

NEWS ANALYSIS

A Revolution On the Ballot

California Proposition Upends Voting System

By JESSE MCKINLEY

SAN FRANCISCO — The time for tinkering is done.

That was the message Californians sent when they voted Tuesday to radically rejigger elections in the nation's most populous state. Under Proposition 13, a measure that easily passed, traditional party primaries will be replaced in 2011 with wide-open elections. The top two vote-getters — whatever their party, or if they have no party at all — will face off in the general election.

Supporters argue that without parties picking candidates for the general election, moderates and independents will move to the fore, and voters will pay more attention to the electoral process.

Critics of the measure say it will give a huge advantage to candidates who have the most money or the widest name recognition.

That no one actually knows what the real effect of Proposition 13 will be seems almost beside the point to frustrated voters. What mattered, supporters said, is that something fundamental about politics — anything fundamental — had been changed.

As supporters celebrated, they promised to bring the so-called "top two" system to a state near you, with Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger leading the charge — though his second term, plagued by budget meltdowns and plunging popularity, was analysts said, one of the leading motivators for the measure.

Whether the measure will empower more independent voters — who were already allowed to vote in Democratic or Republican primaries, provided they requested a ballot — remains to be seen. But what did seem certain was that California was again poised to capture the mood of the country, just as it did in 1978 with Proposition 13, which distilled widespread anti-tax sentiment into a cap on property taxes.

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The California Republicans Meg Whitman, running for governor, and Carly Fiorina, seeking the Senate, celebratory win.

Silicon Valley Comes of Age

Victories by the former Silicon Valley executives Meg Whitman and Carly Fiorina signal the maturation of the high-tech industry.

BY BRAD STONE, PAGE A20

A Clear Choice in Nevada

Few choices are as stark as the one between Harry Reid, a four-term senator, and Sharron Angle, a largely unknown ex-state lawmaker.

BY JENNIFER STEINHAUER, PAGE A20

Tea and Scrutiny

Some critics are already asking Republican leaders how they managed to get so much out of control.

BY ET BAL, PAGE A17

Hidden Misery: A Glimpse Into North Korea

By SHARON LAFRANIERE

YANJI, China — Like many North Koreans, the construction worker lived in penury. His state employer had not paid him for so long that he had forgotten his salary. Indeed, he paid his boss to be listed as a dummy worker so that he could leave his work site. Then he and his wife could scrape out a living selling small bags of detergent on the black market.

It hardly seemed that life could get worse. And then, one Saturday afternoon last November, his sister burst into his apartment in Chongjin with shocking news: the North Korean government had decided to drastically deval-

Tales of Hardship and the Toll of a Failed Policy

ue the nation's currency. The family's life savings, about \$1,560, had been reduced to about \$30.

Last month the construction worker sat in a safe house in this bustling northern Chinese city, lamenting years of useless sacrifice. "Vegetables for his parents, his wife's asthma medicine, the navy track suit his 15-year-old daughter craved — all were sworn on the theory that, even in North Korea, the future was worth saving for."

"All" he exclaimed, cursing between sobs. "How we worked to save that money! Thinking about it makes me go crazy."

North Koreans are used to struggle and heartbreak. But the Nov. 30 currency devaluation, apparently an attempt to prop up a foundering state-run economy, was for some the worst disaster since a famine that killed hundreds of thousands in the mid-1990s.

Interviews in the past month with eight North Koreans who re-

cently left their country — a prison escapee, illegal traders, people in temporary exile to find work in China, the traveling wife of an official in the ruling Workers' Party — paint a haunting portrait of desperation inside North Korea, a nation of 24 million people, and of growing resentment toward its erratic leader, Kim Jong-il.

What seems missing — for now, at least — is social instability. Widespread hardship, popular anger over the currency revaluation and growing political uncertainty as Mr. Kim seeks to install his third son as his successor have not bred into noticeable resistance against the government. At least two of those interviewed in China heaved to the official propaganda line that North Korea was a victim of diabolical enemies, its impoverishment a Western plot, its survival threatened by the United States, South Korea and Japan.

South Korea's charge that North Korea sank one of its warships, the Cheonan, in March was just part of the plot, the party official's wife said.

"That's why we have weapons to protect ourselves," she said while visiting relatives in northern China — and earning spare cash as a waitress. "Our enemies

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Efforts in Gulf To Limit Flow Of Spill News

By JEREMY W. PETERS

When the operators of Southern Seaplane in Belle Chasse, La., called the local Coast Guard-Federal Aviation Administration command center for permission to fly over restricted airspace in Gulf of Mexico, they made what they thought was a simple and routine request.

A pilot wanted to take a photographer from The Times-Picayune of New Orleans to snap photographs of the oil slicks blackening the water. The response from a BP contractor who answered the phone late last month at the command center was swift and absolute: Permission denied.

"We were questioned extensively. Who was on the aircraft? Who did they work for?" recalled Rhonda Panepinto, who owns Southern Seaplane with her husband, Lyle. "The minute we mentioned media, the answer was: 'Not allowed.'"

