

TIME REPORTS

Glencoe Social Studies

CURRENT EVENTS UPDATE

FALL 2005

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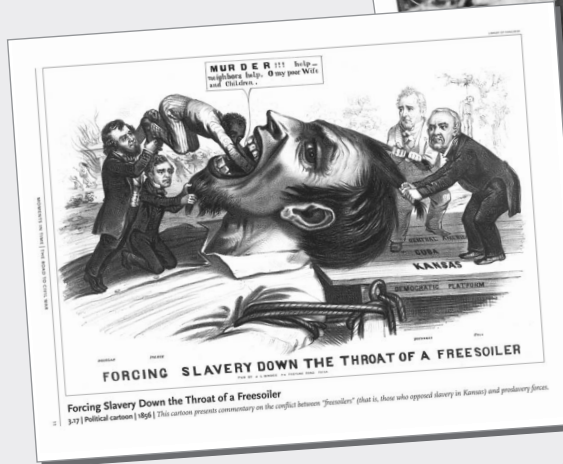
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8787 Orion Place
Columbus, OH 43240

For information on TIME Magazine, please call: 1-800-843-TIME.

ISBN 0-07-874758-9

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 079 07 06 05

Printed in the United States of America

Inside Watergate's Final Chapter

After 33 years of secrecy, the identity of Deep Throat is at last revealed. But questions persist over his motivations and how valuable a source he really was in the scandal that brought down President Richard Nixon.

By **JOHANNA McGEARY**

H E'S A CONFUSED OLD MAN NOW WITH AN ordinary name, but he will live forever in American history as Deep Throat. The real W. Mark Felt, the FBI bureaucrat unveiled by *Vanity Fair* magazine as the country's most famous anonymous source, will always be obscured by that mythic shadowman who whispered secrets to a young *Washington Post* reporter in an underground garage, bringing the presidency of Richard M. Nixon to its eventual downfall.

In the public memory, Watergate is generally summed up like this: the *Washington Post* and its inseparable reporting team of Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein brought down President Nixon by unraveling the Administration's cover-up of political espionage in a thrilling journalistic chase led by the ghostly figure known as Deep Throat.

Felt's revelation stunned Washington, including (and perhaps especially) the three other men who had protected his secret for so long. For years, the *Post* reporters and their boss, Ben Bradlee, who was executive editor of the *Post* during the Watergate era, had vowed never to expose Felt before his death, and Woodward and Bernstein argued against confirming his identity even after the *Vanity Fair* story came out. Even now, there are a handful of people, especially among Nixon

loyalists convinced the President was wrongfully hounded from power by a vengeful press, who refuse to accept that Felt and Deep Throat are one and the same. "I thought Deep Throat was essentially a composite character" folding in a number of informers, "and I still think it is," says G. Gordon Liddy, the tough-guy White House operative who went to jail for, among other dirty tricks, helping to plan the break-in of the Democratic National

Committee offices at the Watergate complex in Washington by five men who were caught in the act, carrying eavesdropping equipment.

Felt, for his part, had good reason to speak up now, according to *Vanity Fair*: mortality and money. At 91, wrote author John O'Connor, a lawyer for the family, Felt, who had a stroke in 2001, is frail and suffers from confusion and memory loss. Although he

had admitted his secret identity to friends and family in recent years, he was still reluctant to disclose it to the public, fearing that others, especially his coworkers at the FBI, would judge it dishonorable. But his family argued that posterity would regard Felt as a "true patriot" who "did the right thing" and now deserves the credit.

And the money. The Felt family saw how Woodward and Bernstein had cashed in on the Deep Throat mystery in the book and the movie. Felt's daughter Joan, a mother of two, told her father, "[W]e could make at least enough money to pay

W. Mark Felt was reluctant to disclose his identity to the public, fearing that others would judge it dishonorable. But his family argued posterity would regard Felt as a "true patriot" who "did the right thing."

some bills, like the debt I've run up for the kids' education." Felt's ability to produce a memoir at this point is in question, but he seemed eager to try when he cheerfully told reporters besieging his daughter's California house, where he lives, "I'll arrange to write a book or something and get all the money I can." Caught by surprise at the sudden exposure of a secret he had obviously hoped to publish once Deep Throat was dead, Woodward is rushing to print next month with a slender volume recounting his relationship with Felt.

In a perceptive 1992 article in *Atlantic Monthly*, former *Post* reporter James Mann speculated that Felt or another top FBI official was the one who had leaked to Woodward as a way to protect his beloved FBI from Nixon's efforts to use the agency for political purposes. Deep Throat, wrote Mann, probably resented the appointment of outsider and Nixon loyalist L. Patrick Gray to replace FBI Director Hoover, who had died six weeks before the Watergate break-in, and wanted to blunt White House efforts to suppress the FBI investigation of the burglary. Of course, the FBI under Hoover had its problems with operations outside the normal bounds of law enforcement. In 1980, Felt was convicted of approving "black-bag jobs," illegal searches of homes of relatives and friends of fugitive American radicals. (Felt was pardoned by Ronald Reagan in 1981.) Mann speculated that Felt became Deep Throat for revenge as well: he thought himself ready and able to replace Hoover as FBI director and resented being passed over.

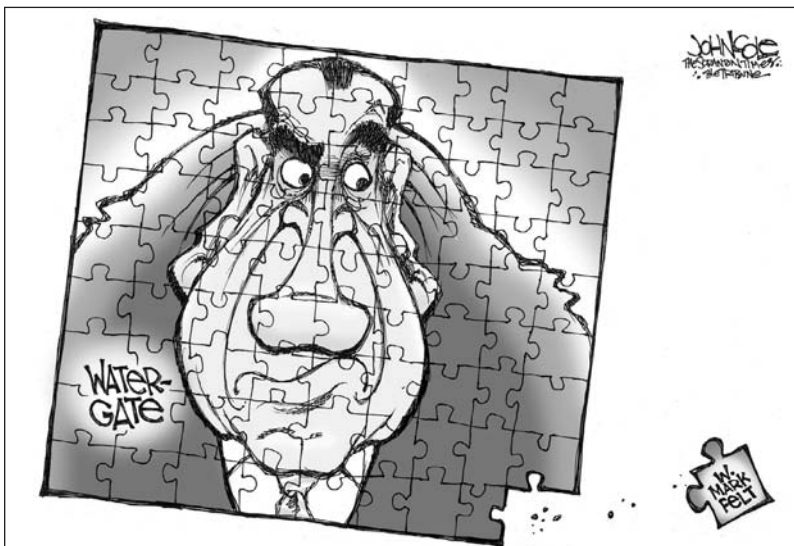
When you go back to the *Post's* coverage, instead of the movie myth of Watergate, a more complex picture emerges of what Deep Throat brought to the case—and what he didn't. A review of *Post* stories and Woodward and Bernstein's book points to a handful of instances in which Deep Throat's leaks advanced the story in specific ways. Generally, other sources provided the details while Deep Throat distantly guided the hunt. He corroborated information, tipped the duo where to dig, steered them off side paths, and encouraged them to keep pushing the story hard, especially in the early days when Watergate was an inside-the-Beltway tale that might have petered out under the White House campaign to cover things up.

But the myths of Watergate look a bit different now that we have a name and a biography to attach to Deep Throat. The real man had scores to settle as a thwarted bureaucrat as well as principles to defend. He is at once a narrative hook for a complicated story of political intrigue and a marketable commodity in this age of celebrity. Yet to look at his record is to realize a deeper truth about Watergate: it was less about one character than about the process working the way it should. And as everyone has long accepted, it wasn't the dirty tricks that destroyed the Nixon Administration; it was the White House's sustained attempt to cover them up. That unraveled mainly through official investigations begun at the trial of the Watergate break-in conspirators and pursued in a Senate hearing room.

As for Felt, at least he knows that Deep Throat will not go down in history as just a shadow in a trench coat. As the *Washington Post* itself put it, "It's nice to be able to honor him by his real name while he still lives." ■

Questions

1. What motivated W. Mark Felt to come forward now to reveal that he was the anonymous source known as Deep Throat?
2. What reasons have been suggested to explain why Felt provided inside information to journalists?



The Revolt Against Bush's School Rules

The reddest of all states is leading the charge against No Child Left Behind

By **AMANDA RIPLEY** and **SONJA STEPTOE**

UTAH, THE STATE THAT BACKED PRESIDENT George W. Bush more resolutely than any other in the 2004 election, became the first to formally defy his proudest domestic achievement—the No Child Left

Behind education law. The legislature passed a bill that lets Utah schools ignore the 2002 law if its mandates conflict with state priorities or require state money to meet them. “They didn’t bring tea to drop overboard, but that’s about all that was missing,” says Patti Harrington, state superintendent of public instruction.

Just one day after the Utah bill passed, the National Education Association (NEA), the nation’s largest teachers’ union, with school districts in Michigan, Texas and Vermont, filed suit against the Federal Government, claiming that No Child is severely underfunded. Maine is considering joining the suit. Connecticut is crafting its own suit, and other states may sign on. And then there’s Texas: Bush’s home state was fined \$444,282 in March (out of a \$1.1 billion federal allowance) by the U.S. Department of Education for missing a deadline to report school rankings. Texas continues to violate the law in other ways.

For three years, teachers and politicians have wailed about No Child, which requires rigid reform and testing in exchange for federal money for low-income students. Critics say the policy is unfair, underfunded and overbearing. Now they are taking action. Despite the Administration’s vow to fight to the end, the law may not survive intact.

The timing is ironic. Currently 6,000 schools (13% of those receiving federal money) have been deemed “in need of improvement” under No Child. But recent studies suggest that the No Child reforms may actually be working. Of the 49 states surveyed by the independent Center on Education Policy last year, 36 reported that student achievement was improving. Virtually all the 314 school districts surveyed said they were providing more instruction to low-achieving students, as well as more professional development for teachers.

In 2001, George W. Bush came into office determined to follow through on a campaign promise to get serious about education accountability. Emboldened by his experience as Governor of

Texas, he introduced an ambitious testing plan (which borrowed heavily from Democratic proposals made during the Clinton Administration). The proposal churned through grueling negotiations in Congress. But with surprisingly little debate, the final version included a provision promising that states would not have to spend their own funds.

It’s tricky, though, to nail down how much states are spending because of No Child—and what they would have spent anyway to meet their own laws. School districts don’t break down the costs that way—and many of them are prone to exaggeration. In any case, the testing required by No Child is not all that pricey, but other requirements—to increase teacher training and offer after-school tutoring to children who are struggling—do add up.

Utah’s children get average scores on national tests, but an embarrassing gap separates white and

For three years, teachers and politicians have wailed about No Child Left Behind, which requires rigid reform and testing in exchange for federal money for low-income students.

minority children (as is also the case in Connecticut, another leader of the rebellion). Utah spends less money per student (\$4,900 a year) than any other state. New York and New Jersey spend twice as much, even after adjusting for regional cost differences, according to *Education Week*. This year, *Education Week* gave Utah a D+ for its efforts to improve teacher quality.

But the agitation over No Child is not just about money. The Federal Government pays only about 8% of schooling costs. So changing the federal contribution has only so much impact. In fact, money—from any source—is not a magic solution. Over the past 50 years, the U.S. has tripled per-pupil spending in constant dollars, to roughly \$10,800 a child, more than almost any other nation. Yet it gets average or below-average results compared with other First World countries.

The uproar is also about pride. No one likes to be labeled failing. Teachers “are focused on making sure that their school doesn’t make the watch list ... so that their communities aren’t shamed,” says Linda Nelson, president of the Iowa State Education Association.

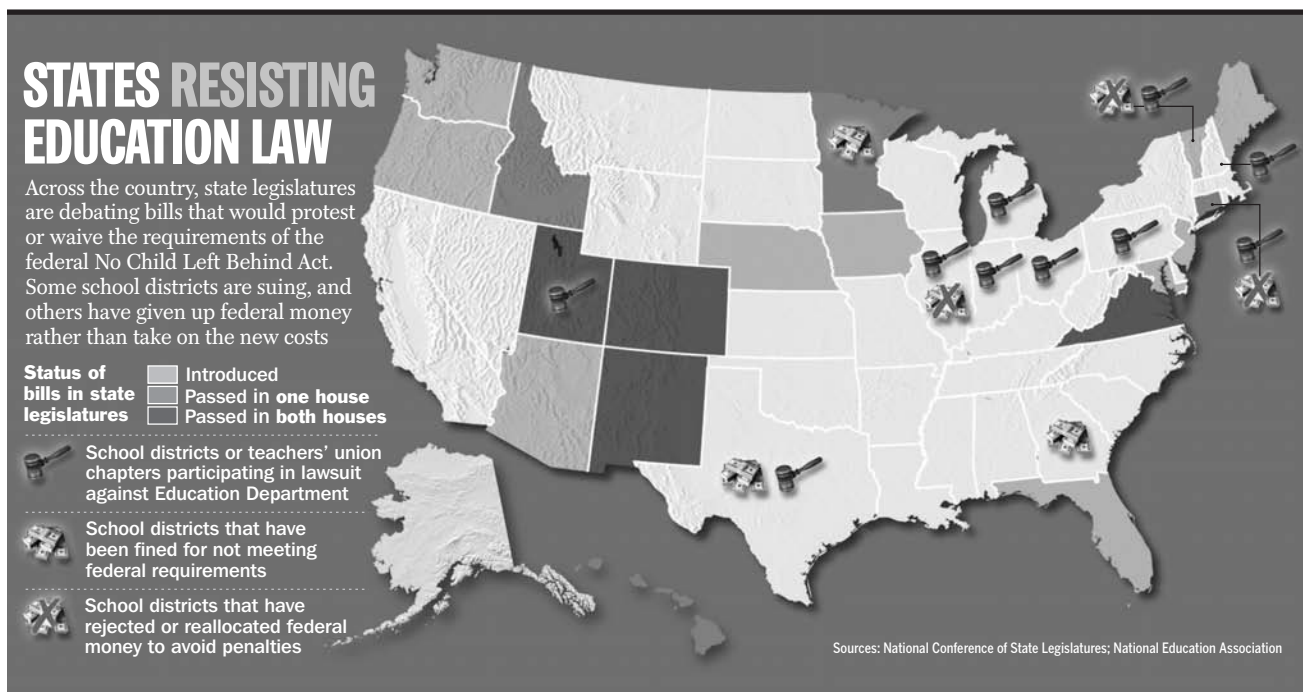
In Utah, one catalyst for the rebellion was the shaming of Amelia Earhart Elementary School in Provo. Last year, the school failed to meet No Child benchmarks because of low scores by just three students with disabilities. Principal Rosemarie

Smith remembers the day she got the news. “When principals get the results, they automatically look at the upper-righthand corner to see whether their school made adequate yearly progress. I looked at that space and about died.” There were no significant financial consequences, but the failure hurt deeply. “We’re in an upper-middle-class area. We have 95% attendance at parent-teacher conferences,” Smith says. “Parents were flabbergasted.” She took her story to a state representative, who ultimately introduced Utah’s protest bill.

