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Current Events Update


NATION

POLITICS	The Man Who Bought Washington, DC.....	2
WHITE HOUSE	When George Met Jack.....	4
	Did Libby Lie?.....	5
	Has Bush Gone Too Far?.....	6
SUPREME COURT	Judging Mr. Right.....	8
HURRICANE KATRINA	An American Tragedy.....	10
	New Orleans Under Water.....	12
	 WORKSHEET: Interpreting Maps and Charts	14
PERSONS OF THE YEAR	An Unlikely Alliance.....	15

WORLD

IRAQ	A Rebel Crack-Up?.....	17
	 WORKSHEET: Violence in Iraq: A Gallery of Views	19
MIDDLE EAST	Can Militants Make Peace?.....	20
	Troubled Soil.....	21
KASHMIR	Nightmare in the Mountains.....	22
GERMANY	Can a New Chief Remake Germany?.....	24
FRANCE	Why Paris Is Burning.....	25

SCIENCE, SOCIETY AND BUSINESS

SCIENCE	Global Warming: The Culprit?.....	26
MEDICINE	A Transplant First.....	28
SOCIETY	A Jury of Their Peers.....	29
BUSINESS	War on the Water Front.....	30
	Wal-Mart's Urban Romance.....	31
	 WORKSHEET: Current Events in Review	32
	Answers.....	33

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The Man Who Bought Washington, DC

From deep inside the Republican elite, Jack Abramoff brought new excesses to the lobbying game. Who is he, and how did he get away with it for so long?

By **KAREN TUMULTY**/WASHINGTON

THERE WERE TWO QUALITIES THAT JACK Abramoff looked for in a prospective lobbying client: naiveté and a willingness to part with a lot of money. In early 2001 he found both in an obscure Indian tribe called the Louisiana Coushattas. Thanks to the thriving casino that the tribe had erected on farmland between New Orleans and Houston, a tribe that had subsisted in part on pine-needle basket weaving was doling out stipends of \$40,000 a year to every one of its 800-plus men, women and children. But the Coushattas were also \$30 million in debt and worried that renewal of their gambling compact would be blocked by hostile local authorities and that their casino business would be eaten away by others looking to get a piece of the action. So tribal leaders were eager to hear from the handsome, well-dressed visitor who had flown in from Washington with his partner on a private jet, shared some of their fried chicken in the council hall, then waited for them to turn off the tape recorder that they used for official business.

William Worfel, then a member of the council, recalls Abramoff saying if the Coushattas gave him enough money, he could make their problems go away. He and his partner Michael Scanlon, a onetime press secretary for congressional leader Tom DeLay who ran his own public relations firm, came through, attacking the tribe's political opponents, blitzing the state with television ads

and tapping a grassroots operation of Christian conservatives to help stop any rival casinos. And by the next year, with elections rolling around, Abramoff had the Coushattas dreaming even bigger. "You can control Louisiana," Worfel recalls



Abramoff telling the tribal leaders. "You could help elect Senators and Representatives and attorney generals in the state of Louisiana, and then they're going to remember that the Coushattas helped them. And they know that if you helped them, well, they know that you can come after them down the road if they don't help you, see?" The Coushattas went for it. On election night, they watched their chosen candidates with excitement and discovered that the \$9.3 million they had given Scanlon had produced ... nothing.

That's probably because much of the \$32 million that the Coushattas paid Abramoff and Scanlon over two years went not toward increasing the tribe's influence but toward lining the two partners' pockets. Nearly \$11.5 million in secret kickbacks was funneled by Scanlon back to Abramoff, according to court papers filed in early January, as the man who was once one of Washington's highest-paid lobbyists pleaded guilty to fraud, tax evasion and a conspiracy to bribe public officials. Abramoff's plea agreement admits to expansive schemes to defraud not just the Coushattas but also three other tribes and the lobbying firm Abramoff worked for, and it acknowledges buying off public officials, in part by laundering his clients' funds through legitimate-sounding think tanks and

public-policy groups, some of which Abramoff and Scanlon themselves set up. The stocky figure in the black fedora who left the federal courthouse after telling Judge Ellen Huvelle of his “tremendous sadness and regret for my conduct” was barely recognizable as the flamboyant power broker who used to send lawmakers and their staffs on junkets around the world and entertain them back in Washington with golf outings, free meals at his expensive restaurant, and concerts and games enjoyed from the luxury skyboxes he maintained at nearly every arena and stadium in town.

