by Northwestern football players who wanted to form a union, effectively denying the claim that they are university employees. PAGE B13



SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Adorable and at Risk

Delight-inspiring red pandas, which number about 10,000 in the wild, are in trouble. Deforestation and disease threaten them now, and climate change looms. PAGE D1

Helping Children Find a Voice

Intensive immersion programs are a new way to teach children who have selective mutism, an anxiety disorder, to talk outside their homes. PAGE D1

INTERNATIONAL A4-13

Obama Lobbies for Iran Deal

Personal appeals by President Obama are part of a broad White House effort to win over Democrats undecided about the Iran nuclear deal. PAGE A10

ARTS C1-6

Joan Didion, Inside and Out

A biography of the writer paints her as a frail outsider and a shrewd Hollywood and New York insider, a witness to history and a hardheaded survivor. A review by Michiko Kakutani. PAGE C1

A Festival Full of Fresh Voices

The three-day Berserktown festival in California included over 100 solo artists or bands, including Katie Alice Greer of Priests. Critic's Notebook. PAGE C1



EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

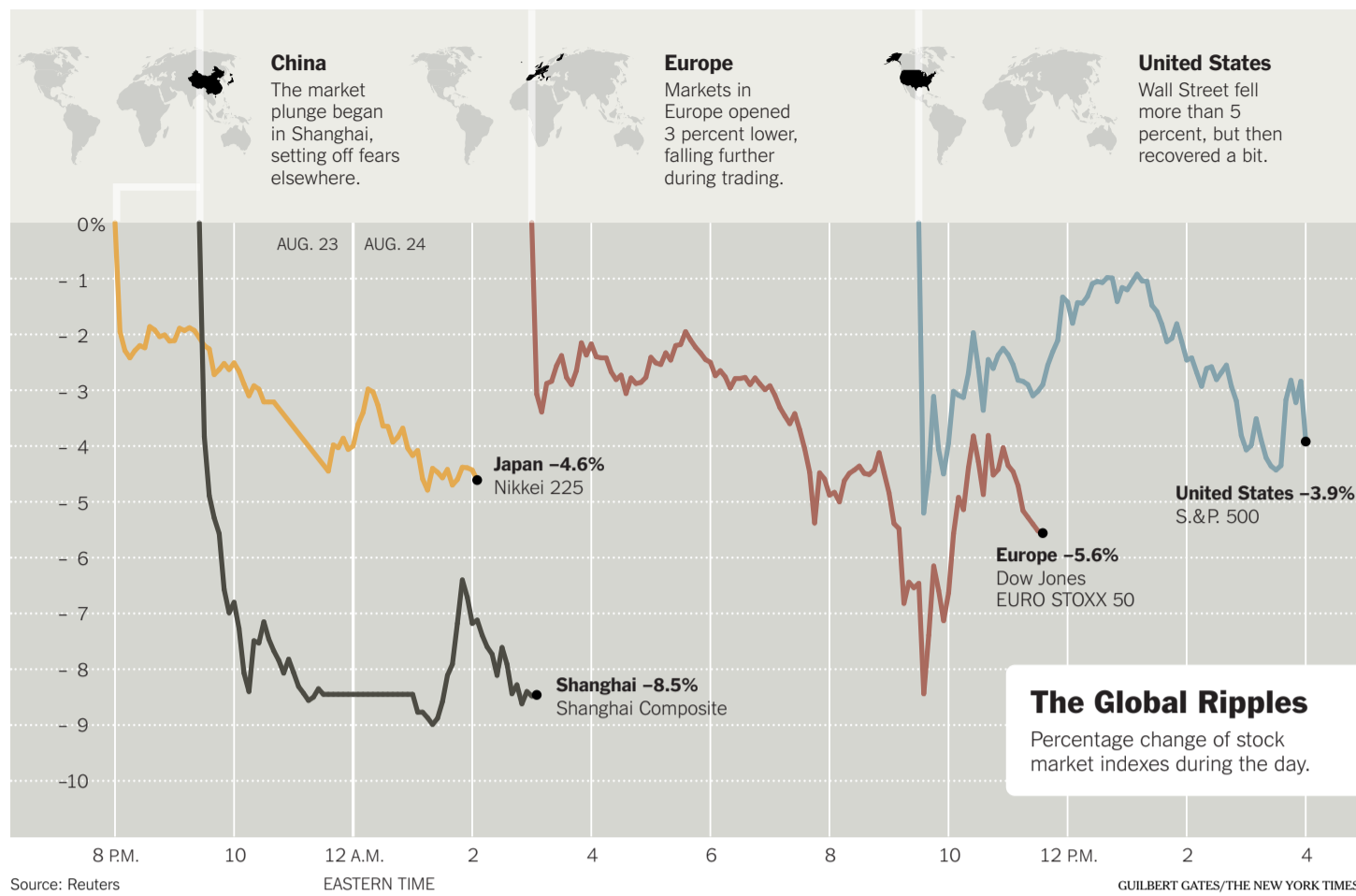
Joe Nocera

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A PLUNGE IN CHINA RATTLES MARKETS ACROSS THE GLOBE

In Tuesday's Early Trading in Asia, Signs That Selling Pressures Are Easing

By NATHANIEL POPPER and NEIL GOUGH

Stocks around the world tumbled in volatile trading on Monday, leaving investors to wonder how much government officials can and will do to insulate the global economy from the turmoil.

The upheaval in the markets began with another rout in China that drew comparisons to the 1987 crash in the United States known as "Black Monday."

Concerns about China's ability to be a powerful engine of global economic growth have added to worries about the potential impact of higher interest rates in the United States, driving stocks sharply lower in Asia and Europe.

but had recovered by late morning, while shares in Australia, Hong Kong, Singapore and South Korea were staging a modest rally.

Across Asia, the free-fall of the past few days appeared to have ended — except in China, where Shanghai stocks opened 6.4 percent lower after Monday's 8.5 percent plunge.

The tumult has had many analysts grasping for explanations, given the lack of any significant new data that would explain the big market moves.

Continued on Page B4



SCOTT OLSON/GETTY IMAGES

Traders in Chicago.

Kasich Fuses Wall St. Ties To Gritty Past

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG and STEVE EDER

COLUMBUS, Ohio — As the people of Ohio already know — and Republican voters elsewhere are just beginning to find out — Gov. John R. Kasich grew up in working-class McKees Rocks, Pa., the son of a postal worker and the grandson of a coal miner.

His grandfather was so poor, Mr. Kasich recently told voters in New Hampshire, that he would bring home scraps of his lunch to share with his children.

"They would even be able to taste the coal mine in that lunch," Mr. Kasich said. "Some of you can relate to that."

As a congressman and as governor, Mr. Kasich has made hard-scrabble stories of life in McKees Rocks a cornerstone of his political biography. And now the story of his blue-collar roots is an important part of how he is trying to distinguish himself in a crowded presidential primary field and draw a contrast with two of his leading competitors, Donald J. Trump and Jeb Bush, who grew up in wealthy families.

But there is a chapter in Mr. Kasich's life story that conflicts with this narrative: the nearly eight years he spent as an investment banker with Lehman Brothers, the Wall Street firm. Mr. Kasich's career at Lehman, neatly tucked between his time as a congressman and his elec-

Continued on Page A13

Migrants Race North as Hungary Builds a Fence

By ALISON SMALE

TISZASZIGET, Hungary — Roiling everything in its path, a wave of tens of thousands of migrants and refugees — many fleeing wars in Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan — has worked its way up the length of the Balkans in recent days.

Like a movable feast of despair, the mass of people has overwhelmed the authorities in one stop after another, from the tiny Greek island of Kos to impoverished Macedonia, which declared a state of emergency last

week, and now the train and bus stations of Serbia, as they head north to their ultimate destinations in the richer nations of the European Union.

The next link on their route, almost inevitably, are towns like this one on the Hungarian frontier with Serbia. But Hungarian officials say they have a firm, if unwelcoming, answer to the slow-motion tide: a fence.

Still under construction, parts of it are already laced across fields and river banks or trace old railway tracks, and it will be as tall as 13 feet in some places, a patchwork intended to send a

clear message that the migrants should not expect to move freely.

But the fence also stands as a much criticized and a very physical manifestation of the quandary of the migration crisis and the lack of cooperation among European Union nations as they struggle to deal with it.

As the chaotic flow through the Balkans has demonstrated, absent coordinated policies, each nation along the path of the migrants has every incentive simply to move them on. The migrants are registered or issued

Continued on Page A6



SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Migrants detained Sunday by the Hungarian police after crossing the Serbia-Hungary border.

Puerto Ricans Seeking New Lives Put Stamp on Central Florida

By LIZETTE ALVAREZ

KISSIMMEE, Fla. — When Manuel Hernandez, a teacher in Puerto Rico, looked at the reasons to stay home or to take a chance on joining the ever-growing Puerto Rican diaspora in Central Florida, it was not a hard call. "I was fed up," Mr. Hernandez said of his life in San Juan, "and

my wife was fed up; frustrations were building."

So last October, Mr. Hernandez got off a plane and arrived here, a place best known for hosting Mickey Mouse and rodeos, but also increasingly seen as a far-away suburb of Puerto Rico, a trend that has quickened with the island's deepening economic morass.

Florida is now poised to elbow

out New York as the state with the most Puerto Ricans — close to one million, according to the Center for Puerto Rican Studies at the City University of New York. Nearly 400,000 Puerto Ricans have settled in the Orlando area, and by some estimates, thousands continue to arrive monthly, a marked increase from a decade ago.

Not all the newcomers are

from the island; a large number also hail from the Northeast and Chicago, spots they traded for the warm weather and more affordable lifestyle of Central Florida.

The migration — the third and largest wave here in four decades and one that began several years ago — is transforming a corridor of Central Florida that is increasingly viewed as economically

Continued on Page A11

Pep Talk No Salve for Investors

By NELSON D. SCHWARTZ and RACHEL ABRAMS

Even a pep talk from the chief executive of Apple, the single biggest American company by market value, did little to soothe investors on Monday.

As the Chinese stock market slump ignited fear around the world, Apple's chief, Timothy D. Cook, broadcast to Wall Street that the tech giant's business in China was just fine, thank you. His corporate cheerleading wasn't just unusual because of its message, but also because of his delivery method, an email to a financial television host.

It worked — for a time. But by the end of the day, Apple and the

rest of the market had yielded to the gravitational pull of investor fear.

While Apple's 2.5 percent loss was milder than the overall market's plunge, Mr. Cook is fighting the same forces as ordinary investors and financial professionals. On some days, market psychology — and the tendency for panicked sell-offs to feed on themselves — counts for more than long-term fundamentals like growing iPhone sales in China or strong earnings results.

Investors are now trying to separate the fact from the fear, as

Continued on Page B2

Plummeting Oil Price Heightens Fear of Unrest and Economic Strife

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS and RICK GLADSTONE

Oil, the lifeblood of many countries that produce and sell it, appears to be rapidly turning into an ever-cheaper economic curse.

A year ago, the international price per barrel of oil was about \$103. By Monday, the price was about \$42, roughly 6 percent lower than on Friday.

In oil-endowed Iraq, where an Islamic State insurgency and fractious sectarian politics are growing threats, a new source of instability erupted this month with violent protests over the

government's failure to provide reliable electricity and explain what has been done with all the promised petroleum money.

In Russia, a leading oil producer, consumers are now paying far more for imports, largely because of their currency's plummeting value. In Nigeria and Venezuela, which rely almost completely on oil exports, fears of unrest and economic instability are building. In Ecuador, where oil revenue has fallen by nearly

Continued on Page A8

HARD ON HEDGE FUNDS August will be a tough month for the big money managers, who were bullish heading into the global sell-off. PAGE B1

PERIL OF CHINA Kenneth Rogoff of Harvard, a financial crisis expert, has long warned about China, Andrew Ross Sorkin writes. PAGE B1



INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Staggering Loss of History

The destruction of antiquities in war, like the ancient Temple of Baalshamin in Palmyra, Syria, above, represents an irreversible loss, archaeological experts and antiquities officials say. PAGE A7

NATIONAL A10-13

Courts Ponder 'Ballot Selfie'

A dispute has arisen over whether displaying photos taken in the voting booth is constitutionally protected speech and political expression. PAGE A10

Race Disparity in Expulsions

A study identifies school districts where blacks are suspended or expelled at much higher rates than whites. PAGE A11

NEW YORK A14-17

Arrest After Pellet Hits Officer

A 19-year-old man has been charged in a series of pellet-gun shootings, including one in which a member of Mayor Bill de Blasio's security detail was struck outside Gracie Mansion. PAGE A16

SCIENCE TIMES D1-6

A Summer Without Sun

In 1815, the Tambora volcano erupted in what is now Indonesia, killing thousands, leading to premature winters and influencing Romantic artists. PAGE D1

What Words Cannot Describe

A rare 19th-century manuscript on butterflies is finally reunited with its colorful illustrations. PAGE D2



ARTS C1-8

Pages of Ambition

Jonathan Franzen, author of "The Corrections" and "Freedom," delivers his most fleet-footed, least self-conscious and most intimate novel yet. A review by Michiko Kakutani. PAGE C1

SPORTSTUESDAY B11-15

Met Makes Emphatic Return

David Wright, back from the disabled list, hit one of the Mets' eight homers against the Phillies. On Baseball. PAGE B11

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

David Brooks

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LEFT AND RIGHT WORK TO SHIFT FED'S DIRECTION

END OF AN ERA ON RATES

A Pending Minor Move Looms Very Large as Officials Meet

By BINYAMIN APPELBAUM

JACKSON HOLE, Wyo. — Conservative activists who want the Federal Reserve to raise interest rates distributed chocolate coins in golden wrappers at the local airport last week as Fed officials arrived for their annual policy retreat.

Liberal activists in green "Whose Recovery?" T-shirts formed a receiving line at the resort hotel in the heart of Grand Teton National Park where the meeting was held, to personalize their argument that the Fed should wait.

Sometime soon — possibly as early as mid-September and probably no later than the end of the year — the Fed plans to raise its benchmark interest rate one-quarter of one percentage point, a mathematically minor move that has become a very big deal.

Investors, who always pay attention to the Fed, are paying particular attention now. The central bank has held short-term rates near zero since December 2008; the impending end of that era is one cause of recent financial market turmoil.

But the Fed's plans have also become the latest point of contention in a broader debate about the government's management of the American economy, pitting

Continued on Page A3

Caste Quotas In India Come Under Attack

Movement Is a Rebuke To Modi From Allies

By DAVID BARSTOW
and SUHASINI RAJ

AHMEDABAD, India — The resentment built slowly in Hardik Patel. It took root when he watched his younger sister lose out on a college scholarship because of India's version of affirmative action, a system of strict quotas that reserves nearly half of government jobs and public college slots for those who come from disadvantaged castes or tribes.

It deepened as he talked to other young Patels from his farming village, where it seemed as if everyone had a story of a job lost, a door closed, or a dream thwarted all because the Patel clan is considered too well off to qualify for inclusion in India's quota system.

This spring, with help from a loose network of friends, Hardik Patel began organizing Patels all over Gujarat, a western state of 63 million people, including roughly 10 million Patels. Meeting at farmhouses and restaurants, connecting on Facebook and WhatsApp, they quickly turned their shared resentment into an audacious plan that culminated on Tuesday when Hardik Patel, a baby-faced 22-year-old, stood on a stage here before 500,000 wildly cheering people, almost all of them young Patel men, and took dead aim at an entrenched quota system that India's leading politicians have spent decades defending and expanding as a means to win votes from one caste or another.

In an act of political jujitsu, Mr.

Continued on Page A3



CHINA FOTOPRESS, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Emergency workers at the site of the explosions in Tianjin, China, about a week after the blasts killed 150 people.

Behind Blast, Shortcuts and Lax Rules

Chinese Firm at Center of Tragedy Becomes Symbol of Corrupt System

This article is by Andrew Jacobs, Javier C. Hernández and Chris Buckley.

TIANJIN, China — One partner was the son of a local police chief, the other an executive at a state-run chemicals firm. After meeting at a dinner party, they started a company here to handle the export of the most dangerous chemicals made in China, promising "outstanding service" and "good results."

Within two years, Rui Hai International Logistics had built a reputation as the go-to place for businesses looking to ship hazardous materials to customers abroad, a niche market that had been dominated by sluggish state enterprises.

Rui Hai offered lower prices, a no-hassle approach to paperwork and quick govern-

ment approvals. Business was brisk. It seemed like another success story for the Binhai New Area, a thriving economic development zone established here by the ruling Communist Party around one of China's busiest seaports.

Now, more than two weeks after explosions at its warehouses leveled a section of that district, killing 150 people, injuring more than 700 and leaving millions here fearful of toxic fallout, Rui Hai has become a symbol of something else for many Chinese: the high cost of rapid industrialization in a closed political system rife with corruption.

In interviews with more than a dozen of Rui Hai's former clients and associates — and unusually critical reports in China's

state-controlled news media — a picture has emerged of a company that exploited weak governance in one of the party's showcase economic districts and used political connections to shield its operations from scrutiny.

Rui Hai began handling hazardous chemicals before it obtained a permit to do so, and it secured licenses and approvals from at least five local agencies that conducted questionable reviews of its operations. Local authorities outsourced one safety review required for a storage permit to a private contractor that Rui Hai selected and paid.

As much as 3,000 tons of hazardous

Continued on Page A6



YANA PASKOVA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mayor Ras Baraka of Newark at an anti-violence march this month. He has won over some critics with his pragmatic moves.

Defying Expectations in Newark, Mayor Is Praised in All Corners

By KATE ZERNIKE

NEWARK — Mayor Ras J. Baraka came into office last summer practically taunting his doubters.

"Yeah," he said in his inaugural address, "we need a mayor that's radical."

