As E.P.A. Moves on Emissions, Fight Has Risks

WASHINGTON — With the federal government set to regulate climate-altering gases from factories and power plants for the first time beginning on Sunday, the Obama administration and the new Congress are headed for a clash that carries substantial risks for both sides.

The administration is on notice that if it moves too far and too fast in trying to curtail the ubiquitous gases that are heating the planet it risks a Congressional backlash that could set back the effort for years. But the newly muscular Republicans in Congress could also stumble by moving too aggressively to handcuff the Environmental Protection Agency, provoking a popular outcry that they are endangering public health.

President Obama vowed as a candidate that he would put the United States on a path to addressing climate change by reducing emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gas pollutants. He offered Congress wide latitude to pass climate change legislation essentially called his bluff.

With Obama’s hand forced by the mandates of the Clean Air Act and a 2007 Supreme Court decision, his E.P.A. will impose the first regulation of major stationary sources of greenhouse gases starting Jan. 2.

“If the administration gets it wrong, we’re looking at years of litigation, legislation and public and business outcry,” said a senior administration official who asked not to be identified. “If we get it right, we’re facing the same thing.”  

— JOHN M. BRODER

Russian Judge Extends Tycoon’s Sentence

MOSCOW — A judge on Thursday sentenced Mikhail B. Khodorkovsky, the Russian tycoon who was imprisoned in 2003 after defying Vladimir V. Putin, to an additional six years. It was a politically tinged decision that undermined President Dmitry A. Medvedev, who has vowed to revitalize the country’s deeply troubled legal system.

Khodorkovsky’s supporters had asked Medvedev to intervene in the case, which has reinforced widespread concerns that the Russian authorities readily manipulate law enforcement and the judiciary for political purposes. But Medvedev refused, and Khodorkovsky’s second trial on embezzlement charges — his current sentence ran to 2011 — appeared to end as it began: as a symbol of Medvedev’s inability to make significant progress on his pledges.

“I expected a guilty verdict, but I didn’t expect such a tough sentence,” said Leonid Y. Gozman, co-chairman of Right Cause, a liberal party with close ties to the Kremlin. “This is shocking. It was obviously a political, not a judicial, decision. A verdict this harsh is going to resonate and be perceived very negatively for Medvedev, and for what he has been trying to accomplish.”

While the Khodorkovsky trial has attracted worldwide attention, the everyday failings in the Russian legal system are pervasive. Nearly two decades after the collapse of Communism, corruption is endemic, government power is often abused and senior politicians are rarely, if ever, held accountable for misdeeds.

Yet, with most of the news media cowed by official pressure, and opposition groups suppressed, people are skeptical about the possibility of attaining redress. Medvedev has conceded that the country is plagued by “legal nihilism,” but Putin has seemed less bothered.

In fact, the new sentence for Khodorkovsky was considered an unambiguous signal that Putin, now prime minister, remains in control of the country in advance of a presidential election in 2012, which he might enter. Putin, who was president from 2000 to 2008, has repeatedly declared that Medvedev, 47, is nothing more than a violent criminal.

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CLIFFORD J. LEVY

NEW YORK AGREES TO SETTLE A CASE WITH A FINANCIER

The financier Steven L. Rattner has agreed to pay $10 million to settle civil charges that he engaged in a kickback scheme involving New York state’s pension fund, ending a scathing personal and public morality feud between Rattner and the New York attorney general, Andrew M. Cuomo.

Under the settlement announced Thursday — just two days before Cuomo becomes New York’s governor — Rattner will pay restitution to the state pension fund and will be barred from appearing in any capacity before a public pension fund within the state for five years. He did not admit any wrongdoing.

The surprise settlement extracts from Rattner less than the attorney general initially sought. In two lawsuits filed last month, Cuomo sought to recover $26 million and to impose upon Rattner a lifetime ban from the New York securities industry.

For Rattner, the settlement allows him to escape the harsh spotlight he has felt since the spring of 2009, when the Securities and Exchange Commission filed a lawsuit that detailed his alleged improper dealings with the New York state pension fund. The S.E.C. and Rattner reached a separate settlement in February, 2010.

The settlement reached Thursday November 18, 2010 is the Latest chapter in a monthlong feud between Rattner and the New York’s pension fund, ending a controversy that has attracted worldwide attention.

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Clinton Defender Defends Himself Over Clients

WASHINGTON — After decades of work for some of this country’s most powerful lobbying firms, Lanny J. Davis, the lawyer who once helped defend President Clinton from impeachment, is suddenly scrambling to defend himself.

Since leaving the White House, Davis has built a client list that now includes coup supporters in Honduras, a dictator in Equatorial Guinea, for-profit colleges accused of exploiting students, and a company that dominates the manufacture of additives for infant formula. Earlier this month, he agreed to represent the Ivory Coast strongman whose claims to that country’s presidency have been condemned by the international community, and may even set off a civil war.

Davis withdrew from his $100,000-a-month contract with the Ivory Coast on Wednesday night, saying that the embattled government refused to accept his suggestion to talk to President Obama. Still, his role in West Africa has stoked growing criticism that Davis has become a kind of front man for the dark side, willing to take on some of the world’s least noble companies and causes.

Many lobbying firms have clients with checkered records. Indeed, those are the people who need help the most in Washington. But many activists — and even some government officials — said the list of clients in Davis’s firm stands out.

“You look at who he represents, and the list is just almost unexampled, tawdry,” said Meredith McGehee, a lobbyist for California WIC Association, which represents agencies that serve poor women with infant children, and who faced off against Davis this year in the fight over baby formula, which his client won. “It is an illustration of what most of the American people think of as wrong with Washington.”

Davis says he is aware of the criticism, particularly since his representation of the Ivory Coast became an issue. And he is pushing back with some of the same message-molding that earned him a label as a “spinmeister par excellence.” He says he’s lining up State Department officials, congressmen and business leaders to testify about how much he’s helped them.

