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TIME

Current Events Update



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Reaching for the Center

By **JOE KLEIN**

THIS WAS A BIG DEAL. CERTAINLY, IT WAS THE end of George W. Bush's radical experiment in partisan governance. It might have been even bigger than that: the end of the conservative pendulum swing that began with Ronald Reagan's revolution. Not only did the Democrats lay a robust whupping on the Republicans in the midterm elections, but—far worse—the President was forced to acknowledge that the defining policy of his Administration, the war in Iraq, was failing.

One day after the midterms, George W. Bush replaced Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, the blustery symbol of American arrogance overseas. And after six years of near total control at home, Bush had to adjust to a situation in which his vision had been rejected by the voters and his power seriously limited. Rumsfeld was replaced by Robert Gates, who had been a junior associate on the foreign policy team of President George H.W. Bush and was well schooled in the cautious "realism" that marked the reign of the elder Bush.

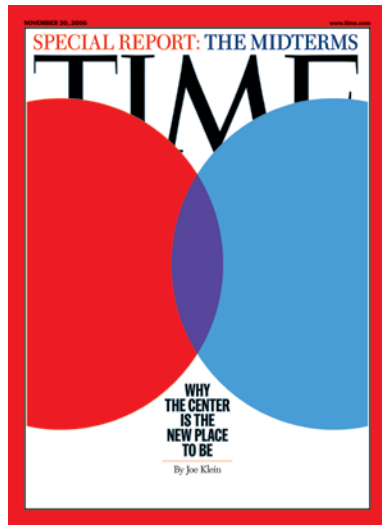
Bush's decision to delay the firing of Rumsfeld until after the election will undoubtedly stand as one of the greatest mistakes of his presidency. It was a purely political decision, straight from the playbook of presidential adviser Karl Rove: show no sign of weakness or indecision in the midst of a campaign—or, as Bill Clinton neatly summarized it, Strong and wrong beats weak and right. Not this time. "Strong and wrong" may have cost Bush the election. It may also have cost him whatever chance he had for a dignified exit from Iraq. His refusal to change his team and his strategy prevented an effective

response to the disintegration of Iraq over the past few months. The exit polls indicate that the war was not the main issue in the 2006 election: the general odor of corruption and incompetence emanating from Washington seemed to be the real motivator. But the Administration's stubbornness on Iraq, neatly symbolized by Rumsfeld's detachment from reality, certainly didn't help the G.O.P. cause.

If there was a common strand in the many Democratic victories and Republican defeats of November 7, it was the coming to power of realists. The Democrats chose their candidates on pragmatism, not principle. The incoming Senate majority leader, Harry Reid of Nevada, and Senator Charles Schumer of New York made a stark decision to force the attractive if inexperienced Iraq war veteran

Paul Hackett out of the Senate race in Ohio and to support Congressman Sherrod Brown, a feisty old-school liberal whose economic views matched well with Ohio's economic desperation. In Pennsylvania, Reid and Schumer went with a pro-life candidate, Bob Casey Jr., despite shrieks from the party's pro-choice base. The common denominator wasn't liberalism or moderation but the ability to win. The question now is whether "winning" means blocking the President or demonstrating the ability to govern. It probably means a little of both, but the Democrats will be better served by proving they have the maturity to do the latter.

Why? Because the American public proved that it had the maturity to ignore, and in many cases rebel against, the sludge tide of negative ads that were splashed onto the public airwaves, primarily by Republicans. Americans tossed aside candidates who had associated themselves with the corrupt lobbyist Jack Abramoff, those whose position on immigration slouched toward



anti-Hispanic racism, especially in the Rocky Mountain gubernatorial contests and several congressional districts in the Southwest. They chose candidates who, in the words of Colorado Congressman John Salazar, “have manure on the outside of their boots rather than on the inside.” Nowhere was this more literally true than in Virginia, where footwear actually played a role in the campaign. The Democratic challenger, Jim Webb, wore his son’s combat boots and the Republican incumbent, George Allen, wore cowboy boots that were unstained (on the outside, at least). Webb’s successful antiwar campaign was about the fate of his son, a Marine lance corporal serving in Iraq’s Anbar province; Allen’s campaign was a dreadful series of gaffes followed by a despicable effort to smear the Democrat by quoting graphic passages from Webb’s critically acclaimed war novels.

But this election was not only about a disastrous war and the stench of corruption. It was also about a style of politics—the slashing negative politics practiced by a generation of media consultants in both parties. Voters sent a clear message to politicians: stop slinging the manure, and start getting serious about the nation’s problems.

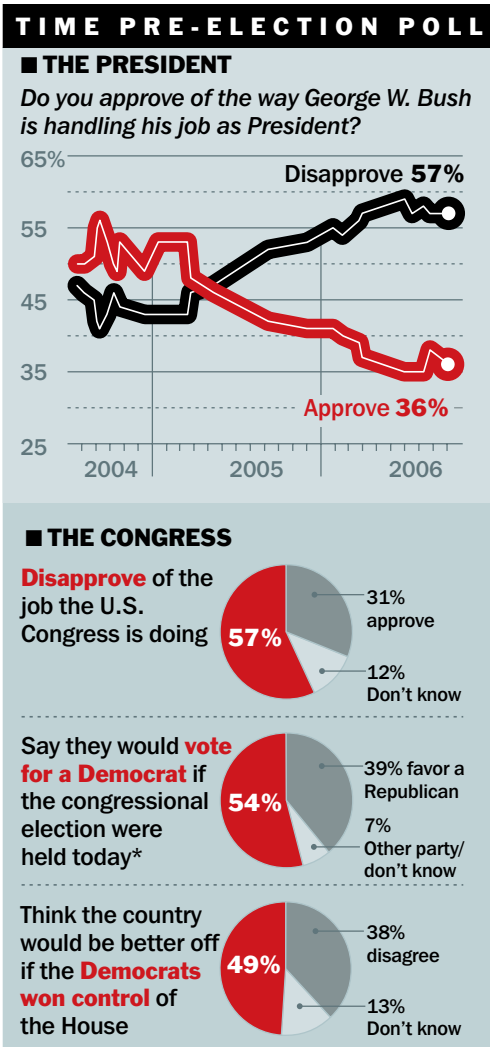
Which may be the most compelling case for a bit of optimism in a difficult time. In a meeting with political columnists, Reid said, “It’s not a time to get even with the Republicans; it’s a time to treat them the way they didn’t treat us.” And then he announced that he and Nancy Pelosi, the new Speaker of the House, had decided to open the House-Senate conference committees to the press. It’s a small point, but it has great symbolic relevance.

The conferences are where the most important legislative action takes place, where compromises are worked out between House and Senate versions of legislation and where, in the recent past, all sorts of special deals for lobbyists and pork for legislators have been inserted without public scrutiny. In the old days, the conferences were public. They’ve been closed for at least the past 10 years, and during that time, pork-barrel earmarks have increased tenfold. It’s not impossible

that this little adjustment will restore bipartisan compromise to its honored place as the essential act in a working democracy, and restore pork to its sordid, if greasily necessary, corner of the legislative dance. “We may actually have to work on Saturdays,” Reid said, in a reference to the bankers’ hours kept by the Republican Congress. “And I want to be clear, bipartisanship doesn’t mean hugs and kisses. It’s not going to be touch football; it’s going to be a free-for-all. We’re going to come out of that chamber covered in mud and with plenty of bruises, but that’s the only way to get anything accomplished.”

After a dark congressional session dominated by the refusal to seriously address health care, energy independence, immigration or the war in Iraq, Reid’s mod-

est promise that his Senators will have some mud on the outside of their boots is realistic—and also downright exhilarating. ■



Questions

1. According to Klein, what will stand as one of the greatest mistakes of George W. Bush’s presidency?
2. What was the biggest issue on voters’ minds when they went to the polls on November 7, 2006?

“Anybody knows not to mess with me”

Democrat Nancy Pelosi brings a fiery style to her new job as new Speaker of the House

By PERRY BACON JR.

NANCY PELOSI MADE HISTORY ON JANUARY 4, 2007, when members of the House of Representatives selected her to become the first female Speaker of the House. “This is an historic moment for Congress, and for the women of this country,” she proclaimed. “It is a moment for which we have waited more than 200 years.”

The 66-year-old lawmaker from San Francisco is a hyper-partisan politician who is the Democrats’ version of Tom DeLay, minus the ethical and legal problems of the former Republican House leader. To condition Democrats for the 2006 midterm elections, Pelosi employed tactics straight out of DeLay’s playbook: insisting House Democrats vote the party line on everything, avoiding compromise with Republicans at all cost, and requiring members to spend much of their time raising money for colleagues in close races. And she has been effective.

Pelosi grew up in a prominent political family in Baltimore, Maryland. Her father was the mayor for almost her entire childhood. After college, Pelosi and her husband Paul moved to New York City and then to San Francisco, where she became a leading Democratic fund raiser, then chairwoman of the party in California. But she waited until the youngest of her five children was a high school senior before she ran for Congress in 1987.

Once in Congress, she was embraced especially by liberal Democrats. She opposed the Gulf War

and in a 1996 interview with the *San Francisco Chronicle* said, “I pride myself in being called a liberal.” In 2001, Pelosi won an intense battle with Maryland’s Steny Hoyer, who is more centrist, to become the No. 2 Democrat in the House. A year later she defeated another moderate, Martin Frost of Texas, to become the party’s leader in the chamber. While she declines to discuss those conflicts, Pelosi told TIME, “Anybody who’s ever dealt with me knows not to mess with me.”

Like DeLay, Pelosi has embraced hard-knuckle partisanship, even if it means standing still. When Bush announced his Social Security plan in 2005, Pelosi told House Democrats they could never beat him in a policy-against-policy debate because he had the megaphone of the presidency and was just coming off re-election. So the Democrats thunderously attacked Bush and argued there was no Social Security crisis and therefore no need for them to put out their own proposal. Some members were concerned that Pelosi would make the Democrats look like the Party of No. They asked when they were going to release a rival plan.

“Never. Is never good enough for you?” she defiantly replied.

Up until now, Pelosi’s most important role has been behind the scenes. Now that the Democrats have taken the House, that will change, since Speaker Pelosi is the face of the Democrats and second in the line of succession to the presidency, after Vice President Dick Cheney. It will also be a test of Pelosi’s skills: she has unified the Democrats in

Nancy Pelosi has unified the Democrats in opposition, but it will be much more difficult to keep Democratic members in line now that they have control.

opposition, but it will be much more difficult to keep Democratic members in line now that they have control. “They listen to no one,” says Pelosi. But so far, the Democrats have listened to their leader—and if she keeps guiding them smartly, Nancy Pelosi could make President Bush’s final two years even more vexing than the past two. ■

Questions

1. How did Pelosi condition House Democrats for the midterm elections of 2006?
2. How does Pelosi describe her political views?



The Midterm Elections: A Gallery of Views

In the midterm elections of 2006, the Democrats pulled off a stunning victory. They not only won back the House by a wide margin, but against all odds, they regained control of the Senate. The ramifications of the defeat of one-party rule and the rise of the new Speaker of the House, Nancy Pelosi, are discussed in **Reaching for the Center** on **pages 2 and 3** and **“Anybody knows not to mess with me”** on **page 4**. In response to the shift in the balance of power, commentators offered a variety of perspectives. Study the three cartoons at left. Then answer the questions below.



1. Describe the action taking place in each image. What figures are shown? What symbols do you see?
2. In the top cartoon, why do you think Bush is being knocked out of bed?
3. What is the second cartoonist's prediction regarding the way that President Bush and Congress will get along? How do you think the relationship between the President and Congress will play out?
4. What comment is the cartoonist who created the bottom image making about President Bush's power to veto bills? How does the cartoonist convey this point?
5. Of the three images, which do you think is most supportive of President Bush? Least supportive? Justify your answers. What progression do you see in the cartoons?

For Further Exploration

What changes are Democrats expected to push for now that they have won control of Congress? Conduct additional research and write a one-page essay in which you share your findings.

Gerald Ford: Steady Hand for a Nation in Crisis

By PAUL GRAY

HE WAS NOT ONLY AN ACCIDENTAL PRESIDENT but a famously and endearingly accident-prone one as well. Fate evidently had elaborate designs on Gerald Rudolph Ford and fulfilled them

on the world's stage in a dazzling combination of high pomp and low slapstick.

He was the nation's first appointed Vice President, chosen in October 1973 by President Richard Nixon under the terms of the recently ratified 25th Amendment to succeed the disgraced Spiro Agnew. Less than a year later, on August 9, 1974, Nixon resigned rather than face a Senate trial on three articles of impeachment passed by the House of Representatives, and Ford took the oath to be the 38th President of the U.S.

That was a preposterous development in the career of a politician who had never run for office beyond the confines of the Fifth Congressional District of Michigan. In his first televised statement after his swearing-in, Ford acknowledged his unusual status: "I am acutely aware that you have not elected me as your President by your ballots. So I ask you to confirm me as your President with your prayers."

His request found a receptive audience. For nearly two years, the accelerating Watergate scandals had polarized Washington, dominated news coverage and poisoned public discourse. Even to his loyal defenders, the increasingly

embattled Nixon did not radiate trustworthiness. On TV that August afternoon, Ford seemed the anti-Nixon: plainspoken, keeping steady eye contact with the camera. "My fellow Americans," he said in his reedy Midwestern tones, "our long national nightmare is over."

That verdict was premature, but people believed

it because they so desperately wanted to. Besides, Ford looked like an honest, decent man, and that, as people who knew him readily attested, is exactly what he was. Frank Capra might have made a movie of Ford's wholesome life to date, although perhaps without the improbable fade-out in the Oval Office.