They had predicted that he would be anti-business and anti-police, that Mr. Baraka, the son of Newark's most famous black radical, would return a city dogged by a history of riots and white flight to division and disarray.

A year later, Mr. Baraka is showering attention on black and Latino neighborhoods, as he promised he would. But he is also winning praise from largely white leaders of the city's busi-

nesses and institutions downtown. He struggles with crime — all mayors here do — but he has also championed both the Black Lives Matter movement and the police, winning praise for trying to ease their shared suspicion.

The radical now looks more like a radical pragmatist.

Newark is still stubbornly two cities: gleaming new glass towers downtown, block after block of abandoned plots and relentless poverty in its outer wards, with five killings within 36 hours this month. But for all the expectations that Mr. Baraka would divide the city, those on both sides of the spectrum say that he has

Continued on Page A16

AN APPRAISAL

Doctor Who Found Magic in the Disorders of the Human Mind

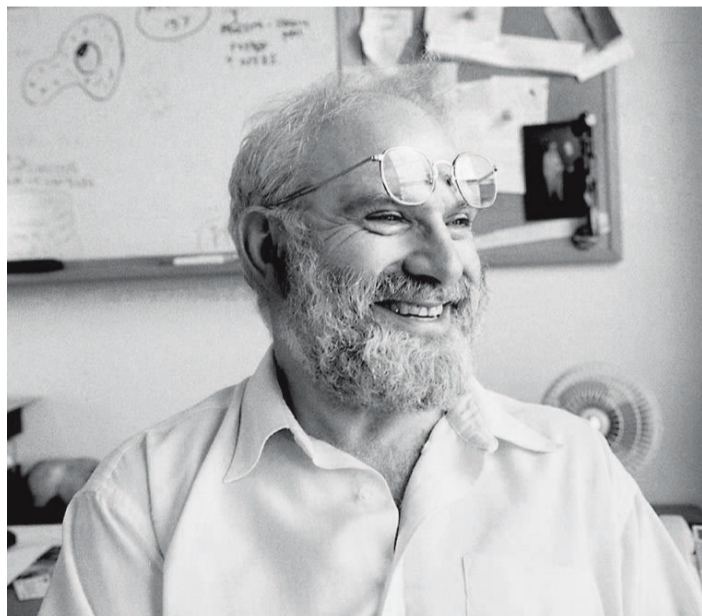
By MICHIKO KAKUTANI

It's no coincidence that so many of the qualities that made Oliver Sacks such a brilliant writer are the same qualities that made him an ideal doctor: keen powers of observation and a devotion to detail, deep reservoirs of sympathy, and an intuitive understanding of the fathomless mysteries of the human brain and the intricate connections between the body and the mind.

Dr. Sacks, who died on Sunday at 82, was a polymath and an ardent humanist, and whether he was writing about his patients, or his love of chemistry or the power of music, he leapfrogged among disciplines, shedding light on the strange and wonderful interconnectedness of life — the connections between science and art, physiology and psychology, the beauty and economy of the natural world and the magic of the human imagination.

In his writings, as he once said of his mentor, the great Soviet neuropsychologist and author A.R. Luria, "science became poetry."

In books like "Awakenings," "The Man Who Mistook His Wife for a Hat" and "An Anthropologist on Mars," Dr. Sacks — a long-



SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES

OLIVER SACKS, 1933-2015

The neurologist and author in 1995. Obituary, Page B6.

time practicing doctor and a professor of neurology at the New York University School of Medicine — gave us case studies of patients whose stories were so odd, so anomalous, so resonant that they read like tales by Borges or Calvino. A man, with acute amnesia,

who loses three decades of his life and lives wholly in the immediate present, unable to remember anything for more than a minute or two. Savant twins, who can't deal with the most mundane tasks of daily life but can perform astonishing numeri-

cal tricks, like memorizing 300-digit numbers or rattling off 20-digit primes. A blind poet who suffers from — or is gifted with — extraordinarily complex hallucinations: a milkman in an azure cart with a golden horse; small flocks of birds wearing shoes that metamorphose into men and women in medieval clothes.

Dr. Sacks depicted such people not as scientific curiosities but as individuals who become as real to us as characters by Chekhov (another doctor who wrote with uncommon empathy and insight). He was concerned with the impact that his patients' neurological disorders had on their day-to-day routines, their relationships and their inner lives. His case studies became literary narratives as dramatic, richly detailed and compelling as those by Freud and Luria — stories that underscored not the marginality of his patients' experiences, but their part in the shared human endeavor and the flux and contingencies of life.

Those case studies captured the emotional and metaphysical, as well as physiological, dimensions of his patients' conditions. While they tracked the costs and isolation these individuals often endured, they also emphasized

Continued on Page B7

NATIONAL A9-11

Mount McKinley No More

The Alaska Native name Denali is being restored to the tallest mountain in North America, which has long been known as Mount McKinley. PAGE A9

INTERNATIONAL A4-8

A Battle Over Russian History

Russian monks and secular historians are in a dispute over how best to preserve the history of Solovetsky Monastery, site of the first gulag. PAGE A4

ARTS C1-7

Final Touches on a Comeback

The Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, which was founded in 1842, will present the results of its five-year, \$33 million renovation on Sept. 19. PAGE C1

SPECIAL TODAY

Legacy of Williams Sisters

A preview of the United States Open includes a look at the influence Serena and Venus Williams have had on a generation of younger players. SECTION F

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A14-15

Paul Krugman

PAGE A15



CELEBRATE THE SPIRIT OF THE GAME.

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New Evidence In U.S. Inquiry On ISIS Data

Top Officers Accused of Skewing Reports

By MARK MAZZETTI and MATT APUZZO

WASHINGTON — A group of intelligence analysts have provided investigators with documents they say show that senior military officers manipulated the conclusions of reports on the war against the Islamic State, according to several government officials, as lawmakers from both parties voiced growing anger that they may have received a distorted picture of the military campaign's progress.

The Pentagon's inspector general, who is examining the claims, is focusing on senior intelligence officials who supervise dozens of military and civilian analysts at United States Central Command, or Centcom, which oversees American military operations against the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria.

Bridget Serchak, a spokeswoman for the Pentagon's inspector general, confirmed that the investigation is focused on Centcom's intelligence command. "The investigation will address whether there was any falsification, distortion, delay, suppression or improper modification of intelligence information," she said in an email on Tuesday.

She added that the inquiry would examine any "personal accountability for any misconduct or failure to follow established processes."

The New York Times reported last month that the investigation had begun, but the scope of the inquiry and the focus of the allegations were unclear. The officials now say that the analysts at the center of the investigation allege that their superiors within

Continued on Page A10

OBAMA CONSIDERS TALKS WITH PUTIN ON SYRIAN CRISIS

A PERSONAL COLD WAR

Trip to U.N. May End President's Isolation of Russian Leader

By PETER BAKER and ANDREW E. KRAMER

WASHINGTON — For more than a year, President Obama has resisted meeting one on one with President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia and only reluctantly taken a phone call, freezing out the Kremlin leader over his intervention in Ukraine in their own personal cold war.

But this month, the two leaders will be in the same city at the same time amid rising tension in Syria, and the White House is divided by a debate over whether they should meet to try to work out their differences before the tumult in the Middle East escalates even further.

The recent deployment of Russian weapons and equipment to Syria has brought to a head a conflict that has dominated the Obama administration since Mr. Putin's return to the presidency, the choice between engaging with Russia and trying to isolate it. If Ukraine and Syria are the world's two most significant conflict zones, then some officials argue that the solutions to both problems ultimately go through Moscow, making it necessary to talk. Others, however, worry that agreeing to meet would only play into Mr. Putin's hands and reward an international bully.

Mr. Obama's own instincts tend toward talking rather than not, as he has shown with both Iran and Cuba, longtime foes of

Continued on Page A10

All Over Syria, Enduring a Daily Nightmare



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ABD DOUMANY/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Syrians, top, amid the rubble of buildings destroyed by airstrikes in the rebel-held area of Douma, a suburb of Damascus. Above, a wounded girl last month at a makeshift hospital in Douma.

Airstrikes Force Many to Flee, Upending Life for Others

By MAHER SAMAN and ANNE BARNARD

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Every morning, at the dawn call to prayer, women and children move silently from the Damascus suburb of Douma to the surrounding farm fields, seeking safety from the day's bombardments by the Syrian government.

The walk is part of a surreal routine described by the fraction of Douma's residents who remain: shopping on half-demolished streets, scavenging wild greens, carrying out mass burials. But not even the fields are safe; recently, medics said, bombs killed two families there — 10 people, including seven children.

As crowds of Syrians transfix the world with their flight to Europe, this kind of life is one of the many nightmares they are fleeing. They leave behind increasingly empty neighborhoods — from the Damascus suburbs to the northern city of Aleppo — that testify to the scale of their exodus.

Such bombardments have been going on for years in insurgent-held areas like Douma, one of the first areas to revolt against the government in 2011. And yet, the situation can still get worse. The past month in Douma made that clear.

Government forces began a barrage even more intense than usual, using not only the artillery

Continued on Page A8

Hungary Tightens Border

The flow of migrants into Hungary was slowed, and Germany and Austria requested yet another summit meeting. Page A8.

More in G.O.P. See Trump as Winner, Poll Finds

By PATRICK HEALY and MEGAN THEE-BRENAN

Republicans increasingly think that Donald J. Trump has the best chance of winning the 2016 presidential election as their nominee as confidence fades in traditional politicians like Jeb Bush and Scott Walker, according to the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll.

Although Republicans have reservations about Mr. Trump and voters often end up embracing candidates who lagged in early polls, the billionaire businessman appears to be gaining acceptance as a possible nominee.

The poll found that 39 percent of Republican primary and caucus voters viewed Mr. Trump as their best shot at winning the presidency, compared with 26 percent in a CBS survey in August. Only 15 percent said they would not back him as the party's standard-bearer.

Ben Carson, another Republican with no history in the political establishment, is also gaining notable new support and is now running nearly even with Mr. Trump. Mr. Carson, a retired neurosurgeon who delivers his socially conservative message and outsider views in more measured tones than Mr. Trump, rose to 23 percent; he had 6 percent early

last month before a widely praised performance in the first Republican debate. Mr. Trump draws 27 percent support in the new poll, compared with 24 percent last month.

The second Republican debate will be Wednesday evening at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, Calif.

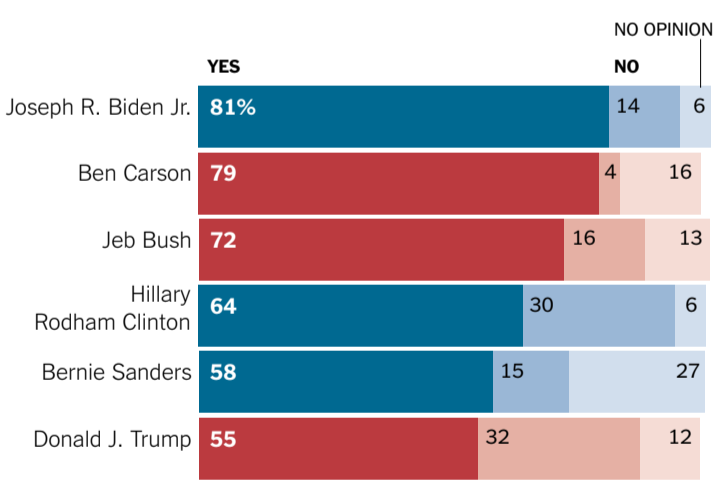
Among Democrats, uneasiness with Hillary Rodham Clinton is growing and creating a possible opening for Vice President Jo-

seph R. Biden Jr., as he considers making a late entry to seek the party's nomination. Mrs. Clinton has lost the support of a majority of male Democratic voters and has also had a seven-point drop in support from Democratic women. Her lead over Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont has shrunk from 41 percentage points to 20 points. Nearly six in 10 Democrats said they wanted to see Mr. Biden join the race, al-

Continued on Page A16

Do you think the candidate is honest and trustworthy?

Each party's primary voters rate their top candidates.



Source: New York Times/CBS News Poll; figures are rounded.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Attitudes Shift On Paid Leave: Dads Sue, Too

By NOAM SCHEIBER

WASHINGTON — For decades, women who believed their employers had punished them with lower wages and missed promotions after they had become mothers have been filing gender discrimination complaints and bringing lawsuits.

Now, as men shoulder more responsibilities at home, they are increasingly taking legal action against employers that they say refuse to accommodate their roles as fathers.

"The huge thing that's changed only in about the past five years is suddenly men feel entitled to take time off for family," said Joan C. Williams of the Center for WorkLife Law at the University of California Hastings College of the Law in San Francisco. "They're willing to put their careers on the line to live up to that idea. It's revolutionary."

Just last week, CNN and Turner Broadcasting quietly settled an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission charge with a former CNN correspondent, Josh Levs, who claimed that the com-

Continued on Page B8

Defiant Pledge Fought Back In Fatal Hazing, Report Says

By RICK ROJAS and BENJAMIN MUELLER

POCONO SUMMIT, Pa. — The fraternity brothers decided that Chun Hsien Deng had a bad attitude.

Like three other Pi Delta Psi fraternity pledges who went before him on a cold December morning in 2013, Mr. Deng was forced to run across a frozen yard through a knot of his fraternity brothers, while he wore a blindfold and a backpack weighted down with 20 to 30 pounds of sand.

The gantlet, called the Glass Ceiling, symbolized their burden as Asian-Americans trying to break into the mainstream. The backpack stood for the weight of their fraternity bonds, one member told the police, according to a grand jury report.

Mr. Deng, a freshman at Baruch College whose parents emigrated from China, did not fall into line.

He fought back, kicking one of the men lined up to tackle him, a fraternity brother told investigators. A second told the police he did not say the things he was supposed to, adding, "He got the 'Bros' mad."



Chun Hsien Deng died.

So the brothers hit harder.

One ran at Mr. Deng from 15 feet away and plowed into him with his head lowered, in a move known as the spear, student witnesses said. Others pushed him to the ground, the force of each blow amplified by the weight on Mr. Deng's back.

After they were done, Mr. Deng was dying from brain and bodily injuries, a prefinals weekend retreat had turned into the scene of a murder investigation, and his fellow pledges, big brothers and fraternity leaders were its primary suspects.

Prosecutors in Pennsylvania said this week that they intended to charge five people with third-degree murder and 32 others with a range of counts, including assault, hindering apprehension and hazing in the death of Mr. Deng, known as Michael, on Dec. 9, 2013.

American colleges have struggled for years to tamp down on

Continued on Page A24



NATIONAL A12-19

Floods Roar Through Utah

At least 16 people died from flash floods in Utah, including 12 who were carried off when a surge of water rose up from a creek in Hildale. Residents, above, examined the area on Tuesday. PAGE A12

Asking the Pope for More

Victims of sexual abuse by priests say they want more than words of reconciliation when Pope Francis visits the United States this month. PAGE A12

BUSINESS DAY B1-11

On Facebook, a Way to 'Dislike'

The social network's chief, Mark Zuckerberg, said it would test an alternative to its ubiquitous "Like" button. PAGE B1

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Mexico and Egypt in Standoff

Mexico's foreign minister traveled to Cairo to demand answers as Egypt defended its armed forces after the deaths of picnicking Mexican tourists who were killed by a crew of an Apache military helicopter. PAGE A4

NEW YORK A22-25

Computer Classes for All

Mayor Bill de Blasio, hoping to prepare children for jobs in the technology industry, plans to announce that city schools expect to offer computer science to all students within 10 years. PAGE A22

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B12-17

Mets' Makeover in Question

Yoenis Cespedes has transformed the Mets since joining the team in a last-minute trade, but he could go elsewhere in free agency. PAGE B12

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Thomas L. Friedman PAGE A27

FASHION A21

Lessons From the Runway

Thom Browne conjured a schoolroom to offer a master class in imagination for New York Fashion Week. Rodarte and Vera Wang also presented collections. A fashion review by Vanessa Friedman.

FOOD D1-8

The Cooking Cure

Ruth Reichl, the former editor of Gourmet, bounced back from the magazine's demise by seeking solace in the kitchen of her country home. PAGE D1



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Pope Francis in Central Park on Friday. He also celebrated Mass at Madison Square Garden and spoke at the United Nations.

BOEHNER TO QUIT, UNDONE BY STRIFE WITH RIGHT WING

Surprise Announcement May Help Avert Another Government Shutdown

By JENNIFER STEINHAUER

WASHINGTON — Speaker John A. Boehner, an Ohio bar-keeper's son who rode a conservative wave to one of the highest positions in government, said Friday he would relinquish his gavel and resign from Congress, undone by the very Republicans who swept him into power.

Mr. Boehner, 65, made the announcement in an emotional meeting with his fellow Republicans on Friday morning as lawmakers struggled to avert a government shutdown next week, a possibility made less likely by his decision.

Mr. Boehner told almost no one of his decision before making it Friday morning. "So before I went to sleep last night, I told my wife, I said, 'You know, I might just make an announcement tomorrow,'" Mr. Boehner said at a news conference in the Capitol. "This morning I woke up, said my prayers, as I always do, and thought, 'This is the day I am going to do this.'"

His downfall again highlighted the sinewy power of a Republican Party faction whose anthem is often to oppose government action. It also made vivid the increasingly precarious nature of a job in which the will and proclivities of politically divisive body must be managed. No House speaker since Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., who held the gavel from 1977

to 1986, has left the job willingly. For Mr. Boehner, who has been pressured throughout his tenure to push for deeper spending cuts and more aggressive policy changes than were possible with President Obama in the White House, seemed both exhausted by the fight and yet at peace with his final move: to leave rather than face a potentially humiliating fight within his party.

"My first job as speaker is to protect the institution," Mr. Boehner said. "It had become clear to me that this prolonged leadership turmoil would do irreparable harm to the institution."

