

"All the News  
That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

Late Edition

Today, warm, humid, clouds and sun, high 87. Tonight, warm, muggy, strong thunderstorms, low 68. Tomorrow, not as warm, showers, high 78. Weather map, Page 20.

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\$6 beyond the greater New York metropolitan area.

\$5.00

## U.S. and China Will Hold Talks About Hacking

### First Diplomatic Effort Over U.S. Concerns

By DAVID E. SANGER and MARK LANDLER

WASHINGTON — The United States and China have agreed to hold regular, high-level talks on how to set standards of behavior for cybersecurity and commercial espionage, the first diplomatic effort to defuse the tensions over what the United States says is a daily barrage of computer break-ins and theft of corporate and government secrets.

The talks will begin in July. Next Friday, President Obama and President Xi Jinping of China, who took office this spring, are scheduled to hold an unusual, informal summit meeting in Rancho Mirage, Calif., that could set the tone for their relationship and help them confront chronic tensions like the nuclear threat from North Korea.

American officials say they do not expect the process to immediately yield a significant reduction in the daily intrusions from China. The head of the United States Cyber Command and director of the National Security Agency, Gen. Keith B. Alexander, has said the attacks have resulted in the “greatest transfer of wealth in history.” Hackers have stolen a variety of secrets, including negotiating strategies and schematics for next-generation fighter jets and gas pipeline control systems.

Nonetheless, a senior American official involved in the negotiations to hold regular meetings said in an interview on Friday that “we need to get some norms and rules.”

“It is a serious issue that cannot simply be swatted away with talking points,” said the official, who noted that the meetings would focus primarily on the theft of intellectual property from

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## For Bloomberg, Gun Law Push Shifts to States

By JAVIER C. HERNÁNDEZ

CARSON CITY, Nev. — John W. Griffin is a fast-talking, whiskey-loving, fifth-generation Nevadan who spends his days as a lobbyist courting lawmakers in Stetsons. He advocates for luxury casinos, once brokered a dispute between a brothel and a nightclub, and has helped feuding families resolve tussles over cattle crossings.

Now he is representing the ultimate city slicker, Michael R. Bloomberg, the mayor of New York, who, undaunted by defeat in Congress, is taking his campaign for stricter gun laws to the nation's state capitals, including here, where a bill to expand the use of criminal background checks is before the State Legislature.

“I thought, ‘Heck, that’s going to be a tough battle,’” Mr. Griffin said. “But for a man with unmatched resources, there’s good reason to be hopeful.”

Fortified by several million dollars in contributions that have come in since the Newtown school massacre in December, Mayors Against Illegal Guns, the national coalition Mr. Bloomberg co-founded and finances, says it

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Iraqi Shiites at the shrine of Sayida Zeinab in Damascus, where the Prophet Muhammad’s granddaughter is said to be buried.

# The \$2.7 Trillion Medical Bill

## Colonoscopies Explain Why U.S. Leads the World in Health Expenditures

By ELISABETH ROSENTHAL

MERRICK, N.Y. — Deirdre Yapalater’s recent colonoscopy at a surgical center near her home here on Long Island went smoothly: she was whisked from pre-op to an operating room where a gastroenterologist, assisted by an anesthesiologist and a nurse, performed the routine cancer screening procedure in less than an hour. The test, which found nothing worrisome, racked up what is likely her most expensive medical bill of the year: \$6,385.

That is fairly typical: in Keene, N.H., Matt Meyer’s colonoscopy was billed at \$7,563.56. Maggie Christ of Chappaqua, N.Y., received \$9,142.84 in bills for the procedure. In Durham, N.C., the charges for Curtiss Devereux came to \$19,438, which included a polyp removal. While their insurers negotiated down the price, the final tab for each test was more than \$3,500.

“Could that be right?” said

Ms. Yapalater, stunned by charges on the statement on her dining room table. Although her insurer covered the procedure and she paid nothing, her health care costs still bite: Her premium payments jumped 10 percent last year, and rising co-payments and deductibles are straining the finances of her middle-class family, with its mission-style house in the suburbs and two S.U.V.’s parked outside. “You keep

### PAYING TILL IT HURTS

*A Case Study in High Costs*

thinking it’s free,” she said. “We call it free, but of course it’s not.”

In many other developed countries, a basic colonoscopy costs just a few hundred dollars and certainly well under \$1,000. That chasm in price helps explain why the United States is

far and away the world leader in medical spending, even though numerous studies have concluded that Americans do not get better care.

Whether directly from their wallets or through insurance policies, Americans pay more for almost every interaction with the medical system. They are typically prescribed more expensive procedures and tests than people in other countries, no matter if those nations operate a private or national health system. A list of drug, scan and procedure prices compiled by the International Federation of Health Plans, a global network of health insurers, found that the United States came out the most costly in all 21 categories — and often by a huge margin.

Americans pay, on average, about four times as much for a hip replacement as patients in Switzerland or France and more than three times as much for a Caesarean section as

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 Angiogram	 Colonoscopy	 Hip replacement	 M.R.I. scan
\$914 AVG. U.S. PRICE	\$1,185 AVG. U.S. PRICE	\$40,364 AVG. U.S. PRICE	\$1,121 AVG. U.S. PRICE
\$35 CANADA	\$655 SWITZERLAND	\$7,731 SPAIN	\$319 NETHERLANDS

Source: 2012 Comparative Price Report by the International Federation of Health Plans

## Seeking a Fresh Start, Holder Finds a Fresh Set of Troubles

*This article is by Peter Baker, Charlie Savage and Jonathan Weisman.*

WASHINGTON — At the end of last year, with the election decided and the Obama administration in office for four more years, Attorney General Eric H. Holder Jr. considered stepping down. He decided against it, in part because before he left he wanted to move beyond the disputes that had characterized his tenure, accomplish some of the goals he had set for the job and leave on his own terms.

If Mr. Holder really thought he could escape controversy, the last



Eric H. Holder Jr.

few weeks have reinforced how inescapable controversy has become for the nation’s chief law enforcement officer. A furor over tactics in leak investigations, including secretly obtaining phone logs for reporters at The Associated Press and Fox News, has again engulfed the attorney general in allegations, investigations and calls for resignation.

Over the course of four and a half years, no other member of President Obama’s cabinet has been at the center of so many polarizing episodes or the target of so much criticism. While the White House publicly backed Mr. Holder as he tried to smooth over the latest uproar amid new speculation about his future, some in the West Wing privately tell associates they wish he would step

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## Coming Soon: A Breakout Year for Black Films

By MICHAEL CIEPLY

LOS ANGELES — Musical. Romance. Epic history. Social drama. Christmas comedy.

After years of complaint and self-criticism about the shortage of prominent movies by and about black Americans, film companies are poised to release an extraordinary cluster of them across an array of genres in the last five months of 2013.

At least 10 new films will be released, including several awards contenders, from both independent and major distributors, like the Weinstein Company, Fox Searchlight and Universal Pictures.

Even some of those who made this year’s movies have been caught by surprise.

“You tell me!” said the director and screenwriter Lee Daniels, when asked how so many black-driven films had materialized at

once. His historical drama “The Butler” — based on a real-life White House butler who served eight presidents — is to be released by Weinstein on Aug. 16.

“I’m working in my own bubble, I come up for air, and there

they are,” Mr. Daniels said.

Black filmmakers say the wave of 2013 releases was built in large part on the creativity that has flourished on the independent-film circuit, which has become a

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CAIT ADKINS/WEINSTEIN COMPANY

Ariana Neal and Michael B. Jordan in “Fruitvale Station,” based on the 2009 killing of a young man in Oakland, Calif.

### INTERNATIONAL 6-10

#### Protests Rage in Turkey

Large protests against a plan to remake a park in Istanbul have become a broad rebuke to the government of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

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### NATIONAL 11-19

#### Deadly Weather in Oklahoma

A storm in the Oklahoma City region on Friday brought tornadoes and severe flooding, just 11 days after the devastating tornado in Moore.

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#### New Teacher Rating System

The New York State education commissioner imposed a new evaluation system in New York City, ending a long and acrimonious impasse.

PAGE 20

### OBITUARIES 22-23

#### Jean Stapleton Is Dead

The veteran musical comedy actress, who rose to stardom as the cheerfully daffy Queens housewife Edith Bunker on “All in the Family,” was 90.

