VOL. CLXII . . No. 56,147

© 2013 The New York Times

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 25, 2013

ably chilly, high 57. **Tonight**, windy, a little rain, low 48. **Tomorrow**, rain early, then partial clearing, windy. high 64. Weather map, Page C8.

\$2.50

CHINA PLAN CUTS THE STATE'S ROLE IN THE ECONOMY

BOLD PRO-MARKET TALK

New Leaders Seeking to Push Innovation in the Private Sector

By DAVID BARBOZA and CHRIS BUCKLEY

SHANGHAI — The Chinese government is planning for private businesses and market forces to play a larger role in its economy, in a major policy shift intended to improve living conditions for the middle class and to make China an even stronger competitor on the global stage.

In a speech to party cadres containing some of the boldest pro-market rhetoric they have heard in more than a decade, the country's new prime minister, Li Keqiang, said this month that the central government would reduce the state's role in economic matters in the hope of unleashing the creative energies of a nation with the world's second-largest economy after that of the United States.

On Friday, the Chinese government issued a set of policy proposals that seemed to show that Mr. Li and other leaders were serious about reducing government intervention in the marketplace and giving competition among private businesses a bigger role in investment decisions and setting prices. Whether Beijing can restructure an economy that is thoroughly addicted to state credit and government directives is unclear. But analysts see such announcements as the strongest signs yet that top policy makers are serious about revamping the nation's growth model.

"This is radical stuff, really," said Stephen Green, an economist at the British bank Standard Chartered and an expert on the Chinese economy. "People have talked about this for a long time, but now we're getting a clearly spoken reform agenda from the

China's leaders are under Continued on Page B2



Taliban Attack in Afghan Capital

Children fled after a blast Friday in Kabul, where the Taliban struck a compound of a United Nations-affiliated agency. Page A9.

For Obama's Global Vision, Daunting Problems

By MARK LANDLER and MARK MAZZETTI

WASHINGTON — President Obama, in one of his most significant speeches since taking office, did not simply declare an end to the post-9/11 era on Thursday. He also offered a vision of America's role in the world that he hopes could be one of his lasting legacies.

It is an ambitious vision — one that eschews a muscle-bound foreign policy, dominated by the military and intelligence services, in favor of energetic diplomacy, foreign aid and a more measured response to terrorism. But it is fraught with risks, and hostage to forces that are often out of the president's control.

From the grinding civil war in into office pledging to wind down

Yemen to the toxic American relationship with Pakistan and the withdrawal of American troops from Afghanistan with no clear sense of what comes afterward, there are a multitude of hurdles to Mr. Obama's goal of taking America off "perpetual war foot-

One of the most daunting is a sprawling wartime bureaucracy that, after nearly a dozen years, has amassed great influence and has powerful supporters on Capitol Hill. It will be difficult to roll back what has been a gradual militarization of American foreign policy, even in an era of budget cuts for the Pentagon.

Nor can Mr. Obama escape his own role in putting the United States on a war footing. He came

Svria and the extremist threat in America's wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, but within a year had ordered 30,000 more troops to Afghanistan and oversaw a significant expansion of the Bush administration's use of clandestine drone strikes.

> "We have no illusions that there are not challenges," said Benjamin J. Rhodes, a deputy national security adviser who wrote Mr. Obama's address. "But we should not be defined by our role in terrorism, by the airstrikes we order or the people we put in Of all these threats, Mr.

Rhodes said the White House was most worried about a surge of extremism in the wake of the Arab Spring. And yet the bloodiest of those conflicts, in Syria, reveals the limits of Mr. Obama's

Continued on Page A3

Budget Dispute Deepens a Rift Within G.O.P.

By JONATHAN WEISMAN

WASHINGTON - Senate Republicans are locked in a widening internal dispute over future budget negotiations, splitting along generational and ideological lines on the party's approach to the central issue that drove the conservative surge in the Obama era: how to deal with the federal debt.

In full view of C-Span cameras trained on the floor this week, Senators John McCain of Arizona and Susan Collins of Maine jousted with a new generation of conservatives - Marco Rubio of Florida, Ted Cruz of Texas, Mike Lee of Utah and Rand Paul of Kentucky — over the party's refusal to allow the Senate to open budget talks with the House despite Senate Republicans' long call for Democrats to produce a

It was the Old Guard versus the Tea Party, but with real ramifications, as Congress careens toward another debt limit and

Continued on Page A14

STATES' POLICIES ON HEALTH CARE **EXCLUDE POOREST**

WIDE GAP ON MEDICAID

Millions Deprived of Aid — Refusal to Expand Program Is Issue

By ROBERT PEAR

WASHINGTON — The refusal by about half the states to expand Medicaid will leave millions of poor people ineligible for government-subsidized health insurance under President Obama's health care law even as many others with higher incomes receive federal subsidies to buy in-

Starting next month, the administration and its allies will conduct a nationwide campaign encouraging Americans to take advantage of new high-quality affordable insurance options. But those options will be unavailable to some of the neediest people in states like Texas, Florida, Kansas, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and Georgia, which are refusing to expand Medicaid.

More than half of all people without health insurance live in states that are not planning to expand Medicaid.

People in those states who have incomes from the poverty level up to four times that amount (\$11,490 to \$45,960 a year for an individual) can get federal tax credits to subsidize the purchase of private health insurance. But many people below the poverty line will be unable to get tax credits, Medicaid or other help with health insurance.