Looking poised and sounding

Continued on Page A18



ZACH GIBSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES
Speaker John A. Boehner

In This Parish, 'Poor Church' Is the Reality

By DAVID GONZALEZ

The Rev. Nelson A. Belizario walked gingerly through the quiet sanctuary of St. Joseph's Church in the Bronx, with its rich-hued stained glass windows and soaring ceiling dotted with golden stars. He stopped at one window depicting its patron on his deathbed, flanked by Mary and Jesus. The scene reassures the faithful that death should not be a time of sadness.

"St. Joseph is the patron saint of the happy death," Father Nelson said. "Look, Jesus and Mary are beside him, the Holy Family together in prayer. Death is not the end."

But now St. Joseph — the parish — has died. And its demise has been anything but happy. Officials from the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York merged the church this summer with St. Simon Stock, a larger adjoining parish that Father Nelson has led since 2003. St. Joseph's attendance had dwindled, and its walls and ceiling were crumbling from a leaky roof. Repairs would cost at least \$5 million, impossible for a poor parish like St. Joseph's.

Continued on Page A14



ANGEL FRANCO/THE NEW YORK TIMES
Giving communion to a Bronx woman who is homebound.

Mixing in New York, Pope Recalls the Forgotten

By MICHAEL WILSON

By motorcade and popemobile and simple shoe leather, in a day-long tour up and down Manhattan that found pockets of joy and pain, wealth and want, Pope Francis on Friday called for social justice and peace in addresses to world leaders and workaday New Yorkers alike. He ended with a stirring homily that was both an ode to the city and a reminder to watch for glimpses of the presence of God among the poorest of the poor.

"In big cities, beneath the roar of traffic, beneath the rapid pace of change, so many faces pass by unnoticed because they have no 'right' to be there, no right to be part of the city," Francis said in a Mass before 20,000 at Madison Square Garden. "They are the foreigners, the children who go without schooling, those de-

Calls for Social Justice to the Mighty and the Downtrodden

prived of medical insurance, the homeless, the forgotten elderly. These people stand at the edges of our great avenues, in our streets, in deafening anonymity."

That theme, that "God is living in our cities," provided an apt conclusion to a day spent navigating New York's complicated fabric of rich and struggling. It was the pope's first visit to the city, where the longtime hum of the machines of commerce and prosperity has brought the very excesses he has spent his papacy pushing against. It was impossible to ignore, behind the rows and rows of well-wishers who

packed Central Park's broad meadow, the soaring columns of skyscrapers with penthouses that are home to many of the world's wealthiest people.

He spoke of that divide often during the day, from his first remarks before the United Nations General Assembly, where he called for respect for "those considered disposable because they are only considered as part of a statistic," to his closing homily's observation that "big cities also conceal the faces of all those people who don't appear to belong, or are second-class citizens."

Francis sought out some of those faces on a day of grand pageantry and small gestures that brought him before the relatives of the fallen at the footprints of the twin towers and, hours later, the upturned smiles of East Harlem schoolchildren not yet born the day those buildings

Continued on Page A16

NEWS ANALYSIS

Hard Job, Getting Harder

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — Hours after Republicans swept to victory in November 2010, catapulting John A. Boehner to the speaker's chair, he was asked how he could possibly persuade House conservatives to do some of the tough jobs of governing like raising the federal debt limit.

"We will be working that out over the next couple of months," a confident Mr. Boehner, of Ohio, said with a shrug.

A canny veteran of many tough Washington negotiations, Mr. Boehner always thought it could be worked out. What he did not count on was commanding a Republican majority with scores of lawmakers who had no interest in working things out but were willing to risk the party's brand

and unleash economic and governmental havoc over policy fights.

Since the first days of his speakership, Mr. Boehner found himself under siege from his right flank for being unwilling to defy President Obama over issues ranging from the debt limit to immigration to Planned Parenthood. After holding off the rebellion for years, a visibly weary, possibly relieved Mr. Boehner surrendered on Friday, stepping aside rather than submitting to an ugly struggle to hold on to power.

He insisted he could have survived a challenge to his speakership. "I've got plenty of people following me," he said, "but this

Continued on Page A18

Fear Arrives in South Carolina Long Before Any Actual Syrians

By RICHARD FAUSSET

DUNCAN, S.C. — The worried citizens gathered in the high school cafeteria, about 200 strong. Patriotic songs played on the stereo, a man in a blue blazer from the John Birch Society hovered by a well-stocked literature table, and Lauren L. Martel, a lawyer from Hilton Head, told the crowd that 25 Syrian refugees were already living among them.

"The U.N. calls it 'refugee resettlement' — the Muslims call it hijra, migration," said another speaker, Jim McMillan, a local businessman. "They don't plan to assimilate, they don't plan to take on our culture. They plan to change the way of American life."

The United States government

has pledged to increase the number of worldwide refugees allowed in the country each year from 70,000 to 100,000 by the year 2017; earlier this month, the Obama administration said it would take in at least 10,000 Syrian refugees over the next year. But the anger and anxiety here show just how hard this might be in some parts of the country.

None of Syria's four million refugees have been resettled in this part of South Carolina in the last year, according to the State Department. Since May, a Christian nonprofit group, World Relief, has placed 32 refugees in the re-

Continued on Page A3



MIKE BELLEME FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Anti-immigrant sentiment is up in places like Duncan, S.C., where Syrian refugees are a worry.

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Pledge to Curb Hacking

President Obama and President Xi Jinping of China agreed to rein in the rising threat of computer attacks but skirted direct references to some contentious cybersecurity issues. PAGE A9

Hurdles in U.S.-China Accord

Trying to regulate cyberweapons is likely to be even more difficult than limiting nuclear arms, and perhaps impossible, experts say. News Analysis. PAGE A9

The Politics of Climate Change

China's plan to cut greenhouse gas emissions could alter the domestic debate on climate change policy. PAGE A8

NATIONAL A12-21

A Museum for Lemons

Exhibits on scalding cups of coffee and dangerous cars are among the attractions at the new American Museum of Tort Law, established by Ralph Nader in Winsted, Conn. PAGE A12



BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Next Steps for Volkswagen

In Germany, Matthias Müller, head of Volkswagen's Porsche unit, took over as VW's chief executive, promising an overhaul. In the United States, lawsuits from shareholders and car owners took shape. The legal challenges lead Ron Lieber to ask: How would you compensate a VW owner? PAGES B1 AND B5

FASHION A28

A Power Suit Epiphany

With the presidential campaigns as a backdrop, designers in Milan, including Miuccia Prada, presented fresh versions of a familiar staple. A Review.

SPORTSATURDAY D1-8

Scandal Is Closer to FIFA Chief

Officials in Switzerland announced that Sepp Blatter, the longtime head of soccer's world governing body, was under criminal investigation. PAGE D1

ARTS C1-6

Don Francisco's Last Night

Mario Kreutzberger, a.k.a. Don Francisco, has hosted his last "Sábado Gigante," the variety show on Univision. PAGE C1

Protest Art Draws Protests

A mural in Brooklyn that protests the muzzling of an Iranian artist, is coming down after it attracted vandals. PAGE C1

T MAGAZINE

Design and Luxury

A look at the most influential designs in the worlds of fashion, architecture, interiors, jewelry, furniture and food. From bold new jewelry to the delicate scent of a rose, from a cozy Long Island home to the starkness of California's deserts, the design of now is everywhere. THIS WEEKEND

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Gail Collins

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PARIS TERRORIST ATTACKS KILL OVER 100; FRANCE DECLARES STATE OF EMERGENCY

Chaos and Horror Echo in the City Once Again

By LIZ ALDERMAN and JIM YARDLEY

PARIS — The night was chilly but thick with excitement as the big match between France's national soccer team and archrival Germany was underway at the national stadium in a northern suburb of Paris. President François Hollande watched with the crowd as the French players pushed the ball across midfield.

Then came the sharp, unmistakable crack of an explosion, overwhelming the roar of the crowd. A stunned moment passed. Players and spectators seemed confused, and eventually the awful realization swept through the stadium: Terror, for the second time this year, had struck Paris.

The symmetry could not be more jarring. A Parisian year that began with the bloodshed and chaos of the terrorist attacks at the satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo and later at a Jewish grocery now had an even deadlier coda: With events still fluid and exact details unclear, the authorities said more than 100 people had been killed in a series of attacks across Paris. And dozens of people were taken hostage at a Parisian theater.

The urgent, bleating screech of sirens filled the evening air as police cruisers raced through the streets, uncertain if more mayhem was to come. Taxis ferried people home without charge as the police advised residents to stay inside. Ambulances screamed down the boulevards, as a stunned and confused French capital was again left to wonder: Why us? Once again?

"Paris has been hit again by terror tonight," Deputy Mayor Patrick Klugman said on Twitter.

For three days in January, Paris was gripped with fear as the police searched for Chérif and Saïd Kouachi after the two brothers attacked the Charlie Hebdo offices, a manhunt that ended with the Kouachis dying in a shootout. The terror only deepened when a third terrorist, Amedy Coulibaly, attacked a Jewish grocery, killing customers, before the police stormed the building and killed him.

Those attacks left France reeling for months, dredging up sadness and fury and horror. They also stirred a national debate over freedom of expression and the state of French Islam, a topic that has divided France like few others and seems certain to intensify now.

The attackers' names, or whether they are linked to radical Islamist groups, are not yet known. But some witnesses described militants shouting "God is great" in Arabic before open-

Continued on Page A8



THIBAUT CAMUS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

THEATER Terrorists shot numerous people and took others hostage at the Bataclan concert hall.



PHILIPPE WOJAZER/REUTERS

RESTAURANT Emergency workers covered and removed bodies of victims after gunmen attacked.



IAN LANGSDON/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

STADIUM A man wounded outside the Stade de France, where a soccer match was in progress.

Series of Shootings and Blasts, Apparently Coordinated

By ADAM NOSSITER and RICK GLADSTONE

PARIS — The Paris area reeled Friday night from a shooting rampage, explosions and mass hostage-taking that President François Hollande called an unprecedented terrorist attack on France. His government announced sharply increased border controls and heightened police powers as it mobilized the military in a national emergency.

French television and news services quoted the police as saying that around 100 people had been killed at a concert site where hostages had been held during a two-hour standoff with the police, and that perhaps dozens of others had been killed in apparently coordinated attacks outside the country's main sports stadium and four other popular locations in the city. But estimates on the total number of dead varied.

Witnesses on French television said the scene at the concert hall, which can seat as many as 1,500 people, was a massacre, describing how gunmen with automatic weapons shot bursts of bullets into the crowd.

Ambulances were seen racing back and forth in the area into the early hours of Saturday, and hundreds of survivors were evacuated in police buses. French television said Paris hospitals were overwhelmed with wounded.

News agencies quoted Michel Cadot, head of the Paris police, as saying early Saturday that all the assailants involved in shootings or bombings were believed to be dead, and the Paris prosecutor's office said that eight attackers were dead, according to The Associated Press.

But the total number involved in the attacks, including accom-

plishes still at large, remained unclear.

"We are going to try and determine what happened, determine what the profiles of these terrorists are, find out what their course of action was, find out if there are still accomplices or co-attackers," said François Molins, the public prosecutor for Paris.

The casualties eclipsed by far the deaths in Paris during the massacre at the satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo and related assaults around the French capital by Islamic militant extremists less than a year ago.

Those attacks traumatized France and other countries in Europe, elevating fears of religious extremism and violent jihadists who have been radicalized by the conflicts in Syria and elsewhere in the Middle East and North Africa.

An explosion near the sports

Continued on Page A8



THE NEW YORK TIMES

Inside Sold-Out Concert Hall, A Siege and 'a Scene of Carnage'

By ADAM NOSSITER and ANDREW HIGGINS

PARIS — The band had been playing to the crowd at one of this city's most popular music venues, the Bataclan, for about an hour. The 150-year-old music hall was sold out for the show by the American group Eagles of Death Metal.

Suddenly, four men brandishing AK-47 assault rifles entered the hall. There were shouts of "Allahu akbar" just before the gunmen opened fire, and for about 20 minutes there was carnage.

Witnesses said the attackers also threw grenades into the crowd.

"When they started shooting, we just saw flashes," a witness named Gwen told French BFM-

TV. "People got down on the ground right away. It was all dark."

In the scramble to survive, people climbed into the upper boxes of the hall, or covered under seats. The musicians quickly fled the stage.

"It was a scene of carnage," Julien Pearce, a radio reporter who was inside the Bataclan, told Europe 1 radio.

The music hall can seat up to 1,500 people, but it was unclear how many were inside when the attack began. Some of the spectators managed to escape out back exits, but for minutes the gunmen shot unimpeded.

Continued on Page A8

Ban or No Ban, Fantasy Site's Back Door Is Open

By JAMES GLANZ and JACQUELINE WILLIAMS

Starting next week, the two leading daily fantasy sports sites will be barred from taking bets from a lucrative market: New York State. But one of them, DraftKings, leaves open a simple digital loophole that may let New Yorkers play anyway.

On Tuesday, the New York State attorney general ordered DraftKings and the other top site, FanDuel, to stop taking bets in

the state, saying that daily fantasy sports is no different from online sports gambling, which is illegal in New York. With the hugely popular games coming under intense scrutiny, both companies say they will fight the action, and on Friday, both companies filed formal complaints.

But for DraftKings, the ruling and any courtroom battle may be easily circumvented. The New York Times, working with users in all six states where daily fantasy sports is already considered il-

legal, was able to make bets on the DraftKings site using the most basic, easily accessible service for disguising a computer's true location.

Called a proxy server, the service is available for a few dollars a month from numerous companies. It allows users in, say, Iowa — one of the states where daily fantasy is illegal — to appear to be logging on to a website from somewhere else. Although companies can use standard technol-

Continued on Page D6

Supreme Court Takes Abortion Case From Texas

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court on Friday agreed to hear its first major abortion case since 2007, one that has the potential to affect millions of women and to revise the constitutional principles governing abortion rights.

The court's decision will probably arrive in late June, as the presidential campaign enters its final stretch, thrusting the divi-

sive issue of abortion to the forefront of public debate. Other major rulings — on affirmative action, public unions, contraception coverage and possibly immigration — are also expected to land around then.

But it is the new abortion case, however it is decided, that is likely to produce the term's most consequential and legally significant decision. Many states have been enacting restrictions that test the limits of the constitutional right to abortion established in

1973 in Roe v. Wade, and a ruling in the new case, from Texas, will enunciate principles that will apply in all of them.

The case may turn out to be the third installment in a legal trilogy on the scope of the constitutional right to abortion, one that started with Roe and continued in 1992 with Planned Parenthood v. Casey.

The Casey decision said states may not place undue burdens on the constitutional right to abor-

Continued on Page A14



INTERNATIONAL A3-12

China's Loneliest Generation
China ended its one-child policy, but many, like Liu Jia, above, have mixed feelings about larger families. PAGE A4

U.S. Believes It Killed Jihadist
The Pentagon said it was "reasonably certain" a strike had hit "Jihadi John," the Islamic State executioner. PAGE A6

NATIONAL A13-17

Insults Pose Risks for Trump
As Donald J. Trump intensifies blistering attacks on his Republican rival Ben Carson, some political strategists say the effrontery could backfire. PAGE A15

Moms Can Keep Baby, for Now
A Utah judge reversed, at least temporarily, his order to take a foster child away from a lesbian couple. PAGE A13

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Oil Price Continues to Slide
A global stockpile of three billion barrels, about a month of global production, is pushing down oil prices. PAGE B1



ARTS C1-7

Applauding the Newcomers
Immigration is divisive in politics, but on Broadway it's a reason to sing, with "Hamilton," "On Your Feet!" and "Allegiance," above, celebrating it. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Gail Collins PAGE A23

SPORTSSATURDAY D1-6

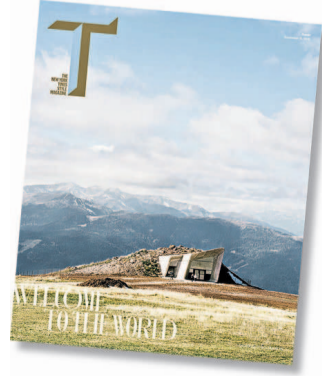
Russia Suspended From Track
A ban, which comes after sweeping doping allegations, could affect the ability of Russian track-and-field athletes to compete in next year's Olympics. PAGE D1

Missouri Football Coach to Quit
Gary Pinkel, who backed his players during the university's racial protests, cited illness in his decision. PAGE D3

OBITUARIES B8

A Jew Whose Twin Was a Nazi
Jack Yufe, who became a celebrity after he and his brother were part of a nature vs. nurture study, died on Monday at 82.

THIS WEEKEND



PARIS ATTACK WAS THE WORK OF 3 TEAMS, AN 'ACT OF WAR' BY ISIS, FRANCE ASSERTS



PASCAL ROSSIGNOL/REUTERS

The day after an attack that killed at least 129 people, President François Hollande said that France will be "unforgiving with the barbarians" from ISIS.

MILITARY ON PATROL

City in Lockdown — 352 Are Wounded, Some Critically

This article is by Adam Nossiter, Aurelien Breenen and Katrin Bennhold.

PARIS — Three teams of Islamic State attackers acting in unison carried out the terrorist assault in Paris on Friday night, officials said Saturday, including one assailant who may have traveled to Europe on a Syrian passport along with the flow of migrants.

"It is an act of war that was committed by a terrorist army, a jihadist army, Daesh, against France," President François Hollande told the nation from the Élysée Palace, using an Arabic acronym for the Islamic State. "It is an act of war that was prepared, organized and planned from abroad, with complicity from the inside, which the investigation will help establish."

As the death toll rose to 129 — with 352 others wounded, 99 of them critically — a basic timeline of the attacks came into view.