He was born Leslie Lynch King Jr. in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1913. Two years later his parents divorced, and his mother moved with him back to her hometown, Grand Rapids, Michigan, where she met and married a businessman named

Gerald R. Ford. She changed her son's name to that of his stepfather, and he did not learn his true identity until he was, as he later recalled, 12 or 13. In 1931 he enrolled at the University of Michigan on a full athletic scholarship. He majored in economics, played center on the Big Ten varsity squad and during his senior year was chosen to participate in the Shrine College All-Star game. After graduation he went off to Yale to coach football and boxing. After taking several courses on a trial basis, he was admitted to Yale Law School, from which he graduated in the top quarter of his class in 1941. He returned to Grand Rapids to found a law practice with his friend Philip Buchen, but



shortly after Pearl Harbor he enlisted in the Navy and served for four years.

He returned to Grand Rapids to restart his law firm and pursue his interest in politics. His stepfather was active in local Republican affairs, and in 1948 Ford plunged in. He challenged the local G.O.P. Representative and won. Three weeks before the election, Ford, in a quiet ceremony, married Betty Warren, an attractive divorcée.

Ford spent the next 25 years in the House, maintaining his seat through careful attention to his constituents back home and rising in rank through seniority and his amiable relations with colleagues in both parties. After the Democrats' landslide victory in 1964, Ford was elected House minority leader. After Nixon's election in 1968, Ford had a President he could work with but not a G.O.P. majority in the House. When Nixon's 1972 trouncing of George McGovern still failed to overturn the Democrats' congressional advantage, Ford began to consider retiring, feeling he would never become Speaker of the House. When Nixon's surprise offer of the vice presidency arrived, Ford told a colleague, "It would be a good way to round out my career."

Less than a month after taking office, Ford took a step that many believe doomed his presidency. His full pardon of Nixon for any crimes he may have committed while in office provoked a firestorm of criticism and outrage and led to widespread suspicion that Ford had made a secret agreement with his predecessor: Nixon would resign if promised a pardon. Congressional hearings were called, and Ford willingly appeared in person to answer questions. He denied making any deal with Nixon. The matter has been investigated many times since, and no evidence has ever been found to challenge the truthfulness of what Ford gave as his reason for the pardon. He believed that a protracted trial of Nixon would provide a rancorous distraction from the nation's pressing business and that his pardon was made for "the greatest good of all the people of the United States." His approval rating,

according to the Gallup Poll, plummeted from 71% to 49%.

For an accomplished ex-athlete, Ford sometimes displayed surprising physical awkwardness. He tripped, in full view of cameras, while descending the stairs from an airplane. Unfortunately for Ford, NBC had launched an experimental live-action comedy show called *Saturday Night Live*, designed to attract an audience of irreverent younger viewers. Chevy Chase, one of the original cast members, began playing Ford in skits and taking elaborate, deadpan tumbles, leaving the props and set in shambles. Viewers howled. Ford took those gibes in good humor, another sign of his essential decency; he was not a collector of grievances like his predecessor. But the public perception of his occasional ineptitudes did not help him govern, nor did the heavy Democratic majorities in Congress after the 1974, post-Watergate elections.

Ford had announced he would not run for President in 1976, but his sense of work left undone made him change his mind. His Democratic opponent, former Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter, ran energetically against Washington and the eight previous years of Republican rule. The election was surprisingly close.

Carter won, with 297 electoral votes to Ford's 241. Ford campaigned ferociously in the final days; he was teary when the results were announced.

On January 2, 2007, as an honor guard prepared to carry Ford's coffin into Washington National Cathedral, you could hear the august music of *Hail to the Chief*. Inside the church, George W. Bush and three of his predecessors were gathered. But for the moment, there was only one chief who mattered, the man who once helped the nation weather a shock to its system. In his eulogy, George H.W. Bush said it best: "Gerald Ford's decency was the ideal remedy for the deception of Watergate." ■

In his first televised statement after his swearing-in, Ford acknowledged his status: "I am acutely aware that you have not elected me as your President by your ballots."

Questions

1. How did Gerald Ford become President?
2. According to many observers, what decision did Ford make that doomed his presidency?

What a Surge Really Means

Can a couple more divisions in Iraq make a difference in countering the insurgency? Or is President Bush's idea too little, too late?

By MICHAEL DUFFY

FOR YEARS NOW, GEORGE W. BUSH HAS TOLD Americans that he would increase the number of troops in Iraq only if the commanders on the ground asked him to do so. It was not a throwaway line: Bush said it from the very first days of the war, when he and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld were criticized for going to war with too few troops. He said it right up until last summer, stressing at a news conference that Iraq commander General George Casey "will make the decisions as to how many troops we have there."

Now, as the war nears the end of its fourth year and the number of Americans killed has surpassed 3,000, Bush has dropped the generals-know-best line. The President has proposed a surge in the number of U.S. forces in Iraq. A senior official said reinforcements numbering "about 20,000 troops," and maybe more, could be in place within months. The surge would be achieved by extending the stay of some forces already in Iraq and accelerating the deployment of others.

The irony is that while the generals would have liked more troops in the past, they are cool to the idea of sending more now. That's in part because the politicians and commanders have had trouble agreeing on what the goal of a surge would be. But it is also because they are worried that a surge would further erode the readiness of the U.S.'s already stressed ground forces. And even those who back a surge are under no illusions about what it would mean to the casualty

rate. "If you put more American troops on the front line," said a White House official, "you're going to have more casualties."

All kinds of military experts, both active duty and retired, have been calling for more troops since before the war began. But seen in another light, the surge is the latest salvo in the 30-year tug of war between the two big foreign-policy



factions in the Republican Party: the internationalists and the neoconservatives (also known as "neocons"). The surge concept belongs to the neocons and in particular to Frederick Kagan, who taught military history at West Point for a decade and today works out of the American Enterprise Institute as a military analyst. The neocons don't have the same juice they had at the start of the war, in part because so many of them have fled the government in shame. But they are a long way from dead.

It was no accident that the surge idea began gathering steam among the war's most ardent supporters at exactly the same moment the Baker-Hamilton Iraq Study Group proposed, in early December, that the White House start executing a slow but steady withdrawal from Iraq. To the neocons, former Secretary of State James Baker is the archenemy, the prime example of those internationalists who have always been too willing to cut deals with shady players overseas.

Bush greeted the Baker-Hamilton proposals with the gratitude of someone who had just received a box of rotting cod. By Christmas, it was clear that he had not only rejected a staged withdrawal in the mold of Baker-Hamilton but was ready to up his bet and throw even more troops at the problem.

Bush sent his new Pentagon boss, Robert Gates, to Baghdad to see whether the Iraqi commanders needed more troops. Bush then turned to his National Security Adviser, Stephen Hadley, to hack this new way out of the Iraqi jungle.

So far, the Hadley-run hunt for a new military and diplomatic approach has earned mediocre marks from inside and outside the White House. Wider-ranging alternatives were not explored in any depth, said several foreign-policy experts who met with Hadley in December, and talks with Iran and Syria were ruled out of the question. A dismayed Administration official who has generally been an optimist about Iraq described the process as chaotic. “None of this,” he predicted of the surge and its coming rollout, “is going to work.”

According to Kagan, the newly enlarged forces would reorder U.S. priorities in Iraq and make protecting the Iraqi people Job One. How? With what retired Lieutenant General David Barno, who helped Kagan and former Army Vice Chief of Staff Jack Keane write the plan, calls “classic counterinsurgency tactics. These include soldiers going house to house in every block, finding out who lives there, what they do, how many weapons they have, whom they are connected to and how they can help or hurt.” Only by winning the trust of the people, the thinking goes, can the U.S. overcome the insurgents. There is a big debate about

how many troops would be needed to execute that mission successfully. Some experts think 100,000 might be the right number; Keane and Kagan say it can be done with 35,000, which is about the limit that would be available. It does not appear that the White House will be sending that many.

Asked what happens if the surge fails, Kagan told *TIME*, “If the situation collapses for some other reason—loss of will in the U.S., say, or an unexpected Iraqi political meltdown, then the reduced violence will permit a more orderly withdrawal, if that becomes necessary, mitigating the effect of defeat on the U.S. military and potentially on the region.” A retired colonel who served in Baghdad put it more bluntly: “We don’t know whether this is a plan for victory or just to signal to Americans that we did our damndest before pulling out.”

There is one other scenario to consider: it may be that Bush won’t pull out of Iraq as long as he is President. Whether it works or not, a surge of 18 to 24 months would carry Bush to the virtual end of his term. After that, Iraq becomes someone else’s problem. Bush’s real exit strategy in Iraq may just be to exit the presidency first.

The White House imagines it is girding for battle against the Democrats and the naysayers who opposed the war in the first place. In fact, its fastest-growing problem is with Republicans who carried Bush’s water on “stay the course” last fall. That gambit cost the party 36 seats in

the House and Senate in November. One can only imagine what that number would have been—45? 55?—had Bush campaigned last fall for sending 20,000 more troops to Iraq instead. ■

Questions

1. What political faction is behind President Bush’s plan for a surge of troops in Iraq? What competing faction is not?
2. What would be the top priority for American troops after the surge?



Like Father, Like Son

Vietnam hero and Senator John McCain has unyieldingly backed the Iraq war. Now McCain's son Jimmy is heading to boot camp—and maybe to battle

By MASSIMO CALABRESI

IN SEPTEMBER, SENATOR JOHN MCCAIN'S youngest son, Jimmy, 18, will report to a U.S. Marine Corps depot near Camp Pendleton in San Diego. He could be in Iraq as early as this time next year, and his chances of seeing combat at some point are high. Of the 178,000 active-duty Marines in the world, some 80,000 have seen a tour in Iraq or Afghanistan, and 25,000 are now bearing the brunt of some of the worst fighting in Iraq. About 6,000 Marines have been wounded there, and about 650 have been killed.

At 70 years old, McCain might have thought his days of living in the shadow of family military men were behind him. His grandfather, Admiral John S. McCain Sr., served in the Pacific in World War II and was present at the Japanese surrender aboard the U.S.S. *Missouri*. His father, Admiral John S. McCain Jr., commanded U.S. forces in the Pacific during Vietnam, when the young McCain was a prisoner of war in Hanoi.

McCain says he doesn't read much into Jimmy's decision. "I know that he's aware of his family's service background," he says. "But I think the main motivator was, he had friends who were in the Marine Corps, and he'd known Marines, and he'd read about them, and he just wanted to join up."

Named after McCain's father-in-law, James Hensley, Jimmy is the lively, happy-go-lucky member of the clan, friends say. During the

2000 campaign, a *Boston Globe* reporter spotted Jimmy, then 11, chasing his older brother Jack around the house, calling him a "pork-barrel spender"—a deep cut in the McCain home.

McCain is rock-star famous, and his wife Cindy came to the marriage with money as the daughter of a Budweiser distributor. While others have signed up for duty—the sons of Senator Kit Bond of Missouri and Tim Johnson of South Dakota have served combat missions in Iraq—it is nonetheless unusual for children with their background to enlist. By comparison, at least 32 congressional family members were found to be lobbyists, in a recent study by Public Citizen's Congress Watch.

Jimmy McCain's deployment will affect more than his family. His father is a main contender for the White House in 2008 and the leading voice calling for increasing the number of U.S. troops in Iraq.

The country may find itself viewing Iraq through Senator McCain's eyes as it follows his son's progress.

McCain says his son's service won't change his position on the war, and claims it won't even affect how he feels about it. "Like every parent who has a son or daughter serving that way, you will have great concern, but you'll also have great pride," McCain says. But it will be hard to ignore. McCain already has strong national-security credentials. His son's service

only strengthens his position. It will neutralize the assertions of the left that Republicans are "chicken hawks," pursuing the war for ideological reasons without any connection to the pain of it.

More than anything else, though, the country may find itself viewing Iraq through McCain's eyes as it follows his son's progress. And nothing is more powerful for a candidate than sympathy. Nothing, too, is more irritating to McCain, who sounds annoyed by the interest in his son's enlistment. Whatever Jimmy's enrollment says about him, his father or the country, candidate McCain is letting it speak for itself, for the most part. ■

Questions

1. According to Senator McCain, why did his son Jimmy enlist in the Marine Corps?
2. What does the writer mean when he says McCain's enlistment "will affect more than his family"?

The Year Of You

In 2006, the World Wide Web became a tool for bringing together the small contributions of millions of people and making them matter in new ways

By **LEV GROSSMAN**

THE “GREAT MAN” THEORY OF HISTORY IS usually attributed to the Scottish philosopher Thomas Carlyle, who wrote that “the history of the world is but the biography of great men.” He believed that it is the few, the powerful and the famous who shape our collective destiny as a species. That theory took a serious beating this year.

To be sure, there are individuals we could blame for the many painful and disturbing things that happened in 2006. The conflict in Iraq only got bloodier and more entrenched. A vicious skirmish erupted between Israel and Lebanon. A war dragged on in Sudan. A tin-pot dictator in North Korea got the Bomb, and the President of Iran wants to go nuclear too.

But look at 2006 through a different lens and you’ll see another story, one that isn’t about conflict or great men. It’s a story about community and collaboration on a scale never seen before. It’s about the cosmic compendium of knowledge Wikipedia and the million-channel people’s network YouTube and the online metropolis MySpace. It’s about the many wresting power from the few and helping one another for nothing and how that will not only change the world, but also change the way the world changes.

America loves its solitary geniuses—its Einsteins, its Edisons, its Jobses—but those lonely dreamers

may have to learn to play with others. Car companies are running open design contests. Reuters is carrying blog postings alongside its regular news feed. We’re looking at an explosion of productivity and innovation, and it’s just getting started, as millions of minds that would otherwise have drowned in obscurity get backhauled into the global intellectual economy.

Who are these people? Seriously, who actually sits down after a long day at work and says, “I’m not going to watch *Lost* tonight. I’m going to turn on my computer and make a movie starring my pet iguana. I’m going to mash up 50 Cent’s vocals with Queen’s instrumentals. I’m going to blog about my state of mind or the state of the nation or the *steak-frites* at the new bistro down the street.” Who has that time and that energy and that passion?

The answer is, you do. And for seizing the reins of the global media, for founding and framing the new digital democracy, for working for nothing and beating the pros at their own game, TIME’s Person of the Year for 2006 is you.

