# The New York Times

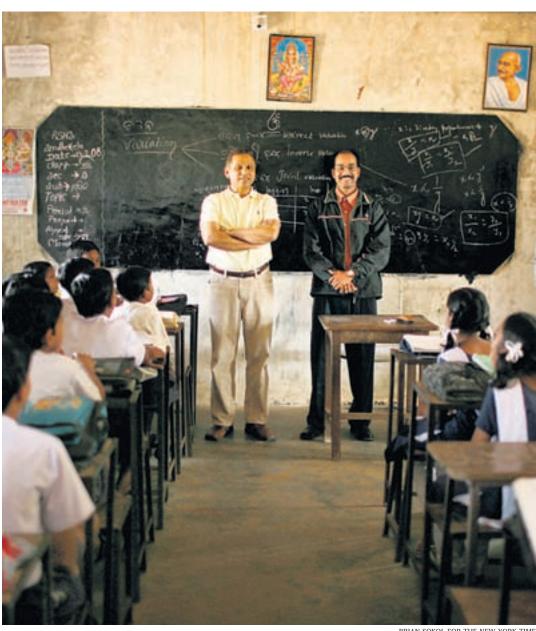
**Late Edition** 

**Today,** brilliant sun, winds diminishing, high 48. **Tonight,** clear, then increasing clouds, low 33. Tomorrow, mostly cloudy, showers late, high 47. Weather map, Page D12.

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NEW YORK, MONDAY, MARCH 17, 2008



Dilip Ratha of the World Bank, standing at left, last month at a school in his hometown in India.

Iraqi military to help secure and rebuild the country, and

had been approved at a White

House meeting that Mr. Bush

convened just 10 weeks earlier.

while Mr. Bush endorsed Mr.

Bremer's plan in the May 22

meeting, the decision was

made without thorough con-

sultations within government,

and without the

counsel of the sec-

retary of state or

the senior Ameri-

can commander in

Iraq, said the com-

mander, Lt. Gen.

David D. McKier-

nan. The decree by

Mr. Bremer, who is

known as Jerry,

prompted bitter in-

fighting within the

government and

the military, with

recriminations con-

tinuing to this day.

Colin L. Powell, the secre-

tary of state and a former

chairman of the Joint Chiefs of

Staff, said he was never asked

for advice, and was in Paris

when the May 22 meeting was

Mr. Powell, who views the

decree as a major blunder, lat-

er asked Condoleezza Rice,

who was serving as Mr. Bush's

national security adviser, for

"I talked to Rice and said,

'Condi, what happened?'" he

recalled. "And her reaction

Continued on Page A8

an explanation.

The interviews show that

## Fateful Choice on Iraq Army Bypassed Washington Debate

L. Paul Bremer III

Genesis of a Plan

By MICHAEL R. GORDON

BAGHDAD — When President Bush convened a meeting of his National Security Council on May 22, 2003, his special envoy in Iraq made a statement that caught many of the participants by surprise. In a video presentation from Baghdad, L. Paul Bremer III informed the president and his aides that he was about to issue an order formally dissolving Iraq's Army.

The decree was issued the next day.

The broad outlines of the decision now widely defended by proponents as necessary to ensure that Saddam Hussein's influence did not outlive his ouster from power.

But with the fifth anniversary of the start of the war approaching, some participants have provided in interviews their first detailed, on-the-record accounts

of a decision that is widely seen as one of the most momentous and contentious of the war, assailed by critics as all but ensuring that American forces would face a growing insurgency led by embittered Sunnis who led much of the army.

The account that emerges from those interviews, and from access to previously unpublished documents, makes clear that Mr. Bremer's decree reversed an earlier plan — one that would have relied on the

Return Home **FIVE YEARS IN** 

By JASON DePARLE

SINDHEKELA, India - An important man from the World Bank recently arrived in this isolated village, where monkeys prowl rutted roads, rain pours through the school roof and the native son who achieved the most did so by going away.

Lessons about global poverty were waiting, but so were his sisters' chapattis. Migrant and migration scholar, Dilip Ratha was

No one has done more than Mr. Ratha to make migration and its potential rewards a top-of-theagenda concern in the world's development ministries. And no place has done more to shape his views than this forgotten hamlet, where he studied under the lone streetlight and began a poor boy's improbable journey to the front ranks of an elite field.

of migration, I think about Sindhekela," he said.

Working from his office in Washington five years ago, Mr. Ratha produced the first global tally of remittances, the money that migrants send home, and stunned experts from himself on down with the discovery of their size. Gathered from a trickle of hard-earned cash, the sums now exceed \$300 billion a year.