The Paris prosecutor, François Molins, said the attackers were all armed with assault rifles and suicide vests. Their assault began at 9:20 p.m. Friday, when one terrorist detonated a suicide bomb outside the gates of the soccer stadium on the northern outskirts of Paris. It ended at 12:20 a.m. Saturday when the authorities stormed a concert hall, the Bataclan. One attacker there was killed; two others detonated suicide vests. Inside the hall, 89 people, who had been listening to a rock band, had been shot to death.

The man with the Syrian passport — which Greek officials said had been registered at the Aegean island of Leros on Oct. 3 — was 25, and died at the station.

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'They Did Not Give Anybody a Chance'

By ANDREW HIGGINS and MILAN SCHREUER

PARIS — François Granier, a wine consultant and rock music fan, thought the concert he was attending Friday night had simply taken a particularly raucous turn.

Mai Hua, a fashion blogger and video director who was dining a few blocks away, figured the explosions she heard were just another burst of gang violence.

Erin Allweiss, a publicist from New York who was eating at a restaurant in the same district, hoped the noise came from fireworks.

One by one on Friday evening, all the ordinary reflexes, expectations and hopes of urban life fell away as Parisians and visitors to their city confronted nearly simultaneous attacks that spanned from the Stade de France, the national sports stadium on the northern edge of the city, to a shabby-chic district studded with bars and restaurants four miles south.

The dull thuds and sharp cracks that so many thought, or at least hoped, were just the background noises of a night on the town in one of the world's great, vibrant cities turned out to be the ghastly sounds of the worst terrorist as-

sault on the French capital, even bloodier than the January attacks on the satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo and a kosher supermarket.

Little seemed to tie the attacks across at least six sites, except that all the 129 victims had been out having fun. But that was very much the point for the Islamic State militant group, which later took responsibility for the carnage and said that it had struck France's symbols of "perversity."

There were other common elements as well — synchronized attacks, targeting random victims, by well-equipped and apparently trained militants, who François Molins, the Paris prosecutor, described as working in three coordinated squads.

The attacks began at 9:20 p.m. on a chilly Friday outside the stadium, in the suburb of St-Denis, where France was playing Germany. President François Hollande was among those in attendance.

"We heard something that sounded like a detonating bomb as well as shooting," said Agnès Dupont, who was at the match with her husband and two young children.

Others said they thought youngsters outside the stadium were setting off firecrackers. Another blast followed 10

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ANTHONY DORFMANN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

A victim fell to the sidewalk outside the Cafe Bonne Bière in Paris on Friday.

Brand-New Fright As Europe Strains With Migrant Tide

By ALISON SMALE and RICK LYMAN

BERLIN — For months, hundreds of thousands of men, women and children have literally marched their way into Europe, fleeing war, poverty and hunger, arriving in such huge numbers that they set off uncommon displays of compassion — and outright acts of fear.

Even before the attacks in Paris on Friday, some of the most welcoming of Europeans were beginning to lose patience. Borders were closed, benefits cut, warnings issued in Arabic to stay away.

But on Saturday, French officials revealed what could prove to be a turning point in the debate over migration: One of the attackers was carrying a Syrian passport and, perhaps more ominously, may have entered Europe along the migrant trail.

Poland moved first to shut the door. "After Paris, we lost security guarantees," said Konrad Szymanski, Poland's new minister for relations with other European nations. He added, "The tragic events in Paris showed weakness in Europe."

Continued on Page 14

Partisan Divide in U.S.

At the Democratic debate, a vision of resilience amid terrorism. Republicans focused on an elevated threat. Page 29.

Strategy Shift for ISIS: Inflicting Terror in Distant Lands

By ERIC SCHMITT and DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK

WASHINGTON — Defying Western efforts to confront the Islamic State on the battlefield, the group has evolved in its reach and organizational ability, with increasingly dangerous hubs outside Iraq and Syria and strategies that call for using spectacular acts of violence against civilians.

But even as the militant attacks were playing out across Paris on Friday night, the United States carried out an airstrike — planned days in advance — against the leader of the Islamic State in Libya, which has emerged as a pivotal

stronghold for the group in North Africa. American and British Special Operations forces have for months been conducting secret surveillance missions in Libya to monitor the rise of fighters aligned with the Islamic State.

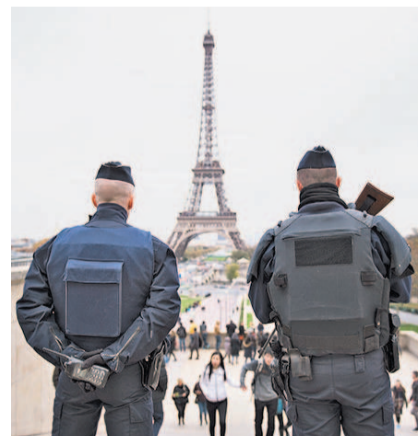
The massacre in Paris on Friday, following bombings in Beirut, Lebanon, and the downing of a Russian passenger jet over Egypt, all claimed by the Islamic State, reveals a terrorist organization that has changed in significant ways from the West's initial understanding of it as a group focused on holding territory in Syria and Iraq and building a caliphate, or Islamic state.

And actions by the United States and

its allies — including a Western bombing campaign of Islamic State-held fighting positions and oil facilities, coordinated with a ground offensive by Kurdish forces to cut off a major supply line — foreshadow how the West might respond to the growing menace in the coming weeks.

The Islamic State, also known as ISIS, ISIL or Daesh, has for the first time engaged in what appears to be a centrally planned campaign of terrorist attacks aimed at inflicting huge civilian casualties on distant territory, forcing many counterterrorism officials in the United States and in Europe to recalibrate their

Continued on Page 18



MARIUS BECKER/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

The Paris attacks appeared part of a larger campaign by the Islamic State.

INTERNATIONAL 4-20

Kurds Push Against ISIS

In their offensive to reclaim a town held by the Islamic State group, Kurdish fighters have had to cope with truck drivers on suicide missions. PAGE 12

NATIONAL 22-29

Deductibles Sap Health Law

Many consumers who got insurance under the Affordable Care Act say high deductibles are insurmountable. PAGE 22

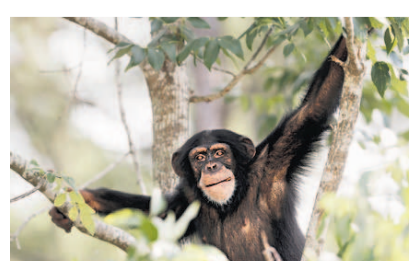
Rubio Questioned From Right

Senator Marco Rubio's changing views on immigration policy increasingly are facing scrutiny. PAGE 24

NATIONAL

Test to Protections for Chimps

A plan to export eight chimps from a research center in Atlanta to a zoo in Britain is a first test of an endangered species listing that says only actions that benefit chimpanzees as a species should be allowed. PAGE 26



SUNDAY BUSINESS

Changing the Way IBM Thinks

One of the oldest technology companies is hiring more than 1,000 designers and turning them loose on conventional thinking as part of an accelerated approach to product development that is a major departure from the past. PAGE 1

METROPOLITAN

Longer Lives, Mounting Bills

Among the fast-growing group of New Yorkers who are 85 and older, even some of those who were prudent enough to put something away for retirement are finding that having a nest egg isn't always enough. PAGE 1



SPORTSSUNDAY

Vonn Aims for 2018 Olympics

Lindsey Vonn has weathered a tumultuous decade. At 31, the former champion racer has resisted entreaties to retire and is hoping to regain her dominance on the World Cup ski racing circuit with an eye on the Winter Games. PAGE 1

THE MAGAZINE

The Future Issue

The view ahead of us has never been murkier. In addition to articles on topics as varied as the polar ice sheets, genetic engineering and autonomous cars, seven industry experts weigh in through first-person testimonials on what they can — and cannot — know about how their fields will change over time.

SUNDAY REVIEW

Frank Bruni

PAGE 3



FRANCE STRIKES ISIS TARGETS IN SYRIA IN RETALIATION FOR ATTACKS ON PARIS



IAN LANGSDON/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

A crowd gathered on Sunday in front of Le Carillon restaurant, the scene of an attack on Friday in Paris, hours before France bombed an ISIS stronghold.

HOLLANDE'S VOW

Raid Coordinated With U.S. Hits Raqqa, the Militants' De Facto Capital

By ALISSA J. RUBIN
and ANNE BARNARD

PARIS — France bombed the Syrian city of Raqqa on Sunday night, its most aggressive strike against the Islamic State group it blames for killing 129 people in a string of terrorist attacks across Paris only two days before.

President François Hollande, who vowed to be "unforgiving with the barbarians" of the Islamic State after the carnage in Paris, decided on the airstrikes in a meeting with his national security team on Saturday, officials said.

While France has been conducting scores of airstrikes against the Islamic State in Iraq, it had been bombing inside Syria only sparingly, wary of inadvertently strengthening the hand of President Bashar al-Assad by killing his enemies.

But after militants with AK-47 rifles and suicide explosives vests shattered the peaceful revelry of Paris on Friday night, killing dozens of civilians in restaurants and at a concert hall, France seemed intent on sending a clear message of its determination to curb the Islamic State and its ability to carry out attacks outside the territory it controls.

The French Defense Ministry said in a statement that the air raid, coordinated with American forces, was led by 12 French aircraft, including 10 fighter jets, and had destroyed two Islamic State targets in Raqqa, the radical group's self-proclaimed capital.

The United States provided French officials with information to help them strike Islamic State targets in Syria, known as "strike packages," American officials said.

Initial reports from activists on the ground in Raqqa, which could not be confirmed, said that the strike targeted a training camp and a weapons depot.

Continued on Page A8

Mounting Clues Point to Brothers And Trip to Syria

This article is by Jim Yardley, Katrin Bennhold, Michael S. Schmidt and Adam Nossiter.

PARIS — On both sides of the Atlantic, the fast-moving investigation into the deadly Paris terrorist attacks steadily accumulated clues on Sunday: a car discovered in the Parisian suburbs with a cache of weapons. Mounting proof of links between the Islamic State in Syria and the attackers. And intense scrutiny on three brothers, living in Belgium, as crucial suspects in the elaborate plot.

With investigators moving on multiple fronts and a manhunt underway for a suspect described as dangerous, with much still unknown, increasing evidence suggested that at least one of the eight attackers had visited Syria, where the Islamic State has its main stronghold.

Others had been communicating with known members of the group before the horrific assault on Paris, investigators said. Officials were also investigating the possibility that a Syrian citizen may have been sent to join the attackers, slipping into Europe along with thousands of refugees.

French officials said American security services had alerted them in September to vague but credible information that French jihadists in Syria were planning some type of attack.

That tip, the officials said, contributed to France's decision to launch what it had hoped might be pre-emptive airstrikes on Oct. 8 against the Islamic State's self-declared capital in Syria, Raqqa, where France struck with a new and far larger round of airstrikes Sunday night — this time in retaliation.

Continued on Page A8



TOMAS MUNITA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Paris Neighborhood in Mourning

The 11th Arrondissement, where Charlie Hebdo was attacked in January, was reeling once again on Sunday. Page A9.

POLITICAL MEMO

In Presidential Campaign, It's Now Terrorism, Not Taxes

By JONATHAN MARTIN

WASHINGTON — Bernie Sanders dispensed with the threat from the Islamic State in two sentences at the start of the Democratic debate before abruptly pivoting to the dangers of a "rigged economy." Ben Carson struggled to answer a simple question on Sunday about how he would form a coalition to fight the militant group. And Marco Rubio, after pushing out a new video about the

"clash of civilizations," revamped his plans for an important Monday appearance before a group of executives on the assumption that terrorism, not tax rates, would be their most pressing concern.

The assault on Paris has thrust national security to the heart of the presidential race, forcing candidates to scramble and possibly prompting voters to reconsider their flirtations with unconventional candidates and to take a more sober measure of who is prepared to serve as

commander in chief.

Until now, the campaign, when it did not descend into insult comedy on Twitter or become mired in biographical disputes, was focused on a subtler sort of threat to the country's way of life: economic and racial inequality, for Democrats, and a less-defined fury about a loss of America's identity, for Republicans. But the bloodshed in the heart of Paris posed concrete questions about

Continued on Page A10

Obama Loath To Add Troops To ISIS Fight

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR
and PETER BAKER

ANTALYA, Turkey — For President Obama, the short-term response to the terrorist attacks in Paris was straightforward and relatively easy: The American military and intelligence agencies provided information to help French warplanes bomb Islamic State targets on Sunday in the group's stronghold in northern Syria.

Determining the long-term response, however, may be exponentially harder. Even as Mr. Obama searched for ways to step up the war against the terrorist group, which has expanded its operations beyond its territory in Iraq and Syria, senior White House officials on Sunday again ruled out the introduction of substantial numbers of American ground troops.

The French airstrikes may have been a potent show of defiance, but it was not clear that they represented a major shift in the American coalition's overall strategy.

Before the attacks in Paris on Friday, the French confined the majority of their airstrikes against the Islamic State

Continued on Page A10

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Boko Haram Loses Territory

The Boko Haram militant group has lost significant ground in northern Nigeria, officials and security experts say, as military counterattacks have forced the extremists to scatter. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A3, 12-15

End of an Era for Charleston

After 40 years, Mayor Joseph P. Riley Jr., one of the last progressive white Southern mayors from the 1960s and '70s, is retiring in South Carolina. PAGE A12

Mormons Cut Ties to Church

Upset over the policy against same-sex unions, hundreds of Mormons have started the process of removing their names from the church's rolls. PAGE A12

BUSINESS DAY B1-6

Japan Returns to Recession

The nation's economy deteriorated in the latest quarter, contracting 0.8 percent, its second consecutive decline. The recession is Japan's fifth since 2008. PAGE B1

NEW YORK A16-20

Balancing Act for a Yale Dean

Jonathan Holloway, the first black dean of Yale College, has tried to reconcile protesters against racism and the administration, with limited success. PAGE A16

A Man, 2 Psychics and \$718,000

A consultant, depressed and heartbroken, said he "just got sucked in" by two women. Crime Scene. PAGE A16

SPORTSMONDAY D1-8

Unbeaten Patriots Edge Giants

In a seesaw game, Stephen Gostkowski, No. 3, hit a 54-yard field goal for New England with one second left. PAGE D1



ARTS C1-8

An Oscar and an Appeal

The director Spike Lee, who has been nominated twice before for an Academy Award, accepted an honorary Oscar Saturday at the Governors Awards. Mr. Lee, left, said Hollywood needs to have some serious discussions about diversity. "This industry is so far behind sports, it's ridiculous," he said. PAGE C1

Exemplar of a Vanishing G.O.P.

In "Destiny and Power," Jon Meacham notes the flair for compromise that enabled President George H. W. Bush to work with a Democratic Congress, pass environmental legislation and even raise taxes. Books of The Times. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Paul Krugman

PAGE A23



Salvatore Ferragamo

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Call to Arms in France Amid Raids and a Manhunt



PIERRE TERDJMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



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TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES



TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Eiffel Tower was bathed in lights in the colors of the French flag on Monday night. Earlier in the day, people in mourning gathered on the streets of Paris.

SUSPECT IS A BELGIAN

Hollande Asks Parliament to Act Quickly to Help in Eradicating ISIS

This article is by Aurelien Breeden, Kimiko de Freytas-Tamura and Katrin Bennhold.

PARIS — President François Hollande of France called on Monday for constitutional amendments to fight potential terrorists at home and for an aggressive effort to “eradicate” the Islamic State abroad.

His call to arms — “France is at war,” he said at the opening of his remarks to a joint session of Parliament — came as security forces in France and Belgium zeroed in on a suspect they said was the architect of the assault that killed 129 people Friday night in Paris. The suspect, a 27-year-old Belgian, has fought for the Islamic State in Syria and has been linked to other terrorist attacks.

Mr. Hollande spoke after the French police raided homes and other sites across the country in an effort to head off possible further attacks and as the authorities in Belgium hunted for a suspected assailant in Friday’s attacks.

Mr. Hollande called for quick action by Parliament on new legislation that would give the government more flexibility to conduct police raids without a warrant and place people under house arrest. He said he would seek court advice on broader surveillance powers. And he called for amendments that would enable the state to take exceptional security measures without having to resort to the most drastic options currently in the Constitution.

Mr. Hollande is also seeking to extend the current state of emergency for three months and let the government strip the citizenship of French natives who are convicted of terrorism and hold a second passport.

“Our democracy has prevailed over Continued on Page A8

In Neighborhood Known for Extremists, A Trail of Petty Crimes and Missed Plots

This article is by Andrew Higgins, Kimiko de Freytas-Tamura and Katrin Bennhold.

BRUSSELS — Just eight days before Ibrahim Abdeslam blew himself up in Paris as part of an elaborate terrorist operation that killed 129 people on Friday, the authorities in the heavily immigrant Brussels district of Molenbeek already had the future terrorist in their sights.

Unfortunately, they had identified him not as a potential killer, but as the proprietor of a bar that played host to drug dealers and drunks. Under an order signed by Molenbeek’s mayor, the bar was shut down on Nov. 5 “for compromising public security and tranquility” through the spread of illegal substances.

Molenbeek is well known as a haven for extremists, home to dozens of young men accused of leaving to wage jihad in Syria and, in some cases, plotting attacks against Europe. The area has now been linked to at least four terrorist attacks in two years.

But the inability to stop Mr. Abdeslam was just one example of the missed op-

portunities by the Belgian and French authorities and intelligence services, a list that also included allowing Mr. Abdeslam’s brother Salah, 26, another suspect, to slip through their fingers.