PAGE 22

### SUNDAY REVIEW

#### Maureen Dowd

PAGE 1





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# New Evaluation System For New York Teachers

By CHANNING JOSEPH

The New York State education commissioner broke a long and acrimonious impasse on Saturday by imposing a new evaluation system that would rate New York City teachers in part on their students' test scores and streamline the disciplinary process.

The new system, announced after three hectic days of meetings, testimony and arbitration that involved the Bloomberg administration and the teachers' union, finally brought New York City into compliance with state law — the last district in the state to do so.

"It's time. The students have waited too long," said the commissioner, John B. King Jr., adding that the new plan would "help improve teaching and learning and give New York City students a much better opportunity to graduate from high school with the knowledge and skills they need to succeed in college and their careers."

In something of a compromise, Mr. King's plan would make New York City — with more than 1.1 million public school students, 75,000 teachers and 1,700 schools

— the only district in the state that would leave a significant part of the implementation of the evaluations up to individual schools, with teachers perhaps having the chance to weigh in with administrators on how they are rated.

"There is the opportunity for differentiation on the school level," Mr. King said.

Under the new system, 20 to 25 percent of each teacher's rating score would be determined by state-approved measures of students' growth, another 15 to 20 percent by measures established by the schools, and 55 to 60 percent would be based on in-class observations or performance assessed by video recording.

Although the new system would make it easier to fire teachers with poor evaluations, Mr. King said that "New York is not going to fire its way to educational success."

In 2010, the State Legislature approved the basic outlines of the new process to evaluate the state's public school teachers. Under the old system, each teacher received one of two possible ratings: "satisfactory" or "unsatisfactory." The new model would have four tiers — "highly



NATHANIEL BROOKS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

John B. King, the state education commissioner, ended a long impasse in New York City.

effective," "effective," "developing" and "ineffective" — and be based on test scores as well as classroom observations.

The lack of an agreement cost the city dearly. When the Bloomberg administration and the union, the United Federation of Teachers, failed to meet a deadline on Jan. 17, the city lost \$250 million in state aid and stood to

lose another \$200 million in grants.

In February, acknowledging the frayed relationship between the city and the union, and the improbability of reaching a middle ground, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo authorized Mr. King to impose a plan of his own if the two sides failed to come to a compromise by the end of May.

Both Michael Mulgrew, the president of the United Federation of Teachers, and Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg said on Saturday night that they were largely pleased with Mr. King's plan, which also included a new evaluation system for principals.

In a statement, Mr. Bloomberg praised the commissioner for rejecting a so-called sunset provi-

sion that would have let the evaluation system expire after a few years. Mr. King said the system could be changed, but through collective bargaining.

"Good teachers will become better ones and ineffective teachers can be removed from the classroom," the statement said. "While we are still reviewing the decision, and do not support every aspect of it, I applaud Commissioner King for putting our students first and creating a system that will allow our schools to continue improving."

In his statement, Mr. Mulgrew said, "New York City teachers will now have additional protections and opportunities to play a larger role in the development of the measures used to rate them."

Yet he expressed skepticism that it would be implemented fully by the city. "The tough part is trying to implement anything with this Department of Education, and that's our greatest concern," Mr. Mulgrew said in a telephone interview.

He added that he was "looking forward to a mayor who doesn't start with: 'How do we get rid of bad teachers?'"

Melissa DeRosa, a spokeswoman for Mr. Cuomo, said in a statement that the new system "will create real accountability in the classroom." She added: "The mayor didn't win and the union didn't win. Today, the students won. Finally."



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Today, times of clouds and sun, breezy, high 64. Tonight, partly cloudy, breezy, low 44. Tomorrow, variably cloudy, a shower, breezy, high 57. Weather map, Page A22.

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## Funds to Train Jobless in U.S. Are Drying Up

### Growing Gap in Skills Sought by Employers

By MOTOKO RICH

With the economy slowly reviving, an executive from Atlas Van Lines recently visited Louisville, Ky., with good news: the company wanted to hire more than 100 truck drivers ahead of the summer moving season.

But a usually reliable source of workers, the local government-financed job center, could offer little help, because the federal money that local officials had designated to help train drivers was already exhausted. Without the government assistance, many of the people who would be interested in applying for the driving jobs could not afford the \$4,000 classes to obtain commercial driver’s licenses. Now Atlas is struggling to find eligible drivers.

Across the country, work force centers that assist the unemployed are being asked to do more with less as federal funds dwindle for job training and related services.

In Seattle, for example, the region’s seven centers provided training for less than 5 percent of the 120,000 people who came in last year seeking to burnish their skills. And in Dallas, officials say they have annual funds left to support only 43 people in training programs, nowhere near enough to help the 23,500 people who have lost their jobs in the last 10 weeks alone.

The Labor Department announced on Friday that employers had added only 120,000 new jobs in March, a disappointing gain after three previous months of nearly twice that level. But with 12.7 million people still searching for jobs, the country is actually spending less on work force training than it did in good times.

Federal money for the primary training program for dislocated workers is 18 percent lower in today’s dollars than it was in 2006, even though there are six million

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## Comedy Timing Is Bad as News And Film Collide

By MICHAEL CIEPLY

LOS ANGELES — In the normal course of things a Hollywood movie about space aliens wouldn’t be affected by newspaper headlines.

But things aren’t entirely normal these days.

In recent weeks executives at 20th Century Fox have been quietly scrambling to distance a summer comedy, “Neighborhood Watch,” starring Ben Stiller, Vince Vaughn and Jonah Hill, from the shooting of Trayvon Martin. Mr. Martin, an unarmed black teenager, was killed on Feb. 26 by George Zimmerman, a community watch participant in Sanford, Fla., who has said he acted in self-defense and has not been charged with a crime.

In a phased withdrawal that began late last month Fox preemptively withdrew its trailers and advertising materials for the movie, which was filmed in Georgia and features Mr. Stiller, Mr. Vaughn, Mr. Hill and Richard Ayoade as four suburban watch members who save their neighborhood, and the world, from an invasion by space aliens.

But the studio and its filmmaking team — including the movie’s producer, Shawn Levy, who directed “Real Steel” and “Night at

Continued on Page A3



DAVID GUTTENFELDER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**North Korea Shows Off Rocket Set for Launch**

North Korean officials took foreign journalists to see the Unha-3 long-range rocket on Sunday at the Sohae Satellite Station in Tongchang-ri. South Korea said satellite images show the North may be preparing for its third underground nuclear test. Page A6.

## Tightening the Lid On Pain Prescriptions

### Doctors Shift Amid Alarm on Overuse

By BARRY MEIER

SEATTLE — It was the type of conversation that Dr. Claire Trescott dreads: telling physicians that they are not cutting it.

But the large health care system here that Dr. Trescott helps manage has placed controls on how painkillers are prescribed, like making sure doctors do not prescribe too much. Doctors on staff have been told to abide by the guidelines or face the consequences.

So far, two doctors have decided to leave, and two more have remained but are being closely monitored.

“It is excruciating,” said Dr. Trescott, who oversees primary care at Group Health. “These are often very good clinicians who just have this fatal flaw.”

High-strength painkillers known as opioids represent the most widely prescribed class of medications in the United States. And over the last decade, the number of prescriptions for the strongest opioids has increased nearly fourfold, with only limited evidence of their long-term effectiveness or risks, federal data shows.

“Doctors are prescribing like crazy,” said Dr. C. Richard Chapman, the director of the Pain Research Center at the University

of Utah.

Medical professionals have long been on high alert about powerful painkillers like OxyContin because of their widespread abuse by teenagers and others for recreational purposes.

Now the alarm is extending from the street to an arena where the drugs had been considered legitimate and safe: doctors’ offices where they are prescribed — and some say grossly overprescribed — for the treatment of long-term pain from back injuries, arthritis and other conditions.

Studies link narcotic painkillers to a variety of dangers, like sleep apnea, sharply reduced hormone production and, in the elderly, increased falls and hip fractures. The most extreme cases include fatal overdoses.

Data suggests that hundreds of thousands of patients nationwide may be on potentially dangerous dosages. And while no one questions that the medicines help countless patients and that most doctors prescribe them responsibly, there is a growing resistance to their creeping overuse. Experts say that doctors often simply keep patients on the drugs for

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CHRIS O'MEARA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Playoff Decides the Masters**

Bubba Watson used a daring shot on the second hole of sudden death to beat Louis Oosthuizen and win the Masters. Page D1.

