

The Living Newspaper Workshop Script
Liz Magic Laser

The Living Newspaper was originally a form of agitprop street theater developed in early Soviet Russia. Its goal was to spread the news to the general population, which was largely illiterate at the time. The idea of a living newspaper was later imported to the Broadway stage during the Great Depression as part of the Federal Theatre Project. The American version was more of a performed essay about topics like the history of labor rights in the US. More recently other theater practitioners such as the Brazilian director Augusto Boal have taken up the concept of a living newspaper. I've been drawing on all these historic incarnations of the living newspaper to do my own performances and workshops on the street, in schools, theaters and art spaces.

So I'd like to try doing an activity with you that has grown out of this series of performances. I'm going to just jump right into it by asking you a few questions...

1. (*Prime participant, get him / her comfortable*)
What's your name? Where are you from? What do you do?

2. (*Objective is to elicit empathy with the protagonist of the chosen news story*)
So, _____, have you ever _____?

Example:
(*Elicit empathy with Obama for supporting NSA surveillance of American citizens even though he used to criticize such spying*)
Have you ever changed your mind about something and gotten flak for it?

3. When was the last time you felt your privacy was invaded?

4. Have you ever invaded someone else's privacy?

5. (*Restage news photo; instruct participant to channel the experience they just told you about and to put themselves in the shoes of the protagonist in the news story*)
Now, I'd like to take a photo of you posing just like Obama is in today's paper. I'd like you to take that feeling you just described when... (*refer to the anecdote you elicited in response to question #2*) and put it into the pose. Once you see the photo projected all you have to do is recreate it: face the same way the figure is facing etc. I'm here to help you find your pose. So, _____ you are clearly not Obama but you understand something about his situation. You know people like him. Now I want you to stay in the pose, put your feeling into it, and say aloud, "I am like him, I am thus." Now keep that feeling in...hold that... Now hold that position while I take a few photos.

**ON WALL STREET,
THE RISING COST
OF FASTER TRADES****RETURN IS DIMINISHING****As Benefits to Investors
Tail Off, Instability
and Risk Increase**

By NATHANIEL POPPER

For several years, the Wall Street wizards who built a faster, more fragmented stock market justified their creation by pointing to the benefits it yielded for investors in the form of lower trading costs.

But as the speed and complexity of the markets have continued to change at a rapid pace — with trade times now measured in millionths of a second — a growing number of studies and market participants suggest that those benefits to investors have stalled or even started to reverse.

Research from the broker Abel/Noser indicates that the total cost for an investor to get into and out of a single share of stock fell by more than half between 2000 and 2010, to 3.5 cents. Since then, though, the cost has leveled off and then ticked up in the most recent quarter to 3.8 cents, confirming a trend that has also been visible in recent data from Credit Suisse Trading Strategy and from Celent, a consulting firm specializing in financial markets.

The advantages of the nation's increasingly high-speed stock market are under the microscope after a number of recent trading malfunctions underscored the risks and instability that have come with the rapid changes. This month, one of Wall Street's most important trading firms, Knight Capital, lost \$440 million in 45 minutes after installing faulty software designed to keep up with an evolving market.

As the battle to introduce more sophisticated technology continues, raising the specter of more problems like Knight's, the diminishing returns flowing back to investors are making even longtime proponents of innovation question whether the competition to make the market faster and more efficient is now doing more harm than good.

"They've reached the point Continued on Page A3



Representative Paul D. Ryan, the Republican vice-presidential choice, campaigning Monday at the Iowa State Fair.

Scrutiny for Casino Mogul's Frontman in China

This article is by Michael Luo, Neil Gough and Edward Wong.

When Sheldon Adelson, the casino magnate, needed something done in China, he often turned to his company's "chief Beijing representative," a mysterious businessman named Yang Saixin.

Mr. Yang arranged meetings for Mr. Adelson with senior Chinese officials, acted as a frontman on several ambitious projects for Mr. Adelson's company, the Las Vegas Sands Corporation, and intervened on the Sands's behalf with Chinese regulators. Mr. Yang even had his daughter take Mr. Adelson's wife, Miriam, shopping when she was in Beijing.

"Adelson and I had a good relationship," Mr. Yang said in a recent interview in Hong Kong. "He should thank me."

Mr. Yang joined the Sands in 2007 as the company worked to protect its interests in Macau, where its gambling revenues were mushrooming, and pressed ahead with plans for a resort in mainland China. Boasting of ties to the People's Liberation Army and China's security apparatus, Mr. Yang was hired for his guar-

anteed with direct knowledge of the inquiries.

The investigations are unfolding as Mr. Adelson has become an increasing presence in this year's presidential election, contributing at least \$35 million to Republican groups. On Tuesday, Mitt Romney's running mate, Representative Paul D. Ryan, is to appear at a fund-raiser at the

Continued on Page A11



Sheldon Adelson at the April opening of a Macau Sands resort.

CAMPAIGN 2012**Ryan Provides Bridge
To Conservative Machine**

Representative Paul D. Ryan's knowledge of the federal budget is well known. Less known are his close ties to the donors and activists who have channeled Tea Party anger into a \$400 million political machine, financed by a network of conservative and libertarian donors that now rivals, and occasionally challenges, the Republican establishment that has rallied behind Mitt Romney.

BY NICHOLAS CONFESSORE, PAGE A8

**Giving and Taking
On the Trail in Iowa**

In an early test of themes that will dominate the campaign, President Obama and Paul D. Ryan, both in Iowa, parried on welfare, unemployment and the role of the federal government. Mr. Obama painted Mitt Romney's running mate as a conservative ideologue whose refusal to compromise has led to Washington gridlock. Mr. Ryan went after the president on job creation.

BY HELENE COOPER AND TRIP GABRIEL, PAGE A8

Late Edition

Today, some sun, humid, shower or thunderstorm, high 84. Tonight, rain, heavy thunderstorms, low 72. Tomorrow, thunderstorm, high 85. Weather map appears on Page D8.

**MEDICARE RISES
AS VOTERS' ISSUE
IN G.O.P. GAMBLE****A BIG TEST IN FLORIDA****Obama Campaign to
Highlight Proposed
Changes by Ryan**

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

TAMPA, Fla. — With Mitt Romney's selection of Representative Paul D. Ryan as his running mate, Florida quickly emerged on Monday as a critical test of the nationwide Republican gamble that concerns over the mounting federal debt can blunt potent Democratic attacks on conservative proposals to revamp Medicare.

As Mr. Romney campaigned through Florida on Monday, Democrats greeted him with a barrage of assaults, including a Web advertisement featuring worried elderly voters in this battleground state. The campaign took on a more heated air as President Obama suggested in Iowa that the Republican ticket would "end Medicare as we know it," a warning echoed in North Carolina by Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.

Assailing proposed changes to the retiree health plan is a time-tested line of attack, nowhere more so than here in Florida, where voters 65 and older made up 22 percent of the electorate in the 2008 presidential election. Polls show that a majority of elderly voters nationally oppose changes in Medicare or Social Security, which Mr. Ryan in the past has also proposed altering.

The implications extend beyond Florida. Elderly voters are significant forces in Iowa, New Hampshire, Ohio, and Virginia and Pennsylvania, all states that could help determine the outcome of the election.

Aides to Mr. Obama said they would focus on older voters in those states by spotlighting Mr. Ryan's proposal, broadly endorsed by Mr. Romney, to make Medicare a choice between private insurance and traditional coverage in the belief that more competition would drive down costs and improve care. Democrats say the plan, under which Continued on Page A10

**Gave 'Single Girl' a Life in Full (Sex, Sex, Sex)**

Helen Gurley Brown in 1965.

By MARGALIT FOX

Helen Gurley Brown, who as the author of "Sex and the Single Girl" shocked early-1960s America with the news that unmarried women not only had sex but thoroughly enjoyed it — and who as the editor of Cosmopolitan magazine spent the next three decades telling those women precisely how to enjoy it even more — died on Monday in Manhattan. She was 90, though parts of her were considerably younger.

The Hearst Corporation, Cosmopolitan's publisher, said in a news release that she died at New York-Presbyterian/Columbia hospital after a brief stay there. She lived in Manhattan.

As Cosmopolitan's editor from 1965 until 1997, Ms. Brown was widely credited with being the

first to introduce frank discussions of sex into magazines for women. The look of women's magazines today — a sea of voluptuous models and titillating cover lines — is due in no small part to her influence. Before she arrived at Cosmopolitan, Ms. Brown had already shaken the collective consciousness with her best-selling book "Sex and the Single Girl." Published in 1962, the year before Betty Friedan ignited the modern women's movement with "The Feminine Mystique," it taught unmarried women how to look their best, have delicious affairs and ultimately bag a man for keeps, all in breathless, aphoristic prose. (Ms. Brown was a former advertising copywriter.)

By turns celebrated and castigated, she was a pioneer in her field. Continued on Page A20

Youth Driving Laws Limit Even the Double Date

By KATE ZERNIKE

CLIFTON, N.J. — It is a rite of American teenhood, celebrated in popular culture by "American Graffiti" and "Fast Times at Ridgemont High": a teenager with a driver's license piling as many friends as will fit into the car for a ride.

But increasingly, states are legislating away that carefree cruise, passing laws that restrict when, how and with whom teenagers can get behind the wheel.

Fifteen states and the District of Columbia now prohibit teenagers from driving with another teenager, and all but seven states forbid them from driving with more than one. In South Carolina, teenagers cannot drive after 6 p.m. in winter (8 p.m. in summer), and in Idaho, they are banned from sundown to sunup.

Here in New Jersey, which has



In New Jersey, the red decal signifies a younger driver.

ing parenting to the police — not to mention that passenger limits effectively outlaw the teenage double date.

But safety campaigners point to studies showing that the laws have significantly reduced traffic deaths and call them a natural extension for a generation that has grown up protected by sport utility strollers and bicycle helmets.

"I have one son; I have done everything I can to get him this far in life," said Pam Fischer, who is a safety campaigner pressing for stricter laws in New Jersey, and whose son will take the test for his probationary driver's license this week. "I'm not just going to throw him the keys."

Car crashes remain the leading cause of death for teenagers, who have a crash rate four times higher than that of older drivers. And Continued on Page A3

NATIONAL A8-12**Applying to Stay for a While**

Young illegal immigrants are preparing to apply for a temporary reprieve from deportation that the Obama administration is offering. As many as 1.7 million of them could be allowed to live and work legally and openly in the United States. A federal agency will begin accepting requests on Wednesday. PAGE A8

SCIENCE TIMES D1-7**Deep Cleaning for a River**

A Superfund project to remove thousands of cubic yards of toxic sludge from 17 miles of the Passaic River in New Jersey is one of the most costly and technically complex such cleanups ever attempted. PAGE D1

BUSINESS DAY B1-8**Google as an Offline Guide**

Google agreed to buy the Frommer's brand of travel guides, adding the publication to its Zagat line of restaurant reviews and taking another step in turning itself into a media company by producing its own content. PAGE B1

INTERNATIONAL A4-7**Rebels Say Syrian Jet Is Down**

Syrian rebels said they had shot down a Syrian fighter jet for the first time, raising new questions about the opposition's military capabilities and the government's control of the skies. PAGE A6

Support for Firings in Egypt

In firing Egypt's top generals, President Mohamed Morsi, below right, was supported by officers who faulted the old guard for the military's woes. PAGE A4

**NEW YORK A13-16****Times Sq. Mix Can Be Volatile**

The fatal shooting by the police of a suspect brought a reminder of the area before Elmo became a staple. PAGE A3

SPORTS TUESDAY B9-14**How the Home Team Excelled**

Britain, aided by home fields and subsidies, won 65 medals at the London Olympics, continuing a resurgence that began after failures in 1996. PAGE B9

ARTS C1-8**A Detective in Hong Kong**

Sleeping Dogs, a new undercover-cop-in-Hong-Kong video game, was inspired by the film "Infernal Affairs." A review by Chris Suelentrop. PAGE C1

OBITUARIES A17-20**Red Sox' Johnny Pesky Dies**

Boston's star shortstop in the 1940s and early '50s, known for a belated throw in the 1946 World Series, was 92. PAGE A17

EDITORIAL OP-ED A18-19**Joe Nocera**

PAGE A19



The Washington Post

Printed by the U.S. Postal Service at Washington, D.C.