Salah Abdeslam rented a car in Brussels that was apparently used to transport some of the gunmen who killed 89 people in a Paris concert hall. He had a criminal record, which outlines his suspected involvement in organized crime, but there was no arrest warrant linked to his file. Because of that record, his name popped up during a routine traffic stop by the French police on Saturday. But he was allowed to drive on because Continued on Page A9



YVES HERMAN/REUTERS

A Belgian police raid on Monday in the Molenbeek district of Brussels.

Distrust, Even Fear, As Secular France Cools on Muslims

By ADAM NOSSITER and LIZ ALDERMAN

PARIS — November is not January. That thought has been filtering through the statements of most French politicians and the news media, and most people seem to understand.

Unlike the response in January after attacks at the satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo and elsewhere left 17 dead, there were no grand public appeals for solidarity with Muslims after the Friday attacks that left 129 dead in Paris. There were no marches, few pleas not to confuse practitioners of Islam with those who preach jihad.

Instead, there was a palpable fear, even anger, as President François Hollande asked Parliament to extend a state of emergency and called for changing the Constitution to deal with terrorism. It was largely unspoken but nevertheless clear: Secular France always had a complicated relationship with its Muslim community, but now it was tipping toward outright distrust, even hostility.

The shift could be all the more tempting because the government is struggling to find its footing politically as it is threatened on its far right by the anti-immigrant National Front party.

Already, tough talk from officials in Continued on Page A8

G.O.P. Governors Vow to Close Doors To Syrian Refugees

By PATRICK HEALY and JULIE BOSMAN

Republican fury over illegal immigration and border security took on a new dimension Monday as a growing number of governors, presidential candidates and members of Congress rushed to oppose or even defy President Obama’s plan to resettle 10,000 Syrian refugees.

Twenty-five Republican governors vowed to block the entry of Syrian refugees into their states, arguing that the safety of Americans was at stake after the Paris attacks by terrorists including a man who entered Europe with a Syrian passport and posed as a migrant. Among the governors were those from Illinois, Massachusetts, Texas and other states that have already resettled relatively large numbers of refugees from among the 1,900 Syrians accepted by the United States in the last four years.

One Democratic governor, Maggie Hassan of New Hampshire, also urged the Obama administration to stop taking in Syrians until the federal vetting procedures for all refugees are “as strong as possible.”

Echoing the political debate over immigration and border security, several governors warned that refugees could arrive without verifiable documents or Continued on Page A10

Gloves Off, Director Of the C.I.A. Faults Surveillance Curbs

By SCOTT SHANE

WASHINGTON — A diabolical range of recent attacks claimed by the Islamic State — a Russian airliner blown up in Egypt, a double suicide bombing in Beirut and Friday’s ghastly assaults on Paris — has rekindled a debate over the proper limits of government surveillance in an age of terrorist mayhem.

On Monday, in unusually raw language, John Brennan, the C.I.A. director, denounced what he called “hand-wringing” over intrusive government spying and said leaks about intelligence programs had made it harder to identify the “murderous sociopaths” of the Islamic State.

Mr. Brennan appeared to be speaking mainly of the disclosures since 2013 of the National Security Agency’s mass surveillance of phone and Internet communications by Edward J. Snowden, which prompted sharp criticism, lawsuits and new restrictions on electronic spying in the United States and in Europe.

In the wake of the 129 deaths in Paris, Mr. Brennan and some other officials sounded eager to reopen a clamorous argument over surveillance in which critics of the spy agencies had seemed to hold an advantage in recent years. Continued on Page A12

NEW YORK A18-21

Suit Over a Long Island Priest

A Roman Catholic order and a diocese are accused of failing to properly train and supervise an abusive priest and to warn a family about his “propensity to sexually molest youth.” PAGE A19

Plan for Utility Rattles County

The proposed closing of a nuclear plant has alarmed residents of Oswego County, N.Y., because of the poor prospects for replacing lucrative jobs. PAGE A18

INTERNATIONAL A4-13

Mennonite Exodus in Mexico

A community in Chihuahua is moving to Argentina after a dispute over the water supply. Riva Palacio Journal. PAGE A6



NATIONAL A14-17

Ruling on Abortion Files Stands

The Supreme Court let stand an appeals court ruling shielding the documents of a Planned Parenthood affiliate in New Hampshire from an anti-abortion group’s request under the open records law. PAGE A14

Baltimore Police Criticized

An independent review of the Baltimore police response to riots in April found “major shortcomings” and said officers were unprepared for the scale of unrest after Freddie Gray’s death. PAGE A14

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

China’s Slowdown Hits Japan

Dependent on Chinese orders that are dwindling, Japan’s heavy-industry manufacturers are slumping. And the downturn has quickly spread to the rest of the Japanese economy. PAGE B1

Retailers vs. Credit Cards

As retailers and bankers clash over credit card technology, it adds fuel to a lingering feud over what merchants must pay to accept a payment. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-7

A Second Look at Sinatra

“Sinatra: The Chairman,” the close-range second part of James Kaplan’s biography of Frank Sinatra, is more inclusive than insightful. A review. PAGE C1

SPORTS TUESDAY B9-13

Giants’ Cruz Is Out for Season

Wide receiver Victor Cruz, who has been sidelined for 13 months, will have surgery on his calf, leaving his tenure with the Giants in jeopardy. PAGE B9

SCIENCE TIMES D1-10

Exploring Our Wired Lives

What are the effects of our increasing reliance on trackers and other devices to better our health? A special issue.

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

David Brooks

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In Major Shift, Diabetes Cases Start to Decline

Data Points to Change in U.S. Eating Habits

By **SABRINA TAVERNISE**

EUTAW, Ala. — After decades of relentless rise, the number of new cases of diabetes in the United States has finally started to decline.

The rate of new cases fell by about a fifth from 2008 to 2014, according to researchers at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the first sustained decline since the disease started to explode in this country about 25 years ago.

The drop has been gradual and for a number of years was not big enough to be statistically meaningful. But new data for 2014 released on Tuesday serves as a robust confirmation that the decline is real, officials said. There were 1.4 million new cases of diabetes in 2014, down from 1.7 million in 2008.

"It seems pretty clear that incidence rates have now actually started to drop," said Edward Gregg, one of the C.D.C.'s top diabetes researchers. "Initially it was a little surprising because I had become so used to seeing increases everywhere we looked."

Experts say they do not know whether efforts to prevent diabetes have finally started to work, or if the disease has simply peaked in the population. But they say the shift tracks with the nascent progress that has been reported recently in the health of Americans.

There is growing evidence that eating habits, after decades of deterioration, have finally begun to improve. The amount of soda Americans drink has declined by about a quarter since the late 1990s, and the average number of daily calories children and adults consume also has fallen. Physical activity has started to rise, and once-surging rates of obesity, a major driver of Type 2 diabetes, the most common form of the disease, have flattened. Type 1 dia-

Continued on Page A20



CHINA STRINGER NETWORK/REUTERS

Critical Conditions

As a cyclist made his way through haze Monday in China, world leaders discussed climate change in Paris. Science Times, Page D1.

A Plot Honed by Trial and Error

Attackers in France Learned From Mistakes and Oversights

This article is by **Rukmini Callimachi, Katrin Bennhold and Laure Fourquet.**

STATE OF TERROR

A Persistent Threat

PARIS — The gunfire had still not subsided, and those who could were running for their lives. But one man was crossing Paris to get close to the scenes of death.

Just after 10 p.m. on Nov. 13, the man, Abdelhamid Abaaoud, parked his rented getaway car in the eastern suburb of Montreuil, leaving behind the Kalashnikov he is believed to have used to shoot diners in central Paris a half-hour before. Apparently unconcerned as security cameras recorded his movements, he boarded the No. 9 subway line

and returned to the part of the city that was still under siege. Before the night was over, investigators say, he had walked past the shattered cafes and bloodied concert hall that had been among his targets.

After a year of plotting terror in Europe but only producing four fizzled attempts, Mr. Abaaoud made sure this time was different. This time, he was on the scene, not directing from afar. This time, he monitored his team of assassins — old friends and new zealots — and surveyed

the suffering. This time, investigators say, he had prepared for a second wave of assaults days later, and planned to die himself as a suicide bomber in the heart of the Paris region's business district.

A foot soldier turned lieutenant in the Islamic State's hierarchy, Mr. Abaaoud, a 28-year-old Belgian, had been under increasing pressure to deliver something

Continued on Page A14

Survivors' Trauma

Many of the 413 people wounded in the Paris attacks are struggling to recover. Nearly 100 are still in the hospital. Page A15.

India Emerges As Key Player In Paris Talks

By **CORAL DAVENPORT and ELLEN BARRY**

LE BOURGET, France — Since Prime Minister Narendra Modi came to power, President Obama has not missed many opportunities to convey what a warm rapport he has forged with the Indian leader.

There was the admiring essay about Mr. Modi that Mr. Obama wrote in Time magazine, and the image of them tête-à-tête at the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial in Washington, their entourages left behind. Mr. Obama's national security adviser said the two men had "chemistry" and expressed confidence that American interests made it "worth the investment in the relationship."

Exactly how much that investment has paid off will become clear this week during the climate negotiations on the outskirts of Paris, where India, the world's third-largest greenhouse

Continued on Page A10

SILVER CONVICTED ON ALL 7 COUNTS IN U.S. GRAFT CASE

LOSES SEAT IN ASSEMBLY

Ex-Speaker Faces Prison — His Lawyers Plan to Contest Verdict

By **BENJAMIN WEISER and SUSANNE CRAIG**

Sheldon Silver, who held a seemingly intractable grip on power for decades as one of the most feared politicians in New York State, was found guilty on Monday of federal corruption charges, ending a trial that was the capstone of the government's efforts to expose the seamy culture of influence-peddling in Albany.

The verdict was a quick and unceremonious end for Mr. Silver, who, during his more than two decades as the State Assembly speaker, displayed a Teflon-like quality in deflecting questions about his outside income as well as calls for his ouster.

Mr. Silver, 71, a Manhattan Democrat, was convicted on all seven counts against him. The charges of honest services fraud, extortion and money laundering stemmed from schemes by which he obtained nearly \$4 million in exchange for using his position to help benefit a cancer researcher and two real estate developers.

The son of a hardware store owner on the Lower East Side, Mr. Silver was known as a poker-faced negotiator who often got his way during budget negotiations, sometimes by simply holding out the longest. At the same time, he was also a fierce defender of New York City in the state Capitol.

As a result of the conviction, he

Continued on Page A24



ROBERT STOLARIK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Sheldon Silver outside court on Monday after the verdict.

'Love' and Disbelief Follow Trump Meeting With Black Leaders

By **MICHAEL BARBARO and JOHN CORRALES**

It seemed like a powerful counterpoint to the perception of Donald Trump as intolerant: A hundred black ministers and religious leaders would endorse him at his offices in Manhattan, vouching for his sensitivity and broad-mindedness.

But within hours of the announcement a few days ago, furious backtracking, denials and finger-pointing were underway.

By Monday afternoon, the supposed declaration of support from a cross-section of African-Americans seemed to crumble as several pastors insisted they had never agreed to attend or back Mr. Trump. In the end, his political debut with black leaders was refashioned into a private meeting with a smaller group that played down talk of endorsements.

A few of those who showed up sounded uncomfortable. "It appears as if he's a possible racist based upon some of the things he said about black America," said Brehon Hall, a preacher from Toledo, Ohio, as he headed into the meeting at Trump Tower.



RICHARD PERRY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Donald J. Trump at Trump Tower on Monday, when he met a group of black religious leaders.

ledo, Ohio, as he headed into the meeting at Trump Tower.

The awkward evolution of the event highlights the perils of a haphazard-seeming campaign that revolves almost entirely around a giant personality.

But it also captures the degree

to which Mr. Trump, both the man and the candidate, has polarized African-Americans, a group he is now courting as he tries to shake accusations of bigotry. During the meeting on Monday, black ministers challenged Mr. Trump over his record, and

suggested he apologize for his incendiary language, according to those who attended.

In an interview afterward, Mr. Trump described "great love in the room" and a wide-ranging,

Continued on Page A17

I.M.F. Adds China's Currency To Elite Global Financial Club

By **KEITH BRADSHER**

HONG KONG — The Chinese renminbi was anointed as one of the world's elite currencies on Monday, a milestone decision by the International Monetary Fund that underscores the country's rising financial and economic heft.

The move will help pave the way for broader use of the renminbi in trade and finance, securing China's standing as a global economic power. Just four other currencies — the dollar, the euro, the pound and the yen — have the I.M.F. designation.

But the path to the I.M.F. designation, a bumpy process that

stretches back years, also introduced new uncertainty into China's economy and financial system.

To meet the I.M.F. requirements, China was forced to give up some of its tight control over the currency, culminating in the abrupt devaluation of the renminbi that shook global markets in August. The changes could inject fresh volatility into the country, at a time when its economy is already slowing.

The I.M.F. designation, an accounting unit known as the special drawing rights, bestows global

Continued on Page B6



NATIONAL A16-21

Squabble Over Ocean Treasure

Sunken riches, like coins from the Spanish galleon San José, above, have become tangled in legal quagmires as governments, the United Nations, marine archaeologists and commercial explorers make their claims. PAGE A16

Move to Tighten Visa Waivers

The White House announced changes to the government's visa-waiver program to try to stop those who have visited conflict zones from easily entering on commercial flights. PAGE A18

Charges in Shooting at Protest

A white man accused of shooting five Black Lives Matter protesters in Minneapolis identified with the anti-government "sovereign citizen" movement, a criminal complaint says. PAGE A16

INTERNATIONAL A4-15

Verdict in Palestinian's Killing

Two Jewish teenagers were found guilty of murder for their roles in the kidnapping and killing of a 16-year-old Palestinian who was beaten and then burned to death in a Jerusalem forest. PAGE A4

A Quandary for Israel

Israel's recent ban on an Islamic movement and its charities denies crucial social services to Arabs living in northern Israel, and many fear the move could foment militancy. PAGE A8

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Plan to Block Illicit Money

Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo is expected to propose rules for New York banks that aim to stop illicit money from flowing through Wall Street and into the hands of militants and criminals. PAGE B1

Silicon Valley Whodunit

The tech world is baffled by a satirical book, written anonymously, about a programmer's spiritual awakening. Who wrote it? That's the mystery. PAGE B1



ARTS C1-6

A More Modern 'Wiz'

"The Wiz," with Mary J. Blige, above, will be broadcast live on NBC before going to Broadway. It has a tweaked score and of-the-minute dance moves. PAGE C1

NEW YORK A22-25

Durst Sued by Former In-Laws

A \$100 million lawsuit contends that Robert Durst murdered his first wife, who disappeared in 1982. PAGE A22

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

David Brooks

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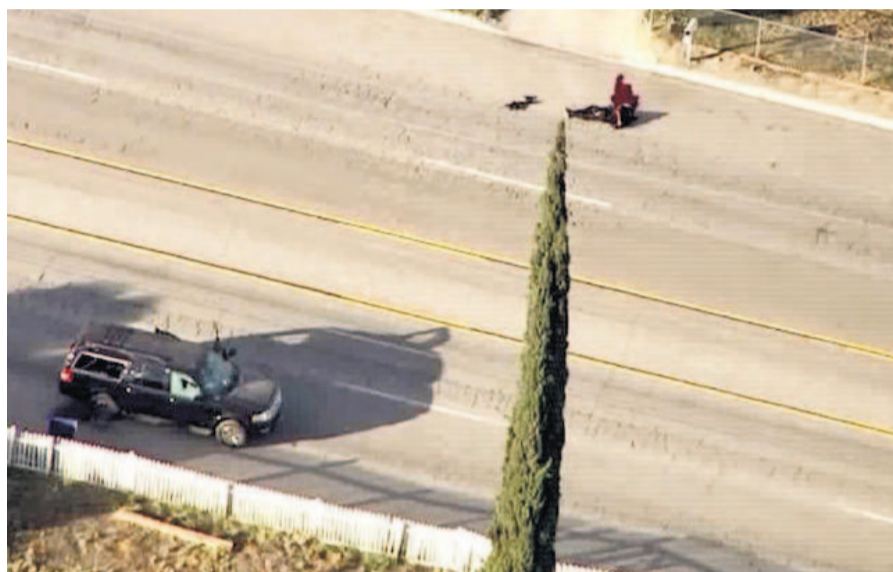


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SHOOTING RAMPAGE SOWS TERROR IN CALIFORNIA



TOP, NBCLA.COM, VIA REUTERS; BOTTOM LEFT, MONICA ALMEIDA/THE NEW YORK TIMES; BOTTOM RIGHT, KTLA

Clockwise from top left, survivors; a victim; a body near an S.U.V. said to be linked to the attack after a police shootout; a police sniper at the scene of the attack.

AT LEAST 14 KILLED

2 Suspects Are Dead — Motive Remains Undetermined

This article is by Adam Nagourney, Ian Lovett and Richard Pérez-Peña.

SAN BERNARDINO, Calif. — Heavily armed attackers terrorized this city on Wednesday, killing at least 14 people and wounding at least 17 at a social services center before leading the police on a manhunt culminating in a shootout that left two suspects dead and a possible third in custody.

Panic, chaos and rumor gripped this largely working-class community about 60 miles east of Los Angeles as the attackers carried out the nation's worst mass shooting since the assault on an elementary school in Newtown, Conn., nearly three years ago.

The shooting began around 11 a.m. at the Inland Regional Center, which provides services to the disabled, inside a building that was being used by the county health department for a holiday party. While shots rang out, others in the building cowered and hid, sending out texts. Chief Jarrod Burguan of the San Bernardino police said that most of the victims were found in one part of that building. He said the attackers also left an object that "is believed to be potentially an explosive device."

While the motive remained under investigation, two senior law enforcement officials identified one of the suspects as Syed Farook, an employee of the county health department.