Mostly, however, he’s single-handedly flooding the zone, writing long, detailed responses to reporters and columnists, and making himself available to anyone and everyone interested in directly hearing his side of his story.

“My credibility is the only thing I have,” he said Thursday. “If I defend people in indefensible, corrupt acts then I lose everything I have, and I’m just another gun for hire. But when I see that I can help get out the facts, and improve people’s lives, and peacefully resolve conflicts, then I feel an obligation to do so.” GINGER THOMPSON and ERIC LIPTON

Former Israeli President Katsav Convicted of Rape

JERUSALEM — An Israeli court convicted the country’s former president, Moshe Katsav, of two counts of forcible rape on Thursday, a verdict that many Israelis described as a low point in the nation’s history, but also redemptive, in that it upheld the value of equality before the law.

“There are no two states of Israel, just one state,” said Shimon Peres, Katsav’s successor as president. “There are no two kinds of citizens here; citizens of only one kind exist in Israel — and all are equal in the eyes of the law.”

The verdict capped an unusual four-year spectacle that began with accusations of sexual offenses against Katsav while he was still the head of state.

“Never before has a president in the democratic world been found guilty of such deeds,” wrote Zeev Segal, the legal commentator for the newspaper Haaretz.

A panel of three district court judges in Tel Aviv convicted Katsav, 65, of raping an employee — identified only by her first initial, A. — on two occasions while he was minister of tourism in 1998. The court also convicted him of sexually abusing and harassing another complainant and of harassing a third while he was president.

Katsav has consistently denied any wrongdoing, and his lawyers said it was possible that he would appeal the ruling to the Supreme Court.

Katsav, looking ashen, made no comment as he left the court accompanied by his lawyers. His son, Boaz, said that the family was steadfast in its support of Katsav and that they remained convinced he was innocent. Katsav was allowed to go home on Thursday. Sentencing is expected in January. Katsav had contended that the rape accusation was all a plot by the former Tourism Ministry employee, who he said was seeking revenge after she was fired. ISABEL KERSHNER

Israel Discovers Major Gas Field

Exploratory drilling off Israel’s northern coast this week has confirmed the existence of a major natural gas field — one of the world’s largest offshore gas finds of the past decade — leading the country’s infrastructure minister to call it “the most important energy news since the founding of the state.” Houston-based Noble Energy in cooperation with several Israeli partner companies said that the field, named Leviathan, has at least 16 trillion cubic feet of gas at a likely market value of tens of billions of dollars and should turn Israel into an energy exporter. Israel has had a long history of dependence on foreign energy. (NYT)

Vatican Creates Financial Watchdog

The Vatican on Thursday created a financial watchdog agency and issued new laws to fight money laundering and terrorist financing in a major effort to shed its image as a tax haven that for years has been mired in secrecy and scandal. The decrees, which go into effect April 1, were passed as the Vatican’s own bank remains implicated in a money-laundering investigation that resulted in 23 million euros ($31 million) being seized and its top two officials placed under investigation. (AP)

Bomb Kills 14 On Afghan Minibus

A minibus packed with women and children was blown apart by a roadside bomb in southern Afghanistan’s Helmand Province on Thursday, and officials said 14 passengers were killed and at least four wounded. Afghan and NATO officials blamed Taliban insurgents for what a NATO spokesman called a “despicable attack” meant to kill innocents. It was at least the second time this month that a roadside bomb had killed more than a dozen civilians in Helmand, where U.S.-led forces have intensified their campaign against the Taliban. (NYT)

Isabelle Caro, Model Who Battled Anorexia, Dies at 28

Isabelle Caro, a French model and actress who became the international face of anorexia when she allowed her ravaged body to be photographed nude for an Italian fashion label Nolita in 2007. She was 28.

Her friends and family initially kept her death secret.Danièle Gouzard-Dubreuil-Prevot, Caro’s longtime acting instructor, informed The Associated Press on Wednesday that she died after returning to France from a job in Tokyo.

Though her anorexia was almost certainly a factor in her death, its exact role was not clear, and her weight at her death was not known. But Caro weighed only about 80 pounds when she posed, reclining and staring balefully over her right shoulder, for an advertising campaign for the Italian fashion label Nolita in 2007. She was 5 feet 4 inches tall and had battled anorexia since the age of 13.

The image, displayed on billboards and in newspapers as Fashion Week got under way that year in Milan, was shocking. Caro’s face was emaciated, her arms and legs mere sticks, her teeth seemingly too large for her mouth. In large letters, “No — Anorexia” ran across the top of the photograph. WILLIAM GRIMES
Families of Troops Bear the Brunt of Deployment Strains

WAUTOMA, Wis. — Life changed for Shawn Eisch with a phone call last January. His youngest brother, Brian, a soldier and single father, had just received orders to deploy from Fort Drum, N.Y., to Afghanistan and was mulling who might take his two boys for a year. Shawn volunteered.

So began a season of adjustments as the boys came to live in their uncle’s home here. Joey, the 8-year-old, got into fistfights at his new school. His 12-year-old brother, Isaac, rebelled against their uncle’s rules. And Shawn’s three children quietly resented sharing a bedroom, the family computer and, most of all, their parents’ attention with their younger cousins.

The once comfortable Eisch farmhouse suddenly felt crowded. “It was a lot more traumatic than I ever pictured it, for them,” Shawn, 44, said. “And it was for me, too.”

The work of war is very much a family affair. Nearly 6 in 10 of the troops deployed today are married, and nearly half have children. Those families — more than a million of them since 2001 — have borne the brunt of the psychological and emotional strain of deployments.