Sure, it’s a mistake to romanticize all this any more than is strictly necessary. The Web harnesses the stupidity of crowds as well as its wisdom. Some of the comments on YouTube make you weep for the future of humanity just for the spelling alone, never mind the obscenity

and the naked hatred.

But that’s what makes all this interesting. The Web is a massive social experiment, and like any experiment worth trying, it could fail. But, this is an opportunity to build a new kind of international understanding, not politician to politician, great man to great man, but citizen to citizen, person to person.

Questions

1. What are the reasons for TIME’s selection of its 2006 Person of the Year?
2. What are some ways in which the Web is creating new forms of community and collaboration?



The Gurus of YouTube

How a couple of regular guys built a revolutionary new company that changed the way we see ourselves and our world

By JOHN CLOUD

LET'S SAY YOU'RE IN YOUR 20S AND YOU START your first Internet company. Let's say 21 months later you sell it for \$1.65 billion. What happens next? That's just the question Steve Chen, 28, and Chad Hurley, 29, two of the three founders of YouTube (the other, Jawed Karim, went to grad school last year) are asking themselves.

YouTube became a phenomenon in 2006 for many reasons, but one in particular: it was both easy and edgy, a rare combination. You can watch videos on the site without downloading any software or even registering. YouTube is to video browsing what a Wal-Mart Supercenter is to shopping: everything is there, and all you have to do is walk in the door. But because the site doesn't prescreen uploads—which is a lot cheaper for Chad and Steve than hiring a bunch of editors to police millions of users—it ends up hosting a lot of out-there stuff as well: obscure bands, tear-jerking video diaries, and so on. The unmediated free-for-all encouraged the valuable notion that the site was grass-roots and community-run. These are partial fictions, of course. YouTube controls the “Featured Videos” on its home page, which can dramatically popularize a posting that otherwise might fade. Also, the video in the top-right section of the home page is an advertisement, even though it doesn't always look like one. There is an endless supply of kinda weird, kinda cool, kinda inspiring stuff there, which means you can waste hours on Chad and Steve's site.

That, in turn, means advertisers want to be on YouTube, which is why Google paid so much to buy it. If even, say, 10% of the \$54 billion spent

on TV advertising annually migrates to video sites like YouTube in the next few years, we will pity Chad and Steve for selling for a mere \$1.65 billion. But for now, with YouTube still unproven—it has never made much money, and it could be crushed by lawsuits from content creators whose material shows up on the site without permission—the blockbuster acquisition price carries a whiff of the late-'90s Silicon Valley gold rush. It now falls to Chad, the CEO, and Steve, who runs the tech side, to prove that what they created

YouTube became a phenomenon in 2006 for many reasons, but one in particular: it was both easy and edgy, a rare combination.

with Karim will not become the next *broadcast.com*, the video provider Yahoo! bought for \$5.7 billion in 1999—and which now doesn't exist.

Turning YouTube from a sensational rumpus to a profitable corporation will require Chad and Steve to thread the company through legal disputes, hire at least 100% more employees than they have now,

negotiate with the biggest ad and media companies in the world, maintain their unique identity without getting swallowed up by Google, please shareholders, manage p.r. and flawlessly execute a thousand other tasks that far more experienced executives have flubbed. Can a couple of kids who grew up nowhere near Silicon Valley handle all this?

Chad Hurley met Steve Chen and Jawed Karim, two engineers with whom he would occasionally bat around ideas for start-ups, while he was working at PayPal. Karim, 27, enrolled at Stanford last year to pursue a master's in computer science, and today there's some tension between him and the other founders, who have become famous while he toils in a small, modestly furnished dorm room. Although Karim is named on YouTube's site as a co-founder, Chad and Steve have promoted a highly simplified history of the

company's founding that largely excludes him. In the stripped-down version—repeated in dozens of news accounts—Chad and Steve got the idea in the winter of 2005, after they had trouble sharing videos online that had been shot at a dinner party at Steve's San Francisco apartment. Karim says the dinner party never happened and that the seed idea of video sharing was his—although he is quick to say its realization in YouTube required “the equal efforts of all three of us.”

No company, of course, is ever founded in a single moment, and YouTube evolved over several months. Chad and Steve agree that Karim deserves credit for the early idea that became, in Steve's words, “the original goal that we were working toward in the very beginning”: a video version of HOTORNOT.COM, a dating site. Karim says it was a pioneer: “I was incredibly impressed with HOTORNOT, because it was the first time that someone had designed a website where anyone could upload content that everyone else could view. That was a new concept because up until that point, it was always the people who owned the website who would provide the content.”

The idea of a video version of HOTORNOT lasted only a couple of months. “It was too narrow,” says Chad. He notes that another early idea was to help people share videos for online auctions. But as the site went live in the spring of 2005, the founders realized that people were posting whatever videos they wanted. “In the end, we just sat back,” says Chad—and the free-for-all began. Within months,

investors such as Time Warner and Sequoia Capital, a Menlo Park investment firm, began to approach YouTube about buying in.

Early on, Chad and Steve made a crucial good decision: despite pressure from advertisers, they would not force users to sit through ads before videos played. Pre-roll ads would have helped their bottom line in the struggling months, but the site would never have gained its mythological community-driven status. It would have seemed simply like another Big Media site. The question is, How do they preserve the site's underground image now that YouTube is merely a jewel in the Google empire? As it happens, Google executives are powerfully aware of this problem, and they are sending outward signals that YouTube will remain independent.

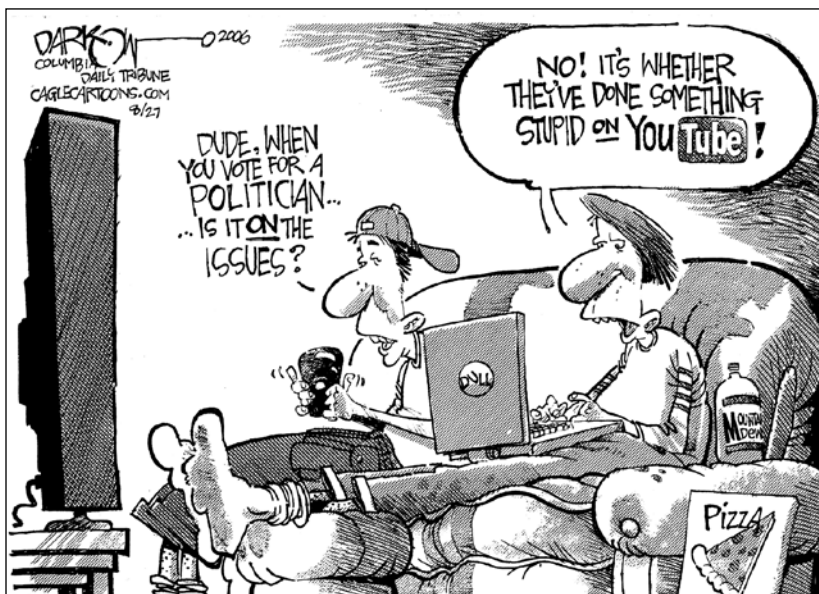
The biggest threat to YouTube remains potential copyright lawsuits from content providers who could claim that the site—like Napster before it—is enabling thieves. YouTube says federal law requires only that it remove videos when copyright holders complain—not to preemptively monitor the site for infringements, which would destroy its spontaneity.

It's hard to imagine Chad and Steve sitting through endless meetings on copyright law. They're too young and too creative. They usually demur on questions of what they will do next, blandly stating their hopes to “improve the product,” as Chad puts it. But, PayPal co-founder Max Levchin, their former boss at PayPal, says,

“The essential crisis is coming. They better get ready. And the essential crisis for an entrepreneur is, What is this all about? Did I just make the most money in my life ever? For what purpose? And...am I going to start setting up my family office and manage my investments, or am I going to jump off another roof and hope there's a parachute?” ■

Questions

1. What is the main reason YouTube has been such a phenomenon?
2. What is the biggest threat to YouTube's survival?



Why We Don't Prepare

By **AMANDA RIPLEY**/BOULDER

EVERY JULY THE COUNTRY'S LEADING DISASTER scientists and emergency planners gather in Boulder, Colorado, for an invitation-only workshop. Picture 440 people obsessed with the tragic and the safe, people who get excited about earthquake "shake maps" and righteous about flood insurance. It's a spirited but wonky crowd that is growing more melancholy every year.

After 9/11, the people at the Boulder conference decried the nation's myopic focus on terrorism. They lamented the decline of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). And they warned to the point of cliché that a major hurricane would destroy New Orleans. It was a convention of prophets without any disciples.

This year, perhaps to make the farce explicit, the event organizers, from the Natural Hazards Center at the University of Colorado, Boulder, introduced a parlor game. They placed a ballot box next to the water pitchers and asked everyone to vote: What will be the next mega-disaster? A tsunami, an earthquake, a pandemic flu? And where will it strike? It was an amusing diversion, although not a hard question for this lot.

The real challenge in the U.S. today is not predicting catastrophes. That we can do. The challenge that apparently lies beyond our grasp is to prepare for them. A review of the past year in disaster history suggests that Americans are particularly, mysteriously bad at protecting themselves from guaranteed threats. We know more than we ever did about the dangers we face. But it turns out that in times of crisis, our greatest enemy is rarely the storm, the quake or the surge itself. More often, it is ourselves.

Here is the reality of New Orleans' risk profile, present and future: Donald Powell, the banker appointed by President George W. Bush to run the reconstruction effort, said last December,

"The Federal Government is committed to building the best levee system known in the world." As of right now, the Corps plans to spend \$6 billion to make sure that by 2010, the city will (probably) be flooded only once every 100 years. That's not close to the best in the world. The Netherlands has a system designed to protect populated areas against anything but a 1-in-10,000-years flood. Alternatively, the Corps could build 1-in-500-year protection for the city, but that would cost about \$30 billion, says Ivor van Heerden, deputy director of Louisiana State University's Hurricane Center.

In the 12 months since Katrina, the rest of the U.S. has not proved to be a quicker study than the Gulf Coast. There is still no federal law requiring state and local officials to plan for the evacuation of the sick, elderly, disabled or poor. In June the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) released an unprecedented analysis of state and urban emergency plans around the country, including assessments of evacuation plans and command structures. The report concluded that most "cannot be characterized as fully adequate, feasible, or acceptable." Among the worst performers: Dallas, New Orleans and Oklahoma City. (The best by far was the state of Florida.)

But it's not just bureaucrats who are unprepared for calamity. Regular people are even less likely to plan ahead. In this month's TIME poll, about half of those surveyed said they had personally experienced a natural disaster or public emergency. But only 16% said they were "very well prepared" for the next one. Of the rest, about half explained their lack of preparedness by saying they don't live in a high-risk area. In fact, 91% of Americans live in places at a moderate-to-high risk of earthquakes, volcanoes, tornadoes, wildfires, hurricanes, flooding, high-wind damage or terrorism, according to an estimate calculated for TIME by the Hazards and Vulnerability Research Institute at the University of South Carolina.

Here's one thing we know: a serious hurricane is due to strike New York City, just as one did in 1821 and 1938. Experts predict that such a storm would swamp lower Manhattan, Brooklyn and Jersey City, N.J., force the evacuation of more than 3 million people and cost more than twice as much as Katrina. An insurance-industry risk assessment ranked New York City as No. 2 on a list of the worst places for a hurricane to strike; Miami came in first. But in a June survey measuring the readiness of 4,200 insured homeowners living in hurricane zones, New Yorkers came in second to last. They had taken only about a third of eight basic steps to protect themselves from a major storm (such as getting flood insurance or putting together a disaster evacuation plan or kit).

At the close of the Boulder workshop this year, Kathleen Tierney, head of the Natural Hazards Center, stood up to say, "We as human societies have yet to understand... that nature doesn't care. And for that reason, we must care." She was quoting herself intentionally. She had said the same thing the year before, seven weeks before Katrina. As she spoke, her voice rose: "Here we stand one year later. Where is the political will to protect lives and property?"

Then Tierney announced the hotly anticipated results of the Next Big One contest. There were some outliers. One person predicted that a gamma-ray flare would kill 90% of the earth's species. That is what is known in the disaster community as a hilarious joke. But the winner, with 32% of the votes, was once again a hurricane. After all, eight of the 10 costliest disasters in U.S. history have been hurricanes. This time, most of the hurricane voters predicted that

the storm would devastate the East Coast, including New York City. History has left us all the clues we need. Now we wait for the heartbreak. ■

Questions

1. What is the biggest challenge for the U.S. today regarding catastrophes?
2. What two cities do insurance companies rate as the worst places for a hurricane to strike?