As the suspects fled in a black sport utility vehicle, large parts of the city were paralyzed throughout the day. [Page A27.]

Residents were told to remain indoors, and government buildings, stores, offices and at least one school were either closed or put on lockdown. Yellow school buses filled with survivors of the shooting were escorted by police

Continued on Page A26

news accounts and are not official. Nonetheless, they give an indication of the widespread nature of such episodes. Since January, there have been at least 354 such cases in about 220 cities in 47 states, according to shootingtracker.com.

In November, six people were killed, five of them shot to death at a campsite in East Texas; 17 were wounded in a shootout as a crowd watched the filming of a music video in New Orleans; and four died, including twin 5-month-olds, in an episode of domestic violence in Jacksonville, Fla. So far this week, five people

Continued on Page A27

How Often Do Mass Shootings Occur? On Average, Every Day, Records Show

This article is by Sharon LaFraniere, Sarah Cohen and Richard J. O'Connell Jr.

More than one a day. That is how often, on average, shootings that left four or more people wounded or dead occurred in the United States this year, according to compilations of episodes derived from news reports.

Including the worst mass shooting of the year, which unfolded horrifically on Wednesday in San Bernardino, Calif., a total of 462 people have died and 1,314 have been wounded in such attacks this year, many of which occurred on streets or in

public settings, the databases indicate.

It is impossible to know whether the number of such shootings has risen in recent years because the databases go back only a couple of years. More data is available for mass shootings calculated by a different standard, one used by congressional researchers and other experts who study mass killings: four or more dead. But experts fiercely debate whether mass shootings by that more deadly standard have remained level or ticked up slightly in recent years.

Nonetheless, the stream of shootings this year — including an attack last week on a Planned Parenthood clinic in Colora-

Yet Experts Say the Number May Not Be Increasing

do that left three dead and a shooting in October at a community college in Oregon that left 10 dead, including the gunman — has intensified the debate over the accessibility of powerful firearms.

Two databases that track mass shootings that leave four or more dead or wounded — shootingtracker.com and gunviolencearchive.org — depend on

NATO Invitation to Montenegro Prompts Angry Russian Reaction

By STEVEN ERLANGER

LONDON — For the first time in six years, NATO on Wednesday invited a new member to join the military alliance, prompting a heated response from Russia and further underscoring escalating tensions between the Cold War adversaries.

The invitation, to tiny Montenegro, came nine years after the Balkan nation began the process of accession. But the timing of the offer came at a particularly delicate moment as the West is trying to persuade Russia to link forces to help defeat the Islamic State and end the civil war in Syria.

In Moscow, the offer to Montenegro — which has a population of about 600,000 and little military capacity — prompted fury and threats. Dmitri S. Peskov, the Kremlin spokesman, said that a NATO expansion would be met with unspecified retaliatory



JOHN THYS/A.F.P. — GETTY IMAGES
The NATO secretary general, Jens Stoltenberg, in Brussels.

measures from Russia.

"The continuing expansion of NATO and NATO's military infrastructure to the East, of course, cannot but lead to response actions from the East, namely the Russian side," Mr. Peskov said.

After attackers linked to the Islamic State killed 130 people in Paris on Nov. 13, President François Hollande of France flew to Washington and to Moscow in an effort to create a broader alliance

Continued on Page A14

Debate on Quarantine Persists As Ebola Outbreak Subsides

By SHERI FINK

On Oct. 15 last year, Laura Skrip, a Yale public health student, received a call from Connecticut health officials ordering her not to leave her one-bedroom apartment.

She and a fellow student, Ryan Boyko, had recently returned from Liberia, where they had been providing computer support to the country's Health Ministry. Now, Mr. Boyko was at Yale-New Haven Hospital with a fever, being tested for Ebola.

The results were negative. But for the next two weeks, the students, neither of whom had worked with Ebola patients, were quarantined alone in their apartments, with a police officer patrolling outside each building.

"I was a little in shock," Ms. Skrip said. "I was confused, like how am I going to eat?"

A friend dropped off supplies on the back steps, but when Ms.



CHRISTOPHER CAPOZZIELLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Laura Skrip tested negative but was quarantined anyway.

Skrip went to retrieve them, a frightened neighbor ran outside clutching a pillow and sheets, and another called for the police. For days, Ms. Skrip said, "I never received any paperwork, any formal explanation of what this quarantine was, or even what I could do to fight it."

The Ebola epidemic has subsided, but in the United States the fallout over how health care workers and their families were

Continued on Page A21

Once Embraced by Christie, State's Muslims Feel Betrayed

By ALEXANDER BURNS

The invitation arrived by email, bearing the seal of the State of New Jersey and the name of its new governor, Chris Christie. It asked a select group of Muslim leaders to break the daily Ramadan fast at Mr. Christie's home, and began with a traditional Muslim salutation.

"Assalamu Alaikum (Peace be with you)," the greeting, from summer 2010, read. "Wishing you a happy and blessed Ramadan."

With the gathering, at an evening meal known as Iftar, Mr. Christie opened what Muslim leaders recall as a period of exceptional warmth between the state's sizable Muslim community and a prominent Republican. The governor became a fierce defender of local Muslims, rebuking his party in forceful terms for its hostility to a proposed Islamic center in Manhattan, and denouncing what he called "the cra-



CHERYL SENTER/ASSOCIATED PRESS
Gov. Chris Christie of New Jersey, running for president.

zies" on the right for attacking a Muslim lawyer Mr. Christie had selected for a judgeship.

But as he campaigns for the Republican presidential nomination half a decade later, Mr. Christie's ties to Muslim leaders in New Jersey have grown deeply strained. The governor has recast himself as a relentless warrior against terrorism, with little patience for what he calls "politically correct" national security

Continued on Page A33

NATIONAL A20-27

House Clears No-Child Bill

The House approved a sweeping bill revising the No Child Left Behind law, representing the end of an era in which the federal government aggressively policed public school performance. The Senate is expected to pass it. PAGE A25

New Strategy on Detainees

The Obama administration is exploring steps to make shutting down the prison at Guantánamo Bay easier. PAGE A24

Carson's Support Falters

Doubts about Ben Carson's knowledge of the world have reversed his rise in the Republican primary race. PAGE A22

ARTS C1-10

No Front-Runners for Oscars

Last year, front-runners clogged the Oscar starting gate, but not this year, says the Carpetbagger. Not yet. PAGE C1

SPORTS THURSDAY B12-16

New Wave of FIFA Arrests

More than a dozen people were expected to be charged after pre-dawn raids in Zurich, nearly doubling the size of an already huge case that has upended FIFA, soccer's multibillion-dollar governing body. PAGE B12

INTERNATIONAL A4-17

Iran's Weapons Program

Iran was actively designing a nuclear weapon until 2009, more recently than the United States has acknowledged, according to a report by United Nations inspectors. PAGE A17

After Vote, Airstrikes in Syria

The British Parliament, after a day of often heated debate, authorized the government to carry out air attacks against the Islamic State. Hours later, warplanes were flying over Syria. PAGE A16

Together and Apart in Paris

A Paris street near sites recently attacked embodies the pluralism the terrorists hated. Critic's Notebook. PAGE A6

OBITUARIES B18-19

Samuel R. Berger Is Dead

A confidant of President Bill Clinton, Mr. Berger became his national security adviser during a period of fundamental transition in foreign policy. PAGE B18

NEW YORK A28-33

A Bright Beauty in Brooklyn

A male painted bunting, left, has drawn bird watchers to Brooklyn in the days since he was sighted in Prospect Park. The species, rarely seen in New York, is out of range as well as out of season. PAGE A28

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A34-35

Nicholas Kristof

PAGE A35



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The Victims The coroner's division of the San Bernardino County sheriff's office identified those who died on Wednesday.



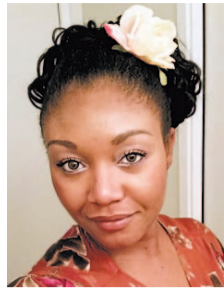
Robert Adams, 40
Yucaipa, Calif.



Bennetta Bet-Badal, 46
Rialto



Aurora Banales Godoy, 26
San Jacinto



Sierra Clayborn, 27
Moreno Valley



Shannon Johnson, 45
Los Angeles



Daniel Kaufman, 42
Rialto



Damian Meins, 58
Riverside



Tin Nguyen, 31
Santa Ana



Nicholas Thalasinis, 52
Colton



Yvette Velasco, 27
Fontana



Michael Wetzel, 37
Lake Arrowhead

MORE VICTIMS

- Isaac Amanios, 60**
Fontana
- Harry Bowman, 46**
Upland
- Juan Espinosa, 50**
Highland

Article, Page A24

Weapons in the San Bernardino Attack



Smith & Wesson M&P .223-caliber assault rifle



DPMS Panther Arms .223-caliber assault rifle

At the scene

- Suspects fired 65 to 75 rifle rounds.
- Wore black tactical vests.
- Were armed with two .223-caliber assault rifles, above.
- Left behind an explosive device made of three pipe bombs that did not detonate.
- Left behind four high-capacity rifle magazines.

At the townhouse

- More than 2,000 rounds for pistols.
- More than 2,500 rounds for assault rifles.
- Several hundred rounds for a .22-caliber rifle.
- 12 pipe bombs.
- Hundreds of tools and materials that could be used to construct bombs.
- Smokeless powder often found in bullets that could also be used in pipe bombs.

At the pursuit and shootout

- Suspects fired 76 rifle rounds.
- Over 1,400 .223-caliber rounds and 200 9-millimeter rounds with them and in the S.U.V.
- Officials also found two 9-millimeter semiautomatic pistols.

Source: San Bernardino Police Department
Note: Information on the precise version or year of manufacture of each gun is not available, so a version of the model is shown.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

ARMS STOCKPILE IS FOUND IN HOME OF TWO SUSPECTS

F.B.I. Investigating California Rampage as a Potential Act of Terrorism

This article is by *Jennifer Medina, Richard Pérez-Peña, Michael S. Schmidt and Laurie Goodstein.*

SAN BERNARDINO, Calif. — The couple who the police say killed 14 people and left 21 wounded here had stockpiled thousands of rounds of ammunition and a dozen homemade pipe bombs in their home, officials said Thursday, a sign that they might have been planning further attacks.

The F.B.I. is treating the Wednesday shooting as a potential terrorist act, though the agency is far from concluding that it was, two law enforcement officials said.

The suspects' extensive arsenal, their recent Middle East travel and evidence that one of them had been in touch with people with Islamist extremist views, both in the United States and abroad, all contributed to the decision to refocus the investigation. But officials emphasized that they did not know what set off the attack, and said that they were not ready to call it terrorism.

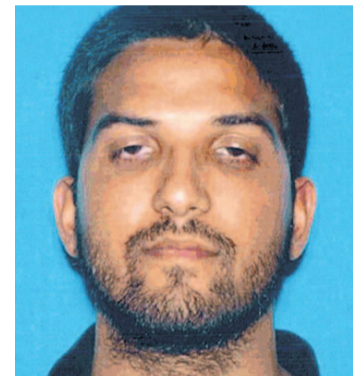
"We do not yet know the motive; we cannot rule anything out at this point," said David Bowdich, the assistant F.B.I. director in charge of the Los Angeles office, discussing the lethal attack at a training session and holiday party for county workers. "We

don't know if this was the intended target or there was something that triggered him to do this immediately."

The suspects, Syed Rizwan Farook, 28, and Tashfeen Malik, 27, fired as many as 150 bullets inside the Inland Regional Center and then in the shootout with the police that left the couple dead, officials said. On Thursday afternoon, the authorities released the names of the 14 victims, ranging in age from 26 to 60.

With the F.B.I. examining Mr. Farook's electronic devices, analysts and agents have found evidence that at least a day before the attacks, he began deleting data leading investigators to be-

Continued on Page A22



CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF MOTOR VEHICLES
Syed Rizwan Farook's travel and email are being looked at.

Fear in the Air, Americans Look Over Shoulders

By **N. R. KLEINFELD**

The killings are happening too often. Bunched too close together. At places you would never imagine.

As the long roll call of mass shootings added a prosaic holiday party in San Bernardino, Calif., to its list, a wide expanse of America's populace finds itself engulfed in a collective fear, a fear tinged with confusion and exasperation and a broad brew of emotions. The fear of the ordinary. Going to work. Eating a

meal in a restaurant. Sending children to school. Watching a movie.

Wendy Malloy, 49, who lives in Tampa, Fla., said she now worried about being caught in an attack on a daily basis, just doing what anyone does. "When my son gets out of the car in the morning and walks into his high school," she said. "When I drop him at his part-time job at a supermarket. When we go to the movies, concerts and festivals. When I walk into my office. It is a constant, grinding anxiety. And it gets louder every single day."

After all, a festive gathering of county health workers in San Bernardino would not seem likely to make the top million of a list of shooting targets. It was not an iconic symbol of American freedom or American muscle. It was not a target draped in ideological conflict.

If you were not safe there, where were you safe? A common office party. That was everywhere. That was everybody.

A complicated tangle of emotions has taken hold. For some, Continued on Page A26

A Couple Who Lived Quietly, Motives Unknown

This article is by *Adam Nagourney, Ian Lovett, Julie Turkelwitz and Benjamin Mueller.*

SAN BERNARDINO, Calif. — Syed Rizwan Farook and Tashfeen Malik met online and married two years ago, after he presented himself on a Muslim dating site as a devout young man who liked to fix cars and memorize the Quran. They registered at Target when Ms. Malik became pregnant, with a cheery newlyweds' catalog of wishes: a car seat, diapers and safety

swabs.

But for all the outward signs of suburban normality, this couple, according to the police, used their comfortable home in a middle-class community near here to stockpile weapons and build pipe bombs. And on Wednesday morning, they left their 6-month-old daughter with her grandmother before heading to a holiday party with Mr. Farook's co-workers where, the police say, they killed 14 people and wounded 21 others. A few hours later, they died in a crush of bullets in a brutal face-off with the police.

As investigators puzzle over their motives, the couple — the husband born in Illinois and raised in Southern California, the wife born in Pakistan and recently living in Saudi Arabia — have emerged as one of the most perplexing pairs in the recent

Continued on Page A23

STOKING DEBATE Killings escalate fights over gun control, immigration and religion. PAGE A25

A LABEL Americans debate when to call an act terrorism. PAGE A25

Scientists Call for Moratorium On Editing of Human Genome

By **NICHOLAS WADE**

An international group of scientists meeting in Washington called on Thursday for what would, in effect, be a moratorium on making inheritable changes to the human genome.

The group said it would be "irresponsible to proceed" until the risks could be better assessed and until there was "broad societal consensus about the appropriateness" of any proposed change. The group also held open the possibility for such work to proceed in the future by saying that as knowledge advances, the issue of making permanent changes to the human genome

"should be revisited on a regular basis."

The meeting was convened by the National Academy of Sciences of the United States, the Institute of Medicine, the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Royal Society of London. The academies have no regulatory power, but their moral authority on this issue seems very likely to be accepted by scientists in most or all countries. Similar restraints proposed in 1975 on an earlier form of gene manipulation by an international scientific meeting in California were ob-

Continued on Page A12

Pentagon Opens All Combat Roles to Women: 'No Exceptions'

By **MATTHEW ROSENBERG** and **DAVE PHILIPPS**

In a historic transformation of the American military, Defense Secretary Ashton B. Carter said on Thursday that the Pentagon would open all combat jobs to women.

"There will be no exceptions," Mr. Carter said at a news conference. He added, "They'll be allowed to drive tanks, fire mortars and lead infantry soldiers into combat. They'll be able to serve as Army Rangers and Green Berets, Navy SEALs, Marine Corps infantry, Air Force parajumpers and everything else that was previously open only to men."

The groundbreaking decision overturns a longstanding rule that had restricted women from



JOHN BAZEMORE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Two women, center, became the first female Rangers this year.

combat roles, even though women have often found themselves in combat in Iraq and Afghanistan over the past 14 years.

It is the latest in a long march

of inclusive steps by the military, including racial integration in 1948 and the lifting of the ban on gay men and lesbians serving openly in the military in 2011. The

decision this week will open about 220,000 military jobs to women.

The military faced a deadline set by the Obama administration three years ago to integrate women into all combat jobs by January or ask for specific exemptions. The Navy and Air Force have already opened almost all combat positions to women, and the Army has increasingly integrated its forces.

The announcement Thursday was a rebuke to the Marine Corps, which has a 93 percent male force dominated by infantry and a culture that still segregates recruits by gender for basic training. In September, the Marines requested an exemption for infantry and armor positions, citing

Continued on Page A26



NATIONAL A18-27

Mixed Verdict for Coal Baron

Donald L. Blankenship, above center, the former chief executive of Massey Energy, was convicted of conspiring to violate safety standards at a West Virginia mine where 29 miners died in 2010. But he was exonerated of three felony charges. PAGE A18

Trump and Carson Face Test

The foreign policy credentials of Donald Trump and Ben Carson were scrutinized further in speeches the candidates gave to a Republican Jewish group. PAGE A21

Tearful Turn at Officer's Trial

As the defense tries to shift blame, Baltimore's scars from the death of Freddie Gray burst into stark view. PAGE A18

INTERNATIONAL A3-17

Afghan Forces Under Scrutiny

Civilian deaths in home raids by C.I.A.-trained Afghan counterterrorism forces have increased tensions and revived concern over the units. PAGE A16

A Reversal for Oscar Pistorius

A South African appeals court ruled that the former Olympic athlete was guilty of murdering his girlfriend. PAGE A17

BUSINESS DAY B1-9

Europe Extends Stimulus Plan

The European Central Bank said it would buy bonds for another six months, but stock prices fell sharply as investors expected far more. PAGE B3

NEW YORK A28-32

New Ruling in Cannibal Case

An appellate panel ruled that "fantasizing about committing a crime," as Gilberto Valle had, was not illegal. PAGE A32

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A32-33

Paul Krugman

PAGE A33



SPORTSFRIDAY B13-18

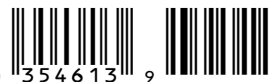
16 Charged as FIFA Case Grows

The corruption investigation that has rocked FIFA, soccer's worldwide governing body whose headquarters, above, are based in Zurich, expanded when 16 new defendants were charged after another raid by Swiss officials at a Zurich hotel. PAGE B13

MEN'S STYLE

The Mogul Next Door

Ryan Seacrest has quietly built a broadcast empire, and he's not done. PAGE D1



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F.B.I. IS TREATING RAMPAGE AS ACT OF TERRORISM

EDITORIAL

The Gun Epidemic

All decent people feel sorrow and righteous fury about the latest slaughter of innocents, in California. Law enforcement and intelligence agencies are searching for motivations, including the vital question of how the murderers might have been connected to international terrorism. That is right and proper.