Siblings and grandparents have become surrogate parents. Spouses have struggled with loneliness and stress. Children have felt confused and abandoned during the long separations. All have felt anxieties about the distant dangers of war.

Social scientists are just beginning to document the rippling effects of multiple combat deployments on families — effects that those families themselves have intimately understood for years. A study published in The New England Journal of Medicine in January found that wives of deployed soldiers sought mental health services more often than other Army wives. They were also more likely to report mental health problems, including depression, anxiety and sleep disorder, the longer the deployments lasted.

A paper published in the journal Pediatrics in late 2009 found that children in military families were more likely to report anxiety than children in civilian families. The longer a parent had been deployed in the previous three years, the researchers found, the more likely their children were to have had difficulties in school and at home.

But those studies do not describe the myriad ways, often imperceptible to outsiders, in which families cope with deployments every day.

For Tim Sullivan, it has meant learning how to potty train, braid hair and fix dinner for his two young children while his wife, a sergeant in a support battalion to the First Battalion, 87th Infantry, is deployed.

Sullivan’s days have revolved around school and at home. Those children, he says, because his father had not mind being home with the children, he says, because his father was not, having left the family when Sullivan was young.

“I’m not going to put my kids through that,” said Sullivan, 35, who handles child support cases for the county. “I’m going to be there.”

He says that if his wife stays in the Army — as she has said she wants to do — he is prepared to move again or even endure another deployment. “I love her,” he said. “I’m already signed up. I made a decision to join the life that goes with that.”

JAMES DAO
and CATRIN EINHORN
Oprah Winfrey's Worldview Shapes a Cable Network

For decades cable channels have been built around specific interests like news, sports or classic movies. Beginning this weekend, there will be something altogether different: a cable channel shaped around a person, Oprah Winfrey.

The channel, called OWN, short for the Oprah Winfrey Network, will depend in part on Winfrey's powerful role as a tastemaker for her millions of fans. When it starts Saturday at noon, OWN will essentially recommend television programs the way Winfrey recommends books on “The Oprah Winfrey Show.”

“This network will be mind and heart-food for people,” Winfrey said in an interview. “This channel is going to be about a relationship, not just a transaction.”

Her network is also the most-watched experiment in the television industry. Winfrey is taking an enormous risk by ending her 25-year-old broadcast talk show in May and moving to cable, hoping that her viewers will move with her. Whether they watch, they'll be paying for it: OWN is expected to eventually earn a quarter a month in subscriber fees from each of the 85 million households that will receive it.

OWN is not just a symbolic move to cable from broadcast. It's also a bet by Winfrey and her backers at Discovery Communications that media will be more personalized in the future.

Meanwhile, OWN, whose revenues top $1 billion, continues to grow at a breakneck pace. In the last month, the site's subscriber base has jumped 22.3 percent to more than 50 million worldwide, the company said. On private exchanges that facilitate trading in tech startups, Groupon has an implied valuation approaching $5 billion, up from $1.2 billion in June.

With its giant war chest and investor buzz, Groupon is now expected to hold an I.P.O. at the end of 2011, these people said.

"The market has been waiting a long time for that innovative young company, like a Groupon, to hit," said Paul Bard, a vice president at Renaissance Capital.

EVELYN M. RÜSLI

After Movie, Economists Questioned About Ethics

WASHINGTON — When the Stanford business professor Darrell Duffie co-wrote a book on how to overhaul Wall Street regulations, he did not mention that he sits on the board of Moody’s, the credit rating agency.

As a commentator on the economy, Laura D’Andrea Tyson, a former adviser to President George W. Bush, does not usually say that she is a director of Morgan Stanley.

And the faculty Web page of Richard H. Clarida, a Columbia professor who was a Treasury official under President George W. Bush, leaves out the fact that he is an executive vice president at Pimco, the bond fund manager.

Academic economists, particularly those active in policy debates roiling Washington and Wall Street, are facing greater scrutiny of their outside activities these days. Faced with a run of criticism, including a popular movie, leaders of the American Economic Association, the world’s largest professional society for economists, founded in 1885, are considering a step that most other professions took a long time ago — adopting a code of ethical standards.

The proposal, which has not been announced to the public or to the association’s 17,000 members, is partly a response to “Inside Job,” a documentary film released in October that excoriates financial practices that led to the 2008 financial crisis.

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EVELYN M. RÜSLI

New Capital for Groupon Sets Stage for I.P.O.

The 30-year-old founder and chief executive of Groupon, Andrew Mason, is scheduled to raise as much as $950 million from investors in the next few weeks, laying the groundwork for a multi-billion dollar initial public offering in 2011.

The social buying site, which offers coupons for local businesses, has so far locked up $500 million in fresh capital from Fidelity Investments, Morgan Stanley, T. Rowe Price, and other large investors — allowing Mason and eight other directors to take a significant amount of cash off the table. In the coming weeks, the company could bring in another $450 million, according to a Securities and Exchange Commission filing on Thursday.

If successful, Groupon’s latest fund-raising effort would mark the largest ever for a startup, a venture capital record held by DreamWorks Animation SKG for the last 15 years, based on Thomson Reuters data.

Groupon has gone from a quirky idea to Web darling in about two years — an especially fast evolution that got a turbo charge when the Chicago-based company spurned a $6 billion takeover offer by Google in the first week of December.

A frenzy of activity followed the failed bid. Within days, institutional investors started lining up, ready to provide significant capital infusions. On Dec. 20, Groupon hired its first chief financial officer, Jason Child, an Amazon.com veteran with number-crunching credentials. By Thursday, Fidelity, T. Rowe Price, Morgan Stanley, and others had committed $500 million, according to two people familiar with the fundraising.

Meanwhile, Groupon, whose revenues top $1 billion, continues to grow at a breakneck pace. In the last month, the site’s subscriber base has jumped 42.3 percent to more than 50 million worldwide, the company said. On private exchanges that facilitate trading in tech startups, Groupon has an implied valuation approaching $5 billion, up from $1.2 billion in June.