Thunderstorm 58/70 • Tomorrow: Mostly sunny 69/71 • DETAILS, B5

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 15, 2012

washingtonpost.com • \$1

THE TAKE

Medicare debate to be pivotal moment

BY DAN BALZ

Mitt Romney is enjoying an initial burst of energy after adding Rep. Paul Ryan to the Republican presidential ticket. He is drawing the biggest and most enthusiastic crowds of his campaign, the same way that GOP nominee John McCain did four years ago after naming Sarah Palin as his running mate. Romney is getting what he hoped for when he passed over safer choices.

But he also has bought trouble, as is clear from Democrats' attacks on Ryan's far-reaching and controversial budget plan, which would — among other things — transform Medicare into a premium support program for younger people upon retirement.

Whether or not Romney wanted a debate about Medicare, an issue that long has favored Democrats, he has one. His campaign advisers recognize the dangers. From their perspective, it's better to have the discussion now than in October. They are trying to take this fight to the president in a way that no Republican nominee has done before.

On Tuesday, the Romney campaign began its counterattack on the Medicare issue even before President Obama's campaign could air its first ad on the issue. Romney's ad charges that Obama cut more than \$700 billion from Medicare to help finance his controversial health-care over-

BALZ CONTINUED ON A2

Ryan's Medicaid plans
Medicaid draws more focus, but Medicaid cuts could have quicker and more far-reaching results. **A7**

Biden takes on Romney
The vice president says in Virginia that Mitt Romney's financial regulations plans will "put 'a' back in chains." **A4**

In Syria, a living room becomes a sniper's nest



GURAN TONASEVIC/REUTERS

A rebel with the Free Syrian Army fires from the window of a house in Aleppo as street battles raged in that city, Syria's largest. An opposition group said at least six people were killed, while the Syrian military said it had arrested "dozens of terrorists." Meanwhile, Syria's former prime minister said the government of Bashar al-Assad is falling apart. **STORY, A12** For more photos and a video, go to washingtonpost.com/world.

Jordan wrung by war in Syria

REFUGEES HAVE BECOME A BURDEN

Kingdom worried about region's stability

BY KARIN BRULLIARD AND JOBY WARRICK

MAFRAQ, JORDAN — Hundreds of Syrian refugees slip across the border near here each night with little more than harrowing tales and occasionally grave wounds. For this landlocked and resource-poor kingdom, the newcomers are fueling new economic burdens and worries that the war next door might spread beyond its own frontiers.

Throughout much of the conflict in Syria, Jordan has hewed toward neutrality to avoid antagonizing a powerful neighbor that has long been an important trading partner and transit route for Jordanian goods. But the accelerating refugee flow and protracted war have complicated that stance, and the kingdom is raising alarm about the potential for regional instability and is increasingly siding with the Syrian regime's opponents.

Jordan opened its first formal camp for Syrian refugees two weeks ago, after more than 140,000 Syrians fleeing the conflict had already entered. The kingdom is pleading for international aid as rows of tents mushroom on a sunbaked expanse of tawny sand near this northern city.

Not far away, at a site closed to reporters, a separate camp houses deserters from Syrian security forces. Fifty miles south, in the capital of Amman, Jordan is sheltering the recently deposed Syrian prime minister — one of the starkest signs yet of Jordan's

JORDAN CONTINUED ON A12

Sanctions' unintended target: Opposition

Restrictions on technology hinder activists in Syria, Iran

BY JAMES BALL

U.S. sanctions targeting Syria and Iran have inadvertently undermined the opposition movements they are intended to help, making it more difficult for those groups to access technologies that can evade electronic surveillance and censorship, according

to security experts and activists. The economic sanctions imposed by the Obama administration have forced many Western companies, including technology firms, to sever relationships with Syria and Iran. The measures have helped to isolate those governments internationally.

But many of the same measures also have blocked access to online services and software — including e-mail, blogging platforms and security tools that prevent user activity from being traced — that could be helpful to opposition movements, experts

say. "We are fighting on two sides: the side of the regime and the side of the sanctions," said Dihad Othman, a Syrian activist who works with opposition groups across the region.

The concern most frequently raised by activists and U.S.-based nonprofits that support them is the difficulty of getting anti-tracking software, which usually is free of charge, into the hands of those on the ground. Othman said U.S. sanctions have made it much harder and more time-consuming to get anti-surveil-

lance tools installed on activists' phones and computers. "And sometimes we're not successful," he added. "So people take risks, and they are filming and uploading pictures without protection, so the regime can easily arrest them or even kill them."

The Obama administration has granted exemptions from **SANCTIONS CONTINUED ON A12**

Bank settles over Iran
Standard Chartered reaches a deal with New York, federal money-laundering probes continue. **A12**

Amid searing U.S. drought, hope for corn that's hardier

Seed companies try to engineer crops to beat extreme weather

BY BRAD PLUMER

In western Kansas, the corn looks unsavagable. The landscape is rife with curled brown leaves, an unmistakable sign of severe drought.

Yet beneath those wilted leaves, some of the corn shows promise. The kernels have held up surprisingly well in a few places, given this summer's swelter. At hundreds of sites across the Great Plains, seed companies such as Monsanto and Pioneer are testing a slew of corn varieties engineered to withstand drought. As the harvest approaches, they are anxious to see the results.

This year, the worst U.S. drought in half a century could cause \$18 billion in damage to corn, soybean and other key crops. On the heels of a Texas drought last year that cost nearly \$8 billion, farmers are more interested than ever in innovations that could make crops more resilient. That includes improved farming practices, better plant-breeding techniques and even — most controversially — genetic engineering.

Given the severity of this year's drought, many crops will wither no matter what. Still, some planters remain cautiously optimistic. "I've been surprised so far. The plants are responding well," said Clay Scott, a Kansas farmer who planted two plots of Monsanto's genetically engineered DroughtGard Hybrids among his 3,000 acres of corn. The experimental

DROUGHT CONTINUED ON A15

What Teresa Sullivan has learned

U-Va. leader reflects on her actions during the turmoil and her need not to know all

BY DONNA ST. GEORGE AND JENNA JOHNSON

CHARLOTTESVILLE — Teresa A. Sullivan concedes that she may have made mistakes. Maybe the University of Virginia president should have challenged leaders of the school's governing board when they told her in early June that they had enough votes to fire her.

"Maybe that was something that I misjudged and I should have asked to have a hearing and a public vote," she said in her most extensive public comments since the tumult in June, when she was ousted and then reinstated.

Told by U-Va. Rector Helen E. Dragas that 15 of 16 board members wanted a new president, Sullivan said she worried that a public airing of the question



JOHN BREWER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

It's "a sobering experience to go through something like this," Teresa A. Sullivan said. "I just hope that I learned the right lessons."

would throw the campus into turmoil. But forcing a robust board debate at that critical moment might have altered the course of events.

"I didn't really want to put the university through a difficult period," she said. "As it turned out, I did not save the university from a difficult period at all."

In her Madison Hall office lined with shelves of sociology books, Sullivan reflected on Monday afternoon on the crisis that made her one of the best-known university presidents in America — the celebrated survivor of a clash that has come to stand for the uncertain future of public higher education.

Seven weeks after she was returned to her post, Sullivan trod cautiously through many ques-

SULLIVAN CONTINUED ON A15

IN THE NEWS



GEORGES LORET/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE VIA GETTY IMAGES

Downturn in Europe Its economy shrank last quarter as the region appeared to be entering a long-ferred double-dip recession. **A15**

Off-field dispute The Nationals and Orioles remain deeply divided over boosting fees for television rights, which Baltimore controls. **D1**

THE WORLD

Suicide bombers killed at least 30 civilians in an attack in southwestern Afghanistan; later, at least 10 civilians were killed in a bombing in a northern bazaar. **A15**

Clashes erupted in Yemen's capital between the new government's forces and soldiers loyal to the former regime. **A5**

Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi awarded medals to two military chiefs he recently dismissed. **A10**

French President Francois Hollande vowed to increase funding for police amid a

surge of summer crime and violence. **A8**

Japanese researchers have found very low amounts of radioactivity in people who lived near the Fukushima Daiichi power plant when it melted down. **A10**

THE NATION Starting Wednesday, young undocumented immigrants can apply for the temporary right to live and work openly in the United States without fear of deportation. **A3**

Staffers at the Energy Department's controversial clean energy loan

program were warned not to use personal e-mail as doing so "makes them subpoenaable," documents show. **A2**

The inspector general at the Department of Veterans Affairs is investigating whether conference planners broke rules by accepting gifts. **A19**

THE ECONOMY Retail spending in July rose the most in five months, lifting hopes that the economy may rebound in the second half of the year. **A16**

THE REGION The agency that is building the Metro extension to Dulles has

lost the public's trust and must immediately implement reforms, the nation's top transportation official, two governors said. D.C.'s mayor said in a letter. **B1**

Northern Virginia students passed state mathematics tests this year at a far lower rate than in previous years, a drop reflected statewide that officials attributed to tougher exams. **B1**

DEATHS Nellie Gray, 68, founded and organized the March for Life, the annual antiabortion rally that for nearly four decades has drawn tens of thousands of activists to Washington. **B1**

INSIDE

FOODS of Inspiration This year's best reader recipes for tomatoes. **E1**

SYMPHONY The Kennedy Center's new symphonic organ finally arrives. **C1**

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Printed using recycled fiber



POSTAL PRINTS

(DETAILS, B2)

DAILY CODE 6 2 0 8

0 170628 21100 83

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

VOL. CLXII . No. 55,905 © 2012 The New York Times NEW YORK, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 2012 \$2.50



IMPROVISED VIEWING DEVICE Syrian rebels in Aleppo on Monday. At the United Nations, a Syria envoy was pessimistic. Page A9.

TEACHERS' UNIONS WOOLING G.O.P., TOO

Shifting Agendas Drive
Some Across Lines

By MOTOKO RICH

The strike by public school teachers in Chicago this month drew national attention to a fierce debate over the future of education and exposed the ruptured relationship between teachers' unions and Democrats like Mayor Rahm Emanuel.

Over the past few years, even as Republicans have led efforts to thwart unions, lawmakers previously considered solid supporters of teachers' unions have tangled with them over a national education agenda that includes new performance evaluations based partly on test scores, the overhaul of tenure and the expansion of charter schools.

As these traditional political alliances have shifted, teachers' unions have pursued some strange bedfellows among lawmakers who would not appear to be natural allies.



State Senator William Seitz

30 were Republicans, including a State House candidate who has Tea Party support and advocates lower taxes and smaller government.

William Seitz, a Republican state senator in Ohio who is a member of the American Legislative Exchange Council, a conservative business-backed group, has received more money this year from the Ohio Education Association than from any other donor. Teachers' organizations in Georgia and Texas have also donated to numerous Republicans.

In all, teachers' groups donated \$1.3 million to Republican

Continued on Page A14

Safer Flights, but Close Calls Lurk on the Runway

By JAD MOUAWAD

Southwest Airways Flight 844 from Minneapolis had just landed at Chicago's Midway International Airport last December and was about to cross a runway on its way to the terminal when the co-pilot noticed a business jet barreling toward him. He shouted for the captain to stop. The plane, carrying 74 passengers, screeched to a halt just short of the runway as the smaller jet crossed before their eyes.

Seconds later, the Southwest pilot called the control tower. "I want you to acknowledge you cleared us on a runway while a plane was taking off," he said. "We had to hit the brakes and the thing went right over our head."

Though most passengers may not be aware of the hazards on

the ground, such near misses are not isolated events. Since 2008, there have been about three incidents a day in which a plane or a vehicle gets on an active runway by mistake, an average of 1,000 a year. That number has held steady for the last four years while the total number of flights has declined.

In a small number of these cases, a catastrophic collision is narrowly avoided — sometimes only through sheer luck. The issue has festered even as regulators and the airline industry have made significant gains in reducing other major aviation hazards, especially those in flight. Advances in navigation technology in recent decades, for instance, have sharply reduced midair collisions and crashes into mountains and other obstacles, two of the most common causes

of accidents.

But a similar urgency to address runway safety has lagged, safety experts said. Only in the last year have all 35 major airports installed new ground radar that provide air-traffic controllers a better view of the runways, and a handful of airports are now testing a new system of warning lights on runways.