But motives do not matter to the dead in California, nor did they in Colorado, Oregon, South Carolina, Virginia, Connecticut and far too many other places. The attention and anger of Americans also should be directed at the elected leaders whose job is to keep us safe but who place a higher premium on the money and political power of an industry dedicated to profiting from the unfettered spread of ever more powerful firearms.

It is a moral outrage and a national disgrace that people can legally purchase weapons designed specifically to kill with brutal speed and efficiency. These are weapons of war, barely modified and deliberately marketed as tools of macho vigilantism and even insurrection. America's elected leaders offer prayers for gun victims and then, callously and without fear of consequence, reject the most basic restrictions on weapons of mass killing, as they did on Thursday. They distract us with arguments about the word terrorism. Let's be clear: These spree killings are all, in their own ways, acts of terrorism.

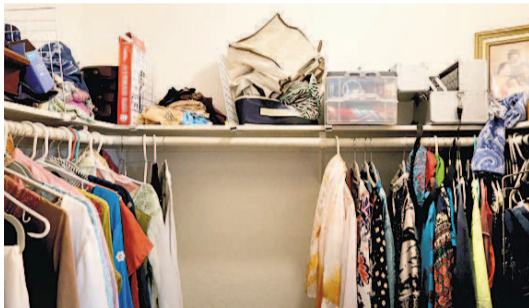
Opponents of gun control are saying, as they do after every killing, that no law can unfailingly forestall a specific criminal. That is true. They are talking, many with sincerity, about the constitutional challenges to effective gun regulation. Those challenges exist. They point out that determined killers obtained weapons illegally in places like France, England and Norway that have strict gun laws. Yes, they did.

But at least those countries are trying. The United States is not. Worse, politicians abet would-be killers by creating gun markets for them, and voters allow those politicians to keep their jobs. It is past time to stop talking about halting the spread of firearms, and instead to reduce their number drastically — eliminating some large categories of weapons and ammunition.

It is not necessary to debate the peculiar wording of the Second Amendment. No right is unlimited and immune from reasonable regulation.

Certain kinds of weapons, like the slightly modified combat rifles used in California, and certain kinds of ammunition must be outlawed for civilian ownership. It is possible to define those guns in a clear and effective way and, yes, it would require Americans who own those kinds of weapons to give them up for the good of their fellow citizens.

What better time than during a presidential election to show, at long last, that our nation has retained its sense of decency?



TOP AND BOTTOM RIGHT, JUSTIN SULLIVAN/GETTY IMAGES; BOTTOM LEFT, JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES
A HOME REVEALED Images of the residence of Syed Rizwan Farook and Tashfeen Malik in Redlands, Calif. Reporters and photographers crammed into the townhouse on Friday. Page A15.

NEW CLUES FOUND

Woman Said to Have Posted a Facebook Pledge to ISIS

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT and RICHARD PÉREZ-PEÑA

WASHINGTON — On the day she and her husband killed 14 people and wounded 21 others in San Bernardino, Calif., a woman pledged allegiance to the Islamic State in a Facebook post, officials said Friday, as the F.B.I. announced that it was treating the massacre as an act of terrorism.

"The investigation so far has developed indications of radicalization by the killers, and of potential inspiration by foreign terrorist organizations," the F.B.I. director, James B. Comey, said at a news conference here. But he said that investigators had not found evidence that the killers were part of a larger group or terrorist cell. The couple died in a shootout with the police on Wednesday.



Tashfeen Malik

"There's no indication that they are part of a network," he said.

The woman, Tashfeen Malik, declared allegiance to the Islamic State on Facebook at roughly the time of the shooting on Wednesday, according to a Facebook spokesman. At a news conference in San Bernardino, David Bowdich, the F.B.I. assistant director in charge of the Los Angeles office, said he was aware of the post, which was taken down by Facebook on Wednesday, but he would not elaborate.

"There's a number of pieces of

Continued on Page A14

AUSTRALIA'S ACTION The country has had no mass killings since a 1996 rampage spurred a tightening of gun laws. PAGE A16

ESCALATION OF HATE Muslims say they are experiencing a wave of threats. PAGE A17

Shootings in California Reshape the Campaigns

By MICHAEL BARBARO and TRIP GABRIEL

The Republican candidates for president angrily demanded on Friday that the United States face up to a new world war, one that has breached its borders, threatened the safety of Americans and brought the menace of Islamic terrorism deep into the homeland.

With striking unanimity, they accused President Obama and his fellow Democrats of shrinking from a long-overdue assault on the Islamic State and its frighteningly effective tools of global recruitment. Their aggression reflected the

Aggressive Warnings From Republicans on Terror Threat

degree to which the diffuse and chaotic campaign is being reordered as the threat of terrorism moves from the capitals of foreign lands to San Bernardino, Calif., a working class city outside Los Angeles. "Our nation is under siege," Gov. Chris Christie of New Jersey said at a cafe in rural Iowa. "What I believe we're facing is the next world war. This is what

we're in right now, already."

The rising tide of bellicosity gripped the Republican presidential field, as the initial restraint and calls for prayers that followed the shootings gave way to revelations that the massacre may have been inspired by the Islamic State.

Senator Ted Cruz of Texas seethed with disgust for Democrats, declaring, "This nation needs a wartime president."

"Whether or not the current administration realizes it, or is willing to acknowledge it," he added, "our enemies are at war with us."

Their language was almost

Continued on Page A17

D'Amato in Rare Role: Testifying Against Friend

By WILLIAM K. RASHBAUM and VIVIAN YEE

In his three terms as a United States senator from New York and his decades of influence as a Republican power broker, Alfonse M. D'Amato has seen and done just about everything.

Go undercover to buy two vials of crack cocaine in Washington Heights? Check. Shut down parts of the government while conducting a nearly 24-hour filibuster to protect financing for a Long Island interest? Been there, done that.

But Mr. D'Amato, 78, has seldom crossed the line that he did on Friday: Senator Pothole as a government witness, testifying against a fellow Republican and friend.

Mr. D'Amato took a star turn at the federal corruption trial of Dean G. Skelos, the former majority leader of the New York Senate, and his son, Adam B. Skelos, recounting on Friday how he decided to personally warn Senator Skelos that his son was often a no-show at work, in a position that prosecutors said he had gotten through his father. And when Adam Skelos did show up, his presence was disruptive.

Mr. D'Amato testified that he drove to meet with the state senator at his district office in Rockville Centre, on Long Island, in



BRYAN R. SMITH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Alfonse M. D'Amato on Friday after appearing at the trial of State Senator Dean G. Skelos and Adam B. Skelos in New York.

the hopes of helping Mr. Skelos "understand what was taking place, so that he might be able to remedy it, speak to his son."

Mr. D'Amato, who has long been a supporter of Mr. Skelos, has headed an influential lobbying firm since he left Congress in 1999. The firm, Park Strategies, had nearly \$8 million in billings in New York State in 2014, according to the Joint Commission on Public Ethics.

During his hour on the witness stand, Mr. D'Amato displayed a

mix of charm and command, answering questions in his familiar Long Island accent. His testimony centered on what prosecutors have called a no-show job for Adam Skelos, 33, at a medical malpractice insurance company that was represented by Park Strategies. A partner at the firm, Gregory V. Serio, who worked with the insurance company, Physicians' Reciprocal Insurers, told Mr. D'Amato in 2013 that Adam Skelos had been hired by

Continued on Page A20

Unusual Protest In Russia Hints At Deeper Ire

By NEIL MacFARQUHAR

MOSCOW — Hundreds of long-distance truckers blocked a lengthy section of the ring road circling the capital on Friday to protest a new national toll, in the first sign that Russia's economic woes might be eroding the broad support for President Vladimir V. Putin's government.

The direct object of their ire was Igor Rotenberg, the scion of a billionaire oligarch clan close to Mr. Putin, who owns half of a new, GPS-based system that, when fully operational, will charge truckers fees on all federal highways.

Their larger anger, however, was reserved for what they called the government's failure to alleviate the devastating effects of inflation and recession over the past year, prompted by the steep drop in oil prices, sanctions the West imposed over Ukraine and retaliatory sanctions the Kremlin imposed on Western food imports.

"There is no economic program at all — where is all the money?" said Vladimir Romanov, 65, the part-owner of a small

Continued on Page A10

Beijing's Rival to World Bank Moves Forward Without U.S.

By JANE PERLEZ

BEIJING — As top leaders met at a lush Bali resort in October 2013, President Xi Jinping of China described his vision for a new multinational, multibillion-dollar bank to finance roads, rails and

THE CHINA FACTOR

Aspirations in Finance

power grids across Asia. Under Chinese stewardship, the bank would tackle the slow development in poor countries that was holding the region back from becoming the wealth center of the world.

Afterward, the United States secretary of state, John Kerry, caught up with Mr. Xi in the corridor. "That's a great idea," Mr. Kerry said of the bank, according to Chinese and American aides briefed on the encounter.

The enthusiasm didn't last long, as the Obama administration began a rear-guard battle to minimize the bank's influence.

The United States worries that China will use the bank to set the global economic agenda on its own terms, forgoing the environmental protections, human



ALEXANDER ZEMLIANICHENKO/A.P.

President Xi Jinping wants to expand Beijing's global role.

rights, anticorruption measures and other governance standards long promoted by its Western counterparts. American officials point to China's existing record of loans to unstable governments, construction deals for unnecessary infrastructure, and villagers abruptly uprooted with little compensation.

But the administration suffered a humiliating diplomatic defeat last spring when most of

Continued on Page B6



NEW YORK A19-21

New Rikers Guards Bring Hope

New York City officials are looking to a new wave of correction officers to help clear out a culture of brutality. PAGE A19

Hospital Sheds a Famous Name

A New York hospital formed in 1869 will no longer include Roosevelt in its name. It is now Mount Sinai West. PAGE A19

INTERNATIONAL A3-10

Venezuelans Prepare to Vote

Economic woes are souring many voters on President Nicolás Maduro's government and lifting the opposition's chances in elections on Sunday. PAGE A9

U.S.-Cuba Talks Are Planned

Next week, Cuba and the United States will discuss American claims for assets seized in the Cuban revolution. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A12-18

Evangelicals Hesitant on Rubio

Some potential supporters are troubled by Marco Rubio's backing by a major donor to gay rights causes. PAGE A18

BUSINESS DAY B1-9

Jobs Report Lifts Uncertainty

The United States economy added 211,000 jobs in November, all but guaranteeing that policy makers at the Fed will increase interest rates. PAGE B1

OPEC Vows to Churn Away

OPEC said it would keep producing oil at high levels, even as world leaders discuss how to rely less on oil. PAGE B1

SPORTSSATURDAY B10-15

The Rights of Coaches

A firing at Purdue raises questions about whether coaches can support athletes' rights, Joe Nocera writes. PAGE B10



ARTS C1-8

Troupe Shifts Direction

Under Benjamin Millepied, the Paris Opera Ballet, above, seems to have found a fresh style. A review. PAGE C1

A Commanding Lion

David Alan Grier's character was a highlight of "The Wiz Live!" on NBC. A Critic's Notebook. PAGE C1

TRAVEL

The Footlights of London

Theater isn't necessarily better in London than it is in New York, but its distinct pleasures and surprises can be thrilling, not least all of the acting royalty. Judi Dench and Kenneth Branagh are rarities in New York, and they alone are worth the price of admission to "The Winter's Tale." THIS WEEKEND

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Gail Collins

PAGE A23



0 354613 9



A building in Beijing with a giant screen was obscured Tuesday by smog that prompted officials to issue the highest possible alert.

Smog So Thick, Beijing Comes To a Standstill

By EDWARD WONG

BEIJING — Residents across this city awoke to an environmental state of emergency on Tuesday as poisonous air quality prompted the government to close schools, force motorists off the road and shut down factories.

The government, which for the first time declared a "red alert" over air pollution late Monday, even broadcast what sounded like bombing raid alerts in the subways — warnings telling people to take precautions with their health. Yet even with those extraordinary measures, the toxic air grew worse, shrouding this capital city of more than 20 million in a soupy, metallic haze.

By 4 p.m., walking the dim streets was like strolling through a coal mine. The municipal air quality index read 308, rated "hazardous" by United States standards — a level at which people should not set foot outdoors. Because of industrial coal burning, Chinese cities regularly have air of that quality, among the world's worst.

For many residents, the red alert — used for the first time since an emergency plan for pollution was unveiled two years ago — underscored the devil's handshake that China has made in recent years: the trading of a healthy living environment for breakneck economic growth. Now, as Communist Party lead-

Continued on Page A20

Online Embrace From ISIS, a Few Clicks Away

This article is by Scott Shane, Matt Apuzzo and Eric Schmitt.

WASHINGTON — When a lonely Virginia teenager named Ali Amin got curious about the Islamic State last year and went online to learn more, he found a virtual community awaiting. It had its own peculiar language, stirring imagery and just the warm camaraderie, sense of adventure and devotion to a cause that were missing from his dull suburban life.

At 17, the precocious son of a Yemeni immigrant family, he

STATE OF TERROR

Lured on Social Media

quickly developed online relationships with older Islamic State supporters around the globe. There was Zubair in Britain, Uthman in South Africa and Abdullah in Finland, who urged him to start a Twitter account under the name AmreekiWitness, or American witness. Mr. Amin drew several thousand followers, sparred online with the State Department, engaged with prominent Islamic State propagandists and

developed quite a name among English-speaking fans of the militants — until his arrest in March.

"For the first time, I felt I was not only being taken seriously about very important and weighty topics, but was actually being asked for guidance," Mr. Amin wrote in August to the judge overseeing his case, expressing regret for what he portrayed as a disastrous youthful mistake. "By assimilating into the Internet world instead of the real world, I became absorbed in a 'virtual' struggle while discon-

Continued on Page A16



CHARLES PLATTAU/REUTERS

Tribute at the Bataclan

Jesse Hughes, right, and Julian Dorio of Eagles of Death Metal in Paris on Tuesday. Page A8.

Few Wins but Much Chaos at Rutgers After Move to the Big Ten

By KATE ZERNIKE

It has been hard to pass a highway or a tollbooth in New Jersey over the past three years without a billboard declaring "Rutgers Is Big."

Big as in Big Ten, the powerful college sports conference that

the state university joined in 2014 on the promise that it would vault Rutgers into big-time academics as well as athletics. With televised games beaming into millions of homes across the country, Rutgers could draw top students and top athletes, rake in revenue to make up for money the state had cut and finally

achieve the prestige that the faculty and alumni have long thought it deserved.

So far, though, Big has mostly meant big headaches.

The big payday has yet to arrive. When boosters pushed to fire the football coach after a bad season two years ago, the university could not afford to buy

him out, a member of a Rutgers governing board said.

Last week, the coach finally wore out his welcome after a terrible season on field and off. Six players were dismissed after they were arrested in a series of home invasions and an off-campus assault. Another had been

Continued on Page A32



BUSINESS DAY B1-9

Pain Grows From Falling Prices

The toll from slumping commodity prices deepened with sharp cutbacks and layoffs at Anglo American, a global mining giant. Data from China pointed to a continued falloff in demand. Above, a copper mine in Chile. PAGE B1

Dow and DuPont Talk Merger

Dow Chemical and DuPont are said to be in merger talks, a complex deal that would be followed by a three-way breakup of the combined company. PAGE B1

NEW YORK A29-33

A Senator's Son Ever in Need

State Senator Dean G. Skelos mentioned the financial needs of his son, Adam, alongside matters of state business. About New York. PAGE A29

INTERNATIONAL A3-22

Mixed Signals on Ukraine

Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s recent appeal to Ukraine to curb corruption was not helped by his son's ties to a Ukrainian company accused of having "illicit assets." PAGE A22

FOOD D1-14

Memories With Enduring Zest

Food may be temporary, but for the chef and writer Jacques Pépin, it is the basis for life-shaping experiences. PAGE D1

ARTS C1-8

'South Park' in Era of Outrage

This season, the Comedy Central satire has sketched a grand, if messy, unified theory of anger, inequality and disillusionment in America. PAGE C1



OBITUARIES B14-15

Doug Tompkins, Outdoorsman

The businessman and conservationist, who helped found the clothing brands North Face and Esprit, died from hypothermia after a kayaking accident in Chile. He was 72. PAGE B14



A Once-Snubbed War Hero

Tibor Rubin's Medal of Honor recognition was delayed for decades because he was Jewish, but he received the medal at 76. He died at 86. PAGE B15

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A34-35

Thomas L. Friedman

PAGE A35



World Reaction To a Proposal: Befuddlement

Trump Is Condemned in Many Languages

By DAN BILEFSKY

LONDON — A day after Donald J. Trump called for a ban on the entry of Muslims into the United States, much of the rest of the world looked at the American presidential election on Tuesday with a mix of befuddlement and despair.