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(NYT)

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(NYT)
Twins Have Second Thoughts on Facebook Deal

SAN DIEGO — Some people go to court hoping to win millions of dollars. Tyler and Cameron Winklevoss have already won tens of millions. But six years into a legal feud with Facebook, they want to give it back — for a chance to get more.

The Winklevosses — identical twins and Harvard graduates — say that they, along with another Harvard student, Divya Narendra, had the original idea for Facebook, and that Mark Zuckerberg stole it. They sued Facebook and Zuckerberg in 2004, and settled four years later for $20 million in cash and $45 million in Facebook shares.

They have been trying to undo the settlement since, saying they were misled on the value of the deal. But it has not been an easy decision.

As recently as Thursday, the brothers considered dropping their effort to unwind the agreement, and went as far as drafting a statement to that effect, according to people close to the case. They decided to keep fighting.

Their argument is that Facebook deceived them about the value of the shares, leaving them with far less than they had agreed.

Whatever their value at the time of the deal, Facebook’s shares have soared since, putting the current worth of the settlement, by some estimates, at more than $140 million.

Next month, the twins and Narendra plan to ask a federal appeals court in San Francisco to undo the deal so they can pursue their original case against Facebook and Zuckerberg, and win a richer payday. They could, though, lose it all.

Still, they say it’s not about the money, it’s about the principle — and vindication. “The principle is that they didn’t fight fair,” said Tyler Winklevoss during an interview recently. “The principle is that Mark stole the idea.”

His brother, Cameron, chimed in: “What we agreed to is not what we got.”

Facebook denies it did anything improper and says the Winklevosses simply suffer from a case of “settlers remorse.”

To make matters more complicated, the twins are also at war with the lawyers who helped them win the settlement. The brothers fired them, accused them of malpractice and refused to pay them. A judge recently found for the lawyers, and ordered the twins to pay the 20 percent contingency fee, or $13 million. For now, the money and shares remain in an escrow account.

Yet their battle with Zuckerberg is what has had them riled up. When they talked about him, and told their version of the founding of Facebook, they helped finish each other’s sentences, easily reciting every detail of a tale they have evidently told time and again.

“It shouldn’t be that Mark Zuckerberg gets away with behaving that way,” Cameron Winklevoss said.

The company declined to make Zuckerberg available for an interview, and Andrew Noyes, a spokesman, said Facebook would have no comment beyond what “is already in our appellate briefs.” In the past, Zuckerberg has denied he stole the Facebook idea from the Winklevosses, saying they planned a dating site, not a social network.

While the Winklevosses could end up losing their settlement, the risks for Facebook are high as well. If the court undoes the agreement, the company will have to decide whether to offer them a richer settlement or face a trial. Recent trades on a private exchange suggest that Facebook now is worth around $50 billion, and the company may not want the negative publicity associated with a trial, especially if it decides to move forward with a public stock offering.

Conveyor Belts Bring Profit to a Japanese Sushi Chain

SAYAMA, Japan — The Kura “revolving sushi” restaurant chain has no Michelin stars, but it has succeeded where many of Japan’s more celebrated eateries fall short: turning a profit in a punishing economy.

Efficiency is paramount at Kura: absent are the traditional sushi-making robots and an attention to detail. In their place are sushi-making robots and an emphasis on efficiency.

Absent, too, are flocks of waiters. They have been largely replaced by conveyors belts that carry sushi to diners and remote managers who monitor Kura’s 262 restaurants from three control centers across Japan.

Absent, too, are the exorbitant prices of conventional sushi restaurants. At a Kura, a sushi plate goes for 100 yen, or about $1.22.

Such measures are helping Kura stay afloat even though the country’s once-profligate diners have tightened their belts in response to two decades of little economic growth and stagnant wages.

Many other restaurants and dining businesses in Japan have not fared so well. After peak prices and a dogged pursuit of efficiency. In the company’s most recent fiscal year, which ended on March 31, net profit jumped 20 percent from the same period a year earlier, to 2.8 billion yen.

In the last two months alone, Kura has added seven stores.

“It’s such a bargain at 100 yen,” said Toshiyuki Arai, a delivery restaurant with his sister and her 3-year-old son. “A real sushi restaurant?” he said. “I hardly go anymore.”

HIROKO TABUCHI

N.Y.S.E. Most Active Issues

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Stocks of the Move

Shares of the following companies may have unusual moves in U.S. trading.

Kforce Inc. (KFRIC US) advanced 0.1 percent to $16.55. The staffing company said it started a stock buyback plan that is effective from Jan. 6 through Feb. 11, according to a regulatory filing.

Nektar Therapeutics (NKTR US) rose 8.0 percent to $13.06. The biotechnology company said Chief Operating Officer Bharatt Chowria will leave the company Jan. 3, with a $600,000 one-time severance payment, as well as monthly payments.

Old Dominion Freight Line Inc. (ODFL US) fell 0.7 percent to $31.83. The U.S. regional trucker said John Yowell, its chief operating officer, died. Yowell had been with the company since 1983, according to a regulatory filing. The company plans to start a succession plan "at the appropriate time." (Bloomberg)
A self-absorbed hotel snob, Jennifer Treadwell prefers to stay at Four Seasons and similar upscale hotels when she goes on vacation, for the high level of service and luxurious amenities they provide. The idea of renting a vacation home was never very appealing. Then she discovered the Cottages at Cape Kiwanda on the Oregon coast, where $500-a-night two-bedroom cottages offer flat-screen televisions, surround-sound systems, spa-style robes, in-room Internet access and whirlpool tubs. Guests have access to a fitness center nearby and a concierge who can book a massage or surfing lesson.