The Abramoff scandal has already taken down the political player who invented the system that has helped keep Republicans in power for more than a decade. The once-feared DeLay, whose office had been Abramoff’s biggest claim to access and influence on Capitol Hill, announced he would resign as House majority leader. Because of DeLay’s tightfisted regime that rewarded loyalists and punished detractors, his departure is sure to set off not just a fight for his old job but also some ugly score settling.

The Coughattas’ tale is only a small piece of an investigation that, with the 46-year-old Abramoff’s agreement to cooperate with federal prosecutors, could become one of the biggest corruption probes in U.S. history, possibly putting dozens of lawmakers in legal or political jeopardy. It has already netted Scanlon, 35, who pleaded guilty to similar charges in November and is also cooperating. In an internal e-mail obtained by TIME,

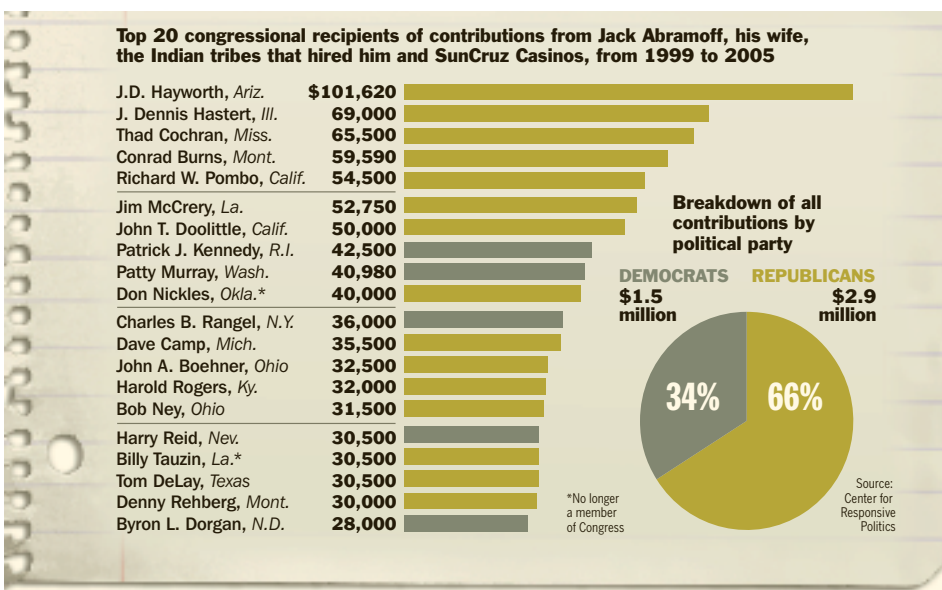
the director of the FBI’s Washington field office, Michael Mason, congratulated some 15 agents and 15 support staff members under him on the case for “a huge accomplishment” in squeezing Abramoff to make a deal after 18 months of investigation and negotiation, one that made “a huge contribution to ensuring the very integrity of our government.” But he added that “the case is far from over.”

Another official involved with the probe told TIME that investigators are viewing Abramoff as “the middle guy” suggesting there are bigger targets in their sights. The FBI has 13 field offices across the country working on the case, with two dozen agents assigned to it full time and roughly the same number working part time. “We are going to chase down every lead,” Chris Swecker, head of the FBI’s criminal division, told TIME.

Just following the money that Abramoff spread across Washington should give them plenty to do. So toxic are any campaign donations tied to him that panicked lawmakers from House Speaker Dennis Hastert (\$69,000) to Republican Senator Conrad Burns (\$150,000) to Democratic Senator Max Baucus (\$18,892) can’t give it away to charities fast enough. Even President Bush is giving the American Heart Association the \$6,000 that he received from Abramoff, his wife and one of the Indian tribes he represented.

The fact that the scandal is breaking at the beginning of midterm-election season promises that it will be amplified in political ads and coverage around the country. Even though he gave away

the contributions he took from Abramoff and his clients, Montana Senator Burns will continue to face questions about every move he made that helped the lobbyist. “I hope,” said Burns, “he goes to jail and we never see him again.” ■



Questions

1. What did Abramoff admit in his plea agreement?
2. How has this scandal affected Tom DeLay?

When George Met Jack

White House aides deny Bush knew Abramoff, but photos suggest there's more to the story

By **ADAM ZAGORIN** and **MIKE ALLEN**

AS DETAILS POURED OUT ABOUT THE ILLEGAL and unseemly activities of Republican lobbyist Jack Abramoff, White House officials sought to portray the scandal as a Capitol Hill affair with little relevance to them. Peppered for days with questions about Abramoff's visits to the White House, press secretary Scott McClellan said the now disgraced lobbyist had attended two huge holiday receptions and a few "staff-level meetings" that were not worth describing further. "The President does not know him, nor does the President recall ever meeting him," McClellan said.