Journalists struggling to document the impact of the oil rig explosion have repeatedly found themselves turned away from

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U.N. APPROVES NEW SANCTIONS TO DETER IRAN

LESS THAN U.S. SOUGHT

Doubts Persisting That Penalties Will Stop Nuclear Program

By NEIL MACFARQUHAR

UNITED NATIONS — The United Nations Security Council leveled its fourth round of sanctions against Iran's nuclear program on Wednesday, but the measures did little to overcome widespread doubts that they — or even the additional steps pledged by American and European officials — would accomplish the Council's longstanding goal: halting Iran's production of nuclear fuel.

The new resolution, hailed by President Obama as delivering "the toughest sanctions ever faced by the Iranian government," took months to negotiate and major concessions by Americans, but it failed to carry the symbolic weight of a unanimous decision. Twelve of the 15 nations on the Council voted for the measure, while Turkey and Brazil voted against it and Lebanon abstained.

The United States and Europe acknowledged before negotiations started that they would not get the tough sanctions they were hoping for, promising to enact harsher measures on their own once they had the imprimatur of the United Nations. Congress is expected to pass a package of unilateral sanctions against Iran, and European leaders will begin discussing possible measures at a summit meeting next week.

"We would want to have a tough translation of the resolution," said Gérard Araud, the French envoy to the United Nations.

But Iran has defied repeated demands from the Security Council to stop enriching nuclear fuel, and immediately vowed to disregard the new sanctions as well. Despite earlier resolutions, Iran has built new, sometimes secret, centrifuge plants needed to enrich uranium — and has enriched it to higher levels of purity.

The main thrust of the sanctions is against military purchases, trade and financial transactions carried out by the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps, which controls the nuclear program and has taken a more central role in running the country and the economy. Though Iran insists that its efforts are strictly for peaceful purposes, its actions have raised suspicions in the West. On Wednesday, Secretary

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Found: Oldest Leather Shoe Wanted: Matching Left, Size 7



ROMAN COLOMBAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY YEREVAN A leather shoe, about 5,500 years old, discovered in Armenia.

By PAM BELLUCK

Think of it as a kind of prehistoric Prada: Archaeologists have discovered what they say is the world's oldest known leather shoe.

Perfectly preserved under layers of sheep dung (who needs cedar closets?), the shoe, made of cowhide and tanned with oil from a plant or vegetable, is about 5,500 years old, older than Stonehenge and the Egyptian pyramids, scientists say. Leather laces crisscross through numerous leather eyelets, and it was worn on the right foot; there is no word on the left shoe.

While the shoe more closely resembles an L.L.Bean-type soft-soled walking shoe than anything by Jimmy Choo, "these were probably quite expensive shoes, made of leather, very high quality," said one of the lead scientists, Gregory Areshian, of the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at the University of California, Los Angeles.

It could have fit a small man or a teenager, but was most likely worn by a woman with roughly size 7 feet. (According to the Web site www.celebrityshoesize.com, that would be slightly roomy for Sarah Jessica Parker, whose Manolo Blahniks are size 6½, and a tad tight for Sarah Palin, who, during the 2008 campaign, wore red Double Dare pumps by Naughty Monkey, size 7½.)

The shoe was discovered by scientists excavating in a huge cave in Armenia, part of a treasure trove of artifacts they found that experts say provide unprecedented information about an im-

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At G.M., Saving Chevrolet Means Sending Chevy to the Junkyard

By RICHARD S. CHANG

Bye-bye, indeed, Miss American Pie. If General Motors has its way, you won't be driving your Chevy to the levee ever again.

On Tuesday, G.M. sent a memo to Chevrolet employees at its Detroit headquarters, promoting the importance of "consistency" for the brand, which was the nation's best-selling line of cars and trucks for more than half a century after World War II.

And one way to present a consistent brand message, the memo suggested, is to stop saying "Chevy," though the word is one of the world's best-known, longest-lived product nicknames.

"We'd ask that whether you're talking to a dealer, reviewing dealer advertising, or speaking with friends and family, that you communicate our brand as Chevrolet moving forward," said the memo, which was signed by Alan Bates, vice president for Chevrolet sales and service, and Jim



Chevy and advertising have long gone hand in hand.

Campbell, the G.M. division's vice president for marketing.

"When you look at the most recognized brands throughout the world, such as Coke or Apple for instance, one of the things they all focus on is the consistency of their branding," the memo said. "Why is this consistency so important? The more consistent a brand becomes, the more prominent and recognizable it is with the consumer."

Although the memo cites Coke, it does not note that Coke is shorthand for Coca-Cola — or that Apple is not commonly used in reference to its products, which are known simply as iPads, iPhones and MacBooks.

One expert on branding said G.M.'s effort ran counter to a trend in which corporate names had become more casual. The consultant, Paul Worthington, head of strategy for Wolff Olins, a branding and marketing company, noted that FedEx had replaced Fed-

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Attention, Bugs: This Is War!