President Bush defended the law at a recent press conference. “I will do everything I can to prevent people from unwinding it,” he said. But the defection of the reddest of red states must be disconcerting. “Utah follows President Bush on his espoused values regarding family and religion,” says Harrington, the state superintendent. “But you, Federal Government, are not going to point to our schools and call them failing or say they need improvement. We won’t allow it.” ■

Questions

1. Why is the National Education Association, along with school districts in Michigan, Texas and Vermont, suing the federal government over the No Child Left Behind education law?
2. Why did the Amelia Earhart Elementary School in Provo, Utah, fail to meet No Child benchmarks?



Is There Really a Crisis?

Why President Bush is taking on America's most successful social program

By **KAREN TUMULTY** and **ERIC ROSTON**

TRANSFORMING SOCIAL SECURITY IS GEORGE W. Bush's biggest domestic political gamble—audacious even for a President who prides himself on audaciousness—and one that could reshape far more than a single government program. Those who believe in it most deeply say it could redefine politics itself, putting Republican principles in a position to dominate for the next half-century. The central idea is to take a portion of the tax every worker pays into the Social Security system and put it into a savings account that each individual can decide how to invest. By turning a government safety net into a system that rewards judicious risk and individual initiative, Republicans believe they can change how Americans see every question from free trade to tax cuts.

"First step," Bush told TIME, "is to make sure everybody understands we have a problem." The President warned that the Social Security system

will be "flat bust, bankrupt" by the time workers in their 20s retire. As early as 2018, Bush said, "you're either going to have to raise the taxes of people or reduce the benefits."

That sounds pretty scary—except that it's not true. What will actually happen in 2018, according to the Social Security trustees who oversee the program, is that the money paid out in benefits will begin to exceed the amount collected in taxes. And since Social Security will run a surplus until then, it has billions available that it can tap to fill the gap. Even under conservative estimates, the system as it stands will have enough money to pay all its promised benefits until 2042 and most of its obligations for decades after.

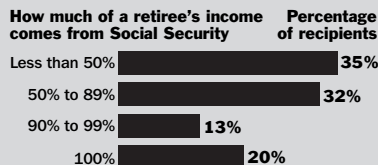
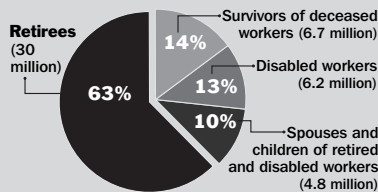
What's more, even if you take the President at his word—that a crisis and bankruptcy are fast approaching—the introduction of private accounts does nothing to slow that process. On the contrary, it makes things worse, by diverting payroll taxes from current retiree benefits and bringing the end of surpluses that much closer. There's also an

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIAL SECURITY



WHO NEEDS IT? Today about 48 million Americans receive Social Security benefits. For one-fifth of retirees, it's all the income they have

Social Security isn't just for retirees. It also goes to disabled workers, widows and children

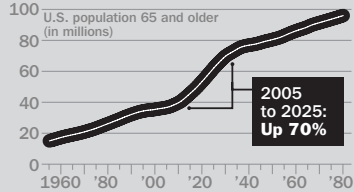


Sources: Social Security Administration; Congressional Budget Office; Government Accountability Office; Social Security Advisory Board; AP

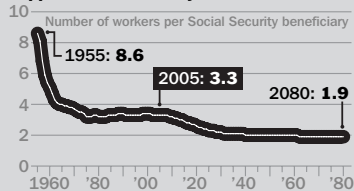


WHAT'S THE PROBLEM? The benefits of current retirees are paid for by contributions of current workers. Right now that's plenty. But for how long?

The number of retirees will climb sharply in the next two decades ...

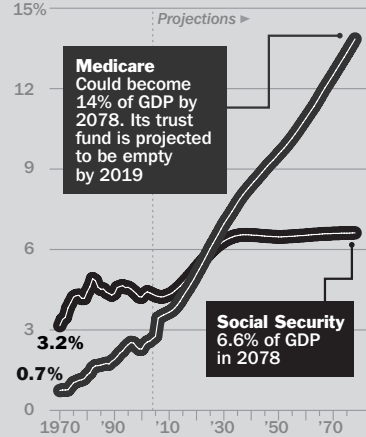


... leaving fewer workers whose taxes support Social Security



IS SOCIAL SECURITY THE REAL PROBLEM? It's a problem, all right, but there's a much bigger time bomb ticking in the federal budget, and that's Medicare

Cost of Social Security and Medicare as a percentage of GDP



inconvenient fact that Bush rarely mentions: if workers start investing payroll taxes in individual accounts, the government will need another source to cover benefits for retirees—as much as \$2 trillion by some estimates. The options are grim: borrowing heavily, cutting benefits or both.

Social Security does face a challenge—one that will be less painful to handle the sooner we tackle it. Today, more than three-quarters of payroll taxes go to pay benefits. With baby boomers getting ready to retire over the next few decades, the ratio of workers paying taxes to retirees collecting checks will drop dramatically.

That Americans should feel so protective of Social Security reflects the central role it has come to play in their lives, their expectations and their peace of mind. At the end of 2004, about 48 million Americans—not just retired workers but also the disabled and the spouses and children of deceased workers—drew \$41.5 billion a month in benefits. Even with 401(k)s and pensions figured, nearly two-thirds of those who receive benefits count on it for more than half their income; a third rely on it for 90%.

All of which explains why rank-and-file Republicans on Capitol Hill aren't exactly storming the microphones to pledge their unconditional support for anything that would change the basic outlines

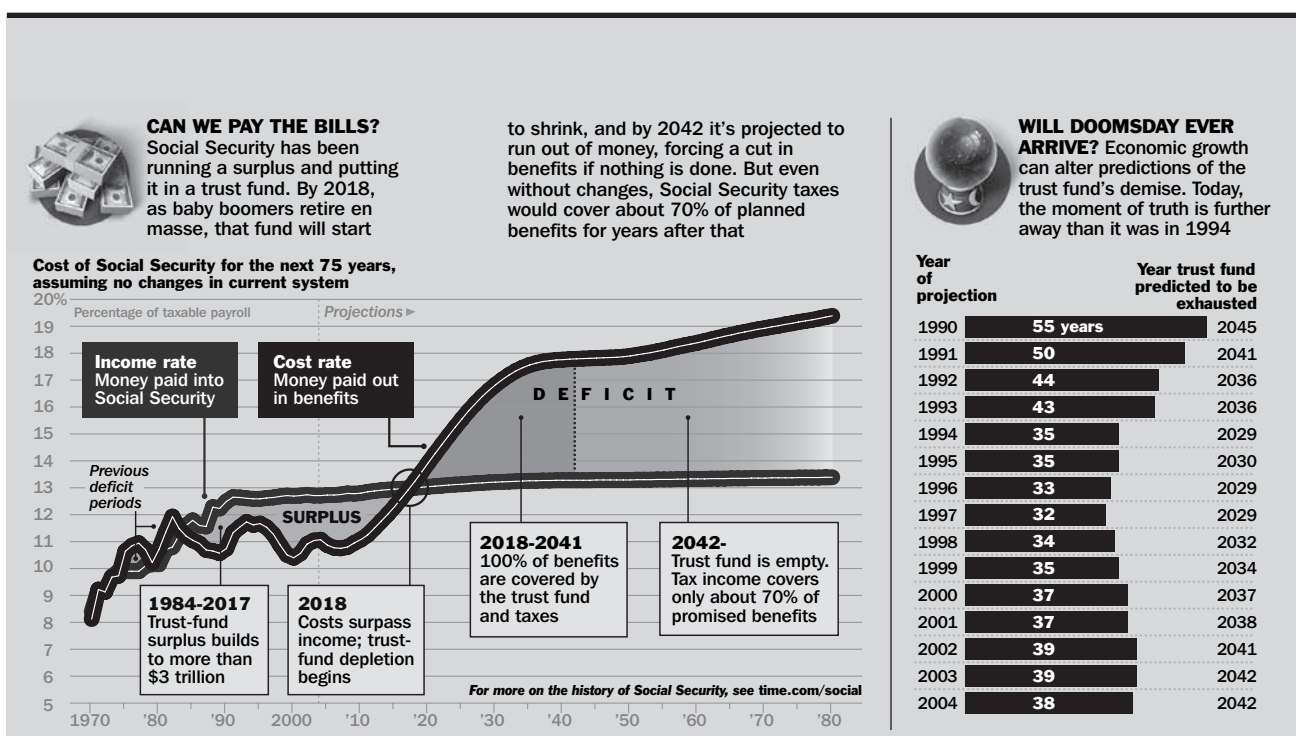
of this arrangement. Anxiety is especially high in the House, where all 435 lawmakers have to run for re-election next year.

Bush's approach has met near universal opposition among Democrats, labor and liberal groups. The formidable American Association for Retired Persons (AARP) has already started newspaper ads warning that private accounts are simply too risky. The liberal lion Edward M. Kennedy said in a speech, "We have an Administration that falsely hypes almost every issue as a crisis," which happened to be the same day the *Washington Post* was reporting on its front page that the CIA had quietly given up its hunt for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. "They did it on Iraq, and they are doing it now on Social Security."

Bush recognizes that the politics are daunting, even inside his own party. "Part of my effort," he told *TIME*, "is going to have to be to convince [Republicans] that taking it on is the right thing to do." But that might be easy for Bush to say. He doesn't have to run again. ■

Questions

1. According to President Bush, what is the first step in his plan to privatize Social Security?
2. What is expected to happen to the Social Security system in the year 2018?





Interpreting Graphs and Charts

Accompanying the article **Is There Really a Crisis?** on **pages 6 and 7**, you'll find a variety of charts and graphs. These graphics are packed with information, but what does it all mean? Use the questions below to sharpen your skills in reading and interpreting graphs and charts.

1. Apart from retirees, who else receives Social Security benefits?

.....
.....

2. Of the total number of Americans who receive Social Security benefits, what is the percentage of non-retirees? What is the actual number of these recipients?

.....
.....

3. True or false: One third of retirees depend on Social Security benefits for 90% to 100% of their income.

.....
.....

4. Complete this sentence: In the year 2080, it is estimated that there will be 100 million

.....
.....
.....

5. True or false: Between the years 2020 and 2080, it is estimated that there will be a large decrease in the number of workers whose taxes support Social Security.

.....
.....

6. What has happened to the surplus of money that Social Security has been taking in since the mid 1980s?

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.....

7. What is going to happen to the Social Security program in 2018? Why?

.....
.....
.....
.....

8. True or false: The Social Security system has never been in deficit before.

.....

9. After 2018, for how many years will income taken in by Social Security and the Social Security trust fund pay for 100% of current benefits?

.....

10. In what year or years was the Social Security trust fund projected to be exhausted in 2029?

.....

11. What social program is expected to account for 14% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the year 2078?

.....
.....

12. What percentage of GDP will the combined cost of Social Security and Medicare account for in the year 2078?

.....

13. In your view, does Social Security face a crisis? Explain, citing evidence to support your answer.

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Why Bush's Research Ban Could Be Reversed

As states push ahead with new research that the public seems to want, Congress is poised to expand the uses of federal funding beyond what the President's order allows. Is the first veto by President Bush looming?

By **KAREN TUMULTY**

IT WAS THE TOUGHEST CALL OF HIS YOUNG presidency, and George Bush chose an event no less momentous than his first prime-time address to announce that he had found a thin ridge of moral high ground on which to perch.

The wrenching decision: whether to lend federal support to embryonic-stem-cell research, unleashing potential cures for horrific illnesses and life-shattering injuries, but at the cost of giving government sanction to the destruction of human embryos. The government would move forward carefully, he promised, providing federal money for research on cell colonies that had already been created by that point, August 2001, but not edging one inch further down the slope of destroying additional human embryos. "I spent a lot of time on the subject," he later told reporters. "I laid out the policy I think is right for America, and I'm not going to change my mind."

Now, the once solid ground that Bush staked out almost four years ago is crumbling beneath him, and he will probably soon find himself once again in the middle of an argument that he had declared settled. The Republican-controlled House is considering legislation that could dramatically expand the number of stem-cell "lines" available to federally funded research by making accessible tens of thousands of embryos that have been created through in vitro fertilization. The bill contains a number of safeguards aimed at ensuring

that it would apply only to embryos that would otherwise have been discarded. It stipulates that the embryos must have been created by individuals seeking fertility treatment and who then discovered that they had produced "in excess of the clinical need." It also requires that those donors give permission for the embryos to be used in stem-cell research, and forbids them from receiving any compensation.

As things look now, the bill has a good shot. Two hundred members of the House—nearly half—have signed on as co-sponsors to the legislation authored by Delaware Republican Mike Castle and Colorado Democrat Diana DeGette. House passage, all sides agree,

would spur action in the Senate, where prospects for an identical bill are just as good, with 58 co-sponsors—just short of a filibuster-proof majority.

That's an excruciating prospect for the White House, made all the more so by the fact that a rejection of the stem-cell legislation would be Bush's first veto ever. White House aides are huddling with some congressional leaders to come up with an alternative measure of some kind that, in the words of one, would "reflect the President's priorities"—and give Republicans political cover for voting against a popular cause. But they say there should be no mistake about where Bush stands. "When the time comes, if it is necessary, we will make it clear that this violates the President's position," says a senior official. "The wall is firm. No question about it."

Backers of expanded stem-cell research say public opinion is swinging their way, thanks in large part to high-profile advocates like Nancy Reagan.