The President's memory may soon be unhappily refreshed. TIME has seen five photographs of Abramoff and the President that suggest a level of contact between them that Bush's aides have downplayed. While TIME's source refused to provide the pictures for publication, they are likely to see the light of day eventually because celebrity tabloids are on the prowl for them. And that has been a fear of the Bush team's for the past several months: that a picture of the President with the admitted felon could become the iconic image of direct presidential involvement in a burgeoning corruption scandal.

In one shot that TIME saw, Bush appears with Abramoff, several unidentified people and Raul Garza Sr., a Texan Abramoff represented who was then chairman of the Kickapoo Indians, which owned a casino in southern Texas. Another photo shows Bush shaking hands with Abramoff in front of a window and a blue drape. Three other photos are of Bush, Abramoff and, in each view, one of the lobbyist's sons. A sixth picture shows several

Abramoff children with Bush and House Speaker Dennis Hastert, who is now pushing to tighten lobbying laws after declining to do so last year when the scandal was in its early stages.

Most of the pictures have the formal look of photos taken at presidential receptions. The images of Bush, Abramoff and one of his sons appear to be the rapid-fire shots—known in White House parlance as "clicks"—that the President snaps with top supporters before taking the podium at fund-raising receptions. Over five years, Bush has posed for tens of thousands of such shots—many with people he does not know.

Abramoff knew the game. In a 2001 e-mail to a lawyer for tribal leader Lovelin Poncho, he crowds about an upcoming White House meeting he had arranged for Poncho and says it should be a priceless asset in his client's upcoming re-election campaign as chief of Louisiana's Coushatta Indians. The e-mail, now part of a wide-ranging federal investigation into lobbyists' relationships with members of Congress, offers a window into Abramoff's willingness to invoke Bush's name to impress clients.

Abramoff was once in better graces at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, having raised at least \$100,000 for the President's re-election campaign. During 2001 and 2002, connections to the White House won him invitations to Hanukkah receptions, each attended by 400 to 500 people.

The White House describes the number of Abramoff's meetings with staff members as "a few," even though Bush aides have precise data about them. Pressed for particulars, McClellan said with brio, "People are insinuating things based on no evidence whatsoever." Senate minority leader Harry Reid of Nevada has demanded details, saying in a letter to Bush that Abramoff "may have had undue and improper influence within your Administration." ■

"The President does not know [Jack Abramoff]...."

—Scott McClellan, White House press secretary

Questions

1. Describe the photos of Abramoff and Bush.
2. How much money did Abramoff raise for President Bush's re-election campaign?

Did Libby Lie?

How a smart and loyal aide to Vice President Dick Cheney got indicted for allegedly lying about his role in defending the Iraq war

By **JEFF CHU**

THE CHIEF OF STAFF TO VICE PRESIDENT DICK Cheney, I. Lewis Libby, has been indicted on charges of obstruction of justice, perjury and making false statements. The indictment was handed down by a federal grand jury investigating the leak of the identity of a covert CIA operative. Special counsel Patrick Fitzgerald, who heads the two-year-old investigation, believes that Libby lied about how he learned—then shared with reporters—the identity of Valerie Plame, a covert CIA operative who is married to Joseph Wilson, a former diplomat who has been fiercely critical of the Bush Administration’s claims about weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in Iraq. “Mr. Libby gave the FBI a compelling story,” Fitzgerald said in a press conference. But that story “was not true. It was false ... and he lied about it afterwards, under oath and repeatedly.”

Karl Rove, President George W. Bush’s senior advisor and deputy chief of staff, was not indicted, but in a sign that Fitzgerald’s two-year investigation is not yet over, Rove remains under investigation. Libby submitted his resignation shortly after the indictment was announced but denies any wrongdoing; the case is expected to go to trial in 2007.

The indictment contains five counts against Libby—two for perjury, for allegedly lying to the grand jury; two for making false statements to FBI investigators; and one for obstruction of justice, for allegedly impeding the grand jury’s investigation. If found guilty, Libby could face 30 years in prison and a fine of \$1.25 million.