“I’ve been staying there since they opened, and I never really thought of them as that vacation rental place,” said Treadwill, a health coach from Portland, Ore. “I always assumed it was a luxurious boutique hotel.”

In an effort to distinguish themselves from other short-term rentals and capture a share of the $100 billion hotel market, many vacation rentals are trying to stand out by essentially posing as hotels — offering everything from regular maid service to miniature toiletries to concierges. That’s good news for travelers looking for an alternative to traditional hotels, as the heightened competition creates a greater diversity of places to stay at a range of prices.

Late last year, Wimco, an upscale Caribbean villa management company on St. Bart’s, began providing daily housekeeping and weekly cocktail parties for guests at waterfront restaurants on the island, and will soon offer cellphones programmed to ring the concierge. To maintain a level of consistency among its properties, Lifestyle Villas, which manages beachfront homes and condos in Los Cabos, Mexico, requires homeowners who list with the agency to include certain standard perks, among them, 800-thread-count linens, two bathrobes per room, wall safes, suitcase holders, alarm clocks and L’Occitane toiletries.

“If you want to have your villa filled 52 weeks of the year, you have to be competitive with the resort market,” said Steve A. Lassman, vice president and general manager at Villas of Distinction, which has been offering triple American Express Rewards points for certain rentals. The company markets one of its newest properties, Nandana, as a “private resort.” The five-bedroom oceanfront estate on Grand Bahama Island, says the Web site, “goes beyond the traditional villa vacation by providing guests with a range of luxury services, amenities and activities,” including an infinity pool, Jet Skis and an 18-hole golf course. Nandana rates begin at $6,500 a night.

One reason for all this extra effort is the surplus of vacation properties built during the boom. Even mom-and-pop outfits are stepping up the service, offering airport transfers.

Last year, Greybeard Realty, which manages more than 200 rental homes in the Black Mountains of North Carolina near Asheville, with rates from $650 a week, added a guest services division to handle event tickets, grocery baskets and restaurant recommendations. Similarly, Globe Homes and Condos, which manages about 50 properties in Los Angeles and Palm Springs, Calif., recently hired a full-time service manager to assist guests with theme park tickets, child care and other requests. “I need to be able to compete with the hotels,” said Sebastian de Kleer, president of Globe Homes and Condos. “At the same time, I need something more to differentiate myself from other vacation rental companies and individual homeowners.”
China’s Red Tourism Boom Taps Revolutionary Spirit for Profit

YAN’AN, China — The explosives had been set, the watchtower manned and the dirt battlefield cleared of rubble. Communist soldiers armed with rifles took up positions at the foot of the barren hills. Their foes, the Kuomintang, loomed in the distance, advancing on the outskirts of Yan’an.

Then a yell, “There’s no electricity!”

No electricity meant no show.

Hundreds of Chinese tourists streamed toward the front gate demanding their money back. Other visitors stripped off their gray uniforms on the battlefield — they had paid $2 to take part in the production.

So went a recent performance of “The Defense of Yan’an,” an hourlong re-enactment of a crucial moment in the Chinese civil war, when the Kuomintang tried overrunning the Communists in 1947 in their mountain redoubt here. The show, complete with live explosions, takes place every morning on the outskirts of Yan’an, a dingy city of two million in the northern province of Shaanxi.

Capitalism is thriving in China, but red is far from dead, at least in Yan’an. “The Defense of Yan’an” is a recent addition to tourist attractions in the city that tries to evoke the glory days of the Chinese Communist Party, after its leaders entered Yan’an in 1936 following the Long March. Local officials and businesspeople here are profiting handsomely off a boom in “red tourism,” in which Chinese,

many of them yuppies, journey to revolutionary sites to rekindle their long-lost sense of class struggle and proletarian principles. “Commercialization is not bad as long as we don’t vulgarize the traditions and as long as we keep the spirit without violating it,” said Tan Huwa, a historian at Yan’an University.

The Yan’an area, with its distinctive cave homes and yellow loess hills, was used as the main revolutionary base until 1948, enduring bombing by the Japanese during World War II and assaults by Kuomintang troops. It was here that the top Communist leaders, such as Mao Zedong, forged the ragtag Red Army into a populist guerilla force.

“I’m here to be educated,” said Ma Tao, 32, a civil servant wearing eyeglasses who was struggling into a Red Army costume at the entrance to Yangjialing, a narrow valley in Yan’an where the Communist leaders had resided in cave homes for several years.

The Yan’an tourism bureau says on its Web site that visitors to the city surpassed 10 million last year, up 37 percent from the previous year. Tourism got a big boost in 2008 when the local government decided to waive ticket prices to the main sites; the same year, the city invested $15 million to build new plazas, museums and other showpieces. The tourism bureau’s Web site now boasts of the “Yan’an Revolutionary Holy Dream.”

But there are those who are not happy with the way renovations have gone. “There was a stark beauty, this totally primitive cave city that was the brain for the whole war effort in China,” said Sidney Rittenberg Sr., a business consultant who was the first American to join the Chinese Communist Party and lived in Yan’an in the late 1940s.

Rittenberg took his wife to Yan’an last year. He said he was stunned by the changes.

“The caves, are they still there?” he said. “Yes, but you have to go down to the edge of the city to see them. And they’ve virtually destroyed this museum to Chinese revolutionary history. I think it’s a real travesty.”