Hurricanes

More than 130 million Americans—almost half the population—live in the path of future hurricanes

Number of hurricanes expected in a 100-year period

- 20 to 40
- 40 to 60
- More than 60

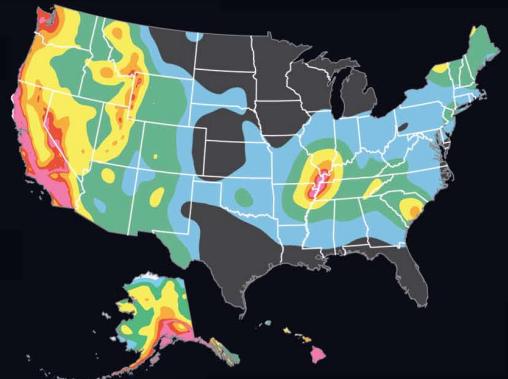


Earthquakes

The risk spreads far beyond the West Coast. More than 75 million people in 39 states live in potential quake zones

Probability of strong shaking in a 100-year period

- Very low
- Moderate
- High

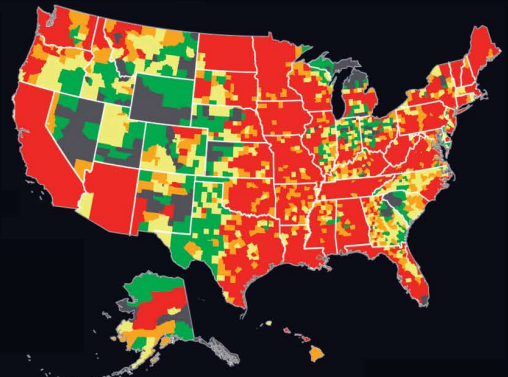


Floods

Americans like to live near water, but most bodies of water can—and repeatedly do—flood

Presidential flood-disaster declarations, 1965-2003

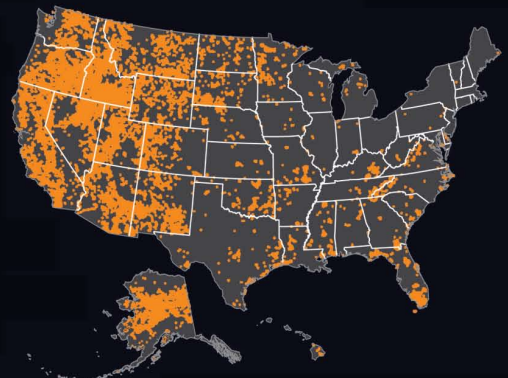
- One
- Two
- Three
- Four or more



Wildfires

As development spreads, we fight wildfires to protect property. But that leaves more fuel behind for more fires to damage more property

Wildfires of more than 250 acres, 1980-2003



Source: USGS

Saddam's Second Life

Feared and loathed as a leader, the tyrant may become a martyr in death

By APARISIM GHOSH

PERHAPS IT WAS INEVITABLE THAT SADDAM Hussein's end would be accompanied by low theatrics instead of high drama. After all, he had ruled for nearly three decades by a crude medieval code that vulgarized Iraqi public life. And yet the former dictator's final moments—the screams from spectators at the gallows, the taunts of “Muqtada, Muqtada” by guards evidently loyal to Shi'ite leader Muqtada al-Sadr—were undignified even by Saddam's standards. As if to block out the barbs, Saddam loudly intoned his final prayer, the traditional Islamic invocation to God and the Prophet Muhammad. But that too was cut short: without warning, the hangman opened the trapdoor beneath his feet, and the tyrant was silenced forever.

For many who survived Saddam's monstrous regime, his end was no more than he deserved. But the unseemly scenes from the gallows, captured by a clandestine camera phone and broadcast to an aghast world, were also a reminder of what has come since he was removed from power: vicious sectarian hatreds that intrude, as his brutality once did, upon every aspect of Iraqi life, including the final seconds of Saddam's. His death did nothing to dampen those hatreds. The celebrations over his execution lasted barely a day before the Shi'ite-Sunni war resumed in earnest, with scores of Iraqis killed in bomb blasts across the country. Among Sunnis, the images of Saddam's hanging sparked new anger at the Shi'ite-led government. In the face of growing outrage at home and abroad, the Iraqi government launched a probe into who shot the video of the execution and how it was leaked, allowing Saddam to dominate the headlines for days after his death.

Like so many tyrants, Saddam was obsessed with his place in history.

Saddam once told a biographer he didn't care what anybody said of him today; he was more interested in what people would think of him in 500 years. Like so many tyrants, he was obsessed with his place in history. When he looked in the mirror he saw a reflection of great men of the ages: Nebuchadnezzar, Hammurabi, Saladin. Even the villains to whom his enemies compared him were historic—Hulegu, Hitler, Stalin.

Saddam's rise was due in part to his effectiveness as an administrator. After becoming Vice President of Iraq in 1969, at 32, he nationalized the country's oil industry and used the revenues to launch a massive program to modernize the country's infrastructure: roads, bridges, factories, universities, hospitals. By the late 1970s, Iraq was the Middle East's most progressive state—rich,

modern and thoroughly secular. A Baghdad political scientist described Saddam as “the world's best Vice President—until he became the world's worst President.”

In 24 years as dictator, Saddam undid all the progress he had achieved, leading his country into three wars that devastated Iraq's economy and left more than 1 million dead. Hundreds of thousands more died at the hands of his henchmen and security forces. By the end of 2003, when he was caught near his native Tikrit, his military and political networks had been dismantled, his ubiquitous statues and portraits had disappeared. His ruthless sons Uday and Qusay had been killed. The republic of fear had been destroyed. And Saddam's prospects of becoming one of history's greats—hero or villain—had been dashed.

So what, in the end, did Saddam bequeath to his people? Some of Iraq's new demons were spawned by him. Remnants of his regime dominate the Sunni insurgency and many

jihadist groups. Some of the Shi'ite anger that fuels the current sectarian war can be traced to the mass murder of Shi'ites that the dictator ordered in the 1990s. Saddam's malevolence indirectly begat al-Sadr, who was destined to a quiet life in the seminary of Najaf until Saddam in 1999 ordered the murder of his father and two older brothers, thrusting Muqtada into the limelight. But Iraq's sectarian hatreds are rooted in religious, social and economic resentments stretching back over 1,000 years. Like rulers before him, Saddam exploited the Shi'ite-Sunni divide for his own purposes. The scenes from his execution suggest Iraq's new rulers are not all that different.

Saddam's more enduring legacies are also more mundane. By killing off anybody who might pose a threat to him, he prevented the natural emergence of new generations of leaders, so that the country is now run by political neophytes without experience or the skill to rule. The corruption that characterized every government department under his regime continues to this day. The reconstituted police force practices the same forms of torture instituted under Saddam. An Iraqi politician compared the dictator's legacy to what the Romans did after they conquered

Carthage: "He put salt in our fields, and it will be generations before we can grow anything good."

And yet prior to his hanging, Saddam had become something of an afterthought. The nightmare of his tyranny has been replaced by the new plagues of terrorism and sectarian carnage. Many Iraqis—not all of them Sunni—hark nostalgically back to the dictatorship, pointing out that for all the terrors Saddam visited upon his people, at least there were no suicide bombers and death squads roaming the streets. But once his trial began, even his most ardent followers conceded he would never return to power. The Sunni Baathist insurgents have long since stopped fighting for him. Many have recast themselves as the "nationalist resistance." Many others have abandoned Baathism for the more poisonous jihadist ideology of al-Qaeda.

The question is whether the sectarian tumult surrounding his execution will lend Saddam a new stature, allowing his loyalists to portray him not as a convicted killer but as a victim, mercilessly lynched by a vengeful, U.S.-backed Shi'ite government. Indeed, some have been planning to do so all along. One afternoon last October, I watched the televised Saddam trial in the company of Abu Hamza, a former senior officer in

the Republican Guard. Watching his former boss sitting sullenly in the dock, Abu Hamza shook his head. Even a loyal follower could see no dignity there. Then, in a cool, matter-of-fact tone, he began to talk of Saddam's death. "When they hang Saddam, they will make him once again powerful," he said. It bodes ill for Iraq's future that he may well be proved right. ■

Questions

1. What is Saddam's legacy after 24 years as Iraq's leader and dictator?
2. How might Saddam gain a new stature as a result of his execution?



When Outlaws Get the Bomb

Kim Jong Il's crude blast punctuates a scary reality: the law of the jungle now governs the race for nuclear arms

By **BILL POWELL**

THE TREMOR OUT OF THE FAR NORTH OF THE People's Democratic Republic of Korea was unremarkable. Its significance had to be declared by its perpetrator, the unpredictable regime of Kim Jong Il. North Korea, one of the poorest nations on earth, was claiming a successful underground nuclear bomb test and entry into the once exclusive club of nuclear powers as member No. 9. A sniffer plane would later pick up hints of radiation in the atmosphere. Days of diplomatic consternation ensued at the announcement from Pyongyang, North Korea's capital. After stops and starts, the U.N. Security Council imposed sanctions on North Korea, demanding that it dismantle its nuclear-arms program. It also banned the sale of conventional weaponry and luxury goods to the country. Pointing at Washington as its nemesis, Pyongyang said any increased American military pressure would be deemed a declaration of war.

As crude as the North Korean blast was, it punctuated a scary fact: the rules that governed the nuclear road during the cold war and its immediate aftermath have become irrelevant, replaced by the law of the jungle—every state, rogue or otherwise, for itself. What we have now is not a tight club of nuclear powers with interlocking interests and an appreciation for the brutal doctrine of “mutually assured destruction” but an unpredictable host of potential Bomb throwers: a Stalinist Bomb out of unstable North Korea; a Shi'ite Bomb out of Iran; a Sunni Bomb out of Pakistan; and, down the road, possibly out of Egypt and Saudi Arabia as well; and, of course, an al-Qaeda Bomb out of nowhere. Israel is a nuclear power already. What are the consequences for the U.S. and the rest of the world?

Western intelligence agencies assume Iran could become the next nuclear power if it proceeds undeterred with its current clandestine program. Like North Korea, Iran is a signatory to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), the diplomatic edifice erected in 1970 precisely to deter countries

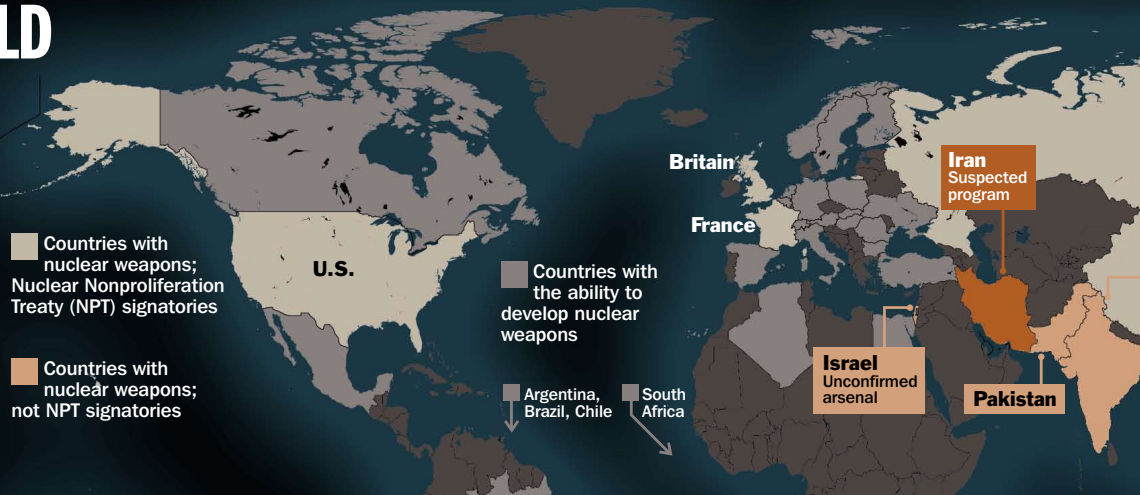
NUCLEAR WORLD

North Korea is defiantly rushing to become the ninth country on earth to have the Bomb. President Bush has said the U.S. “will not tolerate” a nuclear North Korea, but containment may be the only viable option remaining

Sources: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Natural Resources Defense Council

■ Countries with nuclear weapons; Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) signatories

■ Countries with nuclear weapons; not NPT signatories



from going nuclear. (Pyongyang formally withdrew from the NPT in 2003.) The North Korean test, says General Giora Eiland, Israel's former National Security Adviser, means "Iran will reach the obvious conclusion—that nobody will stop them."

Reacting to the blast, President Bush said, "The transfer of nuclear weapons or material by North Korea to states or nonstate entities would be considered a grave threat to the United States, and we would hold North Korea fully accountable of the consequences of such action." Michael Green, until last year a senior staff member on the National Security Council, says "That danger [of North Korean proliferation] has always been there. But North Korea has a mailing address, and they know it. If there was a nuclear explosion somewhere, it would probably be traced back to them, and their country would be destroyed. That's a deterrent."

The Pentagon and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) both devote considerable resources to the task of identifying the source of any bomb that is tested. Still, tracking the source of nuclear material is a complex, difficult endeavor—one that is hardly guaranteed success.

It is perhaps surprising at a moment when one of the world's most isolated and despotic regimes says it has gone nuclear that some security strategists view Kim Jong Il's move as far less than a disaster. No one, to be sure, regards it as a good thing. But it is possible to view the test—and the state of play in the nuclear world more broadly—in more apocalyptic terms than is warranted. Indeed, since the end of the cold war in 1991, not all

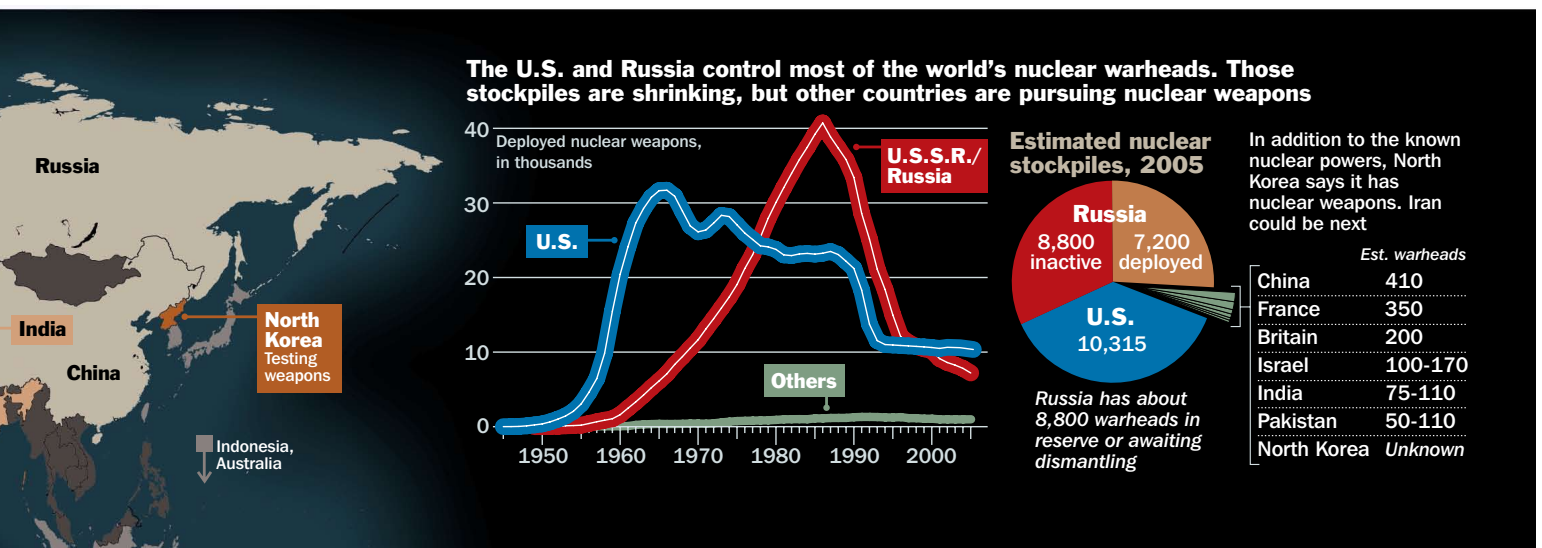
the news on the nuclear front has been bad. South Africa, Ukraine and, more recently, Libya all gave up nuclear weapons or the pursuit of them. Brazil and Argentina abandoned any thought of going nuclear.