The indictment alleges that Libby made a “false, fictitious and fraudulent statement” when he was questioned by the FBI. It also says that he lied in his

testimony to the grand jury. Specifically, he misrepresented his conversations with NBC’s Tim Russert, TIME’s Matt Cooper, and Judith Miller of the *New York Times*. He told the grand jury that Russert had asked him whether he knew Wilson’s wife worked for the CIA and that he was surprised to learn this from Russert. But according to the indictment, Libby did not in fact discuss this with Russert, and he already knew about the identity of Wilson’s wife. The indictment also alleges that Libby lied in testifying that he told both Cooper and Miller that he had learned about Wilson’s wife from other reporters. Miller served 85 days in jail for refusing to reveal her source, and, earlier this month, testified to the grand jury about her conversations with Libby only after he granted her a personal waiver. Plame’s identity was first revealed to the public in July 2003, by Robert Novak, a syndicated columnist who referred to her as “an Agency operative on weapons of mass destruction.”

Tensions between the Administration and the CIA grew in mid-2003 along with doubts over the Administration’s claims that Iraq was seeking nuclear weapons.

Wilson went public with the news that, more than a year earlier, he had privately refuted, on behalf of the CIA, claims about an African connection to Saddam Hussein’s alleged WMD arsenal. Wilson suggested that Cheney knew before the war that the claims were bogus. People who worked with Libby tell TIME that he regarded Wilson’s criticisms as part of a wider effort by the CIA to shift blame to the White House for the faulty pre-war claims about Iraq’s WMD.

Libby served as the right-hand man to one of the most powerful Vice Presidents in U.S. history. For the moment, Libby has been thrust into the spotlight. In that glare, prosecutors hope to find answers. “As soon as we can get it done, we will,” said Fitzgerald. “We need to know the truth.” ■

“Mr. Libby gave the FBI a compelling story,” Special Counsel Patrick Fitzgerald said in a press conference. But that story “was not true. It was false....”

Questions

1. Who is Valerie Plame?
2. On what grounds was Libby indicted?

Has Bush Gone Too Far?

The President's secret directive to let the National Security Agency snoop on American citizens without warrants sets off a furor

By RICHARD LACAYO

IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE SEPTEMBER 11 attacks, White House officials were haunted by two questions. Were there other terrorists lying in wait within the U.S.? And, given how freely the 19 hijackers had been able to operate before they acted, how would we know where to find them? It didn't take long before an aggressive idea emerged from the circle of Administration hawks. Liberalize the rules for domestic spying, they urged. Free the National Security Agency (NSA) to use its powerful listening technology to eavesdrop on terrorist suspects on U.S. soil without having to seek a warrant for every phone number it tracked. But because of a 1978 law that forbids the NSA to conduct no-warrant surveillance inside the U.S., the new policy would require one of two steps. The first was to revise the law. The other was to ignore it.

In the end, George Bush tried the first. When that failed, he opted for the second. In 2002 he issued a secret Executive Order to allow the NSA to eavesdrop without a warrant on phone calls, e-mail and other electronic communications, even

when at least one party to the exchange was in the U.S.—the circumstance that would ordinarily trigger the warrant requirement. For four years, Bush's decision remained a closely guarded secret. In the weeks since December 16, 2005, when the program was disclosed by the *New York Times*, it has set off a ferocious debate in Washington and around the country about how the rule of law should constrain the war on terrorism. That development ensures that the President will start the new year preoccupied for a while with a fight over whether his responsibility to prevent another attack gave him the power to push aside an act of Congress—or, to use the terms of his harshest critics, to break the law.

The NSA intercepts are just one instance of the Bush Administration's effort to pursue the war on terrorism unhindered by some long-established legal norms. In the White House version of how that struggle must be conducted, it's acceptable to hold captured suspects indefinitely without trial, hand them over for questioning to nations known to torture prisoners, define American citizens as enemy combatants who can be detained without charges, resist efforts by Congress to put limits

on the rough interrogation of detainees and allow the CIA to establish secret prisons abroad. Any and all of those things may be necessary, but this is shaping up as the year when we take a long, hard look.