## With Eye on General Election, ‘Super PAC’ Aims Blitz at Obama

By JIM RUTENBERG and JEFF ZELENY

American Crossroads, the biggest of the Republican “super PACs,” is planning to begin its first major anti-Obama advertising blitz of the year, a moment the Obama re-election campaign has been girding for and another sign that the general election is starting in earnest.

With an anticipated bank account of more than \$200 million, officials at American Crossroads said they would probably begin their campaign this month. But they said they would focus the bulk of the first phase from May through July, which they believe is a critical period for making an impression on voters, before summer vacations and the party conventions take place.

Steven J. Law, the group’s leader, said the ads would address the challenge of unseating a president who polls show is viewed favorably even though many people disapprove of his handling of the economy. Basically, Mr. Law

said, “how to dislodge voters from him.”

The ultimate goal of the Crossroads campaign, Mr. Law said, would be to better connect Americans’ disappointment with the economy to their views of the president, especially among crucial swing voters.

The Crossroads advertising push — the timing of which has been the subject of avid speculation at the Obama campaign headquarters in Chicago — would give the campaign of Mitt Romney, the Republican front-runner, the time and cover to map out its national organization, replenish its bank account and put the finishing touches on its own long-discussed advertising plan, which is expected to highlight the economic pain of ordinary Americans.

Crossroads was founded with help from the Republican strat-

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## Fierce ‘60 Minutes’ Interrogator Who Didn’t Blink

By TIM WEINER

Mike Wallace, the CBS reporter who became one of America’s best-known broadcast journalists as an interrogator of the famous and infamous on “60 Minutes,” died on Saturday. He was 93.

On its Web site, CBS said Mr. Wallace died at a care facility in New Canaan, Conn., where he had lived in recent years. Mr. Wallace, who received a pacemaker more than 20 years ago, had a long history of cardiac care and underwent triple bypass heart surgery in January 2008.

A reporter with the presence of a performer, Mr. Wallace went head to head with chiefs of state, celebrities and con artists for more than 50 years, living for when “you forget the lights, the cameras, everything else, and you’re really talking to each other,” he said in an interview with The New York Times videotaped in July 2006 and released on his death as part of the online feature “Last Word.”

Mr. Wallace created enough such moments to become a paragon of television journalism in the heyday of network news. As



RUBY WASHINGTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

In interviews, “forgive me” prefaced the toughest questions.

he grilled his subjects, he said, he walked “a fine line between sadism and intellectual curiosity.”

His success often lay in the questions he hurled, not the answers he received.

“Perjury,” he said, in his staccato style, to President Richard M. Nixon’s right-hand man, John D. Ehrlichman, while interviewing him during the Watergate affair. “Plans to audit tax returns for political retaliation. Theft of psychiatric records. Spying by

undercover agents. Conspiracy to obstruct justice. All of this by the law-and-order administration of Richard Nixon.”

Mr. Ehrlichman paused and said, “Is there a question in there somewhere?”

No, Mr. Wallace later conceded. But it was riveting television.

Both the style and the substance of his work drew criticism. CBS paid Nixon’s chief of staff

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#### INTERNATIONAL A4-9

**More Doubt on Syrian Truce**

The Syrian government put new conditions on any troop pullback, casting doubt on the cease-fire that was scheduled to begin this week. PAGE A8

**Pakistani Leader Visits India**

The president of Pakistan met with the prime minister of India, initiating a possible thaw in relations. PAGE A4

#### NEW YORK A16-19

**4 Police Officers Wounded**

A confrontation in Brooklyn brought the number of New York City officers shot in the last four months to eight. PAGE A16

#### NATIONAL A10-13

**Arrests in Tulsa Shootings**

The authorities have arrested two men, Jacob England, left, and Alvin Watts, in the shootings of five African-Americans in Tulsa, Okla., but they are being cautious on calling the attacks a hate crime. Three of the victims died. PAGE A10



#### NATIONAL

**Harsh Cuts Hit Texas Schools**

The reality of multibillion-dollar budget cuts to the Texas public school system, made during the last legislative session, is starting to hit home. PAGE A10

#### BUSINESS DAY B1-8

**Those Costly Megabytes**

With smartphones, people are confronting the task of calculating their data usage to avoid unexpected fees. PAGE B1

**2 Banks Draw Wall St.’s Eye**

Bank of America and Citigroup are often compared, so investors will be closely watching their latest numbers. PAGE B1



#### ARTS C1-8

**London Plans Art Olympiad**

This summer’s Olympic Games in London are being accompanied by an arts marathon, featuring everything from dance and Shakespeare to Lady Godiva in designer underwear. PAGE C1

#### SPORTS MONDAY D1-8

**Triumph and Turmoil for Vonn**

Last month, Lindsey Vonn completed a record-setting race season, the greatest by a woman in the history of Alpine skiing’s World Cup. But her best year came amid a thorny divorce from her husband, Thomas, who also acted as her coach, manager and equipment guru. PAGE D1

#### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

**Paul Krugman** PAGE A21



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# Police Arrest Two in Shootings, Ending a Terrifying Weekend in Tulsa

**By MANNY FERNANDEZ and CHANNING JOSEPH**

TULSA, Okla. — Late on Thursday afternoon, Jacob C. England, 19, posted a message on his Facebook page, expressing grief — and anger — over the second anniversary of his father’s death. Mr. England’s father, Carl, was shot on April 5, 2010, at an apartment complex here, and the man who was a person of interest in the case, Pernel Jefferson, is serving time at an Oklahoma state prison.

Mr. England is a Native American who has also described himself as white. Mr. Jefferson is black.

“Today is two years that my dad has been gone,” Mr. England wrote, and then used a racial epithet to describe Mr. Jefferson. “It’s hard not to go off between that and sheran I’m gone in the head,” he added, referring to the recent suicide of his 24-year-old fiancée, Sheran Hart Wilde. “RIP.

Dad and sheran I Love and miss u I think about both of u every second of the day.”

Hours later, the authorities say, Mr. England and his friend and roommate, Alvin Watts, 32, waged what city leaders believe was a racially motivated shooting rampage in the predominantly black neighborhoods of north Tulsa early Friday morning, driving through the streets in a pickup truck and randomly shooting pedestrians. Three black people were killed, and two others were wounded in the attacks.

Mr. England and Mr. Watts, who is white, were arrested early Sunday morning after investigators received tips to the state’s anonymous Crime Stoppers line, the authorities said. They will face three counts of first-degree murder, they said, and two counts of shooting with intent to kill.

At a news conference in downtown Tulsa on Sunday, police offi-

cials said it was too early in the investigation to say precisely what motivated Mr. England and Mr. Watts, and they stopped short of describing the shootings as hate crimes.

“You can look at the facts of the case and certainly come up with what would appear to be a logical theory, but we’re going to let the evidence take us where we want to go,” said the Tulsa police chief, Chuck Jordan.

In Tulsa — a city of 392,000, about 62,000 of whom are black — the shootings shocked, frightened and angered many black residents on Easter weekend and prompted an intense manhunt. The authorities formed a task force called Operation Random Shooter, made up of more than two dozen local, state and federal investigators from the Tulsa Police Department, the Tulsa County Sheriff’s Office and the federal Marshals Service. The Federal Bureau of Investigation also



Jacob C. England, left, whose father was killed two years ago, and Alvin Watts are accused of firing on passers-by.

joined the investigation.

Jack Henderson, a city councilman who is black and whose district includes all of the shooting sites, said that before the arrests, many in the area were terrified.

“A lot of people in my community have been calling me, afraid that they couldn’t go outside, didn’t know if they could even go to church, didn’t know if they could go to the grocery store,”

Mr. Henderson said at the news conference.

“With these two people off the streets, people in my community as well as the rest of this city can feel that they are safer,” he said.

Tulsa officials said the shootings were unlike anything the city had ever seen in its modern history. None of the victims knew one another, and all of them were shot within a few miles. Mr. Henderson said he had heard from constituents that in one of the shootings, the suspects had approached their victims at random and asked for directions. “When they turned around to walk away, they just opened fire,” Mr. Henderson said.