What, then, can be done to rein in countries like North Korea? The international community can make it difficult for rogue nuclear states to make a buck off their new technology. To its credit, the Bush Administration has implemented the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI), a program now involving about 80 countries. They work to prohibit the movement of material and equipment they believe is headed for use in the production of weapons of mass destruction.

The Bush Administration insists that cooperation among the Western allies will ultimately rein in North Korea and deter those seeking nuclear weapons like Iran. Yet that may be more hope than reality. Thérèse Delpech, director of strategic affairs at the Atomic Energy Commission in France, says: "We're now facing two very grave cases of proliferation at the same time, and we have to use this moment of condemnation to pull the [established world] powers together." But considering how long it took for the Security Council to ban the sale of luxury goods to Pyongyang, time does not appear to be on our side. ■

Questions

1. How did the U.N. respond to North Korea's nuclear test?
2. Since the end of the cold war, what good news has emerged on the nuclear proliferation front?



Putting Limits on Teen Drivers

States are getting tough on teens behind the wheel. But many parents are reluctant to curb their children

By WENDY COLE HENDERSON

SINCE KINDERGARTEN, THEY HAD BEEN known as “the crew.” Still a close-knit group in high school, the five Henderson, Nevada, boys were all delighted when Sean Larimer turned 16 and in 2003 became the first to get his driver’s license. Sean’s mom, Susan Larimer, a hospital nurse who was in the midst of a divorce, was happy about it too. “I thought I needed him to drive,” she recalls. So Susan gave her son permission to drive around with the crew one evening just 63 days after he passed his road test.

As was customary during his outings with friends, Susan and Sean checked in with each other by cell phone several times. But while awaiting his return, Susan dozed off. Just after 1 a.m., the phone startled her awake with the news every parent of a teen dreads. Her son had smashed her Pontiac Grand Am and was in the hospital’s trauma unit. Three of the boys in the car had been killed, the fourth injured. Sean, who had been drinking heavily at a party that night (reportedly as much as eight beers in an hour), served two years in juvenile lockup for driving under the influence of alcohol and reckless driving. He cannot get his license back until he turns 21. Susan, shaken by the tragedy and determined to spare other young drivers and their parents similar agony, has lobbied state lawmakers to make

the licensing process for teen drivers lengthier and more safety conscious. “I’m not making excuses for his choice to drink,” she says. “But if we had tougher laws”—like prohibiting newly licensed teens from transporting other minors—“Sean would not have been out driving with his friends that night.” In October 2005, Nevada put in place a graduated licensing law, which phases in driving privileges as teens gain experience and maturity.

Getting a driver’s license remains a major milestone for teens in their impatient journey toward adulthood—and for their parents, eager to liberate themselves from constant chauffeuring duties. But car crashes are the main cause of death for U.S. teenagers, killing about 6,000 drivers between the ages of 16 and 19 each year. That’s more fatalities for this age group than those caused by guns and drug overdoses combined. And the younger and less experienced the driver, the worse the danger. Drivers ages 16 to 19 have a fatality rate four times

as high as that of drivers 25 to 29.

Experts say that parents who assume that simply reminding their kids to buckle up and watch the speed limit miss the central problem: the adolescent brain may be unable to handle the responsibilities of driving. Researchers with the National Institute of Mental Health have shown that the parts of the brain that weigh risks, make judgments and control impulsive

TAKING A TOLL

- **The No. 1 killer** of U.S. teenagers is car crashes.
- **About 6,000 teen drivers** are killed in auto accidents each year—more fatalities for this age group than those caused by guns and drug overdoses combined.
- **Drivers aged 16 to 19** have a fatality rate four times as high as that of drivers 25 to 29.
- **18% fewer collisions** involving teen drivers occurred in Las Vegas in the first eight months of 2006 in the year after teen-driving restrictions were imposed.

behavior are still developing through the teen years and don't mature until about age 25.

Those findings—and aggressive lobbying by auto-safety advocates—have helped push 45 states to adopt some form of graduated driver licensing, or GDL, which lengthens the waiting period before teens can obtain a full “go anywhere, anytime” driver's license. Slowing down the process has slowed down the accident rate. Per-capita crashes have fallen 23% among 16-year-old drivers in California since its strict GDL law was enacted in 1998, the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety (IIHS) reported in August. The state's late-night crashes were down 27%, and crashes with teen passengers were down 38%. Similar drops have occurred in other states. Despite those impressive results, however, legislators have balked at imposing additional measures that could make teen drivers even safer.

Studies suggest that nighttime driving is particularly dangerous for teens, and curfews are urged. “Most accidents involving teens occur before midnight,” says Susan Ferguson, senior vice president of research for the IIHS. “So the smartest laws go into effect earlier.” Last year nine states introduced measures to rein in teens' nighttime driving privileges, but only one—Nevada—passed such a law.

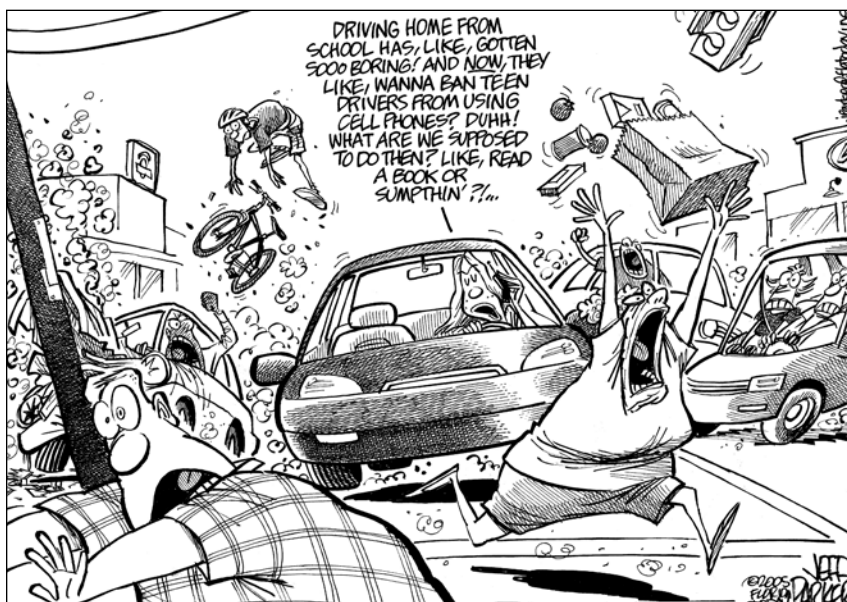
Nevada is one of the last states to join the decade-long movement to restrict teen drivers, but its law is now among the most comprehensive in the nation. It requires teen drivers to be off the road by 10 p.m., earlier than the midnight or 1 a.m. curfews

in other states (six states still have no nighttime limits at all). Nevada also set a six-month waiting period between permit and licensing, mandates at least 50 hours of parent-supervised driving experience that must be tracked in a written log, and forbids newly licensed drivers to transport other youths for three months. The changes are already producing positive results. In Las Vegas, collisions involving teen drivers were down 18%, to 1,155, for the first eight months of 2006 compared with the same period in 2005.

Some parents, like Donna Botti, are not convinced that the restrictions should apply to their children. On a recent Saturday evening as her daughter Angela, 16, was getting ready for a friend's sweet-16 party at a downtown Vegas club, she belatedly noticed the phrase “Parent Drop-off and Pickup Preferred” on her invitation. “How stupid is that? I have my own car,” Angela scoffed. Although the festivities were supposed to end at 10 p.m., Angela had no intention of racing home in her shiny '05 Hyundai Tucson to make curfew. In fact, she and her parents said they were unaware that nighttime restrictions for teens existed until being interviewed for this story. Donna's sunny expression momentarily turned pained when she was asked whether she would allow Angela, who was chauffeuring two pals that evening, to ignore the law: “I don't want to feel like an uncaring mother, but truthfully, I'm not worried about her.”

That kind of statement makes Susan Larimer

cringe. “People would like to believe Sean's crash was an isolated incident,” she says. “But the second your kid drives away under his or her own power, you have no idea what can happen. If this nightmare can happen to our family, it can happen to anyone.” ■



Questions

1. Why might teen drivers have trouble assessing risks?
2. Has Graduated Driving Licensing (GDL) legislation been effective in California?
3. Do you support GDL? Explain.

How I Did On the SAT

In 2003 I predicted dire consequences from a massive redesign of the college-entrance test. What I got right—and wrong

By JOHN CLOUD

THE NEW SAT SCORES ARE OUT, AND BURIED in them is a sign of hope for American education. True, the scores are actually a bit lower than last year's; the combined average for the SAT's math and reading sections fell 7 points, to 1021, the biggest single-year decrease since 1975, when the score dropped 16 points, to 1010. But statistically speaking, a 7-point decline (out of a possible 1600 on those two sections) isn't much. It's less than the value of a single question, which is about 10 points. Also, the SAT was radically changed last year. The College Board made it longer and added Algebra II, more grammar and an essay. Fewer kids wanted to take the new 3-hour 45-minute test more than once, so fewer had an opportunity to improve their performance. Scores were bound to slide.

In 2003 I spent six months tracking the development of the new SAT. I sat through hours of test-development sessions and even learned how to grade SAT essays. *TIME* ran my resulting story on its cover that October.

The story did make some predictions that turned out to be right. For instance, the new test favors girls more than the old one did. Girls are better than boys at fixing grammar and constructing essays, so the addition of a third SAT section, on writing, was almost certain to shrink the male-female score gap. It did. Girls trounced boys on the new writing section, 502 to 491. Boys still outscored girls overall, thanks largely to boys' 536

average on the math section, compared with girls' 502. But boys now lead on the reading section by just 3 points, 505 to 502; the gap was 8 points last year. What changed? The new test has no analogies ("bird is to nest" as "dog is to doghouse"), and boys usually clobbered girls on analogies.

My story also predicted that the addition of the writing section would damage the SAT's reliability. Reliability is a measure of how similar a test's results are from one sitting to the next. The pre-2005 SAT had a standard error of measurement of about 30 points per section. But the new writing section, which includes not only a multiple-choice grammar segment but also the subjective essay, has a standard error of measurement of 40 points. In short, the College Board sacrificed some reliability in order to include writing.

Finally, I was right about one other thing: that the graders would reward formulaic, colorless writing over sharp young voices. The College Board is now distributing a guide called "20 Outstanding SAT Essays"—all of them perfect scores—and many are unbearably mechanical and clichéd ("smooth sailing always comes after the storm"; "they say that history repeats itself").

Still, there's good news. The central contention of my 2003 story was that the SAT's shift from an abstract-reasoning test to a test of classroom material like Algebra II would hurt kids from failing schools. Instead, the very poorest students—those from families earning less than \$20,000 a year—improved their SAT performance this year. It was a modest improvement (just 3 points) but significant, given the overall slump in scores. And noncitizen residents and refugees saw their scores rise an impressive 13 points.

Sometimes it's nice to be wrong. ■



Questions

1. In what areas of the new test do girls outperform boys? Where do boys outperform girls?
2. Which groups improved their test scores on the new test?

Tour de Testosterone

A failed drug test taints cyclist Floyd Landis' heroic victory in the Tour de France. Is Landis flawed, or is the testing process?

By SEAN GREGORY

THIS ONE HURT. AFTER MARION JONES, MARK McGwire and Sammy Sosa, aren't we immune to the fact that our beloved athletes might not have achieved immortality on talent alone? Heck, no. Reports are circulating that Floyd Landis—the fun-loving Mennonite from Pennsylvania, the guy whose Alpine comeback in the Tour de France was dubbed, properly, “The Ride of the Century” (and he did it with a bum hip to boot)—might have cheated.

Landis tested positive for abnormal testosterone levels, a result confounding and dumbfounding, given that a number of prerace favorites were tossed from the Tour under a cloud of doping suspicion. There's hope for Landis lovers inspired by his back-from-the-brink tale: his guilt is far from established, and the case has other twists ahead. Phonak, the Swiss sponsor of Landis' cycling team, revealed that on the day of Landis' miraculous comeback, an abnormally high ratio of testosterone to epitestosterone was found in his urine. (Testosterone is a muscle-building anabolic steroid; epitestosterone, a related substance, has no performance-enhancing effects.) Specifically, Landis' testosterone-to-epitestosterone (T/E) ratio was above the 4-to-1 limit set by WADA; the ratio for most people is between 1 to 1 and 2 to 1. The team suspended him immediately.

So did Landis put synthetic testosterone into his body? He has denied using any illegal substances. Some antidoping experts say that Landis' body

could produce excess testosterone on its own. “We know there is a small percentage of the population who are going to have a natural production of testosterone that is above the norm,” says Gérard Dine, president of the Biotechnological Institute in Troyes, France, and an antidoping consultant to French and international sporting authorities. Another possible explanation lies in what Landis consumed the night before his 125-mile comeback: he has admitted to trying to erase the worst performance of his career by downing some whiskey. Medical research has linked alcohol with an elevated T/E ratio.

The most vexing mystery is why Landis would suddenly take testosterone as the Tour wound down, since it might not have been of much help.