"These incidents remind us how vulnerable we are when procedures or people fail," said Deborah Hersman, chairwoman of the National Transportation Safety Board, which has put runway safety on its top 10 list of priorities since 1990.

The Federal Aviation Administration said the number of runway incidents that it classifies as most severe — in which a colli-

Continued on Page B8

In Arab Spring, Obama Finds A Sharp Test

Diplomatic Strategies
Evolved in Crises

By HELENE COOPER
and ROBERT F. WORTH

WASHINGTON — President Hosni Mubarak did not even wait for President Obama's words to be translated before he shot back. "You don't understand this part of the world," the Egyptian leader broke in. "You're young."

Mr. Obama, during a tense telephone call the evening of Feb. 1, 2011, had just told Mr. Mubarak that his speech broadcast to hundreds of thousands of protesters

in Tahrir Square in Cairo, had not gone far enough. Mr. Mubarak had to step down, the president said.

Minutes later, a grim Mr. Obama appeared before hastily summoned cameras in the Grand Foyer of the White House. The end of Mr. Mubarak's 30-year rule, Mr. Obama said, "must begin now." With those words, Mr. Obama upended three decades of American relations with its most stalwart ally in the Arab world, putting the weight of the United States squarely on the side of the Arab street.

It was a risky move by the American president, flying in the face of advice from elders on his staff at the State Department and at the Pentagon, who had spent decades nursing the autocratic, but staunchly pro-American — Egyptian government.

Nineteen months later, Mr. Obama was at the State Department consoling some of the very officials he had overruled. Anti-American protests broke out in Egypt and Libya. In Libya, they led to the deaths of four Ameri-

Continued on Page A8

SYRIAN CIVIL WAR POSES NEW PERIL FOR FRAGILE IRAQ

SECTARIAN RIFTS DEEPEN

Its Security Inadequate,
Baghdad Strengthens
Ties With Tehran

By TIM ARANGO

BAGHDAD — The civil war in Syria is testing Iraq's fragile society and fledgling democracy, worsening sectarian tensions, pushing Iraq closer to Iran and highlighting security shortcomings just nine months after American forces ended their long and costly occupation here.

Fearing that Iraq's insurgents will unite with extremists in Syria to wage a two-front battle for Sunni dominance, Prime Minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki recently ordered guards at the western border to block adult men, even husbands and fathers with families in tow, from crossing into Iraq along with thousands of refugees seeking to escape the grinding war next door.

Further north, Iraqi officials have another concern, also related to the fighting across the border. Turkish warplanes have stepped up attacks on the mountain hide-outs of Kurdish insurgents galvanized by the war in Syria, underscoring Iraq's inability to control its own airspace.

The hardening of the anti-Syrian positions in Syria — reverberating across Iraq — was made clear Monday at the United Nations when the new special envoy for Syria, Lakhdar Brahimi, gave a bleak appraisal of the conflict to the Security Council and said he saw no prospect for a breakthrough anytime soon.

The Syrian war's spillover has called attention to uncomfortable realities for American officials: despite nearly nine years of mil-

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Spain Recoils as Its Hungry Forage Trash Bins for a Next Meal

By SUZANNE DALEY

MADRID — On a recent evening, a hip-looking young woman was sorting through a stack of crates outside a fruit and vegetable store here in the working-class neighborhood of Vallecas as it shut down for the night.

At first glance, she looked as if she might be a store employee. But no. The young woman was looking through the day's trash for her next meal. Already, she had found a dozen aging potatoes she deemed edible and loaded them onto a luggage cart parked nearby.

"When you don't have enough money," she said, declining to give her name, "this is what there is."

The woman, 33, said that she had once worked at the post office but that her unemployment benefits had run out and she was living now on 400 euros a month, about \$520. She was squatting with some friends in a building that still had water and electricity, while collecting "a little of everything" from the garbage after stores closed and the streets were dark and quiet.

Such survival tactics are becoming increasingly common-



With joblessness soaring and government cutting back, some Spaniards are becoming desperate.

place here, with an unemployment rate over 56 percent among young people and more and more households having adults without jobs. So pervasive is the problem of scavenging that one Spanish city has resorted to installing

locks on supermarket trash bins as a public health precaution.

A report this year by a Catholic charity, Caritas, said that it had fed nearly one million hungry Spaniards in 2010, more than twice as many as in 2007. That

number rose again in 2011 by 65,000.

As Spain tries desperately to meet its budget targets, it has been forced to embark on the same path as Greece, introducing

Continued on Page A6

'Rebecca' Sees Investor Fade, As if Dreamt

By PATRICK HEALY

The business of Broadway has always been cloaked in mystery. Most of its 40 theaters are run by three private organizations that operate out of public view. Producers keep deal-making under wraps. The biggest mystery of all is why so many sophisticated investors go along with business-as-usual on Broadway when few shows turn a profit.

But nothing about Broadway has been quite as bewildering lately as the \$12 million musical "Rebecca."

Start with a rich investor unknown to clubby Broadway insiders — a mystery man named Paul Abrams. Go on to the astounding sum he is said to have promised to raise for "Rebecca": \$4.5 million, easily 10 times more than the wealthiest regulars normally put down for a show. Then: Reports in August of his sudden death in Britain of malaria — yet no obituaries, no death notices. A representative for the Abrams estate surfaces, a person identi-

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ELECTION 2012 A10-12

Same-Party Rivals in California

New rules in California pit Democrat against Democrat and Republican against Republican in some general election races for Congress. PAGE A12

NATIONAL A13-15

Playing Tag With Great Whites

Great white sharks caught and tagged by scientists off Cape Cod can be followed in real time online. PAGE A13

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

A Bunker for Bats

Scientists hope that luring bats to an artificial bunker in Tennessee will lead to a cure for a deadly fungus. PAGE D1



Arts C1-8

Looking for Love

"The Mindy Project" and "Ben and Kate" are romantic comedies that focus on the search for Mr. Right. PAGE C1

Arts C1-8

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Arts C1-8

Arts C1-8

Arts C1-8

Arts C1-8

NEW YORK A17-21

Tables Turn for Project's Critic

Daniel Goldstein, a longtime opponent of the Atlantic Yards development project in Brooklyn, now faces a small-scale battle with some of his neighbors as he builds an extension on his new home in Park Slope. The Appraisal. PAGE A20

SPORTS TUESDAY B11-16

Jets Will Be Without Revis

Cornerback Darrelle Revis tore the anterior cruciate ligament in his left knee on Sunday and will miss the rest of the N.F.L. season. PAGE B11

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

David Brooks

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Obama warns Iran on nukes

Also pays tribute to slain envoy in U.N. speech, 4A



New Houston single is out

Previously unreleased duet with R. Kelly, 1D

COVER STORY



THE NFL'S REF WRECK

10 questions (and answers) about the fallout from the league's Monday Night Fiasco

JARRETT BELL, OWNERS ALLOW THIS OUTRAGE, 6C

The Seahawks' Golden Tate, obscured, was awarded a touchdown on Monday's chaotic, disputed final play.

Erik Brady
@ErikBrady
USA TODAY Sports

Cleveland Browns kicker Phil Dawson compares the NFL replacement referees controversy to the way traffic officials determine whether to put in a spotlight at an intersection.

"You have to have so many car wrecks," Dawson said, "before they deem that intersection to be dangerous enough."

Think of the player scum in the end zone at Seattle's CenturyLink

Field late Monday as a multicar pileup.

The accident scene at the intersection of Replacement and Chaos was so bad for the NFL that even President Obama thinks the fill-in refs blew the call that ended Monday's Green Bay Packers-Seahawks game. He and Republican vice presidential nominee Paul Ryan (a Packers fan) shared rare common cause as each said it was time to bring back real refs.

All this came after replacement officials awarded the Seahawks a touchdown on a Hail Mary pass that looked like a Packers interception to many observers, and even to one

official—but not to referee Wayne Elliott, who decided there was no indisputable visual evidence to overturn the call on replay, or to the NFL Officiating Department, which reviewed the call Tuesday and endorsed Elliott's decision not to overturn.

Tellingly, the NFL statement was agnostic on the call itself, supporting only the decision not to reverse it—and once more replacement refs emerged as the talk of the nation, bringing to a boiling point three weeks of fan frustration over bad calls, no calls and a growing sense that

COVER STORY CONTINUES ON 3A

For wrongly convicted, only a ticket home

Government frees inmates but offers little help

Brad Heath
USA TODAY

Former inmates abruptly freed after spending up to six years in federal prison even though they were "legally innocent" are coming home with less help than the government typically provides the guilty after they are released.

Most of them have received little more than a bus ticket. Federal law does not require the government to help them search for jobs or find basic necessities such as clothing and a place to live, assistance the guilty routinely get during their post-prison supervision, partly to keep them from returning to crime.

Judges in North Carolina have so far ordered the government to release at least 17 inmates in one of the largest episodes in recent memory of federal prisoners having their convictions overturned. It follows a USA TODAY investigation this year that identified 60 people incarcerated for gun possession even though a court later determined that they had not committed a federal crime. The U.S. Justice Department had originally argued that they should remain in prison anyway, but reversed its position last month "in the interests of justice," according to court records.

Neither the courts nor the Justice Department could estimate how many more prisoners might ultimately

be released. Dozens of other inmates from North Carolina still are waiting for judges to decide whether their convictions should be thrown out, too.

"A lot of people would say they need help finding a job, but it's really they need help finding underwear," said Theresa Newman, who runs a wrongful convictions program at Duke University's law school. "At a minimum, the state and the federal government should help innocent people make the transition out."

The Justice Department would not comment on the record about help for the freed prisoners, saying instead that it is trying to make sure innocent prisoners are freed. Spokesman Wyn Horibuckle said prosecutors "are working with the court, the probation office and the federal public defenders to ensure that these matters are addressed as effectively and quickly as possible."

At least 10 states provide services such as job training, health care and housing assistance to wrongfully convicted prisoners, according to an Innocence Project study. Most states and the federal government also provide some help in finding social services once someone serves his full prison sentence and is released on parole or supervision, though that help is not available to people whose convictions are overturned.

Soaring knee surgeries put strain on budgets

Janice Lloyd
@janicelloyd
USA TODAY

The number of total knee replacement surgeries has soared 161.5% among Medicare participants in the past 20 years, a \$5 billion annual tab that will continue to grow as the U.S.'s 77 million Baby Boomers age, a large study reported Tuesday.

The wider use of knee replacement is good news for the rapidly aging population. But while it eases pain and improves quality of life, it "can be viewed as another strain on govern-

ment, individuals and businesses struggling with unrelenting growth in health care costs," the authors say in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*.

"People are living longer and want to be active," says lead author Peter Cram, a physician at the University of Iowa Carver College of Medicine in Iowa City. "They feel great after this." The challenges, he says, are how to address post-surgery problems and how to ensure that doctors are not overusing a "highly reimbursed procedure."

A knee replacement costs Medicare about \$15,000, a number that

would be higher, the authors say, had Medicare not taken cost-lowering measures of shortening hospital stays and encouraging outpatient rehab. Those strategies, however, can lead to problems for some patients and add costs and longer recovery times.

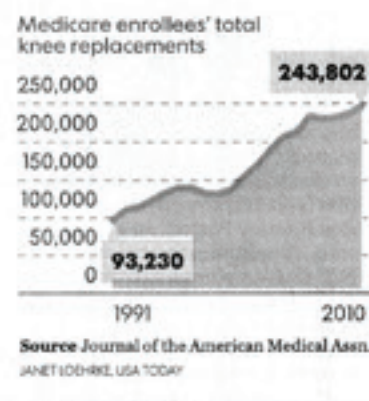
The study is the first to look at trends and outcomes linked to total knee replacement, the authors say, and includes a breakdown of factors that can lead to rehospitalization and additional surgeries.

From 1991 to 2010, 3.27 million patients 65 and older had total knee replacements, and 318,563 had revi-

sions to fix problems. The number of primary knee replacements among Medicare patients increased from 93,230 in 1991 to 243,802 in 2010; revisions increased from 9,650 to 19,871.