When Bush announced his Executive Order limiting federal funding to studies on existing stem-cell lines, he declared that private research had produced more than 60 genetically diverse lines that would be eligible. Researchers now say the number is more like 22, and even those are contaminated with mouse DNA, making them ill-suited for use on humans. Meanwhile, research is moving ahead without Washington's sanction—not only in places like Britain and Singapore but also in a number of states, led by California

What excites scientists about the unspecialized stem cells is their potential to develop into any type of tissue, from bone and muscle to skin and blood and nerve. Although there are several kinds of stem cells—including ones found in adult bone marrow and umbilical-cord blood—the most versatile, researchers say, are the ones that come from embryos, because they haven't yet developed enough to specialize at all. Those are the ones that scientists believe hold the greatest potential for treatment of a wide range of diseases, as well as for repairing damaged nerves and organs.

Backers of expanded stem-cell research say public opinion is swinging their way, thanks in large part to high-profile advocates like Nancy

Reagan, who has made Ronald Reagan's struggle with Alzheimer's an emblem of the campaign.

Supporters of the measure have been quietly working the House chamber in what is becoming an intensely personal effort to build a majority one vote at a time. Some lawmakers with pro-life voting records say the vote will be an agonizing choice. "The most difficult moral questions aren't between right and wrong," says New Mexico's Heather Wilson, who says she is still undecided. "They are between right and right."

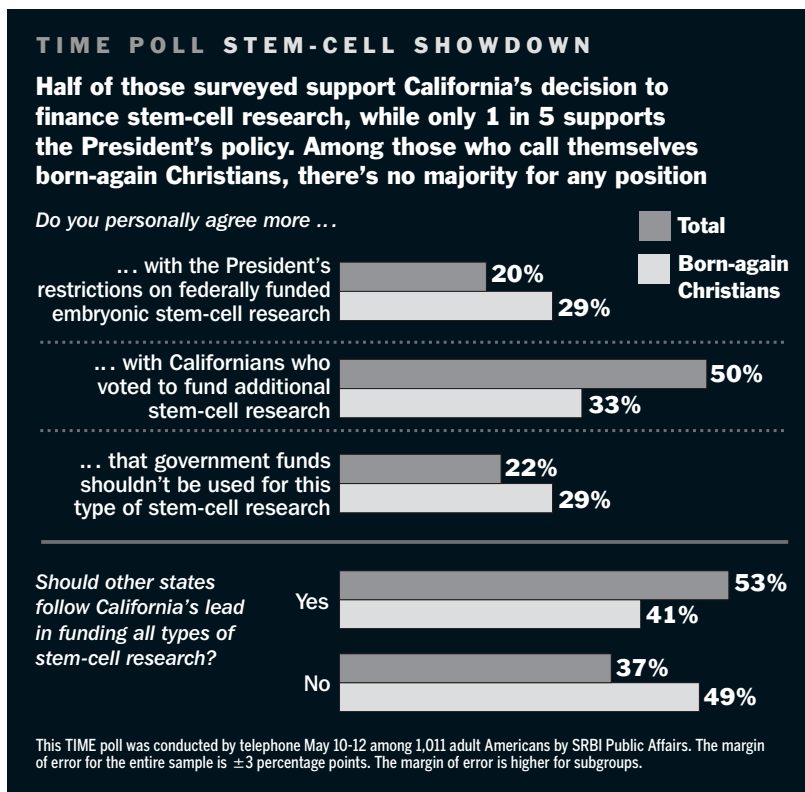
Wilson has been visited by lobbyists for universities and groups who advocate for sufferers of various diseases. The most compelling appeal, Wilson says, has come from a House Democrat—James Langevin of Rhode Island, an abortion foe who is also a quadriplegic as a result of an accidental gunshot wound suffered when he was a teenager. "When Jim Langevin talks to you about this," says Wilson, "he speaks with a certain understanding that the rest of us don't have."

Officially, the House Republican leadership has pledged not to pressure its members on the bill, having deemed it a matter of conscience. But majority leader Tom DeLay had been looking for ways to stall it or complicate its progress through the legislative machinery. House sources say he stepped back from that effort after moderate Republicans reminded Speaker Dennis Hastert that he had promised them a clean shot at passage of the measure.

Whatever the outcome, if there's anything that politicians have learned about embryonic stem-cell research, it is that the science has a way of always moving forward. The question now is how far Washington is ready to move with it. ■

Questions

1. What are the problems with the 60 genetically diverse stem-cell lines that President Bush deemed eligible for research?
2. Why are stem cells so potentially important for research purposes?



Lessons of the Schiavo Battle

What the bitter national debate over a woman's right to live or die tells us about politics, religion, family, the courts and life itself

By DANIEL EISENBERG

PAT ROBERTSON CALLED THE REMOVAL OF her feeding tube “judicial murder.” House majority leader Tom DeLay described it as an “act of medical terrorism.” Connecticut Representative Christopher Shays, one of only five House Republicans to vote against Congress’s emergency legislation throwing the Terri Schiavo case into the federal courts, declared that “this Republican Party of Lincoln has become a party of theocracy.”

As the barrage of rhetoric and sometimes blatant posturing continued, the Florida woman at the center of the bitterly fought case seemed to have become a sideshow. More than 15 years after she suffered cardiac arrest (from a potassium imbalance that may have been caused by an eating disorder), which deprived her brain of oxygen and left her in what most doctors have diagnosed as a persistent vegetative state, Schiavo became a cause célèbre for the right-to-life movement.

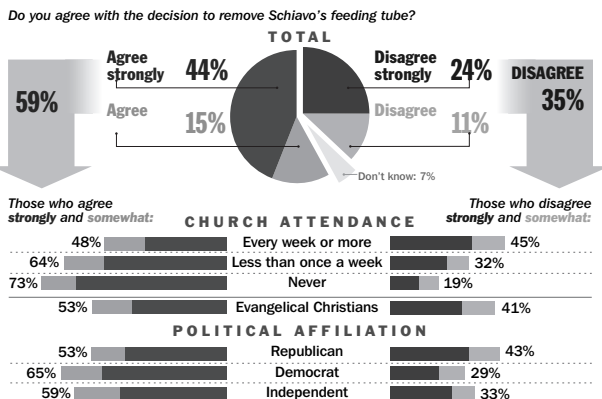
Over the course of the nasty seven-year legal battle between Schiavo’s parents and her husband and legal guardian Michael, he has insisted that his wife, who did not have a living will, had previously made clear her wishes not to be kept alive in such an incapacitated state. Prior to her death on

March 31, she was dependent on a feeding tube, though not a ventilator. Most medical experts say she lacked a consciously functioning brain.

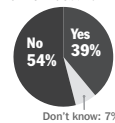
Schiavo’s parents exhausted every legal avenue to keep their daughter alive; their unsuccessful appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court was their fifth. Even a bill signed by Governor Bush in 2003 to allow the tube to be reinserted ultimately didn’t help, since the measure, dubbed Terri’s Law, was declared unconstitutional. By the time they were able to persuade Congress to give them another chance to be heard in the federal courts, her parents were arguing that Terri was being denied due process, contending that her rights under the Americans with Disabilities Act were being violated and even claiming that Terri had recently communicated that she still wants to live.

Almost from the moment that DeLay first came up with the idea of subpoenaing Schiavo as a way to prevent the removal of her feeding tube, the saga has had elements of a political circus. There was Congress, convening a special session during the Easter recess to pass a bill crafted just for one family, giving Schiavo’s parents a final avenue of appeal. There was President Bush, for the first time cutting short a rest at his ranch to sign a bill. There were members of Congress, including some physicians like Senate majority leader Bill Frist,

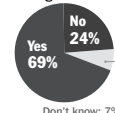
Most Americans—even those who call themselves born-again or evangelical Christians—support the decision to remove Terri Schiavo’s feeding tube



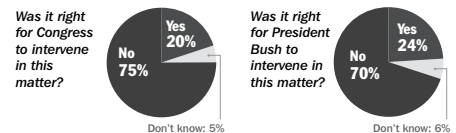
Do you think Schiavo’s parents should have the right to get a court to overrule the wishes of her husband?



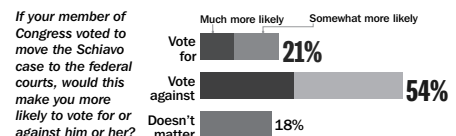
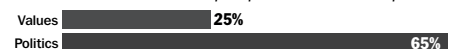
If you were in Schiavo’s place, would you want your guardian to remove your feeding tube?



The involvement of Congress and President Bush in the Schiavo case is overwhelmingly unpopular, and voters say they may punish those politicians in the next election



Do you think that Congress’s and the President’s intervention had more to do with their values and principles or more to do with politics?



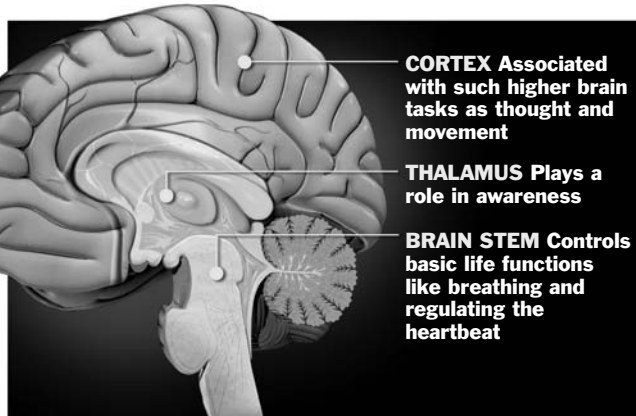
This TIME poll was conducted by telephone March 22-24 among 1,010 adult Americans by Schulman, Ronca & Bucuvalas (SRB) Public Affairs. The margin of error for the entire sample is 3 percentage points. The margin of error is higher for subgroups. "Don't know" omitted for some questions

earning the derision of the medical community by voicing their own views of Schiavo's condition based on little more than court transcripts and some grainy, heavily edited videotapes that are three years old.

At a time when G.O.P. leaders in Congress have been unable to gain much traction on issues like abortion and gay rights—which are near and dear to Christian conservatives—this was a no-lose opportunity to burnish their credentials with their most demanding and important supporters. Still, many Republicans reject the notion that anything but deep moral conviction motivated the extraordinary legislative measure. “It’s hard to say it’s politics when you get that kind of consensus in a divided U.S. Senate,” says Republican Senator Chuck Grassley of Iowa.

Some on the religious right think the Schiavo case shows that their agenda is more realistic than ever. “When I heard that Senate minority leader Harry Reid was with us, I thought I had died and gone to heaven,” says the Rev. Louis Sheldon, chairman of the Traditional Values Coalition. “[This] says that being pro-life is respectable and has political credibility. The issue is broadening; it isn’t just abortion.”

If people like Sheldon get their way, it will be about almost everything that encompasses the so-called culture-of-life movement, including restricting stem-cell research and assisted suicide.



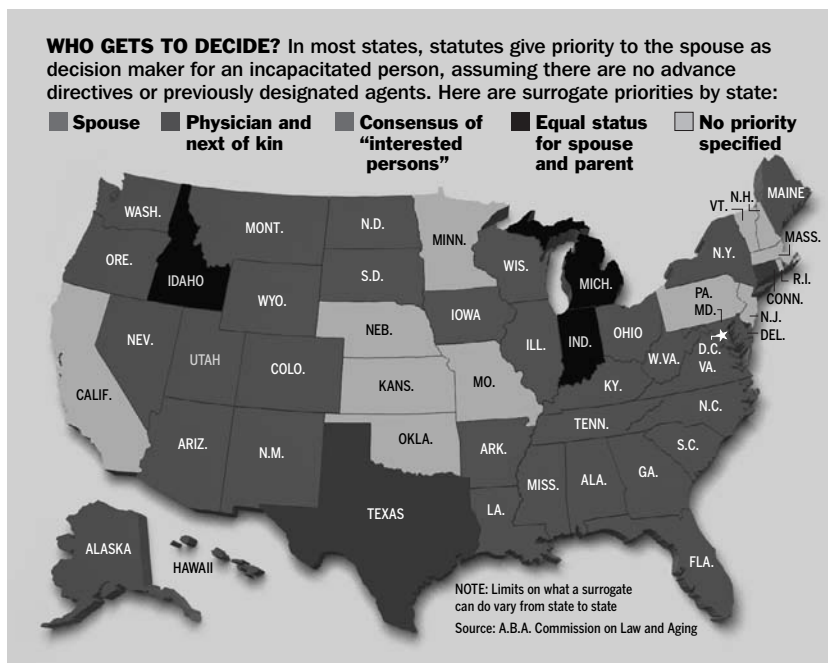
Social conservatives are almost certain to use the Schiavo case as another weapon in the coming war against what they call judicial activism, the practice of creating new rights from the bench. On the other hand, some Democrats believe this episode may change voters’ general perception of the two parties. “This is a cold, bracing slap in the face for a lot of Americans, as to the degree they want these very personal issues debated upon in a political forum,” says Democratic political consultant David Axelrod.

Although they insist that the Schiavo saga was an extreme example, Republicans aren’t giving up on the issue of end-of-life care. Certain social conservatives don’t believe in any kind of right to die, even if someone has asked for death in a living will. In their minds, ending any life-sustaining medical treatment is tantamount to murder or

assisted suicide. The G.O.P. probably would never go that far. Still, as an aide to the House leadership puts it, “the fight is not over.” And with that kind of language, the battle over Terri Schiavo’s legacy isn’t likely to simmer down anytime soon. ■

Questions

1. What role did Congress play in the Terri Schiavo case?
2. What have some members of the religious right claimed the Schiavo case proves?
3. According to the TIME poll, what percentage of Americans agree with the decision to remove Schiavo’s feeding tube?



The Freshmen vs. the Varsity

Senators spar over tradition, and with one another, in a largely generational row over the filibuster

By **KAREN TUMULTY** and **MASSIMO CALABRESI**

THE U.S. SENATE IS A CHAMBER SPLIT IN TWO—two parties, two ideologies and, at times in recent days, two different centuries. There was majority leader Bill Frist accusing the Democrats of trying “to kill, to defeat, to assassinate” President Bush’s judicial nominees. To show what he thought of Frist, New Jersey’s Frank Lautenberg carted in a poster of the diabolical Supreme Chancellor Palpatine of *Star Wars: Episode III—Revenge of the Sith*. “In a far-off universe, in this film, this leader of the Senate breaks rules to give himself and his supporters more power,” Lautenberg said. Then he quoted another character from the movie saying, “This is how liberty dies.”