EDWARD WONG

CROSSWORD

Edited By Will Shortz

ACROSS
1  One likely to die on the road?
7  What something may go down to
14  Foster girl
15  Foster girl
16  Debunked?
17  Response to great news
18  Big tin exporter: Abbr.
19  Beat badly
21  Battle joiner’s choice
22  Kind of replication
23  Sticks up for, kind of replication
25  Serbian city where Constantine the Great was born
26  Org. with towers
27  Luzón, e.g.
28  Thengamajig
31  Film in which Eddie Murphy voices the dragon Mushu
33  Lit
35  Be revolting
40  Homes within nations
41  San Francisco’s Museo Americano
42  Red giants in the night sky
43  Provoke
47  Big hit
48  Cross character
49  Not dormant
51  As
52  Ice legend’s family
54  Head start?
56  It’s often hung illegally
57  “The Humbugs of the World” author, 1865
60  Be coerced
62  Relationship in the 2009 film “I Love You, Man”
63  1974 hit with Spanish lyrics
64  “Got it”
65  The Allman Brothers Band, e.g.

DOWN
1  Creator of TV’s “Alias”
2  Blimp navigator
3  Boxer who wrote “Reach!”
4  Switch sides?
5  Some county fair contest entries
6  Folks getting into dirt
7  Bait
8  Bucks, e.g.
9  Rock’s Brian
10  Freeks (out)
11  Not going anywhere
12  Carrier of drum cases, maybe
13  First in line, say
15  Over and over
16  Like M&M’s
17  Sacrifice fly?
18  Cartoonist, at times
19  64-Across, to a cat
20  Debugger?
21  Court proceedings
22  Freak
23  Self, in a Latin phrase
24  “Gentle” one of song
25  Problem for one who’s trapped
26  Visit

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EDWARD WONG
Andrew Cuomo’s inauguration ceremony on Saturday will be comparatively modest — a long way from former Gov. George Pataki’s black-tie gala and marching bands. That is appropriate at a time when New York State is mired in both a fiscal and political crisis.

Even so, Cuomo will need more than symbolism to turn the state around. He will have to quickly confront all of New York’s vested political and economic interests.

His most pressing task will be to carve $9 billion out of the state’s $135 billion budget. His rush campaign promises to cap property taxes and end a small extra tax on high-income earners will make that even tougher.

He needs to jettison the property tax promise. He will also have to negotiate less-generous pension plans for state workers. And he will have to come up with other savings from the state’s big-ticket school and Medicaid budgets. Those cuts must be made.

Cuomo’s first budget is due on Feb. 1. If he makes the tough but necessary choices, the Legislature, the unions and others will protest fiercely. The new governor can significantly increase his political leverage, and public support, by also committing to reform the state’s opaque budget process.

The need for reform goes far beyond the budget. Based on the 2010 census, the Legislature is supposed to start mapping new Congressional and legislative districts in time for the 2012 elections. During the campaign, Cuomo promised to work for an independent, nonpartisan redistricting commission. That one reform could finally end the scandalous gerrymandering that allows even the most incompetent and corrupt legislators to keep getting re-elected.

A majority of legislators in both houses signed a pledge to establish such a commission immediately. Now that they are re-elected, some are already waffling. A few Republicans are even hinting that the whole matter should be done with a constitutional amendment, which would ensure that nothing changes for another decade. Cuomo can improve the chances for real electoral reform by repeatedly reaffirming his vow to veto any redistricting plan “that reflects partisan gerrymandering.”

To clean up Albany’s swamp, Cuomo should immediately — next week — introduce an omnibus ethics reform bill.

That must include the creation of an ethics enforcement commission to investigate mis-deeds in both the Legislature and the executive branch. All lawmakers must be required to reveal the sources and amounts of their outside income. There can be no exceptions for lawyers like Sheldon Silver, the Assembly speaker who could have clients with business before the state. The public doesn’t know.

Effective reform will also require sweeping changes in the state’s shamefully lax campaign finance rules with much stricter limits on contributions by individuals and limited liability corporations.

Cuomo repeatedly reminds New Yorkers that their tarnished state was “once a national model.” Now it is a model of dysfunction. Cuomo has a lot of work ahead and no time to waste.

Haiti’s Presidential Vote

An agreement reached this week between Haiti and the Organization of American States points the way out of the country’s paralyzing presidential election crisis. The deal will allow experts from the O.A.S. to re-examine the results of the Nov. 28 vote to try to clear up the uncertainty over who won second place and will go on to a January runoff.

While there is widespread acceptance that the top vote-getter was Mirlande Manigat, a former first lady, there was widespread anger in Haiti — and skepticism internationally — after the national election council announced last month that Jude Célestin, the protégé of President René Préval, had narrowly beaten Michel Martelly, a popular musician, for the No. 2 spot.

Independent observers stationed across the country on Election Day had concluded that it was Martelly who had easily bested Célestin. The U.S. Embassy and the United Nations issued statements shortly after the vote voicing concern about irregularities. Angry supporters of Martelly and the other losing candidates staged raucous protests that briefly paralyzed a country already stricken by January’s earthquake and a raging cholera epidemic.

The country has since calmed down, but remains in dire need of a new, legitimately elected president. There is, of course, no undoing the myriad disasters of Election Day. The answer is not a full, new election.

Haiti and the O.A.S. have the right approach with their agreement to let the outside specialists into the national tabulation center to examine everything: tally sheets, voter rolls, written reports about irregularities and incidents on Election Day. They will be able to consult candidates and interview citizens.

They must be allowed to throw out dubious results, using standards already established by the election council. And they must report whatever they find and their decisions to the president, election council and the people of Haiti. Process and communication are paramount, so Haitians see that their democracy is lawful, transparent and just worth the trouble.

It may be hard to hold the runoff as scheduled on Jan. 16. But long delays cannot be tolerated. Préval is supposed to leave office on Feb. 7, though he could legally remain until May 14, the technical end date of his five-year term. The country is rightly eager for a new government to handle reconstruction and contain cholera. The sooner Préval hands off the reins to a legitimately elected president, the better.

Hypocrisy never goes out of style, but, even so, 2010 was something special. For it was the year of budget doubletalk. One day deficits were the great evil and we needed fiscal austerity now, never mind the state of the economy. The next day $800 billion in debt-financed tax cuts, with the prospect of more to come, was the greatest thing since sliced bread, a triumph of bipartisanship.