Because they required the President to plainly bypass an act of Congress, the no-warrant wiretaps may be the sharpest expression yet of the Administration's willingness to expand the scope of Executive power. When the NSA was established, in 1952, there were few legal limits on its power to spy within the U.S. Then came the intelligence-gathering abuses of the Nixon years, when the NSA as well as the



FBI were used by the White House to spy on civil rights and anti-Vietnam War activists. In 1978 Congress passed the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), which required the NSA to obtain a warrant any time it wanted to monitor communications within the U.S. (Outside the U.S., it still enjoys a free hand.) The new law created the FISA court, an 11-member secret panel whose job it is to hear the NSA requests and issue—or deny—the warrants. In the event that the NSA comes upon a situation that seems to require immediate action, the law permits the agency to eavesdrop without a warrant so long as it applies for one within 72 hours.

But the Administration says that advances in technology since FISA was passed make the court's procedures too slow to contend with the immense flood of electronic chatter that now passes in and out of the U.S. and which the agency has much improved means of capturing and analyzing. Justice Department officials say a FISA surveillance request can take up to a week to prepare, even for seasoned lawyers. "When you get a terrorist's cell phone and there are 20 numbers in it," a former Administration official says, "you can't fill out one of these for every one of them."

The White House insists that the NSA is looking into only the communications of people who have known links to al-Qaeda. If that's so, the program's critics ask, then why not just apply to the FISA court first for a warrant, especially when the court has rarely stood in the way of any warrant request? According to the Justice Department, from 1979 to 2004 the court approved 18,724 wiretaps and denied only three, all in 2003. (Despite the 2002 presidential order allowing the

NSA to work without a warrant when it chooses to, the agency has continued in many cases to apply for them. Last year it sought 1,754.) But the court has been subjecting the applications to closer examination. It substantially modified 94 of last year's requests—reducing the scope, timing or targets in the original application.

The White House says Congress implicitly gave Bush the power to approve the no-warrant wiretaps in a resolution it passed on September 14, 2001. That measure authorized the President to use "all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons" involved in the 9/11 attacks. Tom Daschle, then the Senate Democratic majority leader, says the Administration knows it did not have that implicit authority because White House officials had sought unsuccessfully to get congressional leaders to include explicit language approving no-warrant wiretaps in the resolution. Attorney General Gonzales says the Administration decided to go forward with the program anyway because it was convinced that the President possessed the inherent power to act.

When we talk about trade-offs between freedom and security, it's a mistake to assume they will be short-term adjustments. The emergency powers that we agree to now may well become the American way for years. We may still agree to them, but it is essential to know

exactly what costs they come with. ■

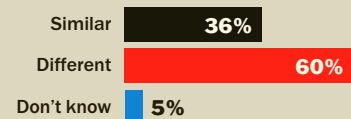
Questions

1. When and why was FISA passed?
2. What two options did the Bush Administration have for expanding surveillance in the U.S.?

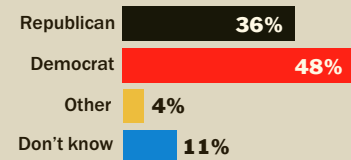
TIME POLL

Looking For Change

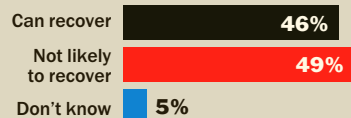
■ Would you like the next President to be similar to **George W. Bush** in terms of policies and programs or completely different?



■ There will be elections for the U.S. House of Representatives next year. If the elections were held today, would you be more likely to vote for the **Republican** or the **Democratic** candidate in your district?



■ President Bush's approval ratings in the past few months have been among the lowest of his presidency. Do you think the President can **recover from recent setbacks** and regain his higher approval ratings in the final three years of his presidency?



■ Have any of the following had a **negative impact** on how you rate President Bush's job performance?

Percentage saying "very negative":

Policies in Iraq	45%
Higher gas/energy prices	45%
Federal budget deficit	39%
Putting people close to him in high places in the government regardless of their experience	39%
Handling of hurricane-recovery efforts	37%
Handling of economy	35%
Failure of Social Security initiative	32%
Investigations and indictment surrounding outing of CIA agent	26%
Proposals dealing with illegal immigrants	24%

This TIME poll was conducted by telephone Nov. 29-Dec. 1 among 1,004 adult Americans by SRBI Public Affairs. The margin of error for the entire sample is ±3 percentage points