One floor below, off a corridor adorned with 19th-century frescoes, two Senators who rarely vote the same way were doing things the old-fashioned way: putting their heads—and their combined 72 years of Senate experience—together in an effort to pull their less seasoned colleagues

back from the brink. Virginia Republican John Warner and West Virginia Democrat Robert Byrd had each brought a copy of the Constitution and were poring over Alexander Hamilton’s “Federalist No. 66” to see if they could discern precisely what the Founding Fathers meant when they gave the Senate the power to advise the President on whom he appoints. The two ran into each other by chance the day before in the Russell Senate Office Building and Byrd all but begged Warner: “We’ve got to see what we can do.”

What both men were trying to avoid was a vote, engineered by Frist and set for late May, that would change Senate procedures to make it impossible for

Democrats to continue blocking Bush’s judicial appointments by talking them to death. The Democrats have been winning by filibuster—which requires 60 votes to overcome—what they cannot accomplish on a simple up-or-down vote, since Republicans have 55 Senate seats to their 44. Ostensibly, the fight is over a handful of long-blocked court nominations, but both sides admit that it is really about how the Senate will approach any upcoming vacancies on the Supreme Court, the first of which may open within weeks since ailing Chief Justice William Rehnquist is expected to step down.

That a showdown was not more easily avoided reflects a generational shift under way in the Senate, and the fact that the once insular institution has become more reflective of the polarized political landscape around it. Moderates, of either party, are few. Traditionalists like Warner have increasingly been supplanted by a younger generation of Republican Senators, most of whom have arrived there by way of the more autocratic House.

At stake is the essence of the Senate: Should

Should the Senate remain a place where a minority can have its say and even have a shot at winning a battle here and there?

the institution maintain the unique culture that the framers of the Constitution envisioned for it, a place where a minority can have its say and even have a shot at winning a battle here and there? “The whole idea of the Senate is that it’s different from the House. The passions of the moment can cool here,” says North Dakota Democrat Kent Conrad, one of the

Senators who was trying to come up with a deal to avert the vote on what has become known as the “nuclear option” to abolish the filibuster.

Judging from the tone in recent days, that unique culture of the Senate has already disappeared. For that matter, so has civility. “You know what?” said New Mexico Republican Pete Domenici. “I don’t think it could get any worse.” ■

Questions

1. What procedure was Senate majority leader Bill Frist threatening to eliminate?
2. What do both sides acknowledge was the main issue at stake in this dispute?

When Tom Met Jack

Inside the cozy relationship between Tom DeLay and D.C.'s most notorious lobbyist

By **KAREN TUMULTY**

IT WAS CONGRESS'S HOLIDAY FOR MEMORIAL Day 2000, and majority whip Tom DeLay's staff wanted the boss and two top aides to have the finest of everything on their weeklong trip to Britain. So DeLay's congressional office turned to someone they trusted far more than any travel agent or concierge: lobbyist Jack Abramoff.

Previous trips had taken DeLay and members of his staff all over the world. Two sources who worked with Abramoff at the time say the idea for the expensive London jaunt originated with DeLay aides as an additional stop on a golf outing to Scotland that Abramoff had proposed.

"Jack didn't need this to go awry," recalls a lobbyist who then worked with Abramoff and who notes that the trip came at a critical moment. Congress was considering legislation (which died a month after the trip) that might have shut down Internet gambling—and jeopardized the livelihoods of some of Abramoff's biggest clients. Two of them—a Choctaw Indian tribe and the Internet gambling company eLottery Inc.—each wrote a check for \$25,000 on May 25, 2000, the day DeLay departed, to the sponsor of the trip, the National Center for Public Policy Research, a conservative nonprofit foundation on whose board Abramoff sat. Those checks would cover most of the cost of the \$70,000 junket. Sponsorship by the center made the trip allowable under House ethics rules, which prohibit lobbyists from paying for congressional travel.

Yet the flurry of demands by DeLay's staff to Abramoff's lobbying operation call into question

whether DeLay's office really believed the trip was, in fact, "sponsored, organized and paid for by the National Center for Public Policy Research," as DeLay spokesman Dan Allen maintained when the *Washington Post* first reported the indirect financing arrangement in March. What's more, if the idea for and details of the London leg originated with DeLay's office, that raises questions about possible violations of a House rule governing gifts and travel.

The center insists the trip would have gone forward even without the contributions from Abramoff's lobbying clients and that there was nothing untoward about a board member—Abramoff, in this case—helping to arrange a center-sponsored trip. "The center believed then and the center believes now the trip was entirely appropriate, as I'm sure does Tom DeLay," says a source close to the center, which would not comment on the record.

Perhaps, but DeLay's travel arrangements may be drawing the interest of the Justice Department. A source tells TIME that at least one former

Abramoff assistant who was involved in setting up the trip to England and Scotland is scheduled to be deposed by the FBI.

All this attention on Abramoff—whom DeLay once called "one of my closest and dearest friends"—is

just about the last thing the Texas Congressman, who is now the House majority leader, needs at this moment. DeLay's trip to Britain is one of three overseas jaunts that questions have been raised about. At a moment when House Republicans thought they would be celebrating the 10-year anniversary of their triumphant return to power on vows to clean up the place, they find themselves instead nearly immobilized by the ethics controversy surrounding DeLay. ■

DeLay's trip to Britain is one of three overseas jaunts that questions have been raised about.

Questions

1. Who paid for DeLay's 2000 trip to Great Britain, and why have questions been raised about it?
2. What does the writer mean when she states that DeLay's 2000 trip to Great Britain came at a "critical moment"?

Condi on the Rise

The new Secretary of State is dazzling audiences abroad—while skillfully outmaneuvering her rivals at home

By **ELAINE SHANNON** and **MICHAEL DUFFY**

AS SHE FLEW ACROSS ASIA IN HER LATEST OVER-seas trip, it was clear that in the two months she has been Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice has consolidated her power as the chief exponent of the Administration's foreign policy. Rice and Bush are closer than any other President and Secretary of State since Bush 41 and James Baker did their memorable duet 16 years ago. And Rice and Bush may have an advantage over that team: unlike Baker, Rice doesn't have to worry about becoming bigger and more popular than her boss. She already is.

On the latest visit to Asia, Rice garnered big headlines and huge photos by saying and doing perfectly ordinary things. She schmoozed election workers in Kabul, did the normal round of interviews on local TV, and flung herself into a bear hug with Hawaiian-born sumo superstar Konishiki in Tokyo.

Around the globe, diplomats are busy comparing notes on what they see—and they aren't talking about her stiletto boots. To some, Condi's rise signals a return to a more pragmatic U.S. diplomacy

for an Administration exhausted by war, occupation and ideological infighting. That perception was given a recent boost by Bush's announcement that Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz, the chief architect of the war in Iraq, would leave the Pentagon to take over as head of the World Bank—another sign that Rice and her realist deputies have gained the upper hand over their neoconservative rivals at the Defense Department.

You can tell a lot about Bush's regard for Rice by where he is placing her friends—and where he has dispatched her likely rivals. The transfer of former Undersecretary of State John Bolton to the U.N. was shrewdly sold as a win for hard-liners—and there was indeed something in it for them. But it's increasingly clear that Bolton's departure is at least as much of a win for Rice, and probably more so. Rice refused to appoint Bolton to the job he wanted—as her deputy—and those who know her say she will not tolerate the kind of free-lancing Bolton was famous for when he worked for Powell.

So now that the bureaucratic pieces have fallen her way, what does Rice plan to do with them? She has led the push in the Administration for reform in the Middle East, canceling a trip to Egypt after Cairo jailed a leading political activist (the next day, Hosni Mubarak stunned the Egyptian public with a call for multiparty presidential elections). Rice executed a course correction on Lebanon, cooling U.S. denunciations of the militant group Hizballah, aware that the organization will almost certainly increase its clout in the May elections. And Rice quietly prevailed earlier this month when the U.S. backed European efforts to induce Iran to give up its nuclear weapons in exchange for economic and trade incentives.

Are the disagreements among Bush foreign policymakers gone? Of course not. But for now, the nonstop dissonance of the first term has subsided, replaced by something new: a single voice who speaks confidently for the boss. ■

Questions

1. According to diplomatic observers, what does the rise of Condoleezza Rice reveal about the Bush Administration's foreign policy?
2. What is Rice's top priority as Secretary of State?



Finally, an Iraqi Government

The convening of the National Assembly reveals what Iraqis voted for

By **TONY KARON**

THE IRAQI PEOPLE FINALLY GOT TO SEE THEIR new government in action on March 16, 2005. That's the day on which the National Assembly met for the first time, another historic milestone in Iraq's transition to democracy. Besides appointing a government and governing the country over the next year, the Assembly will oversee the drafting of a new Iraqi constitution. Whether the new Iraq will take the shape that the U.S. would like is still very much up in the air, and will depend on how Kurds, Shiites and Sunnis accommodate their differing concerns.

The big winner on election day was the United Iraqi Alliance (UIA), a mostly Shiite group assembled under the auspices of Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani and led by moderate Islamist parties. The UIA won a majority of seats in the Assembly but not the two-thirds required under the Transitional Administrative Law (TAL), the interim constitution bequeathed by former U.S. administrator J. Paul Bremer, to choose a government. That means the Shiites have to negotiate a deal with the parties that will give them the votes required to create a new government. And that requirement has made kingmakers of the Kurds—3 million out of Iraq's 27

million people—who won 75 Assembly seats, making them the natural coalition ally for the UIA because between them, the two groups account for 75 percent of the seats.

The Kurds are using their kingmaker status to demand not only that they maintain the autonomy they have enjoyed for over a decade under the protection of the Allied “no-fly” zone, but also that their domain be extended to include the fiercely contested oil-rich city of Kirkuk.

The Shiites are reluctant to concede these points, which are anathema to a wide range of Arab Iraqis, both Sunni and Shiite. Conceding to Kurdish demands on Kirkuk, for example, will further alienate the Sunni population of northern Iraq. The Sunnis may not currently have significant representation in the political process, but a sizeable segment of the community is represented on the battlefield by the insurgency.

The future of U.S. troops in Iraq could also be a problem, with UIA leaders suggesting that while they don't want them out right away, they want to see a timetable for U.S. withdrawal. Some UIA leaders are also pushing to make Islamic Sharia law the basis of personal-status law in the new Iraq, governing issues such as marriage, divorce and inheritance. But the more Islamist leaders in the UIA may not be able to count on the support of many of their more moderate and secularist colleagues, let alone their coalition partners.

TAL was designed to force Iraq's political leaders to work together and find the compromises necessary to build consensus. The Shiites, however, will be watching carefully to see that democracy gives their leaders a political dominance equivalent to their demographic dominance. If the Bremer rules are perceived to be holding them back, they'll challenge them. After all, the primary purpose of the new National Assembly is for the Iraqis themselves to design their own rules for the next stage of the political contest. ■

Questions

1. What are three primary functions of Iraq's National Assembly?
2. Why have the Kurds been called “kingmakers” in the newly elected Iraqi government?



No Early Return for U.S. Troops Fighting in Iraq

An upsurge in violence signals the insurgency's growing confidence

By **TONY KARON**

ALMOST FOUR MONTHS AFTER AN ELECTION that held so much promise, the outlook for U.S. forces in Iraq is taking a turn for the worse. In the first half of May alone, more than 50 U.S. troops were killed in Iraq. (Almost 600 Iraqis died in the same period.) U.S. forces are hitting back, to be sure, having launched a new surprise operation in Western Iraq deploying 1,000 U.S. and Iraqi troops to target the insurgents in their heartland. But as May shapes up as a strong contender for the deadliest month for U.S. forces in the past year, worse news comes from the sober assessment of one of the most respected—and U.S.-supportive—strategic think tanks in Europe.

The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), which hosted President Bush during his last visit to London, now warns that it will take five or six years before the Iraqi security forces being built by the U.S. are close to being capable of imposing and guaranteeing order in Iraq.

An IISS expert estimated that there were some 1,000 foreign fighters in Iraq, out of a total force of hardcore insurgent fighters believed to number up to 20,000. The bulk of the insurgency, however, draws its momentum not from Osama bin Laden's global jihad against America, but from the alienation and hostility toward the new Iraqi order and its U.S. sponsor pervasive in Iraq's once-dominant Sunni Arab minority. It is now conventional wisdom

among U.S. officials that the key to defeating the insurgency is giving the Sunnis a greater political stake in the new order. There were positive indicators in that respect in recent days, when some 1,000 Sunni leaders gathered to coordinate their activities in search of a greater political role, particularly in the writing of Iraq's new constitution. The gathering's final statement condemned terror attacks on Iraqi civilians, but proclaimed that "resisting the occupier is a legitimate right." The speaker of Iraq's new parliament, Hajem al-Hasani, was even more explicit, calling for those fighting the U.S. forces to be given a direct political role via the formation of a political wing.

Fears of full-blown sectarian warfare between Shiites and Sunnis, meanwhile, have prompted urgent mediation efforts by, among others, the fire-brand Shiite maverick Moqtada Sadr. His efforts are based on articulating a common nationalist agenda, specifically by demanding a timetable

It is now conventional wisdom among U.S. officials that the key to defeating the insurgency is giving the Sunnis a greater political stake in the new order.

for U.S. withdrawal. The call for a timetable for U.S. withdrawal had been a key election promise of Jaafari's coalition. The problem, of course, is that the new government is all too aware of its dependence on U.S. forces for its own security and survival, and is unlikely to pursue a timetable for withdrawal as long as they fear

the consequences. But that perspective isn't necessarily shared by the new government's own political base, and that's a discrepancy Sadr will seek to work to his own advantage.

Another sobering reality is making matters even more complicated. While the evidence is increasingly suggesting that the U.S. deployment in Iraq may have to continue for six years or longer, it's far from clear that the new government can sell that idea to its own support base. ■

Questions

1. According to the International Institute for Strategic Studies, how long will it take until Iraqi forces are able to ensure the country's security?
2. What are U.S. officials saying is the key to defeating the insurgency in Iraq?



Democracy in Iraq

A GALLERY OF VIEWS

On January 30, 2005, more than 8.5 million Iraqis—representing 58% of all eligible voters—went to the polls despite threats of violence. After Iraq's first democratic election in 50 years, the new government's main task will be to draft a permanent constitution and lay the groundwork for elections in December. In response to this major development, commentators offered a variety of perspectives on the ramifications of this momentous event. Study the images at left. Then answer the questions below.