In 1921, Tulsa was the scene of a riot that is one of the deadliest episodes of racial violence in the nation’s history, in which a mob of white Tulsans destroyed a black neighborhood and killed dozens, perhaps hundreds, of black residents.

After the Friday shootings, city leaders said that the anger in the black community had reached the point where people were talking about taking the law into their own hands. Asked on Sunday if he feared any sort of uprising, Chief Jordan replied: “I have much more faith in my fellow Tulsans than that. I think they let us do our job.”

Chief Jordan released few details about many aspects of the shootings, saying the investigation was continuing. He declined to say if the suspects were cooperating with investigators, and he said that Mr. England’s Facebook postings would be part of the prosecution of the case.

Mr. England, a stocky young man with a mohawk-style haircut, graduated in 2009 from Sperry High School. Late on Friday evening, hours after the first shooting, Mr. England suggested on his Facebook page that he was

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**WHITTIER JOURNAL**

## California May Close A Home To Its Past

**By JENNIFER MEDINA**

WHITTIER, Calif. — Here, in an adobe home now tucked between a freeway and a railroad, once sat the last governor of Alta California, as it was known under Mexican rule. The governor, Pio de Jesús Pico, was one of the richest men in the area, his rancho stretching for nearly 9,000 acres.

Beset by financial difficulties in the late 1800s, Mr. Pico lost control over the land and died in poverty. Over the decades since, that land has been carved up into pieces, small suburban plots that line the blocks of this city and Pico Rivera, a mostly Latino working-class suburb just to the east.

Now, a park that bears Mr. Pico’s name is facing its own financial troubles. With the state parks department forced to implement \$22 million in budget cuts next year, Pio Pico State Historic Park is one of 70 state parks scheduled to be closed this summer. A group of volunteers is trying to raise the \$80,000 needed to keep the park open, raising money with all kinds of activities, like recycling drives and Easter egg hunts. They are asking wealthy donors for large donations, and a cardboard box at the park asks for “pesos for Pio Pico.”

In a city not known for a love affair with its own history, it could be the end of a park meant to honor the man whom some call the quintessential Californian. Mr. Pico’s lineage was a mix of Spanish, African and Native American. He was born in 1801 in an area that was then under Spain’s control, but later became Mexico; by the time he died in 1894 at the age of 93, just a few miles away, he was in America.

Unlike most other landowners at the time, Mr. Pico was born poor, elbowing his way into the upper class and eventually opening one of the first luxury hotels in downtown Los Angeles — now a historic site known as the Pico House. He became the governor of California twice and at times advocated for its secession from Mexico to become its own country. When the United States took over the land, he ran south to Mexico, not returning for several years.

“There’s a lot of ambivalence about history,” said Carolyn Schoff, the president of Friends of Pio Pico Park and an anthropology professor at a community college. “Most people do not have any idea this is in their backyard. But our hope is if they know it is here, they will work to save it, not let something else be destroyed.”

Already the victim of budget cuts, the park is open to the public only on the weekends, when it closes by 4 p.m. Even then, many of the visitors come from out of state. School field trips are allowed on Fridays and some Thursdays. The slow trickle of visitors was one factor that state officials considered in deciding to close the park.

Even most California natives are unaware of the park’s history. Lisa Robles grew up and still

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PHOTOGRAPHS BY BEN SKLAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Savings in the Hutto Independent School District include, clockwise from top left, the closing of Veterans’ Hill Elementary School for two years, limits on bus service, the leasing of Veterans’ Hill to a pair of community colleges and the required sharing of textbooks.

# At Texas Schools, Making Do on a Shoestring

## Walks Are Long and Staffs Are Short as State Budget Cuts Force Changes

**By MANNY FERNANDEZ**

HUTTO, Tex. — School buses passed by 16-year-old Aubrey Sandifer as he walked home one recent afternoon in this rural town northeast of Austin.

What is a humdrum routine for millions of students around the country — riding to and from school on a yellow bus — has become a thing of the past for Aubrey. Faced with a budget shortfall, the Hutto Independent School District stopped providing bus service to him and other students who live within a two-mile walk of a campus. The move saved the district \$25,000.

Aubrey, a sophomore at Hutto High School, now spends 20 minutes walking one mile to school in the morning and another 20 minutes on the return trip in the afternoon.

“I’m like, ‘Wow, I’m not going to have a bus?’” he said. “I’ve walked home one time when it was raining. I didn’t like it at all. I was soaked.”

For Hutto and the 1,264 other public school districts in Texas, this has been the year of doing without. Texas lawmakers cut public education financing by roughly \$5.4 billion to balance the state’s two-year budget during the last legislative session, with the cuts taking effect this school year and next.

The budget reductions that districts large and small have had to make have transformed school life in a host of ways — increasing class sizes, reducing services and supplies and thinning the ranks of teachers, custodians, librarians and others, school administrators said.

Like chief executives of struggling corporations, superintend-

ents have been cutting back on everything from paper to nurses and have had to become increasingly creative about generating revenue. They are selling advertising space on the sides of buses and on district Web sites, scaling back summer school, charging parents if their children take part in athletics or cheerleading and adding periods in the school day so fewer teachers can accommodate more students.

In suburban Fort Worth, the Keller Independent School District started charging parents for bus service. The fee, which ranges this year from \$185 to \$355 for one student, is expected to bring in about \$1 million, no small amount for a district that eliminated 100 positions and some sports teams and no longer has uniformed officers providing security after it canceled contracts with local police agencies.

One Central Texas district, Dripping Springs, reduced its custodial staff and has relied on teachers to pick up the slack. Janitors now visit the classrooms every other day, leaving teachers to clean and sweep their rooms on the off days. Off day or on, teachers also must collect their trash and set it in the hallway, part of custodial changes aimed at saving the district \$149,000.

To cut \$1.5 million, the Northwest district in the Fort Worth area also stopped busing students who live within a two-mile walk of their school. “It’s buses or teachers, and we’re choosing teachers,” said the superintendent, Karen G. Rue. “That’s what it came down to, plain and simple.”

In Hutto, a district with 5,600 students and one high school, administrators cut \$4 million from



“We’re being picked apart,” said Douglas Killian, the superintendent at Hutto, which eliminated 68 positions.

this school year’s budget, eliminating 68 positions and taking the unusual step of temporarily shutting one of its elementary schools. The school, Veterans’ Hill Elementary, will stay closed for two years to save the district \$1 million annually, and its 500 students, including two of the superintendent’s children, were sent to other schools. The only way to transfer the students was to take another unusual step: all fifth graders were moved out of elementary schools and into middle schools.

The district must trim an additional \$1.2 million for next school year, and proposals include charging for bus service, canceling instructional field trips and eliminating music and art teachers in elementary schools.

“It’s almost like slow death,” said the superintendent, Douglas Killian, during a visit to Veterans’

Hill, where the classrooms are now used by adults as part of a higher education center run by Temple College and Texas State Technical College. “We’re being picked apart. It’s made a tremendous morale issue in the district. I’ve noticed that folks are a lot more on edge.”

Several lawmakers in the Republican-controlled Legislature have played down the impact of the \$5.4 billion in cuts on schools statewide. In an interview in February with The Dallas Morning News, Gov. Rick Perry said he saw no need for a special legislative session to restore some of the education funding that was eliminated last year and said the schools were receiving an adequate amount of money. “How that money’s spent is the bigger issue,” he told the newspaper.

But many public school advocates, parents and administrators said the reductions that districts had made — and were considering for the next school year — had reached an unprecedented level, even as enrollment and testing requirements have increased. Hundreds of districts have sued the state in four lawsuits, saying that the school finance system fails to adequately and equitably pay for public education in Texas.

From the previous school year to the current one, districts across Texas eliminated 25,286 positions through retirements, resignations and layoffs, including 10,717 teaching jobs, according to state data analyzed by Children at Risk, a nonprofit advocacy group in Houston. Texas public schools spend \$8,908 per student, a decrease of \$538 from the previous year and below the national average of \$11,463, ac-

cording to the National Education Association. California spent \$9,710 and New York \$15,592.

“I’ve been in education 42 years, and I’ve been a superintendent about 25 of those 42 years, and this is the worst that I’ve ever had to cut,” said John Folks, the superintendent of one of the districts suing the state, Northside in San Antonio, where officials eliminated 973 positions and made classes larger in a \$61.4 million budget reduction. “We cut about 40 special education teachers. We cut about 28 athletic coaches. We froze salaries. School districts can’t take much more than this.”