The most vexing mystery is why Landis would suddenly take testosterone as the Tour wound down, since it might not have been of much help. “It doesn't add up,” says WADA member Dr. Gary Wadler. “If you're going to get any benefit out of steroids, you would have to have been on the steroids before the Tour de France ever started.” Landis notes that

he had passed seven other drug tests on the Tour.

What's unknown—and crucial—for Landis is the result of another test on his urine samples, the one that measures the carbon-isotope ratio. This examines the atomic makeup of the testosterone in Landis' body. If the ratio of carbon isotopes matches those found in synthetic testosterone, Landis will be in trouble. But even then, the debate might go on because some scientists say this particular test is not infallible. Says Dine: “With testosterone, there is no scientific consensus.”

Landis seems prepared for an ugly ride. “Unfortunately, I don't think it's ever going to go away, no matter what happens next,” he said of the allegations. Landis has fallen off his bike before. Let's see if he can get back on this time. ■

Questions

1. What is testosterone?
2. What are some possible reasons that Landis' testosterone level was elevated at the time of the testing?

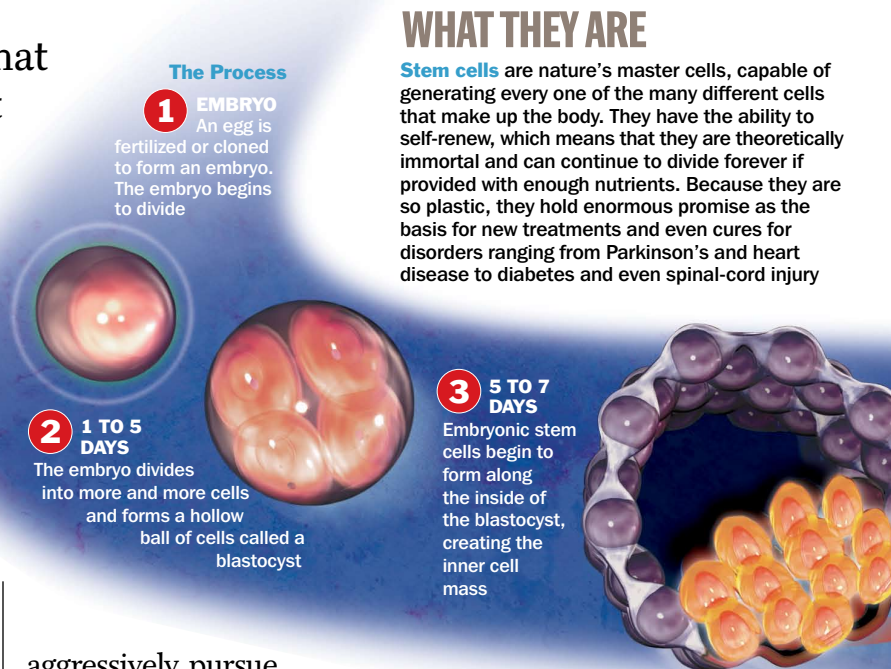
Stem Cells: The Hope And The Hype

The debate is so politically loaded that it's tough to tell who's being straight about the real areas of progress and how breakthroughs can be achieved. TIME sorts it out

By **NANCY GIBBS**

WHEN THERE'S NOTHING ELSE TO prescribe, hope works like a drug. A quadriplegic patient tells herself it's not a matter of if they find a cure but when. After all, researchers have been injecting stem cells into paralyzed rats and watching their spinal cords mend. But what is the correct dose of hope when the diseases are dreadful and the prospects of cure distant? In July 2006, when President George W. Bush vetoed the bill that would have expanded funding for human embryonic-stem-cell (ESC) research, doctors got calls from patients with Parkinson's disease saying they weren't sure they could hang on for another year or two. The doctors could only reply that in the best-case scenario, cures are at least a decade away.

Stem-cell research has joined global warming and evolution science as fields in which the very facts are put to a vote, a public spectacle in which data wrestle dogma. Scientists who are having surprising success with adult stem cells find their progress being used by activists to argue that embryo research is not just immoral but also unnecessary. But to those in the field, the only answer is to press ahead on all fronts. "There are camps for adult stem cells and embryonic stem cells," says Douglas Melton, a co-director of the Harvard Stem Cell Institute. "But these camps only exist in the political arena. There is no disagreement among scientists over the need to



WHAT THEY ARE

Stem cells are nature's master cells, capable of generating every one of the many different cells that make up the body. They have the ability to self-renew, which means that they are theoretically immortal and can continue to divide forever if provided with enough nutrients. Because they are so plastic, they hold enormous promise as the basis for new treatments and even cures for disorders ranging from Parkinson's and heart disease to diabetes and even spinal-cord injury

aggressively pursue both in order to solve important medical problems."

Trapped in all this are patients and voters who struggle to weigh the arguments because the science is dense and the values tangled. Somewhere between those who would gladly stop research and the swashbucklers who disdain limits are people who approve of stem-cell research in general but get uneasy as we approach the ethical frontiers. Adult-stem-cell research is morally fine but clinically limiting, since only embryonic cells possess the power to replicate indefinitely and grow into any of more than 200 types of tissue. Extracting knowledge from embryos that would otherwise be wasted is one thing, but scientists admit that moving forward would require a much larger supply of fresh, healthy embryos than fertility clinics could ever provide. And once you start asking people about creating embryos for the purpose of experimenting on them, the support starts to slow down.

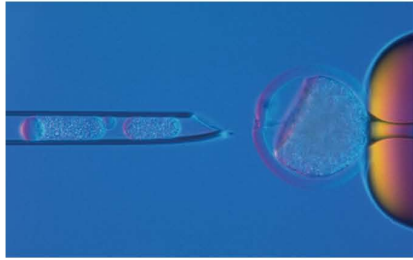
In a prime-time speech from his Texas ranch in August 2001, Bush announced that federal money

WHERE THEY COME FROM

LEFTOVER OR DEAD-END IVF EMBRYOS

Why they are useful More than 400,000 embryos created during in vitro fertilization lie frozen in clinic tanks in the U.S. Many of them will be discarded, so the embryonic stem cells that exist inside them could be salvaged

Drawbacks The freezing process may make it harder to extract stem cells. Some of the embryos were the weakest ones created by infertile couples and may not yield high-quality stem cells



ROSLIN INSTITUTE

NUCLEAR-TRANSFER EMBRYOS

Why they are useful These embryos are created using the technique that created Dolly, the cloned sheep. Stem cells can be custom-made by inserting a patient's skin cell into a hollowed human egg. Any resulting therapies would not run the risk of immune rejection

Drawbacks The process has not yet been successfully completed with human cells, and it requires an enormous amount of fresh human eggs, which are difficult to obtain

ADULT STEM CELLS

Why they are useful They exist in many major tissues, including the blood, skin and brain. They can be coaxed to produce more cells of a specific lineage and do not have to be extracted from embryos

Drawbacks They can generate only a limited number of cell types, and they are difficult to grow in culture

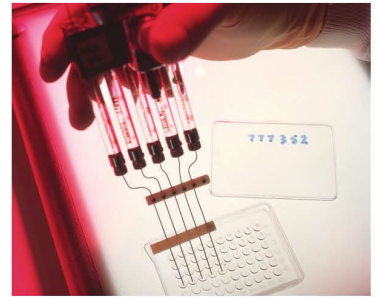


GARY D. GAUGLER—PHOTOTAKE

UMBILICAL-CORD CELLS

Why they are useful Although they are primarily made up of blood stem cells, they also contain stem cells that can turn into bone, cartilage, heart muscle and brain and liver tissue. Like adult stem cells, they are harvested without the need for embryos

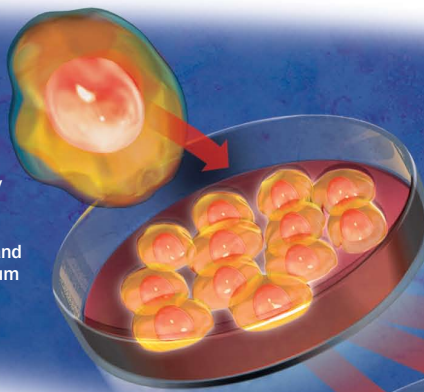
Drawbacks An umbilical cord is not very long and doesn't hold enough cells to treat an adult



COLIN CUTHBERT—PHOTO RESEARCHERS

4

STEM LINE
The cells are scraped away and grown on a layer of feeder cells and culture medium



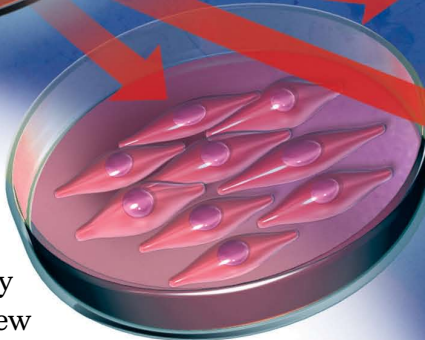
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TISSUE PRODUCTION
Groups of stem cells are nurtured under specialized conditions, with different recipes of nutrients and growth factors that direct the cells to become any of the body's more than 200 various tissues

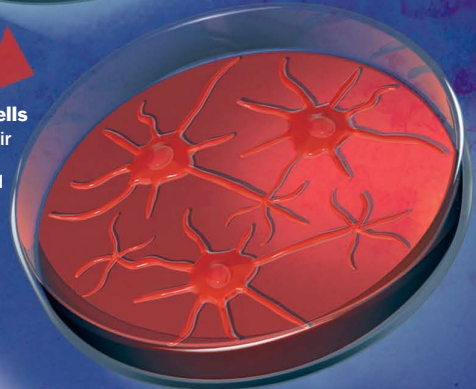


Pancreatic islet cells
Could provide a cure for diabetes

could go to researchers working on ESC lines that scientists had already developed but no new lines could be created using federal funds. States from Connecticut to California have tried to step in with enough funding to keep the labs going and slow the exodus of U.S. talent to countries like Singapore, Britain and Taiwan. Meanwhile, private biotech firms and research universities with other sources of funding are free to create and destroy as many embryos as they like, because they operate outside the regulations that follow public funds.



Muscle cells
Could repair or replace a damaged heart



Nerve cells
Could be used to treat Parkinson's, spinal-cord injuries and strokes

TIME Graphic

For scientists who choose to work with the approved "presidential" lines, the funding comes wrapped in frustration. Today there are only 21 viable lines, which limits genetic diversity. They are old, so they don't grow very well, and were cultured using methods that are outdated. What's more, the chromosomes undergo subtle changes over time, compromising the cells' ability to remain "normal."

In the wake of Bush's original order, Harvard decided to use private funding to develop about 100 new cell lines from fertility-clinic embryos, which it shares with researchers around the world. Scientists, desperate for variety, snap them up. "Not all embryonic-stem-cell lines are created equal," says Dr. Arnold Kriegstein, who runs the Institute for Regeneration Medicine at the University of California, San Francisco. "Some are more readily driven down a certain lineage, such as heart cells, while others more easily become nerve. We don't understand how it happens, but it does mean we need diversity."

To get around political roadblocks, scientists are searching for another source of cells that is less ethically troublesome, ideally one that involves no embryo destruction at all. The most exciting new possibility doesn't go near embryos at all. Dr. Shinya Yamanaka of Kyoto University reported tantalizing success in taking an adult skin cell, exposing it to four growth factors in a petri dish and transforming it into an embryo-like entity that could produce stem cells—potentially sidestepping the entire debate over means and ends.

Even if scientists discover an ideal source of healthy cell lines, there is still much to learn about how to coax them into turning into the desired kind of tissue. Geron, a California-based company, claims it is close to filing for permission to conduct the first human trials relying on ESC-based therapy. Not to be outdone, the academic groups are just a few steps behind. Lorenz Studer at Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in New York City has been able to differentiate ESCs into just about every cell type affected by Parkinson's disease and has transplanted them into rats and improved their mobility. Next, he plans to inject the cells into monkeys.

But the closer scientists come to human trials, the more concerned the FDA will be with ensuring patient safety. Regulators want data on how the cells will behave in the human body. Stem cells have shown a dismaying talent for turning into tumors. When human trials finally begin, there's no method for precisely determining whether the transplanted stem cells are functioning correctly.

Even as scientists press ahead with embryo research, exciting news has come from the least

controversial sources: the stem cells in umbilical-cord blood and placentas, and even in fully formed adult organs. While not as flexible as embryonic cells, cord and placental cells have proved more valuable than scientists initially hoped.

If you want to lean out over the edges of science and marvel at what is now possible, visit Dr. Joanne Kurtzberg's program at Duke University Medical Center. Children with blood diseases that were almost certainly fatal a decade ago have got cord-blood transplants that essentially cure them. Now she and her team are taking a more targeted approach by attempting to differentiate cord-blood cells to address heart, brain and liver defects. "I think cord-blood cells have a lot of promise for tissue repair and regeneration," says Kurtzberg. "But I think it will take 10 to 20 years."

Until recently researchers thought adult stem cells couldn't do much more than regenerate cell types that reflected the stem cells' origin—blood and immune cells from bone marrow, for example. Even so, some scientists believe adult stem cells may prove to be a powerful source of therapies. "In some cases, you may not want to go all the way back to embryonic stem cells," says Kurtzberg. "You may want something more specific or less likely to stray. You wouldn't want to put a cell in the brain and find out later that it turned into bone."

Even the true believers among scientists, however, dispute eager politicians who have called for a Manhattan Project approach to research. Indeed, a massive centralized effort controlled by the Federal Government could do more harm than good. The key is to have the broadest cross section of scientists possible working across the field. When it comes to such an impossibly complicated matter as stem cells, the best role for legislators and Presidents may be neither to steer the science nor to stall it but to stand aside and let it breathe. ■

Questions

1. Why are embryonic stem cells more useful for scientific research than adult stem cells?
2. As therapies are developed using stem cells, what concerns is the FDA expected to have?

Goodbye, Arctic Icecap

By MICHAEL D. LEMONICK

BACK IN 2005, SCIENTISTS DREW ATTENTION TO four years of unusual summer melting in ice that covers most of the Arctic Ocean. They concluded that this northern sea could be completely ice-free—including the North Pole—well before the end of the 21st century.