1. What symbols does each of the cartoons at left use to represent democracy in Iraq? Why do you think the cartoonists chose these symbols?

2. What symbol does each cartoonist use to depict Iraq and/or the Iraqi people? What does each symbol stand for?

3. How is the U.S. represented in each cartoon? How do you think each cartoonist views U.S. actions in Iraq? Explain, citing details.

4. Of the three cartoons, which do you think is the most hopeful? Explain, making reference to specific details from the image.

5. What is the cartoonist who created the bottom image saying about the relationship between the U.S. and the new Iraqi government?

6. After studying these cartoons and reading the TIME articles on pages 16 and 17, what do you think the prospects are that democracy will take root in Iraq? Cite reasons to justify your assessment.



What Does Kim Jong Il Really Want?

After months of mixed signals, North Korea acknowledges that it has nuclear weapons

By MICHAEL DUFFY

DAYS BEFORE KIM JONG IL'S 63RD BIRTHDAY, HIS government announced that, as has long been suspected by U.S. intelligence, North Korea has indeed built nuclear weapons "for self-defense." Pyongyang also announced it was pulling out of joint talks with the United States, China, Japan, Russia and South Korea to keep the Korean peninsula nuclear-free. Hoping to play down the news, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, called the announcement "unfortunate."

For more than a decade, the U.S. and its allies have insisted that they would not allow Kim to acquire nuclear weapons, out of fear that he would sell nukes to anyone willing to pay for them. Pyongyang's declaration, while impossible to confirm, means Kim has probably realized his quest. A nuclear-armed North Korea means that President Bush's multilateral strategy for preventing Pyongyang from acquiring nukes has failed just as dramatically as President Bill Clinton's policy of direct engagement did a decade ago. At a time when the Bush Administration is trying to increase pressure on Iran over its purported

ambitions to obtain the bomb, Washington confronts a more immediate crisis with a country that claims to have it already.

One explanation for the announcement is that Pyongyang needed to change the subject. In early February, the White House secretly dispatched two National Security Council (NSC) aides to Tokyo, Beijing and Seoul armed with evidence that North Korea may have supplied a uranium compound to Libya for its weapons labs. The new evidence was apparently strong enough to help the two NSC aides win an audience with Chinese President Hu Jintao. U.S. officials would not detail Hu's reaction to the briefing, but one told *TIME*, "It made an impression."

What alternatives does the U.S. have? Given that a pre-emptive military strike against potential weapons sites would be fraught with complications—who knows how the situation might escalate, especially considering North Korea's substantial conventional arsenal—even anti-Kim hard-liners acknowledge that diplomacy remains the most palatable option. Kim has repeated his demand for bilateral negotiations with Washington, a prospect the Administration rejects out of hand. The U.S. still hopes to confront the North Koreans in a multilateral setting, and the linchpin of that strategy is China. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, Beijing has been North Korea's closest ally, funneling oil and food. China would have to absorb many refugees if Kim's regime failed.

James Lilley, who was ambassador to both China and South Korea in the 1980s, says Pyongyang's tactics are designed to stall for time and force concessions from outsiders before sitting down to talk again. The only way to counter it, he believes, is to take swift action both jointly and alone. Unless the U.S. and its allies get tough and together in a hurry, the world may soon find itself worried less about how fast Kim is building nuclear bombs than about how we're going to live with them. ■

Questions

1. Why did the White House secretly dispatch two NSC aides to Tokyo, Beijing and Seoul?
2. What do observers, including hard-liners, see as the only way to deal with North Korea?



Moving to Center Stage

Can Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas help bring peace to the Middle East?

By MATT REES

THE CAMERA BULBS HAD BARELY STOPPED FLASHING, but Mahmoud Abbas was already on the spot. After exchanging a handshake with Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon at a Red Sea resort on February 8, Abbas went into his first meeting with Sharon since Abbas' election as President of the Palestinian Authority. Sharon reiterated to Abbas his demand that the Palestinians take immediate steps to disarm the militants of Hamas before Israel agrees to resume peace talks. "Wait, wait, give me a break," Abbas said, according to Israeli officials who attended the meeting. "I've only been in office a couple of weeks." Sharon showed no sympathy. "You've got to move faster," he said.

Abbas—who was elected in January 2005—is beginning to realize that if he hopes to make progress toward peace, he can't afford to wait. With the recent declaration of a truce between Israel and the Palestinian Authority, relations between the two sides have reached their warmest level in years—owing in large part to Abbas' willingness to confront the violence that wreaked havoc on Palestinian society under Yasser Arafat. But Abbas is in an excruciating bind. While he

needs to move fast to accommodate Israeli demands, he also risks reprisals from his own people that could cost him his job and possibly his life. No sooner had Abbas agreed to a cease-fire than Palestinian militants staged two brazen attacks. First they fired mortars and rockets on Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip. Then 300 gunmen staged an assault on the Saraya, the main prison and Palestinian Authority military base in Gaza City. In response, Abbas took his boldest step yet to assert his authority, firing at least 25 top security officials and going to Gaza to rebuke Hamas leaders.

Born in Safed, a town now part of Israel, Abbas grew up in Damascus after his family fled when the Jewish state was founded in 1948. As a young member of Fatah, Arafat's faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.), he made his name as a fund raiser while avoiding involvement in the group's terrorist attacks. He was among the first Fatah leaders to build bridges to Israeli peace campaigners and in 1977 issued a declaration in favor of a two-state solution, a break from P.L.O. doctrine, which called for wiping out the Jewish state.

Like few other Palestinian politicians, Abbas staked out his independence from Arafat, condemning the *intifadeh* and pushing for reform of the corruption-plagued Palestinian Authority. In March 2003, at the behest of the Bush Administration, Arafat appointed Abbas as Prime Minister. Six months later, Abbas quit because Arafat would not cede control of the Palestinian military.

But despite a promising start, Abbas still has to prove to Sharon and the U.S. that he can be as firm with the militants as he was with Arafat. Close aides say Abbas doesn't want to start a civil war, but he's ready to force Hamas to respect the authority of his government. "He's a very patient person," says Rafik Natsha, a Palestinian lawmaker and close friend. "He swallows his anger." He may have to let it out soon. ■

Questions

1. What did Abbas do in 1977 that set him apart from other members of Yasser Arafat's Fatah faction of the P.L.O.?
2. In what ways did Abbas establish his independence from Yasser Arafat?



The Gamble of a Lifetime

Ariel Sharon is risking it all on his plan to give up the Gaza Strip settlements

By **ROMESH RATNESAR** and **MATT REES**

WHEN ISRAEL'S PRIME MINISTER ARIEL SHARON speaks, you sometimes get the sense that he wishes he were somewhere else—away from the grinding pressures of a job that in recent months has left him vilified by even some of his staunchest supporters in Israel. Yet after more than a half-century as one of the most polarizing figures in the Middle East, Sharon, 77, possesses a near inexhaustible reservoir of stubborn self-belief.

After winning election in 2001, Sharon's first years in office were dominated by the Palestinian *intifadeh*, which killed 1,058 Israelis. In response, Sharon sent Israeli troops into Palestinian towns and erected a fence along much of the length of the West Bank. Although the terrorist attacks subsided, Sharon rejected the idea of resuming peace talks with Arafat. Instead, he argued, Israel needed to withdraw to a defensible line and wait for a more moderate Palestinian leader to emerge. In the fall of 2003, Deputy Prime Minister Ehud Olmert gave an interview in which he suggested a unilateral withdrawal from much of the occupied territories. Soon after, they met at Sharon's office for Olmert to lay out his plan.

Sharon intends to pull all 8,500 Israeli settlers out of the 17 Gaza Strip settlements, as well as an additional 1,500 from four locations in the northern West Bank. He has insisted repeatedly that Israel will never abandon the large West Bank settlement blocs that the Palestinians most despise. But Sharon's decision to withdraw

from Gaza represents a personal acknowledgment that Israel cannot remain in the Palestinian territories indefinitely. Backed by the U.S. as well as a majority of both Israelis and Palestinians, the disengagement plan has stirred hopes for a breakthrough in the moribund peace process—an optimism that gained fresh momentum after the death of Sharon's nemesis, Yasser Arafat, last November.

But progress rarely comes easily in this part of the world. With the evacuation of the settlements set to take place in August, Sharon faces howling doubts—from across Israel's political spectrum—about disengagement and what comes after it. Critics on the left accuse Sharon of giving up Gaza as a ploy to hold on to the larger settlements in the West Bank and put further agreements with the Palestinians on ice. But the strongest condemnations have come from Sharon's former right-wing allies, who view the Prime Minister as a sellout who abandoned his historic support for the settlements. Sharon is the target of assassination threats from Jewish extremists, and some members of his Likud Party privately doubt he will be the party's candidate for Prime Minister in next year's elections.

While preserving the long-term viability of the

Jewish state may require giving up some territory, to Sharon it does not mean giving ground. "I was badly injured twice," Sharon recalled. "I lost my friends. I had to make decisions of life and death, for others and myself. I understand the importance of peace better than many of the politicians who speak of peace but never had the experience I had. For me, peace should provide security to the Jewish people and Israeli citizens. If it doesn't provide that, what kind of peace is that?" Sharon is determined never to find out. ■

Questions

1. What is Sharon's plan for withdrawal from Palestinian territory?
2. Who is the most critical of Sharon's peace plan?



Pope John Paul II: A Pilgrim's Journey, 1920–2005

His crusade against tyranny brought hope to millions around the globe

By **NANCY GIBBS**

YOU FEEL SMALLER WHEN YOUR FATHER DIES because he was strong and lifted you, carried you and taught you, and when he's gone the room feels too big without him. So it was in St. Peter's Square, where pilgrims kept vigil, their faces traced in low light by candles, murmuring "Don't leave us." Among the believers was almost disbelief that death still comes even to a man this strong—the Holy Father who had carried his people so far, lifted them so high, taught them so much and now finally was slipping away.

The bells began tolling at 10:37 on the evening of Saturday, April 2, an hour after he breathed his last. Thus passed Karol Jozef Wojtyła, Vicar of Jesus Christ and head of the billion-member Roman Catholic Church, dead at 84 after a life spent walking in Christ's rugged path.

"Be not afraid" was his motto as he lived his faith and faced his death. The man, once an actor, always a witness, who had taken the teachings of his church to more people in more corners of the world than any other Pope in history, would not miss the chance to deliver one last lesson. Every camera would be on him: "If it doesn't happen on television," he once said, "it doesn't happen." So the sight of his suffering was an invitation to mercy; his courage a gift of example; his power made perfect in weakness.

From his window, he greeted the crowds on

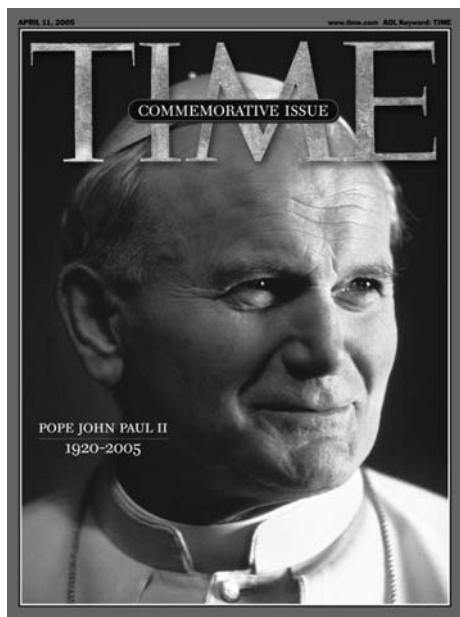
Easter morning and again just days before his death, visibly frustrated at being unable to utter one last blessing, one more prayer. "Those two appearances may have been what did it," despaired a

high Vatican official, as though the fate of such a man could hang on such decisions. "If he had stayed inside, he wouldn't have risked infection."

The decline was swift. Even as the U.S. continued its great debate over when to remove a feeding tube, the Vatican revealed that the Pope was on one. Terri Schiavo, once a private, ordinary woman, had no choice about whether her death would be a passion play for an audience caught in an argument over when life begins and ends. The Pope, a very public and extraor-

ordinary man, made sure his message was clear: that life is God's alone to give—and to take.

His spokesman wept as he shared the final journey. Awake and serene, the Pope had no desire to return to the hospital for a third time in two months even as his fever rose and his heart failed. Instead, according to Edmund Cardinal Szoka, he lay with his head propped up on pillows, blessing his disciples as they knelt at his bedside, and being blessed by them. He received the sacrament reserved for the dying, heard the Stations of the Cross. Hours later he was slipping in and out of consciousness, his breathing shallow, his organs failing. News came Saturday of his final, halting words. "You have come to me," he said, "and I thank you," though whether he was talking to his brothers around him, the pilgrims outside or the



waiting Lord above, there was no way to know.

The last glimpse of him high above the square became the latest in an album of images he left behind: a kiss on the tarmac in each new city; a smile lit by love and certainty; a white robe stained red by a would-be assassin's bullet, and the public forgiveness that followed; a challenge thrown down before prisoners and Presidents, sinners and saints to heed the highest calling of their hearts. He was the first Pope ever to visit a mosque, or launch a website, or commemorate the Holocaust at Auschwitz or find in a broken world so many saints of the church—more saints, in fact, than all his predecessors combined. Master of a dozen languages, he was the first modern Pope to visit Egypt, Spain, Canada, Cuba, Ireland or Brazil, the equivalent of circling the globe 31 times. To half the world's people, he was the only Pope they have ever known, or mourned. Thus the prayers came not just from Catholics but also from Muslims and Jews and from believers across Eastern Europe who before his crusade against tyranny would have had to mourn him in secret. Even those who disagreed with his goals were touched by his goodness and came out to honor the man who made history itself kneel down.

Now attention turns to the College of Cardinals, whose 117 voting members began to stream

into Rome from 52 countries to pay their respects and write the next chapter of the church's history. Later this month they will meet in the Sistine Chapel, already swept for hidden microphones, to choose the next Pontiff. There will be plenty of intrigue in the days to come: "The battles to take care of everyone's own interests have been abounding," a Roman Curia Cardinal told TIME. But in the final days many were struck by the sudden transparency of the Vatican's thick walls. Reports on the Pope's condition were clear and regular; the press office was open around the clock. It was as though church officials were following his instructions not to miss the opportunity embedded in grief.