At Hutto High School, Eric Soto, a world history teacher who is also the head softball coach and assistant volleyball coach, worries about the bottom line about as much as he worries about his classes and his games. He makes fewer photocopies, to save printing costs. He helped sell advertising space along the fence on the softball field, to bring in extra cash for the team. When teaching, he turns on only one of the room’s two light switches, to save on electricity.

Last year Mr. Soto taught four classes, but now he has five. He is working 12 to 20 more hours per week, both on the clock and off, though his athletic bonus has been cut by about \$2,000 and district teachers have not received a raise in two years.

“I would say this year would be one of the years where I’m more fatigued,” Mr. Soto said. “However, at the same time, I’ve actually found myself become more creative as a teacher. It’s all about making adjustments, and it’s all about adapting to the cards that we’re dealt.”



# Two Suspects Arrested In Shootings in Tulsa

From Page A10

contemplating suicide because people were accusing him of unspecified acts that “I didn’t do,” he wrote, adding that it might be time to “call it quits.”

He wrote: “I hate to say it like that but I’m done if something does happen tonite be ready for another funeral later.”

In the series of comments that followed, his friends tried to comfort him, with some writing that they loved him. Others appealed to him to remember his sister, Cady, and his infant son, Jacob C. England II. “Please dont do anything stupid jake,” one friend responded. “Think about cady and the baby and everyone that loves

## A city is rattled after attacks on black neighborhoods.

you.” It was unclear if Ms. Wilde was the mother of his son or where the baby was living. By midafternoon on Sunday, both suspects’ Facebook profiles were no longer available.

Mr. England’s father was shot and killed at the Comanche Park Apartments, not far from where the body of one of the victims was found Friday. Mr. Jefferson, 39, was never charged in the killing of the elder Mr. England. He did tell investigators that he had been in an altercation with him that evening.

Mr. Jefferson is now serving a prison sentence through October 2014 for feloniously pointing a firearm, according to the Oklahoma Department of Corrections.

Manny Fernandez reported from Tulsa, and Channing Joseph from New York.



NICK OXFORD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jacob C. England’s home in rural Tulsa where Alvin Watts lived with him. They were arrested in nearby Turley, officials said.

“It is very premature to talk about hate crimes,” said James E. Finch, special agent in charge of the F.B.I.’s Oklahoma division. He added: “There are too many unanswered questions at this stage, too much evidence that has to be analyzed and a lot of investigation still to come.”

The three people who were killed were identified as Dannaer Fields, 49; Bobby Clark, 54; and William Allen, 31. The two people who were wounded did not sustain life-threatening injuries and have been released from the hospital, the authorities said.

Mr. England and Mr. Watts lived together at Mr. England’s residence in a rural part of Tulsa far from downtown. They were arrested at another house in nearby Turley, Okla. A white pickup truck, which had been burned, was discovered by the authorities on Saturday. The Tulsa World reported that the truck was registered to Jake or Carl England, but Chief Jordan declined to comment about it.

A woman who pulled up to the house where the two men lived called Mr. England a good man. “You don’t understand,” said the woman, who did not identify herself. “They lost their dad. Now they’re going through all this. Now their brother’s gone.”

The two suspects have had previous run-ins with the law. In 2006, Mr. Watts pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor charge of assault and battery in a case of domestic abuse. Three years later, he was charged with aggravated assault and battery in a case that was dismissed. Last year, Mr. England pleaded guilty to a charge of driving with a suspended license.

Mr. Watts had recently broken up with his fiancée, whom he called a “snake n da grass” on his Facebook page because she had apparently refused to let him see his son. Online, Mr. Watts described himself as a Christian who read the Bible every night.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY MONICA ALMEIDA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A volunteer led students through Pio Pico State Historic Park, where the last governor of Alta California once lived in the 1800s.

WHITTIER JOURNAL

# California May Close a Home to Its Past

From Page A10

lives in Whittier. But she came to the park for the first time ever on Friday, when she brought her class of fourth-grade students from nearby Huntington Park for a field trip. The students ooh-ed and ahh-ed at the wooden furniture and did not notice the walls with peeling paint, buckling from rain damage (what officials call deferred maintenance).

In recent years, Ms. Robles has not had the extra money to take her students on field trips, but this year she applied for a special grant to teach her students about Mexican-American history. “For almost all of them, this is their heritage,” she said. “And it’s a shame we don’t have more of a chance to teach them about it.”

The 1850 adobe house has suffered before, from floods as far back as the 1860s and 1880s. It became one of the first state parks in 1927 and was nearly destroyed by earthquakes in the 1980s and ’90s. But when times were flush in the last decade, the state financed more than \$5 million in renovations to restore the 17-room home and four-acre park and to make it historically accurate — palm trees were replaced with citrus trees, herbal plants



and grapevines (which Ms. Schoff has used to make her own wine).

Nearly a dozen parks that the state had said it would close this summer have been saved for at least a year through donations or because another government agency has agreed to take them over. Jerry Emory, a spokesman for the California State Parks Foundation, which has lobbied against the closings and has helped raise money to keep parks

open, said the group hoped that another two dozen, including Pio Pico, would be kept open through similar efforts. The state is also looking for bids from private operators for another 11 parks.

“It’s really just a reprieve, not a long-term solution,” Mr. Emory said. “The real question is if taxpayers and the Legislature can come up with a way to fund these state treasures.”

Inside Mr. Pico’s home, treasures abound. There are intricate-



THE NEW YORK TIMES

Carolyn Schoff is trying to save Pio Pico, one of 70 California parks that are scheduled to be closed this summer.

ly embroidered gloves that belonged to his wife, a silver-capped cane, leather-bound Bibles and shards of the blue and white china the Pico family once used. If the park closes, the artifacts will most likely be taken to storage in Sacramento.

Ms. Schoff has already begun to plan a June event, just before the park is scheduled to close. For now, it is being billed as “Fiesta de Pio Pico: Celebration or Wake?”

# Funds for Job Training Dry Up, Stranding Workers and Frustrating Employers

From Page A1

more people looking for work now. Funds used to provide basic job search services, like guidance on résumés and coaching for interviews, have fallen by 13 percent.

Political fights have focused primarily on extensions of unemployment insurance, while the cuts in funds for training have passed with little debate and little notice.

At the peak in 2000, the federal government was spending more than \$2.1 billion a year in today’s dollars for training programs aimed at dislocated workers under the Workforce Investment Act. Stimulus funds added close to \$1.5 billion over two years, but now annual spending has receded to about \$1.2 billion.

The cuts “make it harder to meet the employers’ needs,” said Michael Gritton, executive director of KentuckianaWorks, which oversees four government-financed job centers in Louisville. “And obviously you have these individual customers who are asking for help to climb back into the middle class and you can’t help them either.”

Employers who want to hire often complain that the jobless do not have the necessary skills. In such an environment, advocates for workers say that cutting funds for training and other services makes little sense.

“We should be spending significantly more than we were spending five years ago,” said Andy Van Kleunen, executive director of the National Skills Coalition, a nonprofit group that promotes investment in training. “And even then we would not be catching up to the demand.”

Jack Griffin, president and chief operating officer of the Atlas World Group, said that finding drivers should be easy given the national unemployment rate of over 8 percent. “You would think they would be lined up at our door,” he said.

Atlas recently lowered the number of driving hours required and is offering a signing bonus of \$3,000. Mr. Griffin said the company would consider training ap-

plicants itself if they would “sign a piece of paper saying that when they graduate they will come to work for us for two years.”

To bolster training and other services for jobless workers, the Obama administration recently proposed consolidating two programs. The general dislocated worker program paid for under the Workforce Investment Act would be combined with the Trade Adjustment Assistance program, which provides training and other benefits to workers who lose their jobs because of foreign competition.

The trade program, which has an annual budget of \$575 million, is typically more generous, but narrow in eligibility. The combined program would make all funds available to anyone who had lost a job, regardless of the reason.

In his latest budget proposal, President Obama also requested an additional \$2.8 billion a year for job training over the next decade. “Even in this very tight budget,” said Gene Sperling, national economic adviser, “the president felt that there was an imperative to call right now for a more simplified and effective training system” that also had an increase in funds.