How is it, many wondered, that the same nation that twice put the black son of a Kenyan in the White House could now be flirting with Mr. Trump and his divisive, exclusionary stances?

His remarks ignited widespread condemnation that crossed ideological and social lines in many countries.

In Britain, Prime Minister David Cameron, of the Conservative Party, dismissed Mr. Trump's position as "divisive, unhelpful and quite simply wrong."

Prime Minister Manuel Valls of France, which is still reeling from deadly attacks by Islamic extremists, wrote on Twitter: "Mr. Trump, like others, fuels hatred," and "Our only enemy is radical Islamism."

Responding to some of the blistering criticism on Tuesday, Mr. Trump, a Republican presidential candidate, steadfastly defended his proposal but said any ban would be temporary and would not apply to United States citizens.

His comments were widely shared on social media throughout the Arab world. In a region racked by conflict, his language had an impact, including in Egypt, where he was condemned by the country's highest religious authority and by many others, who called him an Islamaphobe, a racist or, as Reem Khorshid, a 21-year-old engineering student and blogger, put it, "a madman who has no sense at all."

Rachid Tlemcani, a professor of political science at the University of Algiers, warned that Mr. Trump could push young people toward the Islamic State.

"A lot of people in the Middle East think of the United States as the last place we can go if things turn really bad, as it is the place of freedom and liberty," Mr. Tlemcani said. "I think that sort of comment could even invite

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TRUMP DEFLECTS WITHERING FIRE ON MUSLIM PLAN

INVOKES WORLD WAR II

Praise on Far Right, but Wide Criticism From Republicans

By MAGGIE HABERMAN

Repudiated across much of the political spectrum but defended on conservative talk radio, Donald J. Trump on Tuesday stood by his call to block all Muslims from entering the United States. He cast it as a temporary move in response to terrorism and invoked President Franklin D. Roosevelt's authorization of the detention of Japanese, German and Italian immigrants during World War II as precedent.

Critics including both the House speaker, Paul D. Ryan, a Republican, and the Senate minority leader, Harry Reid, a Democrat, assailed Mr. Trump's proposal as self-defeating and un-American.

"Tell Donald Trump: Hate is not an American value," Hillary Clinton wrote on Twitter. The "super PAC" supporting Jeb Bush, the former Florida governor, unveiled its first ad attacking Mr. Trump, and the White House said Mr. Trump had disqualified himself from serving as president.

But the castigation was far from unanimous: Mr. Trump was applauded by some conservative commentators, who said he reflected the electorate's views more honestly than the party's leaders. "Anyone who thinks @realDonaldTrump comments will hurt him don't know the temperature of the American ppl," the radio host Laura Ingraham

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MIC SMITH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Donald J. Trump

Potential Power Shift as Court Weighs 'One Person One Vote'

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — A closely divided Supreme Court on Tuesday struggled to decide "what kind of democracy people wanted," as Justice Stephen G. Breyer put it during an argument over the meaning of the constitutional principle of "one person one vote."

The court's decision in the case, expected by June, has the potential to shift political power from urban areas to rural ones, a move that would provide a big boost to Republican voters in state legislative races in large parts of the nation.

The basic question in the case, Evenwel v. Abbott, No. 14-940, is

who must be counted in creating voting districts: all residents or just eligible voters? Right now, all states and most localities count everyone.

The difference matters because people who are not eligible to vote — children, immigrants here legally who are not citizens, unauthorized immigrants, people disenfranchised for committing felonies, prisoners — are not spread evenly across the country. With the exception of prisoners, they tend to be concentrated in urban areas.

Their presence amplifies the voting power of eligible voters in

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NATIONS APPROVE LANDMARK CLIMATE DEAL



CHRISTOPHE PETIT TESSON/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

Negotiators of a climate pact achieved what had been unreachable for two decades: agreement from rich and poor countries alike.

In France, Consensus on a Need to Lower Carbon Emissions

By CORAL DAVENPORT

LE BOURGET, France — With the sudden bang of a gavel Saturday night, representatives of 195 nations reached a landmark accord that will, for the first time, commit nearly every country to lowering planet-warming greenhouse gas emissions to help stave off the most drastic effects of climate change.

The deal, which was met with an eruption of cheers and ovations from thousands of delegates gathered from around the world, represents a historic breakthrough on an issue that has foiled decades of international efforts to address climate change.

Traditionally, such pacts have required developed economies like the United States to take action to lower greenhouse gas emissions, but they have exempted developing countries like China and India from such obligations.

The accord, which United Nations diplomats have been working toward for nine years, changes that dynamic by requiring action in some form from every country, rich or poor.

"This is truly a historic moment," the United Nations secretary general, Ban Ki-moon, said in an interview. "For the first time, we have a truly universal agreement on climate change, one of the most crucial problems on earth."

President Obama, who regards tackling climate change as a central element of his legacy, spoke of the deal in a televised address from the White House. "This agreement sends a powerful signal that the world is fully committed to a low-carbon future," he said. "We've shown that the world has both the will and the ability to take on this challenge."

Scientists and leaders said the talks here represented the world's last, best hope of striking a deal that would begin to avert the most devastating effects of a warming planet.

Mr. Ban said there was "no

Plan B" if the deal fell apart. The Eiffel Tower was illuminated with that phrase Friday night.

The new deal will not, on its own, solve global warming. At best, scientists who have analyzed it say, it will cut global greenhouse gas emissions by about half enough as is necessary

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Healing Step, If Not a Cure

An Accord Recognizes Its Own Shortcomings

By JUSTIN GILLIS

LE BOURGET, France — After the stomping and cheering died down, and the hugs and toasts ended, a question hung in the air as the climate conference came to a close: What does the new deal really mean for the future of the Earth?

Scientists who closely monitored the talks here said it was not the agreement that humanity really needed. By itself, it will not save the planet.

The great ice sheets remain imperiled, the oceans are still rising, forests and reefs are under stress, people are dying by tens of thousands in heat waves and floods, and the agriculture system that feeds seven billion human beings is still at risk.

And yet 50 years after the first warning about global warming was put on the desk of an American president, and quickly forgotten, the political system of the world is finally responding in a way that scientists see as commensurate with the scale of the

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Visa Screening Missed an Attacker's Zealotry on Social Media

This article is by Matt Apuzzo, Michael S. Schmidt and Julia Preston.

WASHINGTON — Tashfeen Malik, who with her husband carried out the massacre in San Bernardino, Calif., passed three background checks by American immigration officials as she moved to the United States from Pakistan. None uncovered what Ms. Malik had made little effort to hide — that she talked openly

on social media about her views on violent jihad.

She said she supported it. And she said she wanted to be a part of it.

American law enforcement officials said they recently discovered those old — and previously unreported — postings as they pieced together the lives of Ms. Malik and her husband, Syed Rizwan Farook, trying to understand how they pulled off the deadliest terrorist attack on American soil

since Sept. 11, 2001.

Had the authorities found the posts years ago, they might have kept her out of the country. But immigration officials do not routinely review social media as part of their background checks, and there is a debate inside the Department of Homeland Security over whether it is even appropriate to do so.

The discovery of the old social media posts has exposed a significant — and perhaps inevitable —

shortcoming in how foreigners are screened when they enter the United States, particularly as people everywhere disclose more about themselves online. Tens of millions of people are cleared each year to come to this country to work, visit or live. It is impossible to conduct an exhaustive investigation and scour the social media accounts of each of them, law enforcement officials say.

In the aftermath of terrorist at-

Continued on Page 36

'A Whole New Being'

How Cricket Nimmons Seized the Transgender Moment

By DEBORAH SONTAG

PERCHED on a gurney at dawn, Cricket Jerná Nimmons, 40, kicked her feet giddily, like a girl on the edge of a pool, preparing to take a plunge. She wore a hospital gown and purple socks with paw prints. Her face was clean-scrubbed — "no lash, no makeup, just me" — and she looked at peace.

"So, this is it," she said, exhaling theatrically, which is her way.

A Brooklynite by way of South Carolina and Georgia, Ms. Nimmons was ticking down the minutes, as she had ticked down the months, until she would be wheeled into an operating room for gender reassignment surgery. It was a moment she had long dreamed about but considered out of reach, a shimmer at the edge of her field of vision.

Now, though, societal attitudes toward "transgenderalism," as Ms. Nimmons calls it, were shifting so rapidly that many health plans were overturning their long-held exclusions of transition-related care. Even public insurers were approving surgical procedures that, until



TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Cricket Nimmons on her way to Philadelphia to see a specialist in gender reassignment surgery.

recently, were accessible only to those who could pay out of pocket, despite medical consensus about their safety and efficacy.

Seizing the opportunity, Ms. Nimmons was about to become one of the first low-income New Yorkers to undergo a genital reconstruction

paid for by Medicaid. In a few hours, if all went well, her body would be aligned with her identity for the first time, and she would no longer be "a chick with a wiener," in her words, but "a woman in mind, body and soul, before the Lord and before the law."

Peering under the sheet that draped her that early October morn-

Continued on Page 26

Historic Aspect of Clinton's Bid Divides Women by Generation

By AMY CHOZICK and YAMICHE ALCINDOR

Barbara Schierenbeck, a 59-year-old nurse in Brooklyn, is swept up in the excitement of potentially electing Hillary Clinton the first female president. She cannot understand why her 19-year-old daughter, Anna, does not feel the same way.

"Fifteen or 20 years ago, no one would even think about a woman being president," Mrs. Schierenbeck said. "Certainly, when I was 20 years old in the 1970s, I don't think I would even have thought about it."

But for her daughter, electing a woman, while a nice idea, is not a motivating factor. "I want to see someone who, like, has the fervor to fight for me," Anna Schierenbeck said. A woman will be elected president "pretty soon" anyway, she said, regardless of what happens in 2016. Why does that woman have to be Mrs. Clinton?

The mother-daughter debate unfolding in the Schierenbeck household reflects a debate taking place across the country, as women of varying ages and backgrounds confront the potential

Continued on Page 22

Great Performers

The year's best actors — as chosen by A.O. Scott — defy gravity in photos, videos and a virtual-reality film. Right, Michael Fassbender of "Steve Jobs." The Magazine.



DANIEL ASKILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

INTERNATIONAL 4-17

Haitian Migrants in Limbo

Nearly 3,000 migrants have poured into makeshift camps in Haiti from the Dominican Republic, fleeing threats of violence and deportation. PAGE 12

NATIONAL 18-41

Ryan Urges 'Inclusive' Agenda

Speaker Paul D. Ryan said Congress must confront polarizing populism in the Republican presidential race by promoting an "inclusive" agenda. PAGE 18

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Bailed Out, but Kept on Leash

Since their rescues in 2008, the mortgage companies Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac have faced harsher penalties than Wall Street banks. PAGE 1

SPORTSSUNDAY

Henry Wins Heisman (Replica)

Alabama's Derrick Henry won the Heisman Trophy, but the one he was given is one of several copies; the original statue is kept in an undisclosed location. PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Frank Bruni

PAGE 3



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Clinton's Focus In 3rd Debate Is G.O.P. Field

Parrying Democrats, Swinging at Trump

By JONATHAN MARTIN
and AMY CHOZICK

Hillary Clinton largely looked past her Democratic rivals in Saturday night's debate, instead repeatedly assailing the Republican field, led by Donald J. Trump. She called Mr. Trump a threat to the nation's safety, saying he was fast "becoming ISIS' best recruiter."

Deflecting persistent attacks from Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont and former Gov. Martin O'Malley of Maryland over gun control, Wall Street and foreign military entanglements, she accused Mr. Trump of undermining the fight against terrorism.

Mrs. Clinton, the former secretary of state, sought to frame next year's election as a choice between her clear-eyed approach to national security and the recklessness of Republicans who have demonized Muslims since the recent attacks on Paris and San Bernardino, Calif.

"I worry greatly that the rhetoric coming from the Republicans, particularly Donald Trump, is sending a message to Muslims here in the United States, and literally around the world, that there is a clash of civilizations," she said, "that there is some kind of Western plot or even war against Islam, which then, I believe, fans the flames of radicalization."

Mrs. Clinton defended herself forcefully when she came under assault from Mr. Sanders and Mr. O'Malley. [News Analysis, Page 32.]

But from her opening statement on, she took every opportunity — and even created some — to ignore her adversaries onstage and go after what she suggested

Continued on Page 32

Strong in Polls, Yet Trump Lags On the Ground

By TRIP GABRIEL

DES MOINES — Donald J. Trump has dominated much of this political season, excited an often-ignored part of the electorate, filled huge arenas with followers and upended the rules of how modern campaigns are run.

But now he faces an urgent question: Can he actually win crucial early contest states?

Translating a personality-driven campaign to the voting booth is no easy feat, especially for a candidate who has never run before.

But here in the state with the first nominating contest, about six weeks away, Mr. Trump has fallen behind in the nuts and bolts of organizing. A loss in Iowa for Mr. Trump, where he has devoted the most resources of his campaign, could imperil his leads in the next two nominating states, New Hampshire and South Carolina, where his get-out-the-vote organizations are even less robust.

A successful ground game is crucial in Iowa because of the state's complicated method of caucus voting, but the Trump campaign has lagged in reaching some of its own benchmarks.

Mr. Trump's Iowa director pre-
Continued on Page 31



GILLES SABRIÉ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Rodeo With Political Force

Tibetan riders at a horse festival in July. Chinese officials stage such events to signal that Tibetan culture is thriving. Page 12.

Cuba-U.S. Ties Being Strained As Doctors Flee

By VICTORIA BURNETT
and FRANCES ROBLES

As he came of age in Cuba, José Angel Sánchez enrolled in medical school for the usual reasons: to help the sick and to make a better living than most in his destitute eastern town. But he had another motive, too.

"It was also a way out of Cuba," said Dr. Sánchez, 29, who moved to the United States in September, four years after he graduated as a general practitioner.

Dr. Sánchez's escape route was set up by the United States government, under a 2006 program that offers American residency to Cuban medical workers posted overseas. It is a door through which thousands of Cuban health workers have emigrated — and one that President Raúl Castro is determined to close.

One year after Cuba and the United States announced their thaw, policies like this, which hail from a more hostile era, show that diplomacy after five decades of tensions will not be as easy as the raising of embassy flags. The number of Cuban medical professionals who defected for residency in the United States reached a record this year, putting a crimp in the newly restored relations

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Puerto Rico's Pricy Struggle

Wealthy Investors Squeeze a Cash-Starved Island

By JONATHAN MAHLER
and NICHOLAS CONFESSORE

The money poured in by the millions, then by the hundreds of millions, and finally by the billions. Over weak coffee in a conference room in Midtown Manhattan last year, a half-dozen Puerto Rican officials exhaled: Their cash-starved island had persuaded some of

BUYING POWER

The Big Bet

the country's biggest hedge funds to lend them more than \$3 billion to keep the government afloat.

There were plenty of reasons for the hedge funds to like the deal: They would be earning, in effect, a 20 percent return. And under the island's Constitution, Puerto Rico was required to pay back its debt before almost any other bills, whether for retirees' health care or teachers' salaries.

But within months, Puerto Rico was saying it had run out of money, and the relationship between the impoverished United States territory and its

Continued on Page 30



PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTOPHER GREGORY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Above, a view of Juan Ponce de Leon Avenue in San Juan. Below, a contrasting glimpse of the Condado district, which has had an influx of wealth tied to generous tax breaks.



KURT MASUR, 1927-2015

Outsider Who Restored Luster to the New York Philharmonic

By MARGALIT FOX

Kurt Masur, the music director emeritus of the New York Philharmonic, who was credited with transforming the orchestra from a sullen, lackluster ensemble into one of luminous renown, died on Saturday in Greenwich, Conn. He was 88.

The death, from complications of Parkinson's disease, was announced by the Philharmonic, which said it would dedicate its Saturday night performance of Handel's "Messiah" to Mr.

Masur's memory.

Mr. Masur (pronounced mah-ZOOR) was the Philharmonic's music director from 1991 to 2002. When he took its helm, the orchestra was roundly considered to be a world-class ensemble in name only, its playing grown slipshod, its players fractious and discontented, its recording contracts unrenewed.

His immediate predecessors — Pierre Boulez, with his cool, cerebral approach and focus on contemporary works, and Zubin Mehta, seen as purveying flash

and dazzle at the expense of deep musical meaning — were held more than partly responsible for the artistic decline that had followed the epochal reign of Leonard Bernstein, the Philharmonic's music director from 1958 to 1969.

The selection of Mr. Masur to lead the Philharmonic astounded nearly everyone in classical music circles. A specialist in the music of Central European composers — notably Beethoven, Brahms, Mendelssohn, Mahler and Bruckner — he had built a re-

spectable if not scintillating career amid the musical and political repressions of East Germany.

The longtime Kapellmeister of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra, Mr. Masur was known as a faithful — some would say stolid — interpreter who seemed to have neither immense musical charisma nor intense interest in works outside the canonical repertory. (Kapellmeister, literally meaning "master of the chapel," designates a post that in German-speaking countries is rough-

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INTERNATIONAL 6-18

Big Dreams Fill Spanish Town

Spain's most popular lottery ticket office is in a village whose name means luck, attracting thousands of players hoping to win a huge Christmas jackpot. PAGE 6

NATIONAL 22-36

Support for Assault-Style Guns

Mass killings and the gun control debate have done little to stem the popularity of the AR-15-style rifle, the country's best-selling long gun. PAGE 22

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Oscar Gold, Financial Blues

Feeling pressure from investors, the movie moguls Harvey and Bob Weinstein are working to raise cash without losing their arty aesthetic. PAGE 1

SPORTSSUNDAY

Women's Hockey in Peril

Concussions have kept some of hockey's best female players off the ice for long stretches as the sport struggles to address the problem. PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Nicholas Kristof

PAGE 1



Pay almost anywhere you can swipe or tap your card.