Sandy Praeger, the insurance commissioner of Kansas, said she would help consumers understand their options. She said, however, that many of "the poorest of the poor" would fall into a gap in which no assistance is available.

The Kansas Medicaid program provides no coverage for ablebodied childless adults. And adults with dependent children are generally ineligible if their income exceeds 32 percent of the poverty level, Ms. Praeger said.

In most cases, she said, adults with incomes from 32 percent to 100 percent of the poverty level (\$6,250 to \$19,530 for a family of three) "will have no assistance." They will see advertisements promoting new insurance options, but in most cases will not learn that they are ineligible until they apply.

Administration officials said they worried that frustrated con-

Continued on Page A14

As Tourists Come and Go, Harlem Churches Lose a 10% Lifeblood

By KIA GREGORY

The tourists started lining up two hours before morning worship service on West 116th Street in Harlem. Most were dressed in everyday clothes, contrasting with the dark suits and prim dresses of the largely African-American congregation in the historic sanctuary of Canaan Baptist Church of Christ.

The Rev. Roger Harris, an associate pastor, made his way from the back of the line in his pinstripe suit. "Good to see you, glad you came," he said, offering grins and handshakes on a recent Sunday. The tourists were herded to the balcony until, as in several churches in Harlem, they packed the seats there. Down below, where the congregation has dwindled over the years, there were plenty of empty seats.

The tourists often put offerings in the collection basket. But then they are gone. And so despite the draw, churches like Canaan are struggling. And at the heart of the struggle is a contradiction: As Harlem's fortunes rise, tithing - the traditional source of the churches' money — is fading

Harlem's historical base of African-Americans has been dwindling. Those who remain have regularly tithed, setting apart 10 percent of their incomes for their church, in times good and bad.



Tourists fill the balcony of Canaan Baptist Church of Christ while pews for members go empty.

But now that has changed, too. "Your tithers are your people who really keep your church going as a whole," said the Rev. Dr. Charles A. Curtis, the senior pastor at Mount Olivet Baptist Church and the chairman of Harlem Congregations for Community Improvement.

"With the drop in population,"

he said, "you have less people to

The Rev. Jesse T. Williams Jr.. senior pastor at Convent Avenue Baptist Church, said, "Giving is a form of worship, and an expression of thanking God for what God has given us." At his church, he said, tithes in recent years were down about 12 percent.

Canaan, now with 1,000 members, has lost 500 since 2000, which increased the amount of room available for tourists. Without the tourists, Mr. Harris said, the senior pastor would be "preaching to an empty balcony."

And tithes are down 20 percent, though other offerings at Continued on Page A3

Public Rapes Outrage Brazil, Testing Ideas of Image and Class

By SIMON ROMERO

RIO DE JANEIRO — The attacks have stunned this city. In one, an assailant held a gun to the head of a 30-year-old woman while raping her in front of passengers on a bus as the driver proceeded down a main avenue. In another, a 14-year-old girl from a hillside slum was raped on one of Rio's most famous stretches of beach.

In yet another case, men abducted and raped a working-class woman in a transit van as it wended through densely populated areas. The police failed to investigate, and a week later the same men raped a 21-year-old American student in the same van, pummeling her face and beating her male companion with a metal bar.

Unfortunately, it had to happen to her before anyone would

help me," said the Brazilian woman raped in the transit van. "I was like, 'Could this have been avoided if they had paid attention to my case?'

A recent wave of rapes in Rio some captured on video cameras — have cast a spotlight on the unresolved contradictions of a nation that is coming of age as a world power. Brazil has a woman as president, a woman as a powerful police commander and a woman as the head of its national oil company — and yet it was not until an American was raped that the authorities got fully involved and arrested suspects in the case.

In some ways, Brazil's experience echoes recent events in India and Egypt, where horrific attacks have prompted outrage and soul searching, revealing deep

Continued on Page A10



INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Blunt Talk to North Korea

Chinese officials met in Beijing with an envoy from North Korea, Vice Marshal Choe Ryong-hae, second from right, bluntly urging that the country return to diplomatic talks intended to rid it of its nuclear weapons.

NATIONAL A11-14

Candidates Change Strategy

The Massachusetts race for John Kerry's Senate seat was expected to be about big issues, but seems more about name calling and absenteeism. PAGE A11

Ruling Faults Arizona Sheriff

A federal judge said Sheriff Joe Arpaio unconstitutionally targeted Latinos during raids and traffic stops. PAGE A14

NEW YORK A15-17, 20

For Cooper Boss, Nowhere to Sit

Cooper Union students have begun their third week of a sit-in at the school president's office, protesting tuition. PAGE A15 ARTS C1-7

Sending Back the Bones

Institutions like Berlin's Museum of Medical History — whose director, Thomas Schnalke, below, stands among remains displayed there - are responding to claims by indigenous peoples for the return of human artifacts. PAGE C1



BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Exxon's Position on Gays

As social attitudes on sexual orientation have changed, Exxon Mobil has moved steadily further from the mainstream, writes James B. Stewart.

SPORTSSATURDAY D1-6

Gail Collins

Big Game for Announcer

On Saturday, Gus Johnson will do the play-by-play for the Champions League soccer final. He is learning on the job, and reviews have been harsh. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

PAGE A19

THIS WEEKEND

Down Under, Darkly In posthumous

books, Patrick White paints an ugly portrait of his Australian countrymen, and Janet Frame looks at a bygone New Zealand in a collection of haunting stories.



BOOK REVIEW