Whether Congress is willing to consider more aid is uncertain. The federal budget endorsed by House Republicans calls for reductions in a broad category that includes job training.

The constraints are dispiriting for people like Jacqueline Francis, who was laid off from a job in human resources about a year and a half ago. Since then, she has followed the all-too-familiar drill of sending out résumés and cover letters that are never answered.

With her savings depleted, she wants to return to school and switch careers. Ms. Francis, a divorced mother in Louisville with a daughter in high school and a son in college, has pinpointed nursing, a field she considers most likely to provide employment.

Last month, she visited a job center run by KentuckianaWorks only to learn that the \$240,000 allocated for health care training

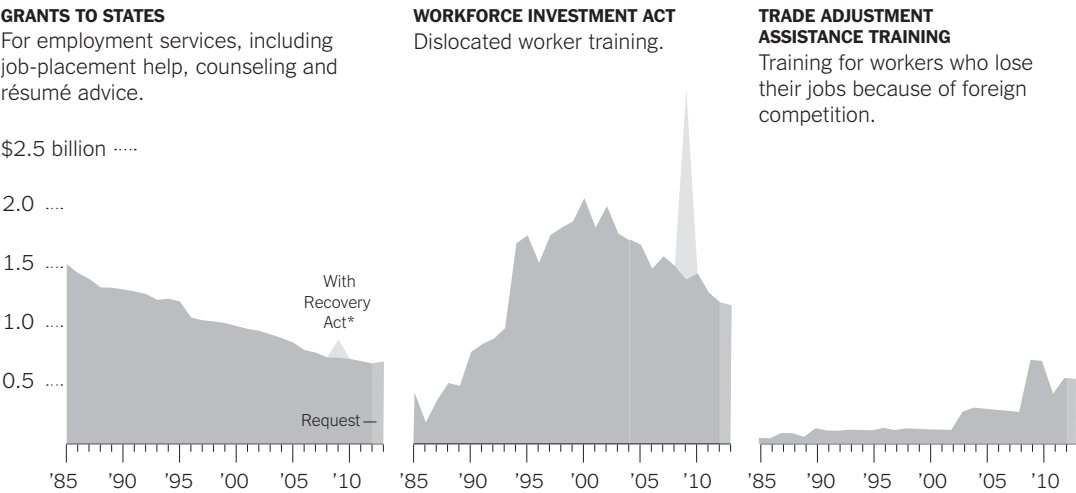


ANGELA SHOEMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tatiana Lopes at a KentuckianaWorks center in Louisville, Ky., which has been pinched by cuts.

## Helping Workers Find Jobs

Federal funds for some training and job search programs have fallen even as more people have lost jobs. Figures below are adjusted for inflation.



\* American Recovery and Reinvestment Act funds were spent over two years.

Source: Labor Department, via the National Employment Law Project

THE NEW YORK TIMES

had been spent.

“I could have cried,” Ms. Francis said. She said she would apply for financial aid at the local com-

munity college and sell items in her wardrobe to pay for a nursing degree. “I want to better my situation,” she said.

Local employers say they also feel the pinch. “We depend on those dollars to help us with training for more entry-level po-

sitions,” said Tony Bohn, chief human resources officer at Norton Healthcare, which operates more than 100 doctor’s offices in the area.

It is not always easy to measure whether job training helps, or to what degree.

“Traditionally, we have found that job training has not been very effective for people who have lost their job recently,” said Kenneth R. Troske, an economist at the University of Kentucky in Lexington. Research suggests it delivers better returns for people with checkered job histories, or for people from extremely low-income backgrounds.

The Labor Department is paying for a study of training programs by the Workforce Investment Act at 28 locations across the country, but the research will not be complete until 2015.

Training advocates say that paying for education yields a better return than simply continuing to pay unemployment benefits. Marlena Sessions, chief executive of the Workforce Development Council of Seattle-King County, said that every dollar spent on training dislocated workers in 2009 returned about \$8.70 to the local economy as people found new jobs and increased their spending.

Some economists say that previous studies of the cost-effectiveness of training have focused too closely on a worker’s starting income after completing a certificate or degree program as a measure of success.

Ken Harris, a 39-year-old former assembly line worker at a General Motors plant in Dayton, Ohio, financed part of his nursing degree with federal funds. He started a job this year at an emergency room in Cincinnati. At his hourly wage, he says that he will earn an annual salary of about \$55,000, with the potential for more, compared with the \$74,000 he earned after 15 years with G.M.

But he has peace of mind that he is not likely to lose his job. And he is having more fun. “At G.M. you did the same thing every 48 seconds,” Mr. Harris said. “In the nursing job, you don’t know what’s going to walk in the door.”



“All the News  
That’s Fit to Print”

# The New York Times

**Late Edition**  
Today, brisk winds, cloudy, high 34. Tonight, breezy, cold, low 26. Tomorrow, increased sun, tranquil, much milder, high 41. Weather map, SportsSunday, Page 12.

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\$6 beyond the greater New York metropolitan area.

\$5.00



BRIAN SNYDER/REUTERS

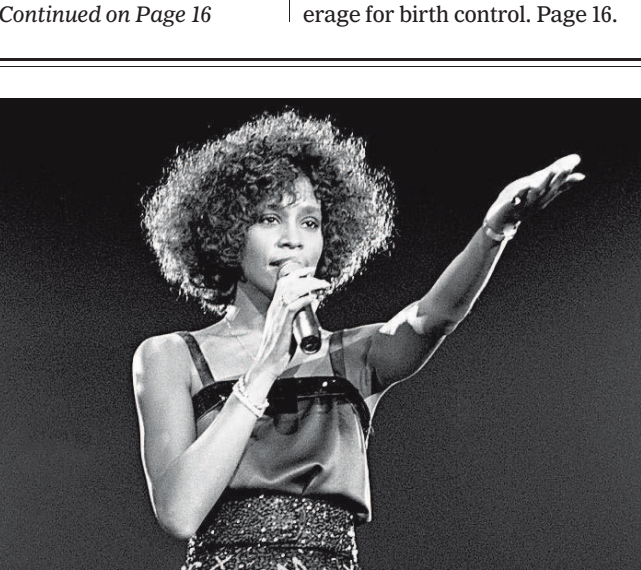
**Romney Wins a Squeaker in Maine**  
Mitt Romney in Sanford, Maine, on Saturday. He won the state’s straw poll with 39 percent, to 36 percent for Ron Paul. Page 21.

## WAR’S RISKS SHIFT TO CONTRACTORS

Surrogates for Military  
Dying in Afghanistan

**By ROD NORDLAND**  
KABUL, Afghanistan — Even dying is being outsourced here. This is a war where traditional military jobs, from mess hall cooks to base guards and convoy drivers, have increasingly been shifted to the private sector. Many American generals and diplomats have private contractors for their personal bodyguards. And along with the risks have come the consequences: More civilian contractors working for American companies than American soldiers died in Afghanistan last year for the first time during the war. American employers here are under no obligation to publicly report the deaths of their employees and frequently do not. While the military announces the names of all its war dead, private companies routinely notify only family members. Most of the contractors die unheralded and uncounted — and in some cases, leave their survivors uncompensated.

“By continuing to outsource high-risk jobs that were previously performed by soldiers, the military, in effect, is privatizing the ultimate sacrifice,” said Steven L. Schooner, a law professor at George Washington University who has studied the civilian casualties issue. Last year, at least 430 employees of American contractors were reported killed in Afghanistan: 386 working for the Defense Department, 43 for the United States Agency for International Development and one for the State Department, according to data provided by the American Embassy in Kabul and publicly available in part from the United



DAVID CORIO

**In Kabul, a Legacy of Ruin**  
Glimpses of the old Soviet occupation still stand, as reminders of the fate of imperial ambitions in Afghanistan. Page 6.