Judging Mr. Right

An inside look at a judge who walked a careful path to the top

By **NANCY GIBBS**

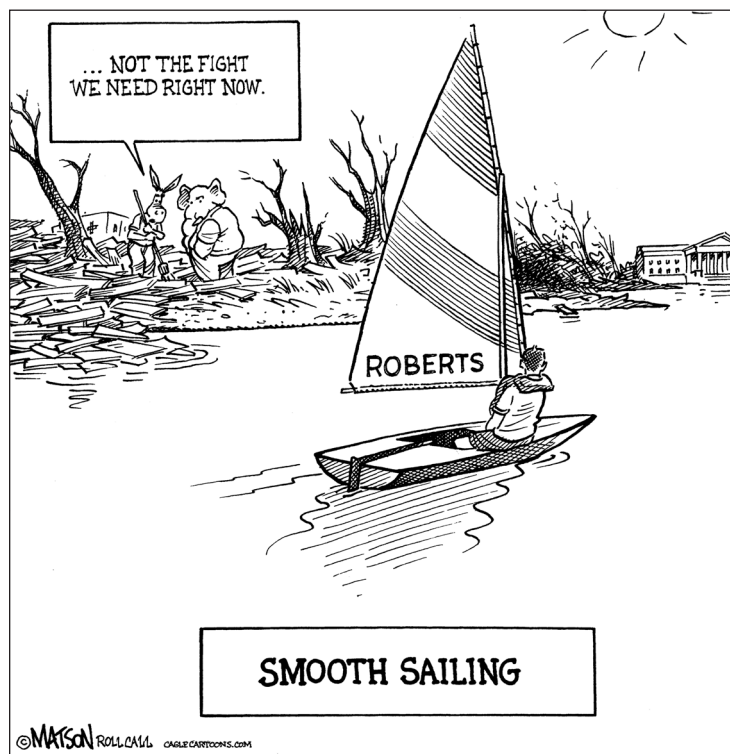
TO LISTEN TO PEOPLE WHO HAVE KNOWN him longest, what sets John Roberts apart is not so much his individual virtues but how they fit together: a great talker who listens well, a natural talent who works unnaturally hard, a regular guy who moonlights as a legal star. He was originally nominated to fill the vacancy created by the pending retirement of Justice Sandra Day O'Connor. But following the death of Chief Justice William Rehnquist, President Bush quickly named Roberts to take over the court's top spot. The Senate confirmed him as Chief Justice on September 29, in a 78-22 vote.

Roberts' resume reads so perfectly that it is easy to find the little flakes of destiny littered through his storybook life. Born in Buffalo, New York, he was raised in Long Beach, Indiana, a small town on the southeastern edge of Lake Michigan. He was the

kind of boy whose eighth-grade math teacher kept his birthday in her birthday book all these years, alone among her generations of students. "I like to think that was an omen for wonderful things to come," says Dorothea Liddell. He was way clever, she recalls, so much so that if he didn't get a concept she knew she had to teach it again, but "he never flaunted his intelligence over the other kids." For high school, Roberts applied to La Lumiere, a competitive Catholic boarding school about 12 miles away in La Porte, Indiana. "I won't be content to get a good job by getting a good education," he wrote at age 13 in an application letter. "I want to get the best job by getting the best education."

Roberts made it through Harvard in three years, summa cum laude, on his way to Harvard Law School. Cambridge in the mid-1970s was a less unruly place than it had been during the height of the war protests, and while Roberts was known for being personally conservative right down to his unvarying choice of chocolate-chip ice cream, he was never rigid or doctrinaire.

He rose to become the managing editor of the *Law Review*, sometimes sleeping overnight in the office. "There were a few people on the *Law Review* that were social conservatives, [with] very strong views about abortion and separation of church and state. John was not one of them," recalls classmate Steve Glover. "John's approach, as I recall it, was very lawyerly, in the sense that he was very much focused on case law and the precedent that courts had set before." That mind-set prepared him well for the apprenticeship that followed Harvard and that he cherished above all: his clerkship with Judge Henry Friendly, a Second Circuit judge known for his careful, almost handcrafted, opinions and for being mindful of what his legal forebears had laid out. In some ways



that training was even more informative than the clerkship that followed, with Justice William Rehnquist.

Those poring over the Roberts record will have a tough time finding an ideology. Law professors can afford to offer grand theories; practicing lawyers want to win. The very best players—and Roberts is unquestionably one—can argue all sides of any issue, because that is what they get paid to do. So all the selective readings of his case file obscured the point that he argued for and against affirmative action, for and against environmental regulations, argued that *Roe v. Wade* should be overturned when he was representing a Republican President and then described it as settled law when speaking as a nominee to become an appellate judge.

Roberts seemed on a