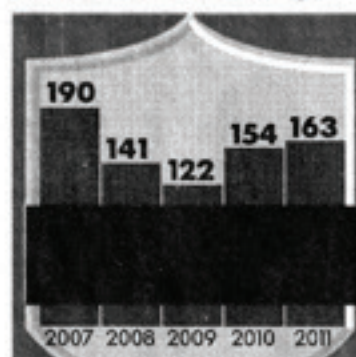
In an editorial, the authors say demand for knee replacements could be as high as \$4.6 billion a year by 2020. Though healthier patients would use less health care, surgeries also "will be a driver of health care costs," the authors say. Doctors must address "predisposing modifiable factors such as obesity" and develop better treatments for mild arthritis to prevent progression requiring surgery.

KNEE REPLACEMENT BOOM



USA SNAPSHOTS

Police officers killed in the line of duty



Source: National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund. JARRETT BELL FOR USA TODAY

NEWSLINE



News Program helps minorities buckle up

Black, Hispanic babies are unrestrained at rates 10 times those of white children, study finds. Church-based initiative helping change that. 3A

News Lovebugs plague the air. Ideal breeding weather means Gulf Coast inundated this fall. 3A

Money Hyundai CEO speaks on how company will charge ahead. Vehicles will be lighter, but gasoline and four-cylinder engines still staple. 1B

Tech Lighter, cheaper Nook HD tablets to arrive in fall. Barnes & Noble unveils two versions, starting at \$199. 1B

Money Spending on pet costumes to hit \$370M

It's industry's fastest-growing area. "People just don't skimp on their pets." 4B

Sports For Waltrip Racing, success came with great sacrifice. Journey meant sticking it out when others wouldn't. NASCAR, 1, 7C

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A man who was injured by bombing in Gaza City on Saturday that also killed one person. Israel said it hit more than 200 targets.

AFTER THE STORM, CITY BULLDOZERS

Clearing of Homes Will Alter Neighborhoods

By WILLIAM K. RASHBAUM

New York City is moving to demolish hundreds of homes in the neighborhoods hit hardest by Hurricane Sandy, after a grim assessment of the storm-ravaged coast revealed that many structures were so damaged they pose a danger to public safety and other buildings nearby. About 200 homes will be bulldozed in the coming weeks and months, almost all of them one- and two-family houses on Staten Island, in Queens and Brooklyn. That is in addition to 200 houses that are already partially or completely burned down, washed away or otherwise damaged; those sites will also be cleared. The Buildings Department is still inspecting nearly 500 other damaged structures, some of which could also be razed, according to the commissioner, Robert L. LImandri.

Mr. LImandri, in an interview late last week, said neither he nor his staff could recall the city ever undertaking this kind of broad reshaping of its neighborhoods.

"We've never had this scale before," Mr. LImandri said. "This is what New Yorkers have read about in many other places and have never seen, so it is definitely unprecedented. And by the same token, when you walk around in these communities, people are scared and worried, and we're trying to make every effort to be up front and share with them what they need to do."

No decisions have been made about rebuilding in the storm-battered areas — a complicated question that would involve not only homeowners, but also insurers and officials in the state, local and federal governments. Some of the houses that are being torn down were built more than a half-

Continued on Page 27

A Hurricane's Human Toll

Mapping deaths in the region caused by the storm. Page 26.

Diplomat on the Rise, Suddenly in Turbulence

By MARK LANDLER

WASHINGTON — Susan E. Rice was playing stand-in on the morning of Sept. 16 when she appeared on five Sunday news programs, a few days after the deadly attack in Benghazi, Libya, that killed four Americans.

Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton would have been the White House's logical choice to discuss the chaotic events in the Middle East, but she was drained after a harrowing week, administration officials said. Even if she had not been consoling the families of those who died, including Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens, Mrs. Clinton typically steers clear of the Sunday shows.

So instead, Ms. Rice, the ambassador to the United Nations, delivered her now-infamous account of the episode. Rectifying talking points supplied by intelligence agencies, she said that the Benghazi siege appeared to have been a spontaneous protest later hijacked by extremists, not a premeditated terrorist attack. Within days, Republicans in Congress

were calling for her head.

In her sure-footed ascent of the foreign-policy ladder, Mrs. Rice has rarely shrunk from a fight. But now that she appears poised to claim the top rung — White House aides say she is President Obama's favored candidate for secretary of state — this sharp-tongued, self-confident diplomat finds herself in the middle of a bitter feud in which she is largely

a bystander.

"Susan had a reputation, fairly or not, as someone who could run a little hot and shoot from the hip," said John Norris, a foreign-policy expert at the Center for American Progress. "If someone had told me that the biggest knock on her was going to be that she too slavishly followed the

Continued on Page 16



At the United Nations, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and Susan E. Rice, Mrs. Clinton's possible successor.

As Boom Lures App Creators, Tough Part Is Making a Living

By DAVID STREITFELD

ROSEDALE, Md. — Shawn and Stephanie Grimes spent much of the last two years pursuing their dream of doing research and development for Apple, the world's most successful corporation.

But they did not actually have jobs at Apple. It was freelance work that came with nothing in the way of a regular income, health insurance or retirement plan. Instead, the Grimeses tried to prepare by willingly, even eagerly, throwing overboard just about everything they could.

They sold one of their cars, gave some possessions to relatives and sold others in a yard sale, rented out their six-bed room house and stayed with family for a while. They even cashed in Mr. Grimes's 401(k).

"We didn't lose any sleep over it," said Mr. Grimes, 32. "I'll retire when I die."

The couple's chosen field is so new it did not even exist a few years ago: writing software applications for mobile devices like the iPhone or iPad. Even as unemployment remained stubbornly high and the economy struggled to emerge from the recession's shadow, the ranks of computer software engineers, including app writers, increased nearly 8 percent in 2012 to more than a million, according to the latest available government data for that category. These software engineers now outnumber farmers and have almost caught up with lawyers.

Much as the Web set off the dot-com boom 15 years ago, apps

Continued on Page 22

Goodbye, Frustration: Pen Put Aside, Roth Talks

By CHARLES McGRATH

On the computer in Philip Roth's Upper West Side apartment these days is a Post-it note that reads, "The struggle with writing is over." It's a reminder to himself that Mr. Roth, who will be 89 in March and who has enjoyed

one of the longest and most celebrated careers in American letters, has retired from writing fiction — 31 books since he started in 1959. "I look at that note every morning," he said the other day, "and it gives me such strength."

To his friends the notion of Mr. Roth not writing is like Mr. Roth



Philip Roth's daily reminder: "The struggle with writing is over."

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But over the course of a three-hour interview — his last, he said — Mr. Roth seemed cheerful, relaxed and at peace with himself and his decision, which was first announced last month in the French magazine Les InRocks. He joked and reminisced, talked about writers and writing, and looked back at his career with apparent satisfaction and few regrets. Last spring he appointed Blake Bailey as his biographer

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"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

VOL. CLXII . . . No. 56,131

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THURSDAY, MAY 9, 2013

National Edition
Southern California: A mix of
clouds and sun. Scattered after-
noon and evening thunderstorms
over the mountains. Highs 60s to
the 80s. Weather map, Page A22.

Printed in California

\$2.50



Syrian refugees getting their daily bread ration at the Zaatari camp in Jordan. Hundreds of thousands of children are refugees.

A Lost Generation: Young Syrian Refugees Struggle to Survive

By JODI RUDOREN
SALAH, Jordan — The parents were petrified the oldest of their seven children would be drafted into the Syrian Army. For their teenage girl, they feared rape and kidnapping. And the next oldest, verging on adolescence, had begun rabble-rousing at school and in the street against the government.
So in September 2011, six months into the uprising against President Bashar al-Assad of Syria, the parents sent the three children — then 15, 13 and 11 — away from home in Hama Province with about \$425 and a tent sewed out of Chinese rice sacks. The children have lived on their own in Jordan ever since. The eldest, now 17, picks vegetables for \$5.50 a day when he can, the

Some Retailers Reveal Where And How That T-Shirt Is Made

By STEPHANIE CLIFFORD
The revolution that has swept the food industry is expanding to retail: origin matters.
With fair-trade coffee and organic fruit now standard on grocery shelves, consumers concerned with working conditions, environmental issues and outsourcing are increasingly demanding similar accountability for their T-shirts. The issue has been brought to the forefront by the garment factory collapse in Bangladesh, which killed more than 900 people (Page A14).
And some retailers are doing what was once unthinkable, handing over information about exactly how and where their products were made.
Everlane, an online boutique, last week added paragraphs to its Web site describing the factories where its products are made. Nordstrom says it is considering adding information about clothes produced in humane working conditions.
An online boutique breaks down the number of workers involved in making each item and the cost of every component, while a textiles company intends to trumpet the fair-trade origins of its robes when Rod Bluth & Reynolds starts selling them this month.
And a group of major retailers and apparel companies, including some — like Nike and Wal-

Homecomings for 2 Captives

As two of three Cleveland women who were held captive for years returned home, a picture emerged of the suspect accused of kidnapping them as a man leading an outcast life. PAGE A17

Deficit Reduction Faulted

Fiscal tightening has been a drag on economic recovery, private-sector and government economists say. PAGE A18

Bomb Inquiry Looks Closely At Russia Trip

A Focus on Contacts Made by Suspect

By ELLEN BARRY
MARIHATKA, Russia — During a six-month visit to his Russian homeland last year, the paragon of the Boston bombing suspect Tamerlan Tsarnaev said, he spent his time reading novels and reconnecting with family, not venturing into the shadowy world of the region's militants.
But now, investigators are looking into a range of suspected contacts Mr. Tsarnaev made in Dagestan, from days he might have spent in a mosque in Marihataka, the capital, to time spent outside the city with a relative who is a prominent Islamist leader recently taken into custody by Russian authorities.
The emerging details of his trip here have not fundamentally altered a prevailing view among American and Russian investigators that he was radicalized before his visit. However, there have been reports that he sought out contact with Islamist extremists, and was flagged as a potential recruit for the region's Islamic insurgency.
It remains unclear to what degree his months in Russia, which were punctuated by punishing attacks between the police and insurgents, may have changed his perspective. But an official here, who said he was not in a position to confirm or deny reports of Mr. Tsarnaev's contacts, said it appeared that he intended to link up with militant Islamists — but left having failed.
"My working theory is that he evidently came here, he was looking for contacts, but he did not find serious contacts, and if he did, they didn't trust him," said Habib Magomedov, a member of Dagestan's antiterrorism commission.
Investigators in Russia are also looking into Mr. Tsarnaev's interactions online and exploring whether he and a Canadian-born militant, William "Plotnikov,"

Hop and a Flick: Floating One Over the Big Guys

By SCOTT CACCIOLA
MIAMI — The slam dunk has captivated the basketball world for a generation with its combination of raw ferocity and ballistic grace, but this year a different shot is sweeping the N.B.A. playoffs.
It's called the teardrop. And it's the antidote.
If the slam dunk is all power, the teardrop is all finesse, a dandelion fluff of a shot that is nearly always tossed up by the smallest player on the floor. The teardrop floats over defenders' outstretched hands, arcs toward the rafters and then — especially this year — drops through the net with barely a whisper.
This week, teardrops have helped fuel an upset in Miami, a rout in New York and a double-overtime classic in San Antonio. Some of the brightest stars of the playoffs — Nate Robinson of the Chicago Bulls, Stephen Curry of the Golden State Warriors and Raymond Felton of the Knicks — stand between 5 feet 9 inches and 6-3, shrub and courts packed with redwoods. But each has used the teardrop to take control of a game.
"If you have the touch to do it, it's very effective," said Curry, whose teardrops bend so high they can seem like trick shots. "You have to work at it, and it's tough to do when you're trying to get by a defender, you're going full speed."
But when it works, the shot can cause thousands of fans in an arena to hold their breath as the ball floats off the fingertips toward the rim. Curry in particular "throws it up there like a feather," said Bob McKillop, who coached Curry at Davidson College.