In subsequent work, Mr. Ratha, 45, has pushed to reduce money-transfer fees and increase the productivity of the money that is sent. Allies say his work has prompted projects in governments and beyond that could benefit millions of people. Skep-

Continued on Page A9

# World Banker And His Cash

"When I think about the effects

# IN SWEEPING MOVE, FED BACKS BUYOUT AND WALL ST. LOANS

# STUNNING FALL

JPMorgan Chase Pays Only \$2 a Share for **Troubled Firm** 

By ANDREW ROSS SORKIN

In a shocking deal reached on Sunday to save Bear Stearns, JPMorgan Chase agreed to pay a mere \$2 a share to buy all of Bear - less than one-tenth the firm's market price on Friday.

As part of the watershed deal, JPMorgan and the Federal Reserve will guarantee the huge trading obligations of the troubled firm, which was driven to the brink of bankruptcy by what amounted to a run on the bank.

Reflecting Bear's dire straits, JPMorgan agreed to pay only about \$270 million in stock for the firm, which had run up big losses on investments linked to mort-

JPMorgan is buying Bear, which has 14,000 employees, for a third the price at which the smaller firm went public in 1985. Only a year ago, Bear's shares sold for \$170. The sale price includes Bear Stearns's soaring Madison Avenue headquarters. The agreement ended a day in

which bankers and policy makers were racing to complete the takeover agreement before financial markets in Asia opened on Monday, fearing that the financial panic could spread if the 85-yearold investment bank failed to find As the trading day began in To-

kyo, however, markets tumbled more than 4 percent. In the United States, investors faced another week of gut-wrenching volatility in American markets.

Despite the sale of Bear, investors fear that others in the industry, like Lehman Brothers, already reeling from losses on mortgage-related investments, could face further blows.



The deal for Bear, done at the behest of the Fed and the Treasury Department, punctuates the stunning downfall of one of Wall Street's biggest and most storied firms. Bear had weathered the vagaries of the markets for 85 years, surviving the Depression and a dozen recessions only to meet its end in the rapidly unfolding credit crisis now afflicting the American economy.

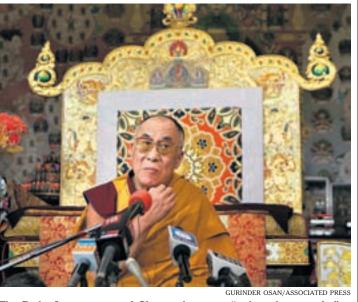
A throwback to a bygone era, Bear Stearns still operated as a cigar-chomping, suspenderwearing culture where taking risks was rewarded. It was a firm that was never considered truly white-shoe, an outsider that defied its mainstream rivals.

When the Federal Reserve helped plan a bailout in 1998 of Long Term Capital Management, the hedge fund, Bear Stearns proudly refused to join the effort. Until recent weeks, Alan "Ace" Greenberg, Bear Stearns's chairman for more than 20 years and a championship bridge player, still

Continued on Page A16

#### Are Other Firms at Risk?

Wall Street is worrying that the troubles that brought down Bear Stearns may spread to other firms. Business Day, Page C1.



The Dalai Lama accused China of waging "cultural genocide."

# Dalai Lama Condemns China For Suppressing Uprising in Tibet

By SOMINI SENGUPTA

DHARAMSALA, India - The him not to capitulate to that de-Dalai Lama accused China on Sunday of waging "cultural genocide" against his followers in Tibet and called for an international inquiry into the suppression of protests there, his strongest defense to date of Tibetan Buddhists who have staged an uprising against Chinese rule.

Speaking at the headquarters of the Tibetan government in exile, the Dalai Lama endorsed the right of his people to press grievances peacefully against the Chinese authorities, and said he would not ask Tibetans to surrender to Chinese military police by midnight on Monday, as Beijing has demanded. He said that he had no moral authority to do so and that Tibetans had beseeched

NEWS SUMMAR	<b>Y</b> A2
Arts	E1-8
Business Day	C1-8
Editorial, Op-Ed	A18-19
International	A3-9
Metro	B1-6
National	A10-16
SportsMonday	D1-11
Obituaries B8	Weather D12
Classified Ads C8	Auto Exchange D11

. Commercial Real Estate Marketplace Updated news: nytimes.com Tomorrow in The Times: Page D12

"Whether the Chinese govern-

ment admits it or not, a nation with an ancient cultural heritage is actually facing serious dangers," the Dalai Lama told reporters during an emotionally charged news conference here. "Whether intentionally or unintentionally, some kind of cultural genocide is taking place.' His comments reflected the in-

flamed passions among Tibetans abroad, who view the revolts, the largest since the late 1980s, as a watershed moment.