It was the politicians — and, yes, that mainly meant Republicans — who took the lead on the hypocrisy front.

In the first half of 2010, impassioned speeches denouncing federal red ink were the G.O.P. norm. And concerns about the deficit were the stated reason for Republican opposition to extension of unemployment benefits.

But the tone changed during the summer, as B-day — the day when the Bush tax breaks for the wealthy were scheduled to expire — began to approach.

How did Republican leaders reconcile their purported deep concern about budget deficits with their advocacy of large tax cuts? Was it that old vodka economics — the belief, refuted by study after study, that tax cuts pay for themselves — making a comeback? No, it was something new and worse: 2010 marked the emergence of a new level of magical thinking: the belief that deficits created by tax cuts just don’t matter. For example, Sen. Jon Kyl of Arizona declared that “you should never have to offset the cost of a deliberate decision to reduce tax rates on Americans.”

It’s an easy position to ridicule. After all, if you never have to offset the cost of tax cuts, why not just eliminate taxes altogether? But the joke’s on us because while this kind of magical thinking may not yet be the law of the land, it’s about to become part of the rules governing legislation in the House of Representatives.

So if taxes don’t matter, does the incoming majority have a realistic plan to cut spending? Of course not. Republicans say that they want to cut $100 billion in spending, which is itself small change in a $3.6 trillion federal budget. But they also say that defense, Medicare and Social Security — all the big-ticket items — are off the table. So they’re talking about a 20 percent cut in what’s left.

How will this all end? I have seen the future, and it’s on Long Island, where I grew up.

Nassau County is one of the wealthiest counties in America and has an unemployment rate well below the national average. So it should be weathering the economic storm better than most places. But a year ago, the county elected a new executive who railed against budget deficits and promised both to cut taxes and to balance the budget. The tax cuts happened; the promised spending cuts didn’t. And now the county is in fiscal crisis.

Nassau County shows how easily responsible government can collapse in this country. All it takes is disgruntled voters who don’t know what’s at stake — and we have plenty of those. Banana republic, here we come.

Haiti — and skepticism internationally — after the national election council announced last month that Jude Célestin, the protégé of President René Préval, had narrowly beaten Michel Martelly, a popular musician, for the No. 2 spot. An agreement reached this week between Haiti and the Organization of American States points the way out of the country’s paralyzing presidential election crisis. The deal will allow experts from the O.A.S. to re-examine the results of the Nov. 28 vote to try to clear up the uncertainty over who won second place and will go on to a January runoff.

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Little Ice Time, But Big Thrills

In the third period of a game against the Rangers two weeks ago, Phoenix Coyotes goaltender Jason LaBarbera made a big save but was slow to rise from the ice, favoring his groin.

On the Phoenix bench, before thousands of raucous Madison Square Garden fans, reality struck Tom Fenton like a blindside hit.

“Immediately it went through my head: God, I might actually be going into this thing,” he said.

He didn’t. But that night Fenton, by day a Manhattanville College graduate student, was an emergency backup goalie, or EBUG, one of a subspecies of Average Joe hockey players called upon to drop everything to fill a roster spot when a professional goalie is injured or ill.

EBUGs have become something of a staple of minor league hockey and occasionally find their way onto an N.H.L. bench for an evening. One thing they all have in common is they are not expected to play, and usually they do not. In fact, it is not believed that an EBUG has ever played in an N.H.L. game since the league mandated after the 1965-66 season that teams dress two goaltenders.

Under the league’s collective bargaining agreement with the players union, teams may sign an amateur player to a one-game contract in an emergency.

Other EBUGs who have suited up for N.H.L. teams in recent seasons include Nathan Deobald, a Calgary drama student who was on the bench for the Edmonton Oilers in a game last season against the Vancouver Canucks. In 2008, the Washington Capitals dressed their Web site editor, Brett Leonard, against the Ottawa Senators until a farmhand arrived midway through the first period. And in 2003, Chris Levesque, a British Columbia college student, found himself in a Canucks uniform for a game.

EBUGs in the N.H.L. are generally not paid, nor do they receive a per diem. Fenton said the Coyotes paid him a little more than $100 and implied that it was for gas and parking. EBUGs in the minors receive $50 to $100 a game and a per diem.

Fenton got his opportunity after Coyotes goalie Ilya Bryzgalov had flu-like symptoms.

“They tried to get their guy from San Antonio, but this all happened a few hours before the game,” said Fenton, an Ontario native who played for American International College and works with goalies on the Manhattanville men’s and women’s teams. Coyotes General Manager Don Maloney said he found Fenton through mutual contacts in New York.

More typical of the EBUG experience is the vagabond life of Jack Kauffman. In his five minor league seasons, Kauffman, 23, has traveled thousands of miles for 11 games and countless practices without ever appearing when it counted.

He has dressed for four teams in the E.C.H.L., a midlevel professional league formerly known as the East Coast Hockey League. He has practiced with two others. He has signed autographs, hugged young fans and even had his jersey auctioned.

“I would do this stuff for free just to be able to go out there and skate and have a jersey on,” he said.

MATT CAPUTO

WEATHER

High/low temperatures for the 21 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 1 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.


U.S. CITIES

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Football Physics Pit Size Against Speed

LOS ANGELES — The Wisconsin offensive coordinator Paul Chryst not only calls plays, he writes story lines. When he sized up the Badgers’ battle with Texas Christian in the Rose Bowl on Saturday, Chryst predicted it would be easy to write about how the Badgers’ overwhelming offensive size would match up against T.C.U.’s defensive speed.

“That’s the first line of the story,” Chryst said.