Deal to Cut an Era in British Soccer

After 13 Premier League championships and more than 26 years with Manchester United, Manager Alex Ferguson has decided to retire at age 71. PAGE B1

Tradeoff for Keystone Pipeline

Opponents of the Keystone XL pipeline want stronger action on climate change if the pipeline is approved. PAGE B1

More Mortgage Relief Offers

About 300,000 homeowners got checks for less than they were owed under a bank mortgage settlement. PAGE B1

ENVOY TESTIFIES LIBYA QUESTIONS LED TO DEMOTION

NEW BENGHAZI DETAILS

Official Cites Retaliation After He Questioned Account of Attack

This article is by Scott Shane, Jeremy W. Peters and Eric Schmitt.
WASHINGTON — A veteran diplomat gave a riveting minute-by-minute account on Wednesday of the lethal terrorist attack in Benghazi, Libya, last Sept. 11 and described its contentious aftermath in nearly five hours of testimony at a charged Congressional hearing that reflected the weighty political stakes perceived by both parties.
During a chaotic night at the American Embassy in Tripoli, 600 miles away, the diplomat, Gregory Hicks, got what he called "the saddest phone call I've ever had in my life" informing him that Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens was dead and that he was now the highest-ranking American in Libya. For his leadership that night when four Americans were killed, Mr. Hicks said, he subsequently received calls from both Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and President Obama.
But within days, Mr. Hicks said, after raising questions about the account of what had happened in Benghazi offered in television interviews by Susan E. Rice, the United Nations ambassador, he felt a distinct chill from State Department superiors.
"The sense I got was that I needed to stop the line of questioning," said Mr. Hicks, who has been a Foreign Service officer for 22 years.
He was soon given a scathing review of his management style, he said, and was later "reflectively demoted" to his old office at headquarters, in what he believes was retaliation for speaking up.

Military Courts Called Outdated On Sex Crimes

By JENNIFER STEINHAUER
WASHINGTON — An aviation commander for the Navy was raped by a co-worker, but there was no prosecution and the female accuser was denied reinstatement. A noncommissioned officer was assaulted by a captain, who was found guilty but then granted clemency without explanation.
Both cases came from the victims' accounts, and as in all military criminal cases, the person in charge of deciding whether to prosecute and whether to uphold a conviction was a senior commander — the boss — of the accused.
As Washington grows increasingly alarmed about sexual assault in the military, lawmakers of both parties and in both chambers of Congress are moving to introduce legislation seeking to prevent and to better prosecute abuses. President Obama has expressed fury over the issue and this week the administration asked lawmakers to the White House to discuss the legislation with Valerie Jarrett, a senior adviser to Mr. Obama.
Embarrassed military officials have repeatedly pledged that they are working to stop the abuse, a Pentagon survey released Tuesday estimates that



A group of people, including a man in a military uniform, are gathered around a table in a room with a green wall. They appear to be in a meeting or discussion.

Down to the Last Detail

At the 100th Day of Congress, House on the Upper East Side of Manhattan, 18 designers offer details for conquering an empty room. PAGE D1

Gail Collins

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

SPORTS

SPORTS THURSDAY B1-15

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USA TODAY

05.09.13

A GANNETT COMPANY

UNFRIENDLY CONFINES?

Cubs and their fans argue over Wrigley renovation 1C



Electric cars pass the test

Help automakers meet Calif. emissions rules 1B



Harry-mania for a week

Prince opens his U.S. visit in D.C. today 1D

NEWSLINE

Heated words at Benghazi hearing

U.S. diplomat in Libya differs with administration, insists attack was terror-related from the start 4A

One charged in Cleveland case

Multiple counts of kidnapping, rape filed against Ariel Castro in case of three missing women 3A



Ariel Castro

TALKING TECH

JEFFERSON GRAHAM Slacker online soars to No. 3

Radio service likes what it sees after undergoing face lift 5B



Enron's Skilling may get out early

Former CEO would drop appeals to end long-running legal battle 1B

Spanish scandal could cost royals

Princess Cristina is first European royal indicted in centuries 7A

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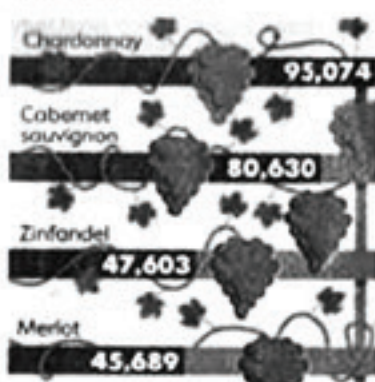
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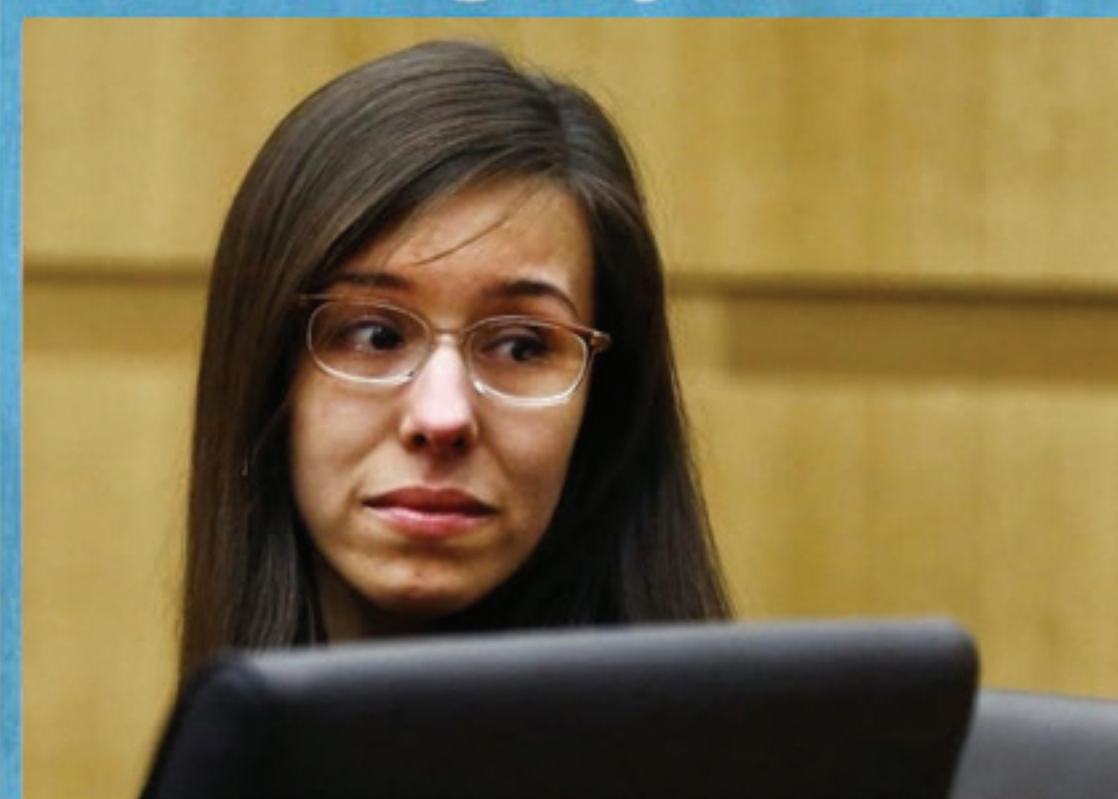
Most-planted wine grapes in California

Acres planted in 2012



Source: Agricultural Department's California Grape Acreage Report, March 2013.

Jodi Arias guilty of murder



A sensational 19-week trial ends with Jodi Arias convicted of first-degree murder in the brutal slaying of her boyfriend. The trial riveted cable news audiences and attracted hundreds who cheered the verdict outside a Phoenix courthouse. 3A



A turning point on race

Two pending Supreme Court decisions could say, in essence, that discrimination in America has been defeated. What happens next, though, is anyone's guess.

Richard Wolf
OF ENRICHMENT
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON The Supreme Court may be on the verge of declaring victory in the fight against racial discrimination.

Two cases nearing decisions by the court within weeks threaten to uproot affirmative action programs at the nation's public colleges and universities and weaken a federal statute that guards against discriminatory changes in state and local voting procedures.

For the civil rights community that came of age in the 1950s and 1960s, a defeat on racial integration, voting rights or both would signal "the worst year for backward movement on civil rights since the post-Reconstruction period," says Gary Orfield, a graduate school professor and co-director of The Civil Rights Project at UCLA.

For conservatives who oppose racial preferences, however, the two cases represent a historic opportunity to move beyond race — or, as Chief Justice John Roberts said in a 2007 decision on public school integration, "The way to stop discrimination on the basis of race is to stop discriminating on the basis of race."

Both sides agree that progress has been made: More than 36% of uni-

versity students are minorities, up from 16% in 1980. Black voter turnout topped white turnout in last year's presidential election.

The question for the court and the country is whether that progress is enough, and whether the elimination of affirmative action and voter protection programs would lead to backsliding on both fronts.

Civil rights groups say the results would be cataclysmic. A decision against universities' use of racial preferences would reduce minority enrollments, they say. Throwing out Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which requires mostly Southern states and municipalities to get federal approval for any voting

► STORY CONTINUES ON 7A

In 2012, white vote down for first time

Susan Page
and Paul Overberg
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON President Obama won a second term thanks to record-high turnout among black voters and the first-ever decline in the number of white voters, a U.S. Census report released Wednesday shows.

For the first time, African Americans were more likely to vote than non-Hispanic whites were: 66.2% of eligible blacks voted, compared with 64.1% of whites. Since the Census Bureau began publishing voting data by race in 1968, whites had voted at higher levels than black.

"That's a landmark in American history," says Williams Irey, a demographer at the Brookings Institution. "And it's pretty clear that black turnout made a huge difference."

His analysis of voting data shows that Republican presidential candidate Mitt Romney would have won or tied Obama in the popular vote if groups had

► STORY CONTINUES ON 7A

HOSPITAL PRICING MUST BE SHOWN

Feds say rule change will help drive down costs for patients

Kelly Kennedy
PHOTOGRAPHY BY
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON Hospitals will now be required to tell patients how much they charge for procedures, a move federal officials said Wednesday should spark competition and lower costs.

The rule change came as the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services released data Wednesday that showed startling differences in hospital charges for 100 common medical procedures. In some cases, hospitals charged double or more than a hospital in the same area.

"Currently, consumers don't know what a hospital is charging them or their insurance company for a given procedure, like a knee replacement, or how much of a price difference there is at different hospitals, even within the same city," said Health and Human Services Secretary Kathleen Sebelius. "This data and new data centers will help fill that gap."

She said the information would create incentives for hospitals to keep their prices low.

"Hospitals that charge two or three times the going rate will rightfully face higher scrutiny," said Jonathan Blum, director of the Center for Medicare at the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services.

He added that higher prices do not necessarily correspond to better quality of care.

Because insurers often pick up the bill directly, consumers have not had to shop for better prices.

However, as more employers have moved to low-premium, high-deductible plans, which leave consumers paying more out of pocket costs, they must pay attention to how much a procedure costs.

Employers have asked for procedure costs so they can limit hospitals within employee networks to those with the highest quality at the lowest cost. Insurers also work out contracts with hospitals to pay prices that are often much lower than what hospitals charge the uninsured.

"Most personally, uninsured people are the ones who usually pay the highest prices for their hospital care," said Ron Pollack, executive director of consumer advocacy group Families USA.

Christopher Parks, founder of Change Healthcare, a company that works to provide consumers with health cost information, said the data will help consumers drive down health care costs.

Consumers will pay more of the health care bill, so it's essential they "know ahead of time what something will cost so they can make informed decisions," Parks said.

The American Hospital Association released a statement saying the announcement doesn't take into account the \$41 billion in financial aid hospitals offered to the uninsured and underinsured in 2011.

And, 40 states already require or "encourage" hospitals to release pricing data to consumers, an effort the association says it supports.

It called the current billing system "complex and bewildering."





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Eurozone on the mend?

Output data raises hopes



The wounds of conflict

A surgeon in the war zone



A refugee crisis for the world

Syrian war exodus is overwhelming region

Top UN official warns of 'threat to global peace'

Martin Chulov Zaatari, Jordan
Mark Rice-Oxley

Western countries such as the US and Britain may be asked to accept tens of thousands of Syrian refugees because the exodus from the civil war is overwhelming countries in the region, the UN's refugee chief has warned.

With no end to the war in sight, the flight of nearly 2 million people from Syria over the past two years is showing every sign of becoming a permanent population shift, like the Palestinian crises of 1948 and 1967, with grave implications for countries such as Lebanon and Jordan, UN and other humanitarian aid officials say.

One in six people in Lebanon are now Syrian refugees. The biggest camp in Jordan, Zaatari, has become the country's fourth-largest city. In addition to those who have crossed borders, at least 4 million Syrians are believed to have been displaced within their own country, so that more than a quarter of the population has been uprooted.