But a recent report from the American Geophysical Union suggests that things have sped up. The ice didn't melt quite as much as in 2005, the worst summer on record. But 2006 was still pretty bad—there's less ice than the historical norm by an area about the size of Alaska. When you plug all the data into computer simulations, they suggest that the summer ice could disappear completely a lot sooner than anyone thought—possibly within just 40 years, and possibly with very little warning. That's because as the sea ice melts in summer, warmer water can more easily flow into the Arctic. Open water also reflects a lot less sunlight than ice does, which lets the sun warm things up more as more water shows. That creates a feedback loop: more water means more heat means even more water means even more heat—until, in just one especially warm summer, the ice could vanish, and not return.

It's all one more suggestion that global warming is very real, and that the effects could lead to sudden changes. If the Arctic ice disappears, it might be good for shipping, but wildlife (including polar bears and seals) would be devastated. The global climate effects could be devastating, as well. ■



The Scary Economics of Global Warming

By MICHAEL D. LEMONICK

PEOPLE WHO LIKE TO PAINT GLOBAL WARMING as an overblown threat often point to the huge costs of trying to fix it. What if we spend billions or trillions to stave off a threat that isn't there? But that argument is false, says a new report out of the United Kingdom.

Put together by economist Sir Nicholas Stern, the study pegs the likely economic hit from human-induced climate change at a whopping 20% reduction in global economic output over the next several decades, due to such things as massive droughts, hundreds of millions of refugees from rising sea level, and the widespread extinction of species. That's comparable, says the report, to the devastation caused by the Great Depression or one of the world wars.

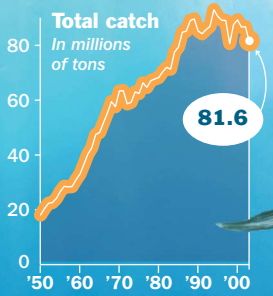
The good news, says Stern, is that this economic disaster, which he deems very probable based on a survey of scientific evidence, can be largely staved off with an investment of about 1% of the world's gross domestic product (GDP) in carbon-reduction and other schemes. The bad news is that we have to start pretty much right away. And while Tony Blair has hailed the

new report and promised that the U.K. will take serious measures, there's pretty much no response out of the White House. Could President George W. Bush be miffed that former Vice President Al Gore has signed on as an adviser on climate change to the British government? ■

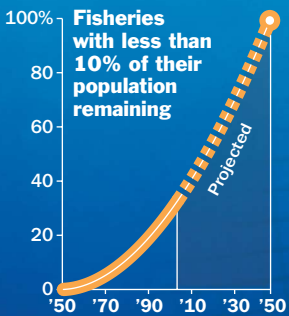
Questions

1. What could cause the Arctic ice cap to melt completely within 40 years?
2. How could global warming cause an economic downturn equivalent to the Great Depression?

The world is consuming more fish ...

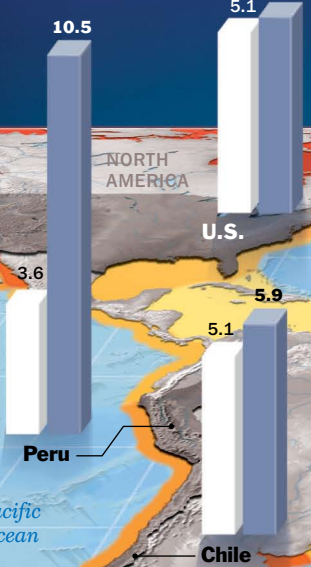


... which could lead to the extinction of many species



A LOOK AT WHO DOES THE MOST FISHING

Total marine harvest
In millions of tons



STURGEON

This ancient fish was around at the time of the dinosaurs. Its eggs (true caviar) are a gourmet delicacy, but sturgeons of the Caspian Sea are nearing extinction

SWORDFISH

It was overfished in the late 1990s, but public pressure led to tighter regulations, which helped the species rebound. Today most of the swordfish Americans eat is imported

PACIFIC SALMON

Nearly 30 runs of salmon in Washington and Oregon are endangered due to construction of dams and habitat loss. However, Alaska's salmon population thrives

GROUPE

These sedentary, long-living fish dwell in deep waters and reproduce for short periods. They're overfished in the Gulf of Mexico near Florida's west coast and in Hawaii

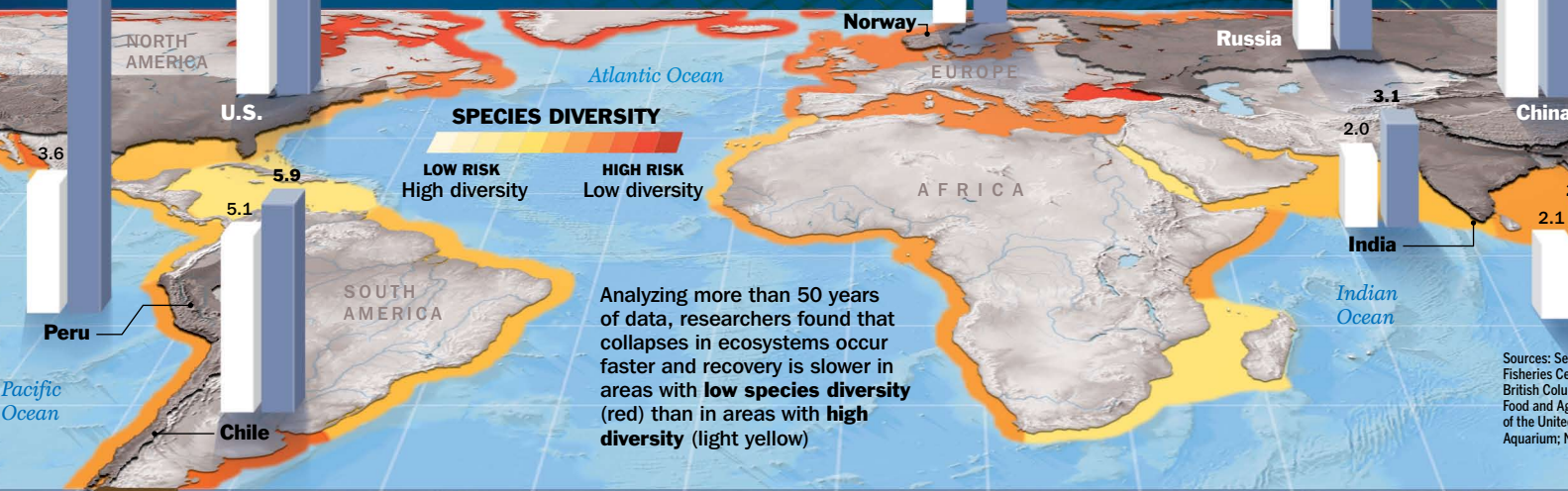
RED SNAPPER

Not to be confused with "Pacific red," they are heavily fished in the Gulf of Mexico, exported by Mexico and Brazil and listed as overfished by the U.S. since 1980

BLUEFIN TUNA

One of the world's most valuable fish, these 300-lb. giants are favored for sushi. The Atlantic population has declined almost 90% since the 1970s

TIME Graphic by Ed Gabel and Lon Tweeten
Written by Kristina Dell



Analyzing more than 50 years of data, researchers found that collapses in ecosystems occur faster and recovery is slower in areas with **low species diversity** (red) than in areas with **high diversity** (light yellow)

Sources: Sea Fisheries Cent, British Colum, Food and Agr of the United Aquarium; NC

Oceans of Nothing

A study says overfishing will soon destroy the seafood supply

By UNMESH KHER

FISHERMEN ON THE HIGH SEAS HAVE plenty of worries, not the least of which are boat-tossing storms, territorial squabbles and even pirates. Now Boris Worm, a marine biologist at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Canada, has added another. After studying global catch data over more than 50 years, he and a team of researchers in four countries have come to a stunning conclusion. By the middle of this century, fishermen will have almost nothing left to catch.

Over the past three decades, the fish export trade has grown fourfold, to 30 million tons, and its value has increased ninefold, to \$71 billion. The dietary attractiveness of seafood has stoked demand. About 90% of the ocean's big predators—like cod and tuna—have been fished out of existence. Increasingly, fish and shrimp farms are filling the shortfall. Though touted as a solution to overfishing, many of them have—along with rampant coastal development, climate change and pollution—devastated the reefs, mangroves and seagrass beds where many commercially valuable fish hatch.

Steven Murawski, chief scientist at the U.S. National Marine Fisheries Service, finds Worm's headlining prediction far too pessimistic. Industry experts are even more skeptical.

Still, the destructive fishing practices that have decimated tuna and cod have not declined worldwide. Up to half the marine life caught by fishers is discarded, often dead, and vibrant coral forests are still being stripped bare by dragnets. Worm argues that fisheries based on ecosystems stripped of their biological diversity are especially prone to collapse. At least 29% of fished species have already collapsed, according to the study, and the trend is accelerating.

So what's a fish eater to do? "Vote with your wallet," says Michael Sutton, who runs the Monterey Bay Aquarium's Seafood Watch program in California. Since 1999, the aquarium has handed out pocket guides listing sustainably harvested seafood. The Marine Stewardship Council has partnered with corporations to similarly certify wild and farm-raised seafood. Some 370 products in more than two dozen countries bear the British group's "Fish Forever" label of approval. Wal-Mart and Red Lobster, among others, have made commitments to sell sustainably harvested seafood.

But that's just a spit in the ocean unless consumers in Japan, India, China and Europe join the chorus for change. "If everyone in the U.S. started eating sustainable seafood," says Worldwatch Institute senior researcher Brian Halweil, "it would be wonderful, but it wouldn't address the global issues. We're at the very beginning of this." ■

Questions

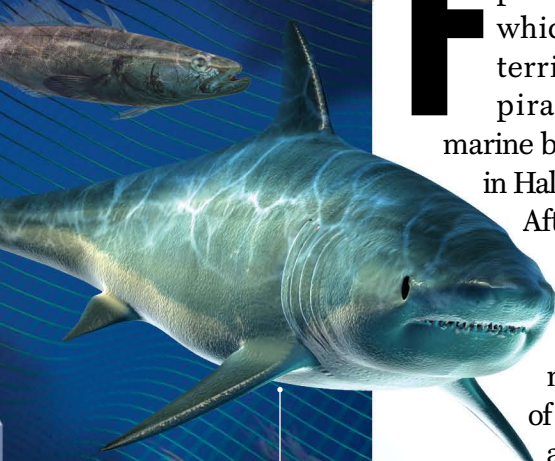
1. What has happened to 90% of the ocean's big predators?
2. What would help stop the depletion of fish from the ocean?

ATLANTIC COD

Its abundance attracted Europeans settlers to America, but recent overfishing has altered the ecosystem. Scientists say we are fishing the last 10% of this species

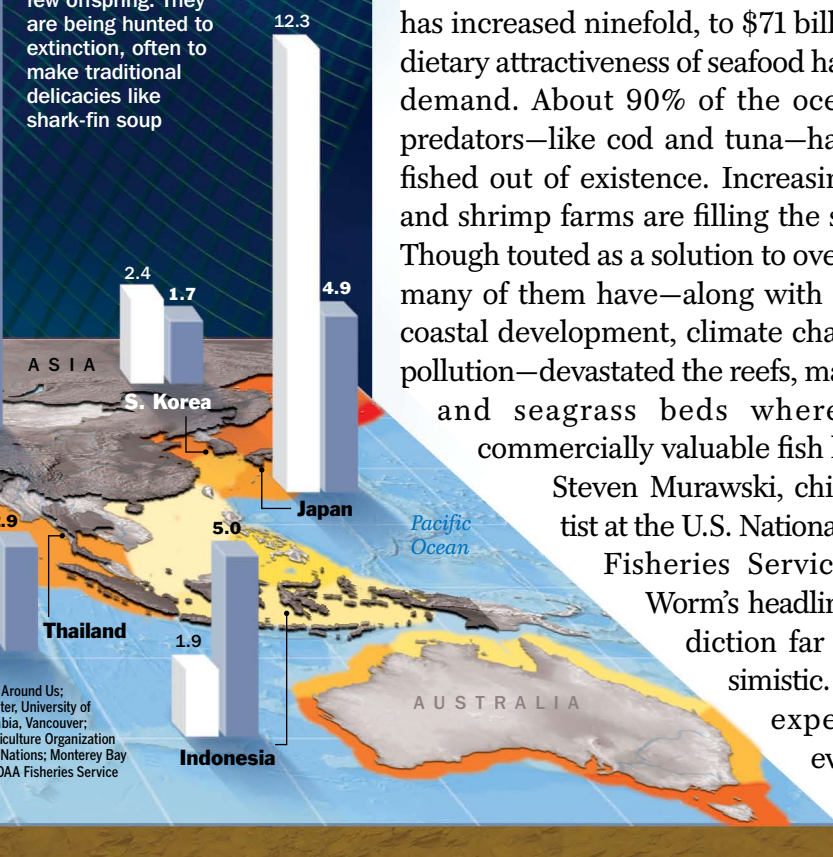
CHILEAN SEA BASS

The trendiness of this fish, also called the Patagonian toothfish, could be its downfall. The fish is often caught illegally, especially in the remote waters of the Antarctic



SHARKS

Almost all are in trouble in part because they mature slowly and bear few offspring. They are being hunted to extinction, often to make traditional delicacies like shark-fin soup



Around Us:
ter, University of
bia, Vancouver;
iculture Organization
Nations; Monterey Bay
DAA Fisheries Service



Interpreting Maps and Graphics

The maps and graphics accompanying **Stem Cells: The Hope and the Hype** on pages 24 to 26 and **Oceans of Nothing** on page 28 and 29 are packed with information. But what does it all mean? Use the questions below to sharpen your skills in reading and interpreting graphics.

Stem Cells: The Hope and the Hype

1. How does an embryo form?

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2. Define a *blastocyst*.

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3. True or false: A blastocyst is formed more than seven days after an egg is fertilized.