## Hacking Cases Focus on Memo To a Murdoch

**By SARAH LYALL  
and RAVI SOMAIYA**  
LONDON — As dozens of investigators and high-powered lawyers converge on Rupert Murdoch’s News International in the phone hacking scandal, attention has focused on the printout of an e-mail excavated three months ago from a sealed carton left behind in an empty company office. Addressed to Mr. Murdoch’s son James, it contained explosive information about the scale of phone hacking at The News of the World tabloid — information James Murdoch says he failed to take in because he did not read the whole e-mail chain. The e-mail returned to cause trouble for News International, the British newspaper subsidiary of News Corporation, several weeks ago when the company said that it had been deleted from Mr. Murdoch’s computer. Even as people familiar with the investigations said the e-mail and its convoluted history will form a crucial part of the inquiry into allegations of a cover-up, the scandal appeared to be widening on Saturday, as senior journalists at News Corporation’s Sun tabloid were arrested. [Page 6.] Tracing the story of the e-mail, Continued on Page 16

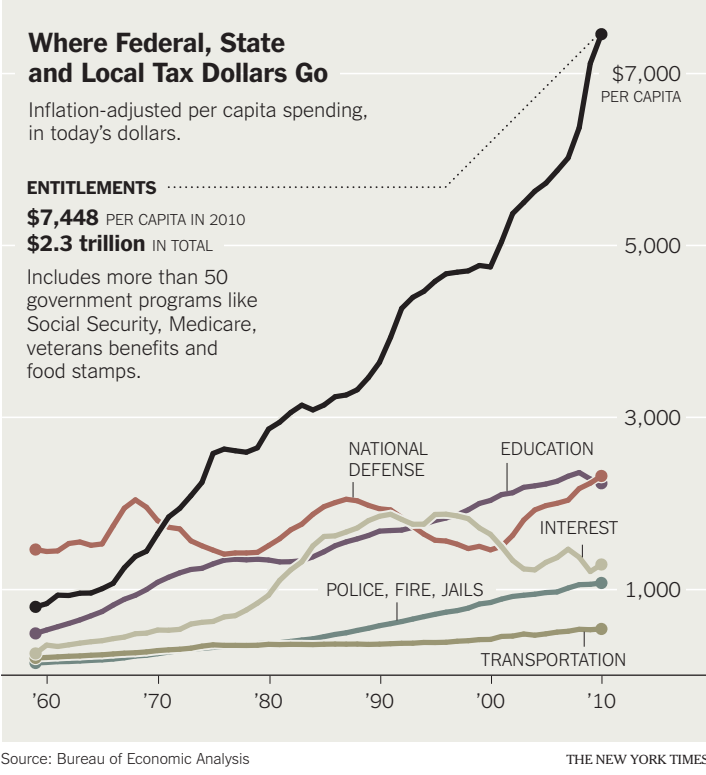
## Romney’s Path on Abortion From ‘Effectively Pro-Choice’ to ‘Pro-Life’

**By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG**  
WASHINGTON — From the moment he left business for politics, the issue of abortion has bedeviled Mitt Romney. In 1994, as a Senate candidate, he invoked the story of a “close family relative” who had died after an illegal abortion and insisted that abortion should be “safe and legal,” though he was personally opposed. In 2002, while running for governor of Massachusetts, he sought the endorsement of abortion rights advocates, promising to be “a good voice” among Republicans, one advocate said. In 2005, Governor Romney shocked constituents by writing an opinion article in The Boston Globe that declared: “I am pro-life.” Running for president two years later, he struggled to explain that turnabout. “I never said I was pro-choice, but my position was effectively pro-choice,” Mr. Romney told George Stephanopoulos of ABC during a Republican debate. “I changed my position.” The comments reflect Mr. Romney’s evolution from abortion rights advocate to abortion foe; gone was any trace of the candidate for governor who, 10 years ago, answered a Planned Parenthood questionnaire by saying he backed “state funding of abortion services” under Medicaid. Today Mr. Romney is working hard to convince his party’s skeptical right wing that he is “adamantly pro-life,” especially in the wake of his embarrassing loss in three states last week to Rick Santorum, a former senator from Pennsylvania and a stalwart of the anti-abortion movement. Yet Continued on Page 21

## Even Critics of Safety Net Increasingly Depend on It

As Conflicted Middle Class Gets More Aid,  
Poor Are Left With a Smaller Share

**By BINYAMIN APPELBAUM and ROBERT GEBELOFF**  
LINDSTROM, Minn. — Ki Gulbranson owns a logo apparel shop, deals in jewelry on the side and referees youth soccer games. He makes about \$39,000 a year and wants you to know that he does not need any help from the federal government. He says that too many Americans lean on taxpayers rather than living within their means. He supports politicians who promise to cut government spending. In 2010, he printed T-shirts for the Tea Party campaign of a neighbor, Chip Cravaack, who ousted this region’s long-serving Democratic congressman. Yet this year, as in each of the past three years, Mr. Gulbranson, 57, is counting on a payment of several thousand dollars from the federal government, a subsidy for working families called the earned-income tax credit. He has signed up his three school-age children to eat free breakfast and lunch at federal expense. And Medicare paid for his mother, 88, to have hip surgery twice. There is little poverty here in Chisago County, northeast of Minneapolis, where cheap housing for commuters is gradually replacing farmland. But Mr. Gulbranson and many other residents who describe themselves as self-sufficient members of the American middle class and as opponents of government largess are drawing more deeply on that government with each passing year. Dozens of benefits programs provided an average of \$6,583 for each man, woman and child in the county in 2009, a 69 percent increase from 2000 after adjusting for inflation. In Chisago, and across the nation, the government now provides almost \$1 in benefits for every \$4 in other income. Older people get most of the benefits, primarily through Social Security and Medicare, but aid for the rest of the population has increased about as quickly through programs for the disabled, the unemployed, veterans and children. The government safety net was created to keep Americans from abject poverty, but the poorest households no longer receive a majority of government benefits. A secondary mission has gradually become primary: maintaining the middle class from childhood through retirement. The share of benefits flowing to the least affluent households, the bottom fifth, has declined from 54 percent in 1979 to 36 percent in 2007, according to a Congressional Budget Office analysis published last year. And as more middle-class families like the Gulbransons land in the safety net in Chisago and similar communities, anger at the government has increased alongside. Many people say they are angry because the government is wasting money and giving money to people who do not deserve it. But more than that, they say they want to reduce the role Continued on Page 24



## Whitney Houston, R & B Superstar, Dies at 48

**By JON PARELES  
and ADAM NAGOURNEY**  
Whitney Houston, the multi-million-selling singer who emerged in the 1980s as one of her generation’s greatest R & B voices, only to deteriorate through years of cocaine use and an abusive marriage, died on Saturday in Beverly Hills, Calif. She was 48. Her death came as the music industry descended on Los Angeles for the annual celebration of the Grammy Awards, and Ms. Houston was — for all her difficulties over the years — one of its

queens. She was staying at the Beverly Hilton hotel on Saturday night to attend a pre-Grammy party being hosted by Clive Davis, the founder of Arista Records, who had been her pop mentor. Ms. Houston was found in her room at 3:55 p.m., and paramedics spent close to 20 minutes trying to revive her, the authorities said. There was no immediate word on the cause of her death, but the authorities said there were no signs of foul play. From the start of her career more than two decades ago, Ms. Houston had the talent, looks and pedigree of a pop superstar. She was the daughter of Cissy Houston, a gospel and pop singer who had backed up Aretha Franklin, and the cousin of Dionne Warwick. (Ms. Franklin is Ms. Houston’s godmother.) Ms. Houston’s range spanned several octaves, and her voice was plush, vibrant and often spectacular. She could pour on the exuberant flourishes of gospel or peal a simple pop chorus; she could sing sweetly or unleash a sultry rasp. Dressed in everything from formal gowns to T-shirts, she cultivated the image of a fun-loving but ardent good girl, the voice be- Continued on Page 27

INTERNATIONAL 6-16  
**China’s Next Leader Visits U.S.**  
Xi Jinping, China’s vice president and presumptive next president, will introduce himself to the public at a politically charged moment in relations. PAGE 12

NATIONAL 18-26  
**Occupy’s Next Phase**  
With their encampments largely dismantled, Occupy Wall Street groups are reorganizing and planning large protests for the spring. PAGE 18

SPORTSSUNDAY  
**Portrait of Mrs. Lincoln a Hoax**  
A portrait in the Illinois governor’s mansion that was long thought to be of Mary Todd Lincoln turns out to tell a different story. PAGE A4

OPINION IN SUNDAY REVIEW  
**Contender and Survivor**  
Quanitta Underwood, perhaps America’s best hope for a medal in women’s boxing at the Olympics, lived through a horrific ordeal as a child. PAGE 1

**Nicholas D. Kristof** PAGE 11

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# Whitney Houston, R & B Superstar Who Later Declined, Is Dead at 48

From Page 1

hind songs as perky as “I Wanna Dance With Somebody (Who Loves Me)” and as torchy as what became her signature song, a version of Dolly Parton’s “I Will Always Love You.”