In an interview with the Guardian, António Guterres, the UN high commissioner for refugees, said the situation was already far more than just a humanitarian crisis. If a resolution to the conflict was not found within months, the UN will look to resettle tens of thousands of Syrian refugees in countries better able to afford to host them, including Britain. Ger-



Torrent of the displaced ... Turkey alone has more than 400,000 Syrian refugees Muhammed Muheisen/AP

many has already offered to take 5,000, but other offers have been limited, Guterres said.

"We are facing in the Middle East something that is more than a humanitarian crisis, more than a regional crisis, it is becoming a real threat to global peace and security," Guterres said. "We are already seeing the multiplication of security incidents in Iraq and Lebanon, and Jordan is facing a very difficult economic situation."

Guterres compared the Syrian refu-

gee issue to that of Iraqis during the last decade, when more than 100,000 were resettled. "If things go on for a prolonged period of time, then resettlement will become a central part of our strategy," he said. "We would like, when the time comes ... to be able to launch a resettlement programme as massive as the one for Iraqis."

The Syrian exodus has already surpassed almost every other refugee crisis that international organisations have seen in the past 40 years. The

Yugoslav wars of the 1990s provide the closest parallel, with both conflicts having a strong ethnic-sectarian dimension and the crumbling of state control raising the spectre of partition.

The knock-on effect on regional countries has been telling. Tensions between refugee communities and local populations have increased dramatically in Jordan and Lebanon, as the influx of people piles pressure on schools and hospitals, and disrupts job markets. Continued on page 13»



Late Edition

Today, humid, partly sunny, a thunderstorm late, high 92. **Tonight**, an evening storm, partly cloudy, low 75. **Tomorrow**, severe storms later; high 86. Weather map, Page A16.

Obama Delays Syria Strike To Focus on a Russian Plan

Makes Case for Action but Asks to Put Off the Vote

By MARK LANDLER and JONATHAN WEISMAN

WASHINGTON — President Obama, facing implacable opposition to a strike in Syria in Congress and throughout the country, said Tuesday that he would hold off on military action for now and pursue a Russian proposal for international monitors to take over and destroy Syria's arsenal of chemical weapons.

Speaking to the nation from the White House, Mr. Obama laid out his most extensive and detailed case for an attack to punish Syria for its use of chemical weapons. But he also acknowledged the deep doubts of Americans who after the experience of Iraq and Afghanistan view any form of military engagement in Syria

with alarm.

In a speech that only 48 hours ago was going to be solely a call to arms, Mr. Obama instead offered a qualified endorsement of a proposal that his own advisers conceded was rife with risk, given Russia's steadfast refusal to agree to any previous measures to pressure Syria, its longtime ally.

"It's too early to tell whether this offer will succeed, and any agreement must verify that the Assad regime keeps its commitments," Mr. Obama said. "But this initiative has the potential to remove the threat of chemical weapons without the use of force."

The president said he had asked Congressional leaders to postpone a vote authorizing military action — a vote he was almost certain to lose — even while making the moral case for punishing Syria for its deadly use of chemical weapons. What Mr. Obama did not say was how long he was willing to wait, what would convince him that the Russian proposal was credible, and what he would do if it was not.

For Mr. Obama, the 16-minute address from the East Room was a frank acknowledgment of how radically the political and diplo-

Continued on Page A8



President Obama

Chemical Disarmament Tough Even Without a War Going On

By WILLIAM J. BROAD and C. J. CHIVERS

Spread far and wide across Syria, the chemical weapons complex of the fractured state includes factories, bunkers, storage depots and thousands of munitions, all of which would have to be inspected and secured under a diplomatic initiative that President Obama says he is willing to explore.



A chemical weapons inspector checking the ground in Syria.

But monitoring and securing unconventional weapons have proved challenging in places like Iraq, North Korea and Iran — even in peacetime. Syria is bound up in the third year of a bloody civil war, with many of the facilities squarely in battlefields.

"I'm very concerned about the fine print," said Amy E. Smithson, an expert on chemical weapons at the Monterey Institute of International Studies in California. "It's a gargantuan task for the inspectors to mothball production, install padlocks, inventory the bulk agent as well as the munitions. Then a lot of it has to be destroyed — in a war zone."

"What I'm saying is, 'Beware of this deal,'" Dr. Smithson added. "It's deceptively attractive."

As difficult as it may be to reach a diplomatic solution to head off a United States strike on Syria, the details of enforcement are themselves complex and uncertain, people with experience monitoring weapons facilities

Continued on Page A10

DE BLASIO FIRST IN MAYORAL RACE, NEAR 40% NEEDED TO AVOID RUNOFF

LHOTA FOR G.O.P.

Thompson Running in
2nd Place Among
Democrats

By DAVID M. HALBFINGER
and DAVID W. CHEN

Bill de Blasio, whose campaign for mayor of New York tapped into a city's deepening unease with income inequality and aggressive police practices, captured far more votes than any of his rivals in the Democratic primary on Tuesday.

But even as Mr. de Blasio, an activist-turned-operative and now the New York City public advocate, celebrated a remarkable come-from-behind surge, it was not clear if he had won the 40 percent needed to avoid a runoff Oct. 1 with William C. Thompson Jr., the second-place finisher. Elections officials said it could take a week to count all ballots.

Mr. Thompson vowed to fight on. "Tonight is for every one of you out there who have ever been counted out," he told a jubilant crowd chanting "Three more weeks."

The winner of an unusually spirited Republican contest was Joseph J. Lhota, a no-nonsense former chairman of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority. He defeated John A. Catsimatidis, a volatile billionaire who ran an often whimsical campaign.

Mr. Lhota, who served as deputy mayor to Rudolph W. Giuliani, will carry his tough-minded approach to public safety and city spending into the general election on Nov. 5.

In the unexpectedly heated race for the sleepy office of city comptroller, Scott M. Stringer, the Manhattan borough president, who was supported by the Democratic establishment, defeated a last-minute comeback attempt by Eliot Spitzer, who resigned as governor over his use of prostitutes. (Page A23.)

Mr. Lhota, a vocal supporter of Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg's policies, called his nomination "the first step in continuing a strong future for our city."

By contrast, Mr. de Blasio's vow to make a clean break from the Bloomberg era struck a chord

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Democrats for Mayor

(PREDICTEDS REPORTED: 67%)

Bill de Blasio	252,927	40%
William C. Thompson Jr.	164,748	26%
Christine C. Quinn	96,439	15%
John C. Liu	44,511	7%
Anthony D. Weiner	31,002	5%
Erick J. Salgado	14,891	2%
Randy Credico	13,456	2%
Ned Gornish	5,872	1%
Sal F. Albanese	5,842	1%

Continued on Page A24



The mayoral hopeful Bill de Blasio and his wife, Chirlane McCray, at a Brooklyn library Tuesday.

Luck and a Shrewd Strategy Fueled Ascension

By MICHAEL BARBARO

The commercial that changed the course of the mayor's race almost never happened.

Bill de Blasio's campaign team had mused about building an ad around his wife, Chirlane McCray, a telegenic African-American poet, then abandoned the concept.

They then turned to his 15-year-old son, but nothing seemed to go right. The de Blasio family kitchen in Brooklyn was not big enough for the camera crew, so they borrowed a bigger one from a neighbor.

The neighbor's kitchen turned out to be too fancy, sending the wrong message for a populist

candidate. So a long lens was used to blur out the expensive fixtures.

But when the commercial was finally shown to the candidate and his wife, they seemed overcome, instantly recognizing the power of its message: that the aggressive policing of the Bloomberg era was not an abstraction to Mr. de Blasio, it was an urgent personal worry within his biracial household.

"This," predicted the campaign's pollster, Anna Greenberg, "will be huge."

The ad exploded, transforming the fortunes of a fourth-place campaign and confirming the convictions of a long-shot politician who had banked his candidacy on a series of big bets: that

a relentless critique of the Police Department's stop-and-frisk tactic would resonate with white New Yorkers, not scare them off; that in a city of tribal politics an Italian-American could win the hearts of black voters; that a tired-seeming message about a tale of two cities would stir those people still hurting after a traumatic economic recession; and, most of all, that there was far greater unhappiness with Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg than polls had registered or Mr. de Blasio's rivals had realized.

On the outside, Mr. de Blasio's improbable ascent in the Democratic mayor's race, from afterthought to front-runner in just four weeks, looked meteoric and

Continued on Page A24

Lhota Hopes to Capitalize on Wall St. Dismay Over Liberal Tilt

By MICHAEL M. GRYNBAUM

They are startled and unsure how to react. "Terrifying," is how one banker put it.

Many in New York's business and financial elite, stung by the abrupt ascent of Bill de Blasio, an unapologetic tax-the-rich liberal, are fixated on a single question: What are we going to do?

The angst, emanating from charity galas and Park Avenue dinner tables, has created an unexpected political opening for Joseph J. Lhota, the Republican nominee, whose once-sleepy candidacy is now viewed by players in both parties as their last, best hope for salvaging the business-friendly government of the Bloomberg era.

Even before his victory speech on Tuesday night, Mr. Lhota was



The Republican nominee, Joseph J. Lhota, on Tuesday.

moving quickly to exploit his newfound role. He planned to speak on primary night with Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg, whose blessing could confer credibility with the Manhattan

establishment.

His fund-raisers are wooing real estate and business moguls turned off by the leftist tenor of the Democratic primary campaign, and some Democratic officials have already quietly approached him to offer help.

"I've heard from people who would usually be inclined to support the Democratic candidate," said an upbeat James S. Tisch, the chief executive of the Loews Corporation and a finance chairman of Mr. Lhota's campaign, as he greeted well-wishers at a breakfast fund-raiser that attracted 200 guests — both Democrats and Republicans — on Monday.

Even if Democrats hold a runoff election, Mr. de Blasio's commanding finish in a matchup with a left-leaning Tuesday night means that his lib-

eral message could well dominate that intraparty contest, leaving Mr. Lhota likely to face a left-leaning opponent in November.

Mr. Lhota knows he has to make a convincing case: he has struggled to connect on the campaign trail, where his semi-ironic humor does not always translate, and he occasionally needs to be reminded to talk to people at parades.

But he brings an easy charm and a commanding knowledge of municipal government, having served as a chief lieutenant to Rudolph W. Giuliani and overseen the region's sprawling transportation network.

Fund-raising is an immediate priority, after a lackluster effort in the primary. But Mr. Lhota believes a matchup with a left-leaning

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INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Freedom Awaits Taliban Officer

Pakistani officials say they are ready to release an imprisoned senior Taliban commander, in a bid to bolster the faltering Afghan peace process. PAGE A6

NEW YORK A19-24

A Suspect's Family Speaks

The man held in connection with a deadly attack in Union Square Park has a history of mental illness. PAGE A19

A Pavilion's Last Days

The shopping center at South Street Seaport's Pier 17 made its final sales in anticipation of demolition. PAGE A19

NATIONAL A12-18

Court Upbraided N.S.A.

Intelligence officials released documents showing that a judge reprimanded the National Security Agency for violating its own procedures. PAGE A14

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B11-16

Chance of a Cooler World Cup

FIFA, soccer's governing body, signaled support for shifting the 2022 Cup in Qatar from the summer heat. PAGE B11

U.S. Team Qualifies

The United States defeated its rival Mexico, 2-0, and will play in its seventh straight World Cup. PAGE B11

ARTS C1-8

Saving the Treasures of Detroit

The Detroit Institute of Arts, whose assets include a fresco of autoworkers, is one of the few jewels in the city's shattered identity, and is essential to its recovery. Roberta Smith writes. PAGE C1



BUSINESS DAY B1-9

Legal Setback for Google

A federal appeals court ruled that a lawsuit accusing Google of illegal wiretapping in its efforts to map the human world could proceed. PAGE B1

Well-to-Do Doing Very Well

The top 1 percent of earners took more than half of the total income in 2012, the highest level ever recorded. PAGE B4

FASHION B10

A Thom Browne Vision

Thom Browne presented a haunting runway show, with some inspired designs. Review by Cathy Noyen. PAGE B10

DINING D1-10

Growing Into Chef's Whites

American chefs, even the luminaries who led a food revolution in the 1970s and '80s, have often discouraged their children from joining the profession. But now a generation of chefs and entrepreneurs who grew up in the kitchen are shaping American food. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Thomas L. Friedman

PAGE A27



Cuccinelli moving to defuse gift issue

GOP candidate to give more than \$18,000 to Richmond charity

BY LAURA VOZZELLA

RICHMOND — Virginia Attorney General Ken Cuccinelli II said he will give a Richmond-based charity more than \$18,000 — the value of gifts he received from a Star Scientific executive whose much larger presents to Gov. Robert F. McDonnell and his family are the focus of two investigations.