It is of some comfort, when we wait for those we love to die, to celebrate the way they lived. For Christians, this is a season of mystery and grace, and during the final days, John Paul II gave his people one last gift: the message of his visible pain and

transcendent love, like a bell ringing out over St. Peter's Square, clear and resounding as it carried up to heaven. ■

Questions

1. Name two firsts attributed to Pope John Paul II.
2. How many members does the Catholic Church currently have around the world?

"Be not afraid" was Pope John Paul II's motto as he lived his faith and faced his death.

**Pope Benedict XVI:
A Supporter of Tradition**

Even before being selected on April 19 to succeed Pope John Paul II, Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, 77, wielded more power than most people in the Roman Catholic Church. His opponents regard him as a Vatican Rasputin, pulling strings, enforcing orthodoxy, silencing dissent. Supporters view him as the Vatican's intellectual powerhouse, a man who rescued a drifting church from the distractions of modern life toward the truths of its own teaching, and the obvious choice to follow in John Paul II's footsteps.

Both sides may be right. Pope Benedict XVI, as Ratzinger will be known, has been a tough theological enforcer in the church for more than two decades. Born

in Bavaria, Benedict was once an enthusiast for the reforms of the Second Vatican Council. He later wondered if they had gone too far. Call him one of the first theologians—a former liberal distressed by religious laxity. His response: to reassess the importance of the papacy as a means of asserting control over the church, while insisting on the otherworldliness of religious faith and its ability to withstand changes in society. In 1981, John Paul II made Benedict the guardian of Catholic orthodoxy, a position he held until becoming Pope. In that role, he reached back to older traditions and helped revive them. Church attendance is down, but, as he said recently, "The essential things in history begin always with the small, more convinced communities."

—By Andrew Sullivan. From TIME, April 18, 2005

Healing Hands

With the right help, survivors of the Asian tsunami are learning how to move on

By **ANDREW MARSHALL**

MAKING WAVES, A TRAUMA-THERAPY PROGRAM designed to help tsunami victims confront their fear of the ocean, is one of the programs created to confront the shock and grief caused by December's devastating earthquake and tsunami. The World Health Organization estimates that some 500,000 people in Aceh, a province of Indonesia, face mental-health problems. Disaster survivors commonly experience nightmares, guilt, confusion, insomnia and despair. "With most people, these symptoms die down in about six weeks," says Susie Morrison, a trauma expert with International Medical Corps (IMC). "But with others, they don't, and this can begin to affect their whole lives." Yet, in many cases, therapy is not a priority. Of more immediate importance to their emotional well-being are physical concerns: health, a home, a job.

That's why the men of the northern Acehese village of Pante Gurah are hard at work. The tsunami flattened every house in the village and swept in hundreds of dead bodies, along with fishing boats weighing more than 20 tons. Local fishermen—including those who lost wives and children—have propped the boats up with jacks and, with a simple chain-and-pulley system, are dragging them along rollers made from palm trees back toward the water. The International Rescue Committee (IRC), an aid agency, provides the equipment, pays each man a daily wage, and is designing a loan system to help owners fit new engines and make their vessels seaworthy.

Job prospects in Aceh's provincial capital Banda Aceh are bleaker. Scrap collecting and corpse retrieval are the main work in the once-thriving district of Lam Jame, now a dust-choked waste-

land of rubble and twisted metal. Amid this desolation, a mobile clinic from Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) is dispensing first aid, tetanus shots, and protective boots and gloves free of charge.

Younger survivors are better cared for. "With most children, their lives will normalize, and they'll go back to just being kids," says Amy Wachtel, the IRC's child-protection coordinator. But a small percentage exhibit depression, withdrawal or other symptoms. "School is the best way to find out who needs more care," says Geoffrey Keele, a UNICEF spokesman in Sri Lanka, where, in most tsunami-hit areas, about 80% of children are back in class.

For some survivors, help comes from a more traditional source. The tsunami affected members of three great faiths—Buddhists in Thailand, Hindus in Sri Lanka and India, Muslims in Indonesia—and religion helps untold millions endure the unendurable. "Only my faith

"School is the best way to find out who needs more care."

—Geoffrey Keele,
UNICEF spokesman in Sri Lanka

keeps me strong," says Syahrial, 38, a university lecturer in Banda Aceh, whose wife and three sons died in the waters. He spent two months as a volunteer for the Red Cross, collecting corpses. The activity comforted him. "In Islam, this work is *fardu kifayah*, a common obligation," he says. "Of course, I'm sad. But I believe everything belongs to God, including my family. He can take it back at any time."

Some answers are closer to earth. In Meulaboh, where three months ago the streets were paved with corpses, psychologist Reine Lebel watches local kids wait excitedly for a relief helicopter to take off. "It's so important for adults to see children play again," she says, as the rotors start turning. "It restores their hope in the future." Then the helicopter ascends, and in an oft-played game, the kids are blown off their feet and onto the grass, where they lie helpless with laughter. ■

Questions

1. What are some of the symptoms that survivors of disasters commonly suffer?
2. What is the best way to monitor the psychological effects of disasters on children?

Hall of Shame

Hearings leave a legend stained, and a game still under suspicion

By SEAN GREGORY

MARK MCGWIRE, A THINNER VERSION OF HIS former 70-home-run self, sauntered into a congressional hearing room on St. Patrick's Day wearing a light green tie. But there were no eyes, Irish or otherwise, smiling on him from the dais. Before members of a House committee and millions of fans watching on television, McGwire swore to tell nothing but the truth. Instead, he told nothing. After a moving opening statement in which he cried while ruing the deaths of young steroid users, the cameras clicked in wild anticipation. Was Big Mac ready to admit that he too had supersized himself with steroids?

McGwire took a deep breath. "If a player answers no, he simply will not be believed," he said about the anticipated questions of his own steroid use. "If he answers yes, he risks public scorn and endless government investigations." So unlike fellow players on the panel, Sammy Sosa and Rafael Palmeiro, who flatly denied taking steroids, and Jose Canseco, an admitted abuser, McGwire essentially took the Fifth. The man whose eclipse of Roger Maris' home-run record galvanized a nation and who became this magazine's 1998 Hero of the Year, tried to draw a walk. Instead, he struck out looking, and looked bad doing it.

During 11 hours of testimony, the House reform

committee further embarrassed the game by making baseball answer for its weak steroid policy. Baseball officials told skeptical committee members that the current policy represents progress, since the sport inexplicably had no policy until 2002. But baseball still falls woefully short compared with other sports. In the NFL, players are tested randomly in and out of season, and first-time abusers miss a quarter of a season. Baseball players miss 10 days, or about 5% of the season—and the legislators were incensed to learn about language that allowed a fine instead of suspension for first timers. Olympians—facing the gold standard in terms of strictness—are subject to testing at any time and barred for two years for a first offense, for life after a second.

The government has the power to rewrite baseball's drug laws, and Congress's patience with the sport is clearly low. But Congress probably won't act too fast—it rarely does—so expect more hearings, say House reform-committee members. Some members want to call more players and perhaps baseball trainers to prove that baseball has long known about the steroid use. Rather than single out baseball, the House might also try to create broad steroid restrictions for all sports or adopt the tough Olympic standard.

The hearings may help clean up baseball, but they have stained McGwire's legacy. His lawyer-crafted responses to the inquisition—"I'm not here to talk about the past," "I'm here to talk about the positive," "I don't know, I'm a retired player"—drew chuckles from the gallery. A lawmaker from Missouri suggested stripping the name from the Mark McGwire Highway in St. Louis. "He's a tragic figure," says former baseball commissioner Fay Vincent. "I feel sorry for McGwire; he was put in an impossible position. On the other hand, he did a stupid thing, and in this life, when you do a stupid thing, you pay for it." ■

Questions

1. What are the penalties for steroid use by Olympic athletes?
2. Why was Mark McGwire criticized for his testimony before Congress?



An American Tsunami?

There's no cause for panic, but the next big wave could be triggered by a fault in the Pacific Northwest

By J. MADELEINE NASH

SCIENTISTS HAVE KNOWN FOR SOME TIME ABOUT THE 700-MILE-LONG fault off the coast of Washington, Oregon and California, where a wayward slab of the earth's crust known as the Juan de Fuca plate is trying to slide under continental North America. What they didn't know until quite recently was that the juncture where the two plates are locked together can snap violently like a giant spring, unleashing a tsunami as large and terrifying as the one that pummeled South Asia.

U.S. Geological Survey researcher Brian Atwater led the detective work that nailed down the tsunami-rich history of the Cascadia Subduction Zone, finding such clues as fire pits buried under a layer of tsunami sand and linking them to records of what appears to be the same tsunami striking villages in Japan in January 1700.

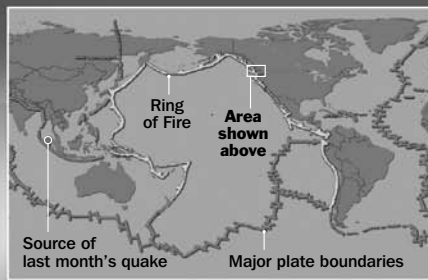
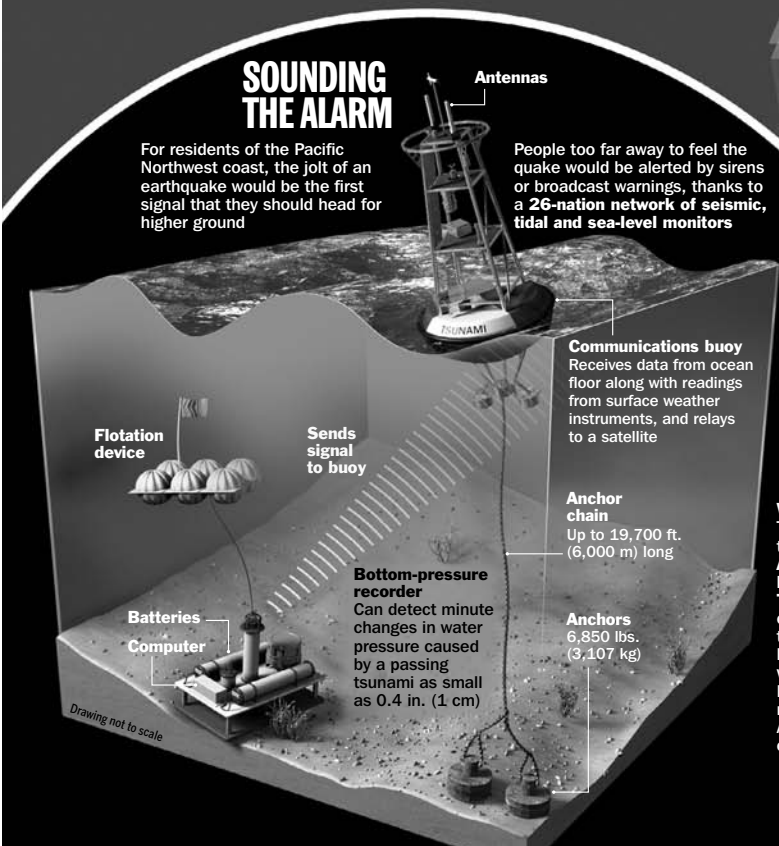
A bit of subterranean rustling doesn't mean that a great earthquake is imminent, of course. But the tsunami warning signs on local beaches remind us that those who live and play along Cascadia's jagged coast do so at their risk. ■

Whole lotta shakin'
Hundreds of minor quakes have been recorded along the **Juan de Fuca** and **Explorer** plates over the past 25 years

AN EARTHQUAKE FACTORY

The **Cascadia Subduction Zone**—where the **Juan de Fuca Plate** meets the **North American Plate**—is remarkably similar to the subterranean system that triggered the tsunami in the **Indian Ocean** and is capable of generating equally powerful earthquakes and equally destructive waves

Some key differences: a **tsunami-warning system**, **better housing construction** and a more rugged and **less populous coastline**. The death toll from a tsunami in the Pacific Northwest might be in the hundreds but not in the tens of thousands