4. How many types of tissues are found in the human body?

5. True or false: A stem cell can be cultured from an unfertilized egg.

6. How can different types of cells be grown from stem cells?

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Oceans of Nothing

7. True or false: The 81.6 tons of fish caught in the last year on the chart is the highest amount ever caught.

8. By what year will 100% of all fisheries have less than 10% of their populations remaining?

9. Name the three countries that have reduced the amount of fish they caught between 1984 and 2004.

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10. Name one of the world's most valuable fish whose Atlantic population has been reduced by 90% since the 1970s.

11. What country more than quadrupled the amount of fish it caught between 1984 and 2004?

12. Which area of the world has the most concentrated area of low species diversity?

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Where to Get a Pay Raise

Congress won't give you one—the federal minimum wage is still \$5.15. Activists in Chicago and elsewhere are pressing for a “living wage” to help the working poor

By JEREMY CAPLAN

WAL-MART MAY HAVE EARNED MORE THAN \$11 billion last year, but it's squawking over a \$10 bill. The bill in question is a new Chicago ordinance that the retailer fiercely opposes, which will require the company—along with Target and other giant retailers—to pay a starting wage of \$10 an hour, plus \$3 in benefits, to anyone hired in the Windy City. The living-wage ordinance, passed by the city council after ferocious campaigning by organized labor and its business opponents, is the country's first directed at big retailers.

After years of failed attempts to unionize big-box stores, labor seems to have hit on a winning legislative tactic in the battle over pay. Union leaders say the Chicago rule means a long-overdue raise for the working poor. In real terms, wages for nonmanagerial retail workers have fallen 18% since 1975. But David Vite, president of the Illinois Retail Merchants Association, says the law could deter inner-city economic development.

“Companies affected by this ordinance have capital budgets they can spend anywhere in the U.S., and they'll now go elsewhere,” says Vite. Target, for one, has postponed plans for a previously announced store.

“In fights like this, retailers use the exit threat, then stay and expand,” says Annette Bernhardt, a labor expert at New York

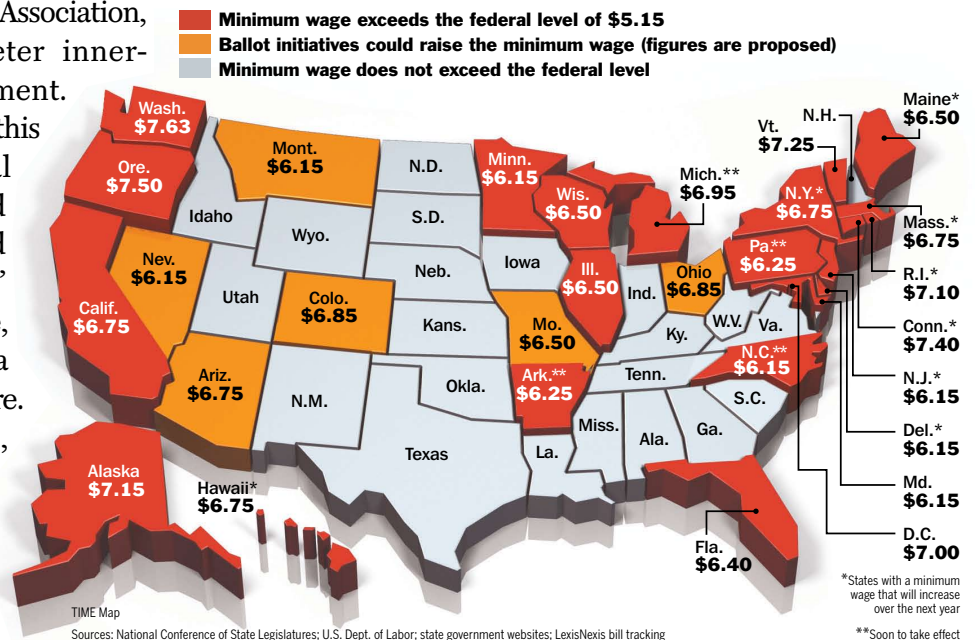
University Law School. One of Target's most successful units is in Chicago's Lincoln Park neighborhood, and studies suggest there's \$1.3 billion in untapped spending on the city's North Side and West Side alone. That, says Dorian Warren, a politics professor at Columbia University, “is going to be worth far more than the \$10 wage costs them.”

Not all retailers dread such laws. Costco CFO Richard Galanti says his company already meets the Chicago minimum and that the \$10 wage helps the company retain employees. “It doesn't make us any less competitive,” he says.

One keen observer of the living-wage battle has been David Coss, mayor of Santa Fe, N.M., which mandated a living wage in 2004. “We were also told the sky was going to fall,” he says, “but all we've seen is strong growth.” With the city's \$9.50 wage floor set to rise to \$10.50 in 2008, Target and Sam's Club are thriving. Wal-Mart is even building a superstore. “You're going to see more and more municipalities taking matters into their own hands,” Coss says. “Poverty just isn't a necessary ingredient for economic development.” ■

Questions

1. What has happened to wages for nonmanagerial retail workers since 1975?
2. Why do some companies approve of living-wage legislation?





Current Events In Review

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

____ **1.** A new report states that the Arctic icecap could melt completely within:
a. 20 years b. 40 years c. 60 years d. 80 years

____ **2.** The federal minimum hourly wage currently stands at:
a. \$5.15 c. \$7.63
b. \$6.45 d. \$10.00

____ **3.** The number-one killer of teenagers in the U.S. is:
a. cancer b. guns c. leukemia d. car crashes

____ **4.** The company that bought YouTube for \$1.65 billion is:
a. Google b. Yahoo c. Apple d. My Space

____ **5.** Disaster scientists and emergency planners predict that the next big disaster to hit the U.S. will be:
a. an atomic bomb c. a tsunami
b. a hurricane d. an earthquake

____ **6.** The member of President Bush's cabinet who was fired right after the midterm elections of 2006 is:
a. Colin Powell c. Donald Rumsfeld
b. Karl Rove d. Condoleezza Rice

____ **7.** The former Secretary of State who co-authored a recent report on the situation in Iraq is:
a. James Baker c. Colin Powell
b. Henry Kissinger d. Madeleine Albright

____ **8.** The first female Speaker of the House is:
a. Dianne Feinstein c. Hillary Clinton
b. Nancy Pelosi d. Barbara Boxer

____ **9.** The first appointed Vice President in U.S. history was:
a. Dick Cheney
b. George H. W. Bush
c. Nelson Rockefeller
d. Gerald Ford

____ **10.** According to exit polls, the main issue for voters in the 2006 midterm elections was:
a. the Iraq war
b. universal health care
c. corruption and incompetence
d. global warming

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.** Afghanistan
- B.** Iran
- C.** Iraq
- D.** Japan
- E.** The Netherlands
- F.** North Korea
- G.** Russia
- H.** Singapore
- I.** Ukraine
- J.** United Kingdom
- K.** United States
- L.** Vietnam

- ____ **11.** A leading economist from this country recently released a report on the economic impact of global warming.
- ____ **12.** The U.S. and this nation control most of the world's nuclear warheads.
- ____ **13.** Muqtada al-Sadr is a Shi'ite leader here.
- ____ **14.** Most western intelligence experts expect this nation to be the next country to acquire nuclear weapons.
- ____ **15.** Island nation where a researcher has shown promise in turning adult skin cells into stem cells.
- ____ **16.** This nation has a levee system designed to protect populated areas from anything but a 1-in-10,000-years flood.
- ____ **17.** Kim Jong Il is this country's leader.
- ____ **18.** John McCain was a prisoner of war in this country.
- ____ **19.** Eight in ten of the costliest disasters in this nation's history have been hurricanes.
- ____ **20.** South Africa, Libya and this nation have all voluntarily given up their nuclear weapons.

Answers

Reaching for the Center

(pages 2 and 3)

1. Klein argues that Bush's decision to delay the sacking of Rumsfeld until after the election will be seen as a serious mistake.
2. In exit polls, voters ranked the general odor of corruption and incompetence emanating from Washington as their top concern.

"Anybody knows not to mess with me" (page 4)

1. Pelosi insisted that other House Democrats vote the party line and required that members spend much of their time raising money for colleagues in close races.
2. Pelosi identifies herself as a proud liberal

The Midterm Elections: A Gallery of Views (page 5)

1. In the top cartoon, new U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi is blowing a trumpet in President Bush's bedroom, waking him up. Pelosi represents the Democratic victory, while the blowing of the trumpet and the shocked look on the President's face represent the dismay brought on by the defeat of the Republicans. The second image features President Bush and Speaker Pelosi each struggling to lead the other as they dance together. The dancing is symbolic of the fact that President Bush and the Democrats will now have to cooperate with each other to govern. In the third cartoon, Bush is commenting on the shift in the balance of power and then kissing a veto stamp. The veto stamp represents his presidential prerogative to veto legislation and attempt to stop a Democratic agenda passed by Congress. (Congress, however, can override vetoes.)
2. The cartoonist shows Bush being knocked out of bed to suggest that the President was shocked and caught off guard by the midterm results.
3. The tussling over who will lead the dancing suggests that the cartoonist believes there will be a difficult struggle over which direction the country will be led. Answers will vary to the second part of the question depending on students' views.
4. The artist believes Bush is in love with his power to veto. He conveys this view by having the President address the veto stamp as "darling" and kiss it.
5. The bottom cartoon is the most supportive in that the drawing of

Bush isn't diminutive and presents a solution to his quandary. The middle cartoon is somewhat neutral, though it does represent Bush as being smaller than Pelosi. The top cartoon is the least supportive because it suggests that Bush was asleep while the Democrats defeated him; it also portrays him as a small, boyish figure. All three cartoons deal with the ramifications for the White House of the Republican loss of Congress. There is a time progression in the three cartoons from the initial shock of the loss of Congress to the practicality of having to share power and finally to a way in which Bush can counterbalance Democratic legislative initiatives.

6. Answers will vary.

Gerald Ford: Steady Hand for a Nation in Crisis

(pages 6 and 7)

1. Ford was appointed Vice President in 1973 and then assumed the presidency in 1974, after Richard Nixon resigned.
2. Ford granted a full pardon to Nixon for any crimes he may have committed while in office.

What a Surge Really Means (pages 8 and 9)

1. The neoconservatives, in particular, Frederick Kagan, of the American Enterprise Institute, favor the surge, while the internationalists, led by James Baker, oppose it.
2. Following a surge, the troops' top priority would be to protect the Iraqi people.

Like Father, Like Son (page 10)

1. Senator McCain says Jimmy's main motivation was that he has friends in the Marine Corps.
2. His father is a strong contender for the White House in 2008, and Americans may find themselves watching the Iraq war through Jimmy's eyes if he is sent to Iraq.

The Year of You (page 11)

1. TIME argues that the many are wresting power from the few and helping one another for nothing, and that this will not only change the world, but also change the way the world changes.
2. Examples include the cosmic compendium of knowledge Wikipedia, the million-channel people's network YouTube and the online metropolis MySpace.

The Gurus of YouTube (pages 12 and 13)

1. YouTube became a hit because it is both easy to use and edgy.

2. Potential copyright lawsuits from content providers pose the biggest threat to YouTube's survival.

Why We Don't Prepare (pages 14 and 15)

1. Preparing for catastrophes is the greatest challenge.
2. Miami is ranked number 1; New York City is number 2.

Saddam's Second Life (pages 16 and 17)

1. During his 24 years as Iraq's President, Saddam led his country into three wars that devastated the economy and left more than 1 million dead while hundreds of thousands more died at the hands of his henchmen and security forces.
2. Saddam could come to be seen as a martyr if those who are loyal to him portray him as a victim who was lynched by a vengeful, U.S.-backed Shi'ite government.

When Outlaws Get The Bomb (pages 18 and 19)

1. The U.N. imposed sanctions and banned the sale of conventional weaponry and luxury goods to North Korea.
2. South Africa, Ukraine and Libya gave up their nuclear weapons. Brazil and Argentina formally abandoned any thought of going nuclear.

Putting Limits on Teen Drivers (pages 20 and 21)

1. The parts of the brain that weigh risks, make judgments and control impulsive behavior don't mature until about age 25.
2. Crashes involving teen passengers are down 38% since California enacted GDL in 1998.
3. Answers will vary.

How I Did on the SAT (page 22)

1. Girls score higher on the new writing section, while boys do better on the math and reading sections.
2. Students from families earning less than \$20,000 a year improved their scores by 3 points, and noncitizen residents and refugees saw their scores rise 13 points.

Tour de Testosterone (page 23)

1. Testosterone is a muscle-building anabolic steroid
2. Some people naturally produce higher amounts of testosterone than the normal range; in addition, the alcohol Landis consumed could have elevated his testosterone level.

Stem Cells:

The Hope and the Hype (pages 24-26)

1. Only embryonic cells possess the power to replicate indefinitely and grow into any of more than 200 types of tissue.
2. The FDA is expected to monitor patient safety and how the cells will behave in the human body.

Goodbye, Arctic Icecap and The Scary Economics of Global Warming (page 27)

1. As sea ice melts in summer, warmer water more easily flows into the Arctic. Open water also reflects less sunlight than ice does, which lets the sun warm things up more and causes faster melting.
2. Global warming could cause an economic downturn as a result of massive droughts, hundreds of millions of refugees from rising sea level, and the widespread extinction of species

Oceans of Nothing (pages 28 and 29)

1. They have been fished out of existence.
2. The depletion of the oceans could be reversed if the citizens around the world band together to buy only sustainably harvested seafood.

Interpreting Maps and Graphics (page 30)

1. By fertilizing or cloning an egg.
2. A hollow ball of cells formed by embryonic division.
3. False
4. 200
5. False
6. The stem cells are nurtured under specialized conditions and given specific nutrients and growth factors.
7. False
8. 2050
9. Russia, South Korea and Japan
10. Bluefin tuna
11. China
12. The North Atlantic

Where to Get a Pay Raise (page 31)

1. Wages for nonmanagerial workers have fallen 18% since 1975.
2. Higher wages help companies retain employees.

Current Events in Review (page 32)

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