Cuccinelli, the Republican candidate for governor, has been under pressure from critics and supporters to pay back Star chief executive Jonnie R. Williams Sr. since late July, when McDonnell (R) announced that he would return valuables and money that Williams had provided to him and his family.

"I made the decision to send the check because it's the right thing to do, plain and simple," Cuccinelli said in a two-minute video shot in his kitchen, a refrigerator adorned with a child's artwork behind him. "This is something I would have liked to have done sooner, but like most Virginians, writing a check for more than \$18,000 is not a simple matter for my family and me. It's taken a while to get our funds together."

"For those who have been disappointed in this situation or how I've handled it, I apologize. It's been a humbling set of lessons for me."

Cuccinelli's effort to distance himself from the controversial business executive suggested that the gifts scandal threatens not only McDonnell's political future but also Cuccinelli's bid to replace him. The announcement came

CUCCINELLI CONTINUED ON A4

On postlocal.com

View Cuccinelli's video message and check out related charts about gifts given to Virginia politicians.

Obama takes Syria case to people



President Obama met with Republican and Democratic senators during the weekly policy luncheons on Capitol Hill ahead of his address.



Ahmad Abu Layz, 15, a 15-year-old rebel fighter, walks with his father along a damaged street in the northern Syrian city of Aleppo.

CHEMICAL WEAPONS PROPOSALS

Securing Assad's toxic arsenal would be daunting, experts say

BY JOBY WARRICK AND LOVEDAY MORRIS

As diplomats wrangled over competing plans for securing Syria's chemical weapons, arms-control experts warned Tuesday of the formidable challenges involved in carrying out such a complex and risky operation in the midst of a raging civil war.

U.N. teams dispatched to Syria for the mission would be attempting something new: finding and safeguarding a long-hidden arsenal in a country that has long stood outside key international arms-control agree-

ments — all while exposed to crossfire from Syria's warring factions.

Although the mission might be worth the risks, experts say, it would be costly and time-consuming, especially if the goal included the physical destruction of what is estimated to be thousands of chemical warheads and rockets as well as hundreds of tons of liquid toxics kept in bulk storage throughout Syria.

"It is doable, and potentially a great idea, but let's not be naive,"

SYRIA CONTINUED ON A12

VOWS TO TRY LAST DIPLOMATIC OPTION

Says U.S. must strike if Assad keeps stockpile

BY ZACHARY A. GOLDFARB AND DAVID NAKAMURA

President Obama said Tuesday that he would seize one last diplomatic opening to avoid a military strike on Syria, while trying to convince a skeptical United States that it must retaliate against the Middle Eastern nation's alleged use of chemical weapons if the effort fails.

In a nationally televised prime-time address from the East Room of the White House, Obama cautiously embraced a Russian proposal that the government of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad give up its stockpile of chemical weapons, signaling that he would drop his call for an assault on the regime if Assad complies.

But with little guarantee that diplomacy would prevail, Obama spent the bulk of his 17-minute speech trying to directly address the concerns that have moved public opinion and Congress against him over the past week.

The president argued that a military response is in the national interest, although he conceded that Syria poses no direct threat to the United States. Obama said that not responding to Assad's alleged use of chemical weapons in an Aug. 21 attack that killed more than 1,400 outside Damascus would allow him to use them again and would embolden other regimes hostile to the United States, including Iran.

At the same time, Obama made an emotional appeal to Americans' basic sense of right and wrong, invoking the use of gas in

OBAMA CONTINUED ON A16

Face-to-face talks

Kerry and his Russian counterpart agree to meet in Geneva. A12

Personal experiences

Resolution is a tough sell for lawmakers who are veterans. A14

Indecision as art

Congress finds itself assessing its scrambled partisanship. A13

NSA broke privacy rules for 3 years, documents say

BY ELLEN NAKASHIMA, JULIE TATE AND CAROL LEONIG

The National Security Agency for almost three years searched a massive database of Americans' phone call records attempting to identify potential terrorists in violation of court-approved privacy rules, and the problem went unfixed because no one at the agency had a full technical understanding of how its system worked, according to new documents and senior government officials.

Moreover, it was Justice Department officials who discovered the problem and reported it to the court that oversees surveillance programs, the documents show, undermining assertions by the NSA that self-reporting is part of its culture.

The improper activity went on from May 2006 to January 2009, according to a March 2009 opinion by Judge Reggie B. Walton, who serves on the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court.

It was one of more than a dozen documents declassified and released Tuesday in response to lawsuits by civil liberties groups and at the direction of President Obama in the wake of the June disclosure by former NSA contractor Edward J. Snowden of the massive phone records collection.

"The documents released today are a testament to the government's strong commitment to detecting, correcting and reporting mistakes that occur in implementing technologically complex intelligence collection activities, and to

NSA CONTINUED ON A4

Another long line for veterans

As VA touts progress on its disability-claims backlog, the appeals stack up

BY STEVE VOGEL

As the Obama administration touts its recent progress in reducing the enormous backlog of veterans' disability claims, a second backlog is rarely mentioned.

More than a quarter-million veterans are appealing disability-claim decisions they say are wrong, and in some cases they can wait four years or more for a ruling, figures from the Department of Veterans Affairs show.

The 256,061 veterans appealing decisions represent an approximately 50 percent increase since President Obama took office. And more are coming. The Board of Veterans' Appeals, which makes the final administrative decisions on appeals, expects its number of pending cases to double over the next four years.



Matthew Goldberg at home in Hampstead, N.C. The Iraq war veteran has been appealing a VA disability-claim ruling since 2008.

"I'm not looking for any special treatment here," said Matthew Goldberg, 47, a retired Army Special Forces soldier who served three tours in Iraq and earned three Bronze Star Medals. Since 2008, he has been appealing a VA decision that granted him limited disability compensation for post-traumatic stress disorder and a back injury.

"I just want to be treated with dignity and respect, and a lot of the time I didn't get that from VA," said Goldberg, who has sought higher compensation.

The appeals backlog has grown partly because VA has directed resources away from appeals and toward the high-profile disability backlog, according to interviews with VA workers and veterans' ad-

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IN THE NEWS



Indian rape verdict: Four men were convicted in the brutal assault on a 23-year-old woman on a bus, a killing that sparked outrage. A10

Recession's toll: American families are becoming increasingly polarized along racial, class and educational lines, a report said. A3

THE NATION
Several extremist groups took part in the attack in Benghazi, Libya, U.S. officials have determined. A6
Colorado voters were deciding whether to recall two state senators who supported tougher gun-control laws. A7

THE WORLD
Hundreds of villagers fled their homes in the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh after three days of deadly Hindu-Muslim violence. A10
Pakistan said it will release a senior Afghan Taliban leader, raising

limited hopes for a breakthrough in Afghan peace negotiations. A10
Tribal began for Kenya's deputy president, accused of inciting post-election violence. A10

HEALTH
The FDA will require more severe warning labels on OxyContin and other powerful painkillers to try to combat addiction and deaths. A2

THE REGION
Tyronne Lewis, 28, found guilty of first-degree murder, became the third man convicted in Alexandria activist

Lenny Harris's 2011 kidnapping and death. B1
Donald Trump and his daughter Ivanka unveiled room and meeting space designs for turning the Old Post Office Pavilion into a luxury hotel. B1
Montgomery County officials announced a campaign to discourage motorists from giving money to roadside panhandlers. B3
District officials plan to try to combat the number of traffic enforcement cameras on city streets. B1

THE ECONOMY
Apple unveiled two new versions of its iPhone, including a lower-cost model aimed at customers in fast-growing overseas markets. A16
The Dow Jones industrial average dropped Bank of America, Alcoa and Hewlett-Packard because of low share prices and added Goldman Sachs, Nike and Visa. A16
House GOP leaders offered a bill to fund the government after Sept. 30, but conservatives savaged it for failing to kill Obamacare. A20

STYLE
The Eisenhower Memorial Commission canceled a planned appearance to seek preliminary approval for the controversial design. C6

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FOOD
Bubbles to a T: Pearls of tapioca make this Taiwanese tea a treat. But can you make them yourself? E1

SPORTS
Only half bad: Robert Griffin III hopes to build on his strong finish Monday night. D1

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CONTRACT 0 2013
The Washington Post / Year 136, No. 280
0 70626 211001 5

CHINESE ACTIVISTS TEST NEW LEADER AND ARE CRUSHED

NO DISSENT TOLERATED

Members of Movement
Fighting Corruption
Face Trial and Jail

By ANDREW JACOBS
and CHRIS BUCKLEY

BEIJING — The 20 or so activists gathered at an isolated guesthouse on the outskirts of the capital, leaving their cellphones behind to avoid detection by the police. China's first leadership change in a decade was fast approaching, and the group saw an opening for a movement to fight injustice and official corruption.

That day, in May 2012, they began work on a plan to expand the New Citizens Movement, an ambitious campaign for transparency and fairness that would eventually draw as many as 5,000 supporters, inspire street protests across the country and provide the first major test to help gauge the new leadership's tolerance for grass-roots political activism.

They were heartened when China's new leader, Xi Jinping, came to power that November, vowing to stamp out corruption, promote judicial fairness and respect the Constitution, goals tantalizingly close to their own.

Now, 14 months later, their ideals have collided with a harsh reality.

About 20 people associated with the group have been detained. Three members have been tried and await judgment. And the rights lawyer who organized the guesthouse meeting, Xu Zhiyong, was indicted last month for "gathering a crowd to disrupt public order" and faces almost certain conviction.

The crushing of the New Citizens Movement is just one stark example of the new leadership's refusal to countenance any stirrings of opposition.

Since Mr. Xi assumed control, the Communist Party has used

Continued on Page A6



STEPHEN CHOW/GETTY IMAGES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Obama, in Raleigh, N.C., on Wednesday, will speak on Friday at the Justice Department on government spying.

Obama's Path From Critic to Overseer of Spying

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — As a young lawmaker defining himself as a presidential candidate, Barack Obama visited a center for scholars in August 2007 to give a speech on terrorism. He described a surveillance state run amok and vowed to rein it in.

"That means no more illegal wiretapping of American citizens," he declared. "No more national security letters to spy on citizens who are not suspected of a crime."

More than six years later, the onetime constitutional lawyer is now the commander in chief presiding over a surveillance state that some of his own advisers think has once again gotten out of control. On Friday, he will give another speech, this time at the Justice Department defending government spying even as he

Views Shaped by Plot Warnings — Speech Friday

adjusts it to address a wave of public concern over civil liberties.

The journey between those two speeches reflects the transition from the backbench of the United States Senate to the chair behind the Resolute Desk in the Oval Office. Like other presidents before him, the idealistic candidate skeptical of government power found that the tricky trade-offs of national security issues look different to the person charged with using that power to ensure public safety.

Aides said that even as a sena-

tor, Mr. Obama supported robust surveillance as long as it was legal and appropriate, and that as president he still shares the concerns about overreach he expressed years ago. But they said his views have been shaped to a striking degree by the reality of waking up every day in the White House responsible for heading off the myriad threats he finds in his daily intelligence briefings.

"When you get the package every morning, it puts steel in your spine," said David Plouffe, the president's longtime adviser. "There are people out there every day who are plotting. The notion that we would put down a tool that would protect people here in America is hard to fathom."

At the same time, aides said Mr. Obama was surprised to learn after leaks by Edward J.

Continued on Page A3

U.S. Move Seen To Add Limits Over Profiling

By MATT APUZIO

The Justice Department will significantly expand its definition of racial profiling to prohibit federal agents from considering religion, national origin, gender and sexual orientation in their investigations, a government official said Wednesday.

The move addresses a decade of criticism from civil rights groups that say federal authorities have in particular singled out Muslims in counterterrorism investigations and Latinos for immigration investigations.

The Bush administration banned profiling in 2003, but with two caveats: It did not apply to national security cases, and it covered only race, not religion, ancestry or other factors.