The comparison offers a parallel to the greater scope of the match-up between T.C.U. and Wisconsin. The Horned Frogs hail from the Mountain West Conference and earned their way here by suffocating their opponents with a versatile, complex defense. They are 12-0 and ranked No. 1 in total defense, allowing only 215 yards a game, nearly 35 less than second-ranked Ohio State. T.C.U. will head to the Big East in 2012, but for now it represents the small programs from the non-Bowl Championship Series conferences.

“I don’t feel like we’re the small guy,” T.C.U. Coach Gary Patterson said. “We’ve only lost three games the last three years.”

The Rose Bowl will be a fascinating matchup of football physics. Wisconsin’s average offensive lineman stands 6-foot-5 and weighs more than 320 pounds. The largest T.C.U. offensive lineman, Cory Grant, is 6-2, 305 pounds. The Badgers (11-1) have plowed over the competition, but their offense is far from plodding.

The T.C.U. defensive coordinator Dick Bumpas compared the Badgers’ size versus the Horned Frogs’ speed to a dump truck and a Ferrari. “I mean, we are fast, but the reality of it is when the dump truck is going full speed ahead, it’s a dangerous weapon,” he said.

Wisconsin ranks fourth nationally in scoring (43.3) and its 45.2 points a game average in the Big Ten is the second highest total in league history. During the Badgers’ current seven-game winning streak, they have had 83- and 70-point outbursts and have scored at least 31 points in each game.

T.C.U. runs a 4-2-5 defense, which is either innovative or a fancy way to term a nickel defense. The versatility of the extra defensive back has helped T.C.U. become one of the most cutting-edge defenses in stopping spread offenses; hybrid defenders can run sideline to sideline, but are athletic enough to drop into coverage. But how successful the 4-2-5 defense will be facing a power I formation like Wisconsin is a mystery.

“Certainly, we’re not thinking that we’re going to roll the ball out and just say, ‘We’re big, so therefore we’re going to be able to run the ball,’” Chryst said. “You’ve got to earn everything that you get.”

Like most programs in Texas, T.C.U.’s is predicated on how well the University of Texas recuits. The Wisconsin safety Jay Valai, who hails from the Dallas area, said that the perception that Texas selects the best 20 or so recruits in the state is true. Valai said he would have gone to Texas if he had been recruited by Coach Mack Brown.

“Coach Brown picks his,” Valai said. “The rest of us mortals go to other schools.”

While T.C.U. recruits may be a few inches shorter and many pounds lighter than the prototypical Texas recruit, the Horned Frogs do not lack speed. The star linebacker Tank Carder is a model of the T.C.U. player. Lightly recruited, he played a lot at tailback and quarterback in high school. Now he has evolved into a second-team all-American — not bad for someone who was known more as a BMX bike rider than a top football prospect.

Carder seems to be following the path of other T.C.U. stars. Patterson said that T.C.U.’s last five starting linebackers play in the NFL, although none was highly recruited out of high school.

“We’d all like to get that guy that already looks the part or makes the plays,” Patterson said. “But for us to build our program at our place because of the way recruiting is in Texas, we’ve had to do it a different way.”

PETE THAMEL

The Clock Ticks for a Jets Fullback, and a Record Is Approaching

FLORHAM PARK, N.J. — As if fullback Tony Richardson needed a reminder, the faux street sign hangs inside his locker at the Jets’ facility, depicting a hobbled old man, bent over, leaning on a cane.

“Geezer crossing,” it reads.

Richardson turned 39 this month. His real age, according to his teammate and good friend Dustin Keller, falls somewhere between 39 and 93. As Keller likes to say, Richardson once played football in a leather helmet, and on Sunday against Buffalo he will take part in his 234th regular-season game, the second most for a running back in N.F.L. history, behind Lorenzo Neal’s 239.

Though Richardson would prefer to focus on the playoffs, his decision, the decision, looms.

Richardson could retire, ending his career after 16 seasons and one year on the Dallas practice squad.

Or he could return and break the running backs record for games played.

“You do think about it,” Richardson said. “You think about the record. You think about the end.”

Richardson never set out to carve the longest career at one of football’s most punishing positions. In Dallas in 1994, he wanted to make one team, play one game, finish one season.

Each year bled into the next, as Richardson dispatched dozens of players drafted or signed to replace him. He left Kansas City after 2005, 11 seasons in the books, and even his father, Ben, a retired Army drill sergeant, assumed his son would call it a career.

Instead, Richardson played five more seasons, including this one. He paved paths for five different running backs to reach at least 1,000 rushing yards in eight separate seasons. He made four Pro Bowl teams. Throughout, he struck teammates as meticulous, thorough and detailed, a pro’s pro, the ageless fullback.

“There’s nothing typical about him,” said Thomas Jones, a former Jets running back now with Kansas City. “Fullbacks don’t wear three-piece suits. Fullbacks don’t wear two full backs. He played a lot at tailback and quarterback in high school. Now he has evolved into a second-team all-American — not bad for someone who was known more as a BMX bike rider than a top football prospect.

Carder seems to be following the path of other T.C.U. stars. Patterson said that T.C.U.’s last five starting linebackers play in the NFL, although none was highly recruited out of high school.

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PETE THAMEL

For another, Richardson mentors his presumed successor, John Conner, throughout this season. Richardson said he believes Conner will start at fullback for the Jets next year and for a long time beyond that.

Conner’s considerable skills could leave Richardson without a choice in his football future. If he returns next season, he wants to play only for Coach Rex Ryan, only for the Jets. Few teams keep two fullbacks, as the Jets did this season, particularly if the backup is 39 years old.

Richardson has never served in a backup role but said he would accept one. But other complicating factors remain. Should the Jets win the Super Bowl, Richardson is more likely to retire. Should labor strife lead to a lockout next season, he will definitely call it quits.

GREG BISHOP