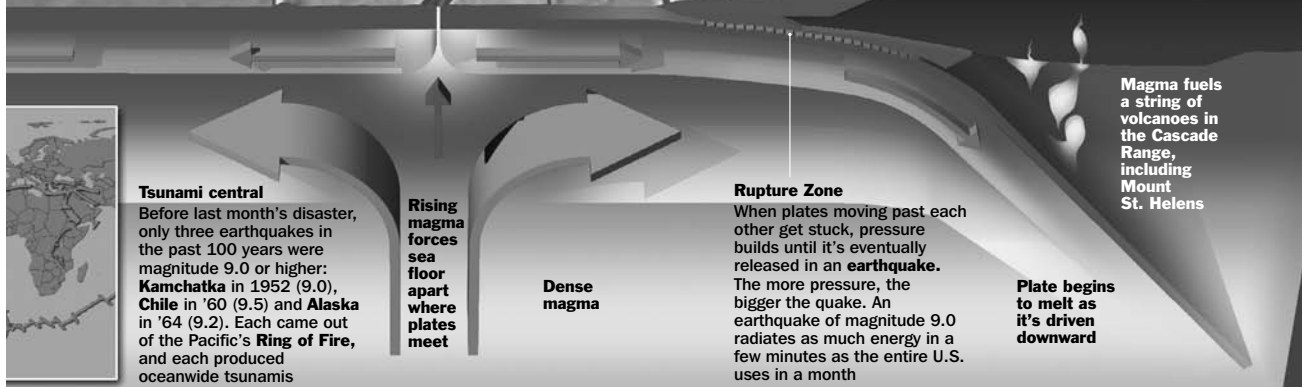
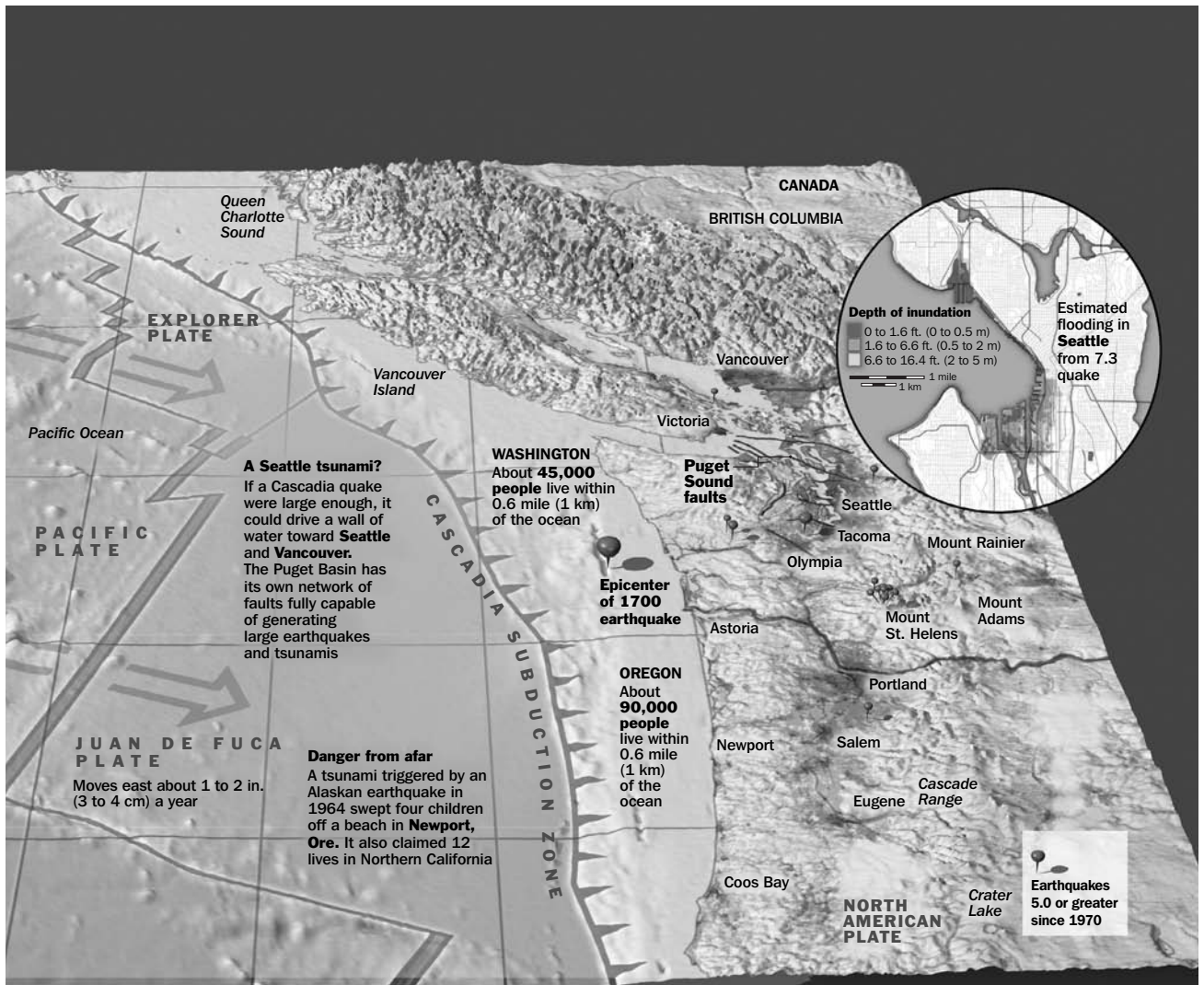


Warning system
The workhorses of the **Deep-ocean Assessment and Reporting of Tsunamis** are a series of buoys tethered to the ocean floor and linked to the outside world by satellite. The Pacific is tsunami ready, but not the Atlantic or Indian oceans

IT HAPPENED BEFORE

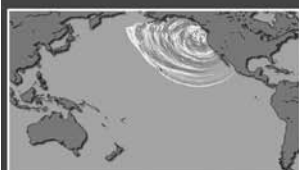


HOOR 1 Waves strike North America

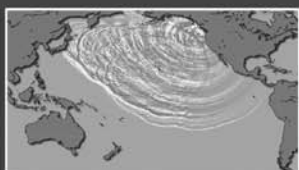


Sources: Brian Atwater, U.S. Geological Survey; Kenji Satake, AIST, Geological Survey of Japan; Vasily Titov, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration; Natural Resources Canada; LandScan/UT-Battelle

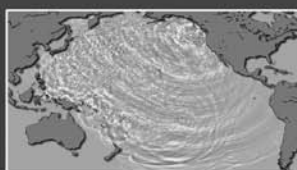
Geological and historical evidence points to a giant Cascadia earthquake that sent a tsunami across the Pacific in January 1700



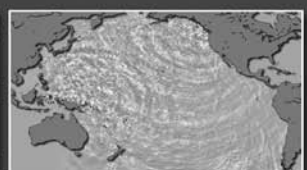
HOOR 5 Tsunami front passes Hawaii



HOOR 10 First waves reach Japan



HOOR 15 Philippines, New Zealand hit



HOOR 20 Tsunami spans Pacific Ocean

- Questions**
1. What is the Cascadia Subduction Zone and where is it?
 2. How much energy does an earthquake with a magnitude of 9.0 generate?

Inside the New Science of Human Happiness

What makes the human heart sing and puts meaning into our lives? Researchers are taking a close look. What they've found may surprise you.

By **CLAUDIA WALLIS**

FOR MOST OF ITS HISTORY, PSYCHOLOGY HAS concerned itself with all that ails the human mind: anxiety, depression, neurosis, obsessions, paranoia, delusions. Psychologists' goal was to bring patients from a negative, ailing state to a neutral normal, or, as University of Pennsylvania psychologist Martin Seligman puts it, "from a minus five to a zero." It was Seligman who summoned three leading psychologists to Akumal, Mexico, on New Year's Day in 1998—his first day as president of the American Psychological Association (A.P.A.)—to share a vision of a new goal for psychology. "I realized that my profession was half-baked. It wasn't enough for us to nullify disabling conditions and get to zero. We needed to ask, What are the enabling conditions that make human beings flourish? How do we get from zero to plus five?"

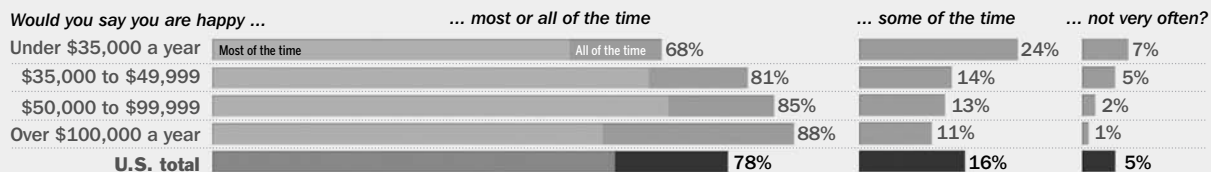
Within a few months, Seligman, who has a talent for popularizing and promoting his areas of interest, was approached by the Templeton Foundation in England, which proceeded to create lucrative awards for research in positive psych. The result: an explosion of research on happiness, optimism, positive emotions and healthy character traits. Seldom has an academic field been brought so quickly and deliberately to life.

So, what has science learned about what makes the human heart sing? More than one might imagine—along with some surprising things about what doesn't ring our inner chimes. Take wealth, for instance, and all the delightful things that money can buy. Research has shown that once your basic needs are met, additional income does little to raise your sense of satisfaction with life. A good education? Sorry, Mom and Dad, neither education nor, for that matter, a high IQ paves the road to happiness. Sunny days? Nope.

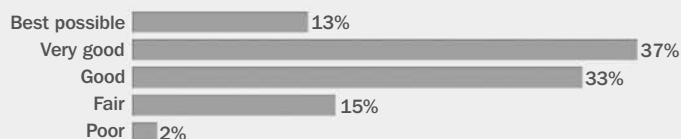
**TIME POLL
FEELING GOOD
IN THE U.S.**

Just How Happy Are We...

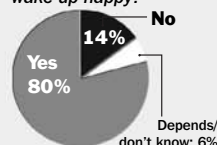
Based on their own assessment, Americans are overwhelmingly happy and optimistic people, regardless of income



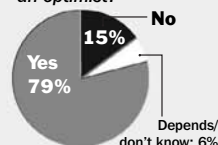
Would you say that so far you have lived the best possible life that you could have, a very good life, a good life, a fair life or a poor life?



Do you generally wake up happy?



Do you consider yourself an optimist?



This TIME poll was conducted by telephone Dec. 13-14, 2004, among 1,009 adult Americans by SRBI Public Affairs. Margin of error is 3 percentage points. "Not sure" omitted for some questions

On the positive side, religious faith seems to genuinely lift the spirit, though it's tough to tell whether it's the God part or the community aspect that does the heavy lifting. Friends? A giant yes. A 2002 study conducted by University of Illinois psychologist Edward Diener and Seligman found that the most salient characteristics shared by the 10% of students with the highest levels of happiness and the fewest signs of depression were their strong ties to friends and family and commitment to spending time with them. Of course, happiness is not a static state. Even the happiest of people—the cheeriest 10%—feel blue at times. And even the bluest have moments of joy.

One of the biggest issues in happiness research is the question of how much our happiness is under our control. In 1996 University of Minnesota researcher David Lykken published a paper looking at the role of genes in determining one's sense of satisfaction in life. Lykken, now 76, gathered information on 4,000 sets of twins born in Minnesota from 1936 through 1955. After comparing happiness data on identical vs. fraternal twins, he came to the conclusion that about 50% of one's satisfaction with life comes from genetic programming. (Genes influence such traits as having a sunny, easygoing personality; dealing well with stress; and feeling low levels of depression and anxiety.) Lykken found that circumstantial factors like income, marital status, religion and education contribute only about 8% to one's overall well-being. He attributes the remaining

percentage to "life's slings and arrows."

Even so, Seligman and like-minded researchers of the positive-psychology movement have put a premium on research showing you can raise your level of happiness. His biggest recommendation for lasting happiness is to figure out your strengths and find new ways to deploy them.

Why do exercising gratitude, kindness and other virtues provide a lift? "Giving makes you feel good about yourself," says Christopher Peterson of the University of Michigan. "When you're volunteering, you're distracting yourself from your own existence, and that's beneficial. More fuzzily, giving puts meaning into your life. You have a sense of purpose because you matter to someone else." Virtually all the happiness exercises being tested by positive psychologists, he says, make people feel more connected to others.

But can a loner really become more gregarious through acts-of-kindness exercises? Can a dyed-in-the-wool pessimist learn to see the glass as half full? This is an experiment we can all do for ourselves. There's little risk in trying some extra gratitude and kindness, and the results—should they materialize—are their own reward. ■

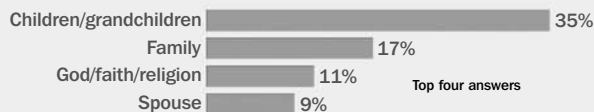
Questions

1. How did Martin Seligman set out to change the goals of psychology?
2. According to experts who have studied human happiness, why does volunteer work tend to make people happy?

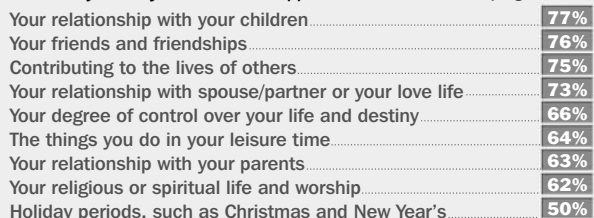
...And What Makes Us That Way?

Most people find happiness in family connections and friendships

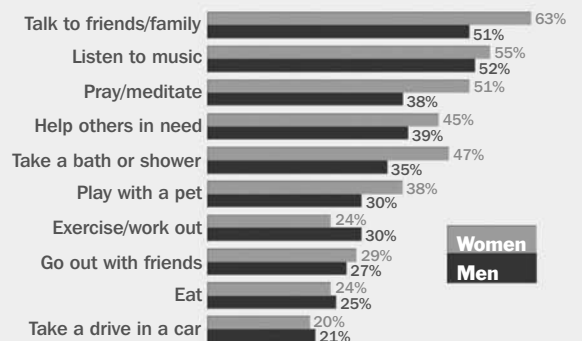
What one thing in your life has brought you the greatest happiness?



What are your major sources of happiness?



Do you often do any of the following to improve your mood?



How Kids Set the (Ring) Tone

In a wireless world, teenagers are driving the hottest new technologies since the dotcom era while giving the tech world a jolt of creative chaos

By JYOTI THOTTAM

WHEN HE NEEDS TO FIGURE OUT WHAT his company should be doing next, Daniel Kranzler often seeks expert advice—from his 18-year-old daughter. Kranzler's company, Mforma, makes games and ringtones for cell phones and, by staying plugged in to teens like Kat, has seen sales double every few months. He's not alone. An explosion is under way in the cell-phone industry, as innovative new companies are popping up, feeding not just teen tastes but also, in the process, defining a new future for wireless communications. Kranzler inked a deal for Mforma with Marvel for exclusive access to its comic-book characters and is working on a next wave of cell-phone services. "My daughter lets me know what she thinks of the products—with a baseball bat," he says. "Her favorite is, 'Oh, Dad, you so don't get it.'"

There are 180 million cell-phone subscribers in the U.S. today, and we are no longer simply talking or text messaging or gaming. We are living inside our phones, even decorating them like a home, with images we call wallpaper. Meanwhile, creative companies big and small are scurrying to persuade us to use our tiny screens in ways we haven't even imagined. Fox thinks we will want to watch *24: Conspiracy*, a version of its hit TV show developed just for the phone. The NBA hopes basketball fans will use their phones to get game stats, follow their fantasy leagues and watch replays. And one ambitious start-up is betting that people will pay to blog via cell phone.

These days, tiny companies with names like Zingy and Jamdat are market leaders, and product testing often means throwing something new out

to the public just to see if it flies. The world of these wireless data services is so unformed that no one knows yet what people will pay for in the long run. "The history of this space is everyone just feeling their way through," says John Burris, director of wireless data services for Sprint. But the excitement is real: companies and industry experts are convinced that cell-phone services hold great promise and are desperately trying to get into the game, hoping to catch the next wave in our growing Cell-Phone Nation.

\$2.6 BILLION Estimated amount spent by Americans last year on cell-phone games, entertainment and services to personalize handsets, such as ringtones and wallpaper.

For the moment, the market is being driven by teenagers, who have moved far beyond talking on their phones. "I text more than I talk," says Josh Blackburn, 19, of Naperville, Illinois, who tries to keep his \$70 monthly cell-phone bill under control by talking only after 7 p.m., when his minutes become free. But he will pay to send text messages to his friends, to IM them and to download wallpaper of Jessica Simpson. Royce Badger, 17, of Atlanta, loves his commute to school—that's when he plays racquetball on his cell phone. Erin Duffy, 17, a high school senior in Katy, Texas, lost the flashy phone that let her download ringtones and wallpaper, so, as punishment, her father saddled her with an older model that, to her mortification, allows her only to text and talk. She's saving up for a new one, with different ringtones for each of her friends: "I'll have Britney Spears for my girlfriends, and I'd have rap for my boyfriend."