Some Tibetans hope to press for outright independence from China. They argue that they have an unprecedented political opportunity to push for change as China prepares to be the host country for the Olympic Games in August and faces intense scrutiny of its human rights record.

The Dalai Lama, 72, who heads the Tibetan government in exile and serves as the spiritual leader of Tibetan Buddhism, does not Continued on Page A6

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## BEAR STEARNS SOLD

#### A Bank Rate Cut and **Open-Ended Credit** for Big Firms

By EDMUND L. ANDREWS

WASHINGTON - Hoping to avoid a systemic meltdown in financial markets, the Federal Reserve on Sunday approved a \$30 billion credit line to engineer the takeover of Bear Stearns and announced an open-ended lending program for the biggest investment firms on Wall Street.

In a third move aimed at helping banks and thrifts, the Fed also lowered the rate for borrowing from its so-called discount window by a quarter of a percentage point, to 3.25 percent.

The moves amounted to a sweeping and apparently unprecedented attempt by the Federal Reserve to rescue the nation's financial markets from what officials feared could be a chain reaction of defaults.

After a weekend of intense negotiations, the Federal Reserve approved a \$30 billion credit line to help JPMorgan Chase acquire Bear Stearns, one of the biggest firms on Wall Street, which had been teetering near collapse because of its deepening losses in the mortgage market.

In a highly unusual maneuver, Fed officials said they would secure the loan by effectively taking over the huge Bear Stearns portfolio and exercising control over all major decisions in order to minimize the central bank's own risk.

The Fed, working closely with bank regulators and the Treasury Department, raced to complete the deal Sunday night in order to prevent investors from panicking on Monday about the ability of Bear Stearns to make good on billions of dollars in trading commitments. In a potentially even bigger

move, the Federal Reserve also announced its biggest commitment vet to lend money to struggling investment banks. The cen-

Continued on Page A16

#### Dollar Extends Loss in Asia

Japanese stocks fell more than 4 percent on Monday as the dollar extended losses against the yen. Page A9.

## Now, Cringing In the Shadows Cast by Cranes

By MANNY FERNANDEZ

New York has always been a city of construction cranes: They are the steel crutches of the skyline, forever pulling it upward. But when one of them collapsed on the East Side on Saturday killing at least four people, demolishing a building and damaging at least five others - the disaster exposed the often-uneasy relationship cranes have had with the New Yorkers who walk below them.

Officials said that about 250 cranes were now in operation in the five boroughs, a telling sign of the city's building boom. Construction cranes are towering behemoths, signposts of the citv's prosperity that dominate the skyline for months but often go unnoticed.

Yet on Sunday, those who lived, worked or happened to be walking near the cranes looked upward with anxiety, their nerves rattled by Saturday's collapse.

A gas station cashier who works below a crane at West 24th Street and 10th Avenue said he trusted God to protect him. A neighbor who lives across the street, Ana Gonçalves, puts her faith in the builders and hopes they know what they are doing. Victor Simpkins, another neighbor, has watched the crane for weeks, but now he looks up at it with a new suspicion.

"If that thing would fall over, my building would be toast," said Mr. Simpkins, 53, a designer and filmmaker.

On Sunday, city officials released a detailed description of the collapse at 303 East 51st Street, saying that workers were "jumping" the crane — intricate-

Continued on Page B4

# INSIDE

#### **Tough State Budget Choices** The faltering economy is caus-

ing budget shortfalls and forcing state officials to make difficult financial decisions, with few programs being spared from spending cuts.

**Enigma on the West Coast** 

#### The Chinook salmon that swim

upstream the Sacramento River to spawn in the fall have vanished, threatening the regional fishing industry.

#### Getting Ready to Play On

The field for the N.C.A.A. men's tournament is set, with Georgia among the teams to play their way in. The bracket, and SPORTSMONDAY, PAGE DI



McCain on a Visit to Iraq Senator John McCain, above at the Baghdad airport, visited Iraq as part of a Congressional delegation that met with officials there, a trip his campaign saw as politically beneficial, as well.

#### Court to Review Gun Law

Senior White House officials are at odds as the Supreme Court prepares to review the District of Columbia's gun law. PAGE A10

#### A Grueling Road Trip

TECH. SGT. JEFFREY ALLEN/UNITED STATES AIR FORCE, VIA A.F

The long race for the Democratic presidential nomination has taken its toll on campaign staffs and journalists.