Since taking office, Attorney General Eric H. Holder Jr. has been under pressure from Democrats in Congress to eliminate those provisions. "These exceptions are a license to profile American Muslims and Hispanic-Americans," Senator Richard J. Durbin, Democrat of Illinois, said in 2012.

President George W. Bush said in 2001 that racial profiling was wrong and promised "to end it in

Continued on Page A18

Public Hospitals Use New Law To Expand Base Beyond Poor

By ANEMONA HARTOCCOLIS

Todd Obolsky lives in a studio apartment in Manhattan, drives a leased Toyota Corolla and occasionally splurges on experimental cuisine in the East Village. When the Affordable Care Act allowed him to buy insurance for the first time in years, he was so price-sensitive that \$30 a month made a difference in which plan he picked.

So the obvious choice was MetroPlus. It offered the best deal at the coverage level he was looking for — about \$400 a month for a gold plan, the second-highest of the four levels. "That's like as high as I can possibly go without living on rice," he said.

He never noticed that it was the insurance company of New York City's public hospital system; to a typical shopper on New

York's health exchange, it looks no different from big-name companies, like Empire or United.

But to the Health and Hospitals Corporation, the city's public hospital agency, it is not merely another insurance plan. The corporation created MetroPlus, and sees it as a powerful opportunity to attract a different class of patients — somewhat higher-income, more educated and more stable — to a system whose historic mission has been to serve the poor, and whose finances have been straining.

"It's a potential significant source of additional revenue," said Alan Aviles, the corporation's president. While "we won't necessarily have concierge serv-

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BENGAZI ATTACK CALLED AVOIDABLE IN SENATE REPORT

STATE DEPT. IS FAULTED

Panel Finds Lapses in
Security and Poor
Communication

This article is by Mark Mazzetti, Eric Schmitt and David D. Kirkpatrick.

WASHINGTON — A stinging report by the Senate Intelligence Committee released Wednesday concluded that the attack 16 months ago that killed four Americans in Benghazi, Libya, could have been prevented, singling out the State Department for criticism for its failure to bolster security in response to intelligence warnings about a growing security crisis around the city.

The report is broadly consistent with the findings of previous inquiries into the attack on Sept. 11, 2012, but it is the first public examination of a breakdown in communications between the State Department and the C.I.A. during the weeks leading up to the deadly episode at the diplomatic compound where J. Christopher Stevens, the American ambassador, died.

It is also the first report to implicitly criticize Mr. Stevens, raising questions about his judgment and actions in the weeks before his death. Like previous inquiries, the Senate investigation does not cite any specific intelligence warnings about an impending attack.

The events in Benghazi and their aftermath became the subject of a fiercely partisan debate, with Republicans accusing Obama administration officials of making misleading statements about connections between the attackers and Al Qaeda. In an addendum to the bipartisan report, Republican committee members singled out former Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, a possible Democratic presidential candidate in 2016, as bearing ultimate responsibility for lax security at the diplomatic compound in Benghazi.

The report does not break significant new ground on the issue of administration statements about the episode, or on the infamous "talking points" drawn up after the attack for a television appearance by Susan E. Rice, now the national security adviser. But it is unsparing in its criticism of the State Department for failing to provide adequate security to the mission even as vio-

Continued on Page A3

With \$613 Million at Stake, an Albany Rivalry Is Said to Escalate

By SUSANNE CRAIG

ALBANY — Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo has asked people if they think Eric T. Schneiderman, the attorney general of New York State, wears eyeglasses.

Mr. Schneiderman has told people that he believes Mr. Cuomo's administration is Machiavellian and is out to undermine him.

A little backbiting by the officials and their aides, who occupy power suites at opposite ends of the State Capitol's second floor, might be chalked up to the kind of rivalry that is an unseemly but unsurprising fact of life atop the state's political food chain. But this relationship, as described in repetitive detail by many in New York Democratic circles, has gone from bad to toxic.

"The two men are like oil and water," said one Democrat who knows both of them well, "and lately fire seems to have been added."

Numerous people in the two camps were interviewed for this article. None would allow their names to be used when describing the content of such private and sensitive conversations.

Now, the fractiousness between Mr. Cuomo and Mr. Schneiderman is spilling over into the running of state government. With the annual state budget process about to begin, the two leaders are going to battle over how to spend \$613 million obtained by the attorney gen-



MIKE GIZAL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Attorney General Eric T. Schneiderman, left, and Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo have been at odds.

eral's office in a settlement of securities litigation with JPMorgan Chase.

Mr. Schneiderman and the bank negotiated the terms so that he would be given sole discretion over how to allocate the money. He has big plans for it: preventing avoidable foreclosures for thousands of struggling homeowners and expanding his of-

fice's efforts to fight financial fraud. But Mr. Cuomo, who is up for re-election this year, wants the money deposited in the state's general fund, where it would be used as the governor and legislators see fit.

The governor's budget, to be announced on Tuesday, will outline how to pay for various pro-

grams. While the JPMorgan settlement will not cover any expenses in the current state budget, it could finance a number of big-ticket items, including a year's worth of universal prekindergarten and programs for middle-school students in New York City or future tax cuts for busi-

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INTERNATIONAL A4-13

A Quandary for Mexico

The authorities seem to have backed off, for now, as residents of Michoacán State cheer the resistance to drug gangs by so-called self-defense fighters, like the gunman above. PAGE A4

INTERNATIONAL

Israel Tackles Holocaust Terms

Israel is considering a law against slurs, like Nazi, associated with the Holocaust, raising free-speech questions. PAGE A4

NEW YORK A21-25

Hello? Can You Hear Me Now?

New York's elevated lines offer a preview of what will happen if subway officials expand cellphone service. PAGE A21

ARTS C1-10

Valentine of an Advance

Sylvia Day, a romance novelist, will be paid eight figures for two books. PAGE C1

NATIONAL A14-19

Missile Officers Suspended

The Air Force suspended 34 officers, and revoked their security clearances, for cheating on tests of proficiency in operating nuclear warheads. PAGE A14

Spending Bill Passes Easily

The House overwhelmingly approved a \$1.1 trillion spending bill for the current fiscal year, struggling off threats from the Tea Party. PAGE A18

Museum to Name New Chief

The Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles is expected to name Philippe Vergne of the Dia Art Foundation in New York as its director. PAGE A15

SPORTS THURSDAY B12-17

At Westminster, More to Show

The Westminster Kennel Club will stage an agility championship next month, for mixed breeds as well as purebreds, two days before its show at Madison Square Garden. The events, demonstrated above by two puppies, are common at other shows, but a first at Westminster. PAGE B15

HOME D1-8

A Rural-Urban Revival

Recent arrivals to Hudson, N.Y., a tiny city described as "always on the verge of something," are behind much of a creative boom there, opening art galleries, music spaces, home stores and restaurants. Many are bringing an urban sensibility to the community. PAGE D1

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Gail Collins

PAGE A27





Pages 3 & 5
Living Newspaper: Weekly Participatory performance, Swiss Institute, New York, NY, US, August 16, 2012. With actors Audrey Crabtree, Ray Field and Lia Woertendyke. Commissioned by Forever & Today, Inc., curated by Ingrid Chu and Savannah Gorton; Videographer: Niknaz Tavakolian; Costume Advisor: Zulema Griffin. Photo: Liz Magic Laser

Pages 7 & 9
The Living Newspaper Workshop Workshop with students at Columbia College Chicago, IL, US, September 26, 2012. Photo: Liz Magic Laser

Pages 11 & 13
The Living Newspaper Workshop Workshop with students at Watkins College of Art, Design & Film, Nashville, TN, US, December 3, 2012 Special thanks to Professor Tom Williams, PhD. Photo: Anonymous

Pages 15, 17 & 19
Front Page Workshop in collaboration with actor Audrey Crabtree, UCSD University Art Gallery, San Diego, CA, US, May 9, 2013. This workshop was part of an exhibition-related program for We'd love your company, by artist Ethan Breckenridge and curator Michelle Hyun. Photo: Andrew Oh

Pages 21 & 23
The Living Newspaper: Extra Extra Performances and workshops in collaboration with actors Audrey Crabtree and Michael Wiener, San Francisco, CA, US, August 7 - 11, 2013 A Southern Exposure Off-Site Graue Award project. Costumes designed by Slow and Steady Wins the Race Made possible by the generous support of The Graue Family Foundation Special thanks to Marjory Graue, Francois Nion, Joe Acuna, and Rodrigo Aviles of JC Decaux, Audrey Crabtree, Michael Wiener, Slow and Steady Wins the Race, Jamie Sneider, Gur Rashal, Mary Ping, Curie Choi, Electric Works, Nick Elsner and DPW, Tiffanie Tran, Kellie Flint, Michael Hall, Taraneh Hemami, Jonn Herschend, Jehn Howard, Abraham Kelso, Zara de Matran, Erica Molesworth, Daniel Nevers, Zoe Rothman, Courtney Fink, Valerie Imus, Sarah Hotchkiss, and Dave Sandoval. Photo: Liz Magic Laser

Pages 25 & 27
The Living Newspaper: On Location Performance, the Plays and Players Theatre, Philadelphia, PA, US, September 11 and 12, 2013 Presented by FringeArts 2013 With collaborators and performers Audrey Crabtree, Annie Fox and Michael Wiener. Other collaborators include Curators: Theresa Rose and Nato Thompson; Assistant Director: Jamie Sneider; Costume Designer:

Slow and Steady Wins the Race; Audiovisual Manager: Irwin Seow; Videographers: Morgen Christie, Liz Magic Laser and Irwin Seow; Script Advisors: Hanna Novak and Sofia Pontén; Makeup Artist: Aja Barton. Special thanks to the FringeArts Tech Crew: Cali Flores, Joe R Glodek, Alessandro Pruscino, Row Walters. Special thanks also to Curie Choi, Tara Demmy, Mary Ping, Gur Rashal, Plum TV, Esther Kim Varet and Joseph Varet Photo: Liz Magic Laser

Pages 29 & 31
Bystander (research) Development residency for Bystander performance (at The Kitchen), Recess, New York, NY, US, January 5 - March 23, 2014. Script written by Liz Magic Laser and Sofia Pontén based on eighty-five interviews conducted by the cast with members of the public at the non-profit art space Recess in New York City while both Laser and Pontén were in residence there. Bystander was developed with and featured television journalists and actors Lynn Berg, Roger Clark (NY1 reporter), Audrey Crabtree, Annie Fox, Maria Trice (former WWOR-TV reporter), Michael Wiener and Jon Wright (former KEYT-TV and WLBT-TV weather and news anchor) Other collaborators include Curator: Lumi Tan; Assistant Director: Sofia Pontén; Technical Director: Irwin Seow; Videographers: Laura Cooper and Lucia Hinojosa; Costume Stylist: Felicia Garcia-Rivera; Research Assistants: Mimi Chiahemen, Lucia Hinojosa, Brian McElroy and Rachel Zaretsky. Liz Magic Laser's Bystander was produced by The Kitchen in collaboration with Recess, and made possible with support from Michael I. Jacobs M.D., Joanne Leonhardt Cassullo and The Dorothea Leonhardt Fund at the Communities Foundation of Texas, Inc., Eileen and Michael Cohen, Joseph Varet & Esther Kim Varet, The Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, The Fan Fox and Leslie R. Samuels Foundation, Joseph and Joan Cullman Foundation for the Arts, the Foundation for Contemporary Arts, and with public funds from New York City Department of Cultural Affairs in partnership with the City Council and New York State Council on the Arts with the support of Governor Andrew Cuomo and the New York State Legislature. Photo: Liz Magic Laser

Old News is a project about information, media and recycled, reprinted news.

It is a non-profit newspaper presenting a selection of articles, images and words clipped from newspapers. The articles in Old News have all been chosen by individual artists for the purpose of redistributing the news. Guidelines are given, which change slightly from issue to issue, but it is essentially up to the artist to interpret them in each instance. Sometimes the artists follow the guidelines, sometimes not.

Old News is a second-generation, copyright-free newspaper. Apart from the newspaper you hold in your hands, the Old News project will be presented at different exhibition venues and take on many different shapes and forms. The Old News newspaper is for free.

Thanks to the artist, writers, photographers and contributors to Old News. – Jacob Fabricius, May 2015

Design Wrong Studio
ISBN 978-87-91409-83-7

Old News is co-produced by cneai and pork salad press
Old News news: oldnewsnews.org
Published by Pork Salad Press