Bug wars have long punctuated life for farmers in the nation's grassy midsection, but the grasshopper fight of 2010 is different in money, tactics and science. PAGE A17

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Iraq Premier Fears Violence

Prime Minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki of Iraq said failure to return him to power would lead to new violence. PAGE A6

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City Documents to Stay Secret

A panel says New York can keep police surveillance records secret. PAGE A24

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A Prescription Drug Dispute

A feud between CVS Caremark and Walgreens could affect thousands. Page B1

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Blackhawks Win Stanley Cup

Chicago won the N.H.L. championship for the first time since 1961. PAGE B11



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An Unlikely Backer of 'Fela'

How a genial businessman from Larchmont, N.Y., fell for the music of an anti-capitalist singer from Nigeria. PAGE C1

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Perfumers turn garden blooms into fragrances they can use or sell. PAGE D1

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Teaming up with others to stay sober in a summer share. PAGE E1

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\$140 Billion Package

Senate Democrats searched for support to pass a jobs measure. PAGE A21



## Found: Oldest Leather Shoe. Wanted: Matching Left.

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portant and sparsely documented era: the Chalcolithic period or Copper Age, when humans are believed to have invented the wheel, domesticated horses and produced other innovations.

Along with the shoe, the cave, designated Areni-1, has yielded evidence of an ancient winemaking operation, and caches of what may be the oldest known intentionally dried fruits: apricots, grapes, prunes. The scientists, financed by the National Geographic Society and other institutions, also found skulls of three adolescents (“subadults,” in archaeology-speak) in ceramic vessels, suggesting ritualistic or religious practice; one skull, Dr. Areshian said, even contained desiccated brain tissue older than the shoe, about 6,000 years old.

“It’s sort of a Pompeii moment, except without the burning,” said Mitchell Rothman, an anthropologist and Chalcolithic expert at Widener University who is not involved in the expedition. “The shoe is really cool, and it’s certainly something that highlights the unbelievable kinds of discoveries at this site. The larger importance, though, is where the site itself becomes significant. You have the transition really into the modern world, the precursor to the kings and queens and bureaucrats and pretty much the whole nine yards.”

Previously, the oldest known leather shoe belonged to Ötzi the Iceman, a mummy found 19 years ago in the Alps near the Italian-Austrian border. His shoes, about 300 years younger than the Armenian shoe, had bearskin soles, deerskin panels, tree-bark netting and grass socks. Footwear even older than the leather shoe includes examples found in Missouri and Oregon, made mostly from plant fibers.

The Armenian shoe discovery, published Wednesday in *PLoS One*, an online journal, was made beneath one of several cave chambers, when an Armenian



The Areni-1 cave, center, where what is believed to be the world’s oldest leather shoe was found.

doctoral student, Diana Zardaryan, noticed a small pit of weeds. Reaching down, she touched two sheep horns, then an upside-down broken bowl. Under that was what felt like “an ear of a cow,” she said. “But when I took it out, I thought, ‘Oh my God, it’s a shoe.’ To find a shoe has always been my dream.”

Because the cave was also used by later civilizations, most recently by 14th-century Mongols, “my assumption was the shoe would be 600 to 700 years old,” Dr. Areshian said, adding that “a Mongol shoe would have been really great.” When separate laboratories dated the leather to 3653 to 3627 B.C., he said, “we just couldn’t believe that a shoe could be so ancient.”

The shoe was not tossed devil-may-care, but was, for unclear reasons, placed deliberately in the pit, which was carefully lined with yellow clay. While scientists say the shoe was stuffed with

grass, acting like a shoe tree to hold its shape, it had been worn.

“You can see the imprints of the big toe,” said another team leader, Ron Pinhasi, an archaeologist at University College Cork in Ireland, who said the shoe resembled old Irish pampooties,

### *A find of leather footwear dating from an innovative time in prehistory.*

rawhide slippers. “As the person was wearing and lacing it, some of the eyelets had been torn and repaired.”

Dr. Pinhasi said the cave, discovered in 1997, appeared to be mainly used by “high-status people, people who had power,” for

storing the Chalcolithic community’s harvest and ritual objects. But some people lived up front, probably caretakers providing, Dr. Areshian said, the Chalcolithic equivalent of valet parking.

Many tools found were of obsidian, whose closest source was a 60-mile trek away. (Perhaps why they needed shoes, Dr. Areshian suggested.)

“It’s an embarrassment of riches because the preservation is so remarkable,” said Adam T. Smith, an anthropologist at the University of Chicago who has done separate research in the cave. He said that distinguishing Chalcolithic objects from later civilizations’ artifacts in the cave had been complicated, and that “we’re still not entirely clear what the chronology is” of every discovery.

“The shoe,” he said, “is in a sense just the tip of the iceberg.” (He probably meant to say wing-tip.)