But by the mid-1990s, even as she was moving into acting with films like “The Bodyguard” and “The Preacher’s Wife,” she became what she described, in a 2009 interview with Oprah Winfrey, as a “heavy” user of marijuana and cocaine. By the 2000s she was struggling; her voice grew smaller, scratchier and less secure, and her performances grew erratic.

All of Ms. Houston’s studio albums were million-sellers, and two have sold more than 10 million copies in the United States alone: her 1985 debut album and the 1992 soundtrack to “The Bodyguard,” which includes “I Will Always Love You.”

But her marriage to the singer Bobby Brown — which was, at one point, documented in a Bravo reality television series, “Being Bobby Brown” — grew miserable, and in the 2000s, her singles slipped from the top 10. Ms. Houston became a tabloid subject: the National Enquirer ran a photo of her bathroom showing drug paraphernalia. And each new album — “Just Whitney” in 2002 and “I Look to You” in 2009 — became a comeback.

At Central Park in 2009, singing for “Good Morning America,” her voice was frayed, and on the world tour that followed the release of the album “I Look to You” that year, she was often shaky. Whitney Houston was born on Aug. 9, 1963, in Newark. She sang in church, and as a teenager in the 1970s and early 1980s, she worked as a backup studio singer and featured vocalist with acts including Chaka Khan, the Neville Brothers and Bill Laswell’s Material.

Mr. Davis signed her after hearing her perform in a New York City nightclub, and spent two years supervising production of the album “Whitney Houston,” which was released in 1985. It placed her remarkable voice in polished, catchy songs that straddled pop and R & B, and it included three No. 1 singles: “Saving All My Love for You,” “How Will I Know” and “The Greatest Love of All.”

Because Ms. Houston had been credited on previous recordings, including a 1984 duet with Teddy Pendergrass, she was ruled ineligible for the best new artist category of the Grammy Awards;



JASON KIRK/GETTY IMAGES

## 2001, WEST HOLLYWOOD

Ms. Houston’s marriage to the singer Bobby Brown would make tabloid headlines.

the eligibility criteria have since been changed. But with “Saving All My Love for You,” she won her first Grammy award, for best female pop vocal performance, an award she would win twice more.

Her popularity soared for the next decade. Her second album, “Whitney,” in 1987, became the first album by a woman to enter the Billboard charts at No. 1, and it included four No. 1 singles. She shifted her pop slightly toward R & B on her third album, “I’ll Be Your Baby Tonight,” in 1990, which had three more No. 1 singles.

For much of the 1990s, she turned to acting, bolstered by her music. She played a pop diva in “The Bodyguard,” and its soundtrack album — including the hits “I Will Always Love You,” “I’m Every Woman,” “I Have Nothing” and “Run to You” — went on to sell 17 million copies in the United States. It won the Grammy for album of the year, and “I Will Always Love You” won record of the year (for a single). After making the films “Waiting To Exhale” in 1995 and “The Preacher’s Wife” in 1996 — which gave her the occasion to make a gospel album — Ms. Houston resumed her pop career with “My Love Is Your Love” in 1998.

Ms. Houston married Mr. Brown in 1992, and in 1993 they had a daughter, Bobbi Kristina, who survives her. Ms. Houston’s 2009 interview with Ms. Winfrey portrayed it as a passionate and then turbulent marriage, marred by drug use and by his professional jealousy, psychological abuse and physical confrontations. They divorced in 2007.

Her albums in the 2000s advanced a new persona for Ms. Houston. “Just Whitney,” in 2002, was defensive and

Jon Pareles reported from New York, and Adam Nagourney from Santa Barbara, Calif. Reporting was contributed by Ian Lovett, Jennifer Medina and Ben Sisario in Los Angeles and Channing Joseph and James C. McKinley Jr. in New York.



BRENDAN MCDERMID/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

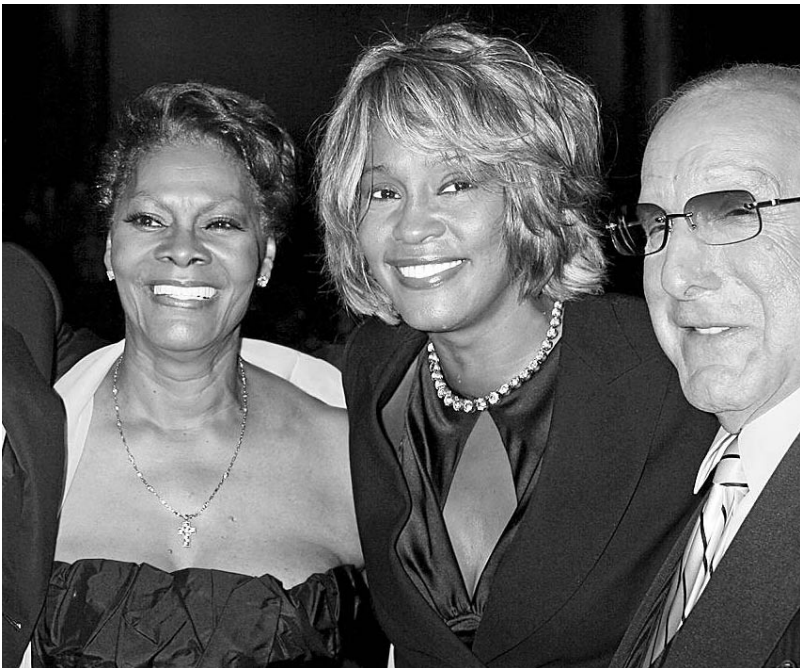
2004, LAS VEGAS Whitney Houston could sing sweetly or unleash a sultry rasp.



JACK VARTOOGIAN/FRONTROWPHOTOS

## MUSIC INDUSTRY SWEETHEART

From the first, Ms. Houston had the talent, looks and pedigree of a pop superstar, and she would become the voice behind songs as perky as “I Wanna Dance With Somebody (Who Loves Me)” and as torchy as her version of “I Will Always Love You.” Clockwise from above, at the home of her mother, Cissy Houston, in 1985; singing the national anthem at the Super Bowl in 1991; at the American Music Awards in 1994; with Clive Davis and Dionne Warwick in 2006.



FRED PROUSER/REUTERS



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## ONLINE: WHITNEY HOUSTON

More photographs and a timeline of the life and career of Whitney Houston: nytimes.com/arts

other partygoers continued to arrive for the Davis event, which went on as planned, while fans stood behind a rope trying to take pictures. Dressed in evening gowns and tuxedos, people stepped out of limousines at curbside and streamed into the hotel.

A number of fans came to mourn Ms. Houston and to show their support. “I was in utter, total disbelief,” Lavetris Singleton said. “Who was not a fan of Whitney Houston at some point?”

“I want to show support because she inspired a lot of people and nobody’s perfect,” she said. “But if we’re not out here then she’ll be forgotten. We are her legacy.”

Performers at the Staples Center in downtown Los Angeles, where the Grammys are to be held, heard about

Ms. Houston’s death just as Rihanna and Coldplay were about to rehearse their number for the awards. The show is already scheduled to include a tribute by Alicia Keys and Bonnie Raitt to Etta James, the blues singer who died last month, as well as a video segment about music figures who died in 2011.

The show’s producer, Ken Ehrlich, debated about how to acknowledge Ms. Houston’s death. After the initial shock, Mr. Ehrlich said he called Jennifer Hudson and asked her to come and sing one of Ms. Houston’s songs during the televised show on Sunday as a simple memorial. “We are going to do something very simple, not elaborate,” he said. “We just want to keep it respectful.”

“My feeling was it’s to early to do an extended tribute,” Mr. Ehrlich added, “but we really wanted to remember her because she was so closely tied to the Grammys.”

Besides her daughter, now 18, Ms. Houston is survived by her mother. A woman who answered the telephone at the Edgewater, N.J., home of Ms. Houston’s mother on Saturday night said she would not speak to reporters.