Teenagers right now are "the sweet spot," says Burris of Sprint. An estimated 76% of kids ages 15 to 19 and 90% of people in their early 20s use their cell phones regularly for text messaging, ringtones and games, and that enthusiasm has turned wireless data services into a big business. Gartner Research estimates that Americans spent

\$1.2 billion last year on ringtones, wallpaper and other “personalization” services and an additional \$1.4 billion on cell-phone games and other entertainment. Fabrice Grinda, CEO of one of the leading ringtone companies, Zingy, says these services tap into young people’s impulse to assert their individuality, as they have always done with clothes and hairstyles. And as with clothing, there’s money to be made off these urges. While downloading an entire song from iTunes costs just 99¢, Grinda’s customers are willing to pay as much as \$3 for a 30-second ringtone.

To turn wireless data services into a major source of revenue, carriers will eventually have to move beyond what works with young people. They are relying on an army of small companies to create the cutting-edge content. Many of them start-ups, those companies develop the games and ringtones and take a cut—as much as 80%—of the fees charged by the carrier for each download. Analysts expect that revenue from ringtones

and gaming will eventually level off. “There are only so many ringtones and so many games they can offer,” says Phillip Redman, an analyst at Gartner. So those companies are madly trying to come up with the next big thing in cell phones.

To handle all this sophisticated video and music content, the big carriers are making massive investments in their networks. Sprint is pouring \$1 billion into an upgrade this year, and Verizon is rolling out its high-speed data services network. At least for now, they will be the gatekeepers. Meanwhile, at least one carrier is already bypassing the small companies for cell-phone services: Verizon is relying on household names like CNN and NBC (for news) and Comedy Central and VH1 (for entertainment) to attract users to its new VCast service.

What’s the bottom line? Wireless companies like Jamdat are getting panting attention from venture capitalists convinced that cell-phone services are their newest gold mine. Wall Street has started to grill every consumer company about its wireless strategy. But this hypefest isn’t quite like the dotcom delusion. “This started with a business model,” notes Larry Shapiro, who runs Disney’s North American mobile business. “We’re being prudent.”

That’s good news for investors, but it may also mean that the cell-phone-services industry will turn corporate before you know it. As long as companies are trying to figure out what works by flying the next big idea past a bunch of teenagers, they may take chances on some zany concepts. But once the commercial winners are clear, more outlandish forms of content may fade away. Spam and advertising will inevitably creep in, too. That makes now an ideal time for all of us to enjoy the wacky creation of a new industry. Teenagers may be driving their parents crazy with their cell-phone habits, but they are doing something positive, too: jolting the tech world with a hit of much-needed creative chaos. ■

Questions

1. What are some of the innovations start-up companies are hoping to apply to cell-phone technology?
2. How much did Americans spend in 2004 on ringtones, wallpaper and other “personalizations”?

MOBILE MAGIC

High-speed networks are turning cell phones into multimedia machines. Here’s what they can do:



Ringtones An addictive way to personalize your phone, ringtones sound a snippet of music or a celebrity voice with every call. You can choose a different song for different callers.



Pictures What can you do with all those camera-phone snapshots? “Picturemail” lets you send them like e-mail—Grandma can see those first steps on her phone.



Wallpaper Another popular way to personalize the phone is with an image of a favorite actor, singer or work of art. You can even choose a picture to pop up for a specific caller.



Current Events In Review

Test your knowledge of stories covered in the *Current Events Update* by answering the following multiple-choice questions.

____ **1.** The recently elected President of the Palestinian Authority is:

- a. Yasser Arafat b. Ariel Sharon
c. Mahmoud Abbas d. Rafik Natsha

____ **2.** The newspaper that Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein worked for when they were reporting on the Watergate scandal was the:

- a. *New York Times* b. *National Enquirer*
c. *Washington Post* d. *Wall Street Journal*

____ **3.** The bill that Florida Governor Jeb Bush signed in 2003 allowing Terri Schiavo's feeding tube to be reinserted was:

- a. held up in the state legislature
b. ignored by Michael Schiavo
c. enforced by the U.S. Supreme Court
d. declared unconstitutional

____ **4.** The former Undersecretary of State who has been nominated to serve as the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations is:

- a. Condoleezza Rice b. John Bolton
c. Madeleine Albright d. Paul Wolfowitz

____ **5.** One baseball player who has admitted that he used steroids is:

- a. Jose Canseco b. Mark McGwire
c. Sammy Sosa d. Rafael Palmeiro

____ **6.** The number of seats that the Republican Party currently holds in the U.S. Senate is:

- a. 44 b. 54 c. 55 d. 45

____ **7.** Utah's children get average scores on national tests, but a gap separates the scores of:

- a. girls and boys b. whites and minorities
c. rich and poor kids d. urban and rural youth

____ **8.** The two Senators who tried to reach a compromise in the battle over the filibuster are:

- a. John Warner and Robert Byrd
b. Bill Frist and Harry Reid
c. Kay Hutchison and Hillary Clinton
d. Trent Lott and Edward Kennedy

____ **9.** Congress is considering legislation to allow stem-cell research on embryos created by:

- a. in vitro fertilization b. cloning
c. surgical procedures d. fusion

____ **10.** A study of twins found that genetic factors account for approximately what share of human happiness?

- a. 30 b. 40 c. 50 d. 0

Match each of the locations below with the description at right. Write the letter of the correct country in the space provided. (Note: Not all answers will be used.)

- A.** Britain
B. China
C. Egypt
D. France
E. Iraq
F. Indonesia
G. Israel
H. Japan
I. North Korea
J. Russia
K. Singapore
L. Saudi Arabia

____ **11.** Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice canceled a trip to this country after they jailed a leading political activist.

____ **12.** This country's province of Aceh was hard hit by the 2004 tsunami.

____ **13.** Island nation that, along with Britain, is doing stem-cell research.

____ **14.** Kim Jong Il revealed that this nation has nuclear weapons.

____ **15.** Country to which House Majority Whip Tom Delay took a controversial \$70,000 trip in May 2000.

____ **16.** Ehud Olmert is the Deputy Prime Minister of this nation; Ariel Sharon is Prime Minister.

____ **17.** Country where a mostly Shiite group of moderate Islamist parties won a majority of seats in the first democratic election in decades.

____ **18.** North Korea's closest ally today.

____ **19.** Country that researchers believe was struck by a tsunami in 1700.

____ **20.** The U.S., China, Japan, South Korea and this country have been holding joint talks with North Korea in an effort to keep the Korean peninsula nuclear-free.

Answers

Inside Watergate's Final Chapter (pages 2–3)

1. Now 91 and ailing, Felt came forward at the urging of his family. They convinced him that his actions were patriotic and that he deserved credit for them. He also hopes to sell the book and movie rights to his story.
2. Felt may have wanted to counter White House efforts to suppress the FBI's investigation of Watergate. He may also have resented the appointment of Nixon loyalist L. Patrick Gray to replace FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, who died six weeks before the Watergate break-in. And he might have wanted revenge because he resented being passed over to replace Hoover as director of the FBI.

The Revolt Against Bush's School Rules (pages 4–5)

1. They claim that No Child Left Behind is severely underfunded.
2. Three of the school's students with disabilities received low scores on standardized tests.

Is There Really a Crisis? (pages 6–7)

1. The first step, Bush told TIME, "is to make sure everybody understands we have a problem."
2. The money paid out in benefits will begin to exceed the amount collected in taxes.

Interpreting Graphs and Charts (page 8)

1. Survivors of deceased workers, disabled workers, spouses and children of retired and disabled workers
2. 37%, 17.7 million
3. True
4. Americans 65 and older.
5. False
6. It has been put in a trust fund.
7. The cost of the program will surpass the amount of income it takes in because the number of Americans 65 and older will grow and the number of workers contributing tax dollars to the program will shrink.
8. False
9. 23 years
10. 1994, 1996, 1997
11. Medicare
12. 20.6%
13. Answers will vary.

Why Bush's Research Ban Could Be Reversed (pages 9–10)

1. Researchers now say the number of existing stem-cell lines is closer to 22, and even those are contaminated with mouse DNA, making them ill-suited for use on humans.

2. They can develop into any type of tissue, leading scientists to believe that they hold the potential for treatment of a wide range of diseases, as well as for repairing damaged nerves and organs.

Lessons of the Schiavo Battle (pages 11–12)

1. Members of Congress convened a special session during the Easter recess to pass a bill crafted just for one family, giving Schiavo's parents a final avenue of appeal.
2. That the pro-life agenda is more realistic than ever and has renewed political credibility.
3. 59%

The Freshmen vs. the Varsity (page 13)

1. Frist sought to put a halt to Democrats' ability to filibuster President Bush's judicial nominees.
2. The two sides admit that the real issue is how the Senate will approach upcoming vacancies on the Supreme Court.

When Tom Met Jack (page 14)

1. The trip was paid for by the National Center for Public Policy Research, a conservative nonprofit foundation on whose board Jack Abramoff sat. On the day DeLay began the trip, two of Abramoff's clients each wrote a check for \$25,000 to the Center. Some observers believe these clients expected their contributions to have an influence on DeLay.
2. Congress was considering legislation (which died a month after the trip) that might have shut down Internet gambling and jeopardized the livelihoods of some of Jack Abramoff's biggest clients.

Condi on the Rise (page 15)

1. To some, Condi's rise brings with it a return to a more pragmatic U.S. diplomacy for an Administration exhausted by war, occupation and ideological infighting.
2. She is pushing for reform in the Middle East to be the Administration's top priority.

Finally, an Iraqi Government (page 16)

1. The National Assembly will appoint a government, govern the country over the next year, and oversee the drafting of a new Iraqi constitution.
2. The United Iraqi Alliance (UIA), a mostly Shiite group, did not win enough seats to form a government. If the UAL allies with the Kurds, however, then the coalition of the two groups would account for 75 percent of Assembly seats.

No Early Return for U.S. Troops Fighting in Iraq (page 17)

1. Five or six years
2. Giving the Sunnis a greater political stake in the new Iraqi government.

Democracy in Iraq: A Gallery of Views (page 18)

1. The top cartoon represents democracy as a fragile young tree being watered by people who have voted; storm clouds overhead represent the uncertain nature of the outcome in Iraq. In the middle cartoon, democracy is depicted as a toddler just learning to walk; the cartoonist made this choice because Iraq's democracy is in its infancy. The bottom cartoon depicts democracy as a wish granted by a genie who represents the U.S.; this assumes that democracy was a wish of the Iraqi people. The first two cartoons both represent democracy as a tenuous proposition in Iraq, while the third cartoon suggests that Iraqis' "wish" for democracy has already been granted.
2. The top cartoon uses a leaf to symbolize democracy in Iraq. The leaf is being watered by the Iraqi people; this is a reference to the large voter turnout in Iraq's first election despite the threat of violence. In the middle cartoon, Iraq is portrayed as a dangerous minefield; this is a reference to the ongoing violence that could jeopardize democracy in Iraq. The bottom cartoon shows Iraq as a fearful Arab man intimidated by the genie (the U.S. and President Bush) who is in the position of power.
3. The U.S. is represented as Uncle Sam in the middle cartoon and as President Bush dressed up like a genie in the bottom cartoon; the U.S. is not represented in the top image. It would seem that the creator of the middle cartoon sees the U.S. actions as irresponsible: What parent would send a baby into a minefield?
4. The top cartoon is the most hopeful; democracy is taking root as Iraqis—a woman as well as a man—are seen taking concrete actions to help the tree of democracy grow.
5. The bottom cartoon suggests that Iraqis are intimidated by and fearful of the U.S. The Iraqi figure is cowering in the presence of the all-powerful genie representing the U.S.
6. Answers will vary but should be supported by evidence.

What Does Kim Jong Il Really Want? (page 19)

1. They presented evidence that North Korea may have supplied a uranium compound to Libya for its weapons labs.
2. The best option appears to be diplomacy, specifically multilateral talks.

Moving to Center Stage (page 20)

1. He issued a declaration in favor of a two-state solution.
2. Abbas condemned the *intifadeh* and pushed for reform of the Palestinian Authority.

The Gamble of a Lifetime (page 21)

1. He intends to pull all 8,500 Israeli settlers out of the 17 Gaza Strip settlements, as well as an additional 1,500 from four locations in the northern West Bank.
2. Sharon's most vocal critics are Jewish extremists who have made him the target of assassination threats.

Pope John Paul II: A Pilgrim's Journey (pages 22–23)

1. He was the first Pope ever to visit a mosque, launch a website, and commemorate the Holocaust at Auschwitz. He was also the first modern Pope to visit Egypt, Spain, Canada, Cuba, Ireland and Brazil.
2. Roughly 1 billion.

Healing Hands (page 24)

1. Disaster survivors commonly experience nightmares, insomnia, heart palpitations, stomachaches, fatigue, confusion, guilt and despair.
2. Schools provide a good way to monitor the progress of children after a disaster.

Hall of Shame (page 25)

1. Olympians are subject to testing at any time and barred for two years for a first offense, for life after a second.
2. McGwire was criticized for his evasive answers about his possible use of steroids.

An American Tsunami? (pages 26–27)

1. A 700-mile-long fault off the coast of Washington, Oregon and California.
2. An earthquake of magnitude 9.0 radiates as much energy in a few minutes as the entire U.S. uses in a month.

Inside the New Science of Human Happiness (pages 28–29)

1. Seligman set out to figure out what conditions make human beings flourish, rather than simply prevent people from being depressed or anxious.
2. Experts say volunteering creates a connection to other people, shifts one's focus away from oneself, and helps put meaning into one's life.

How Kids Set the (Ring) Tone (pages 30–31)

1. Companies are hoping that consumers will want to watch special versions of TV shows, watch sports replays and get stats and even pay to blog via cell phone.
2. \$1.2 billion

Current Events in Review (page 32)

1. c 2. c 3. d 4. b 5. a 6. c 7. b 8. a 9. a 10. c 11. C 12. F 13. K 14. I 15. A 16. G 17. E 18. B 19. H 20. J

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ISBN 0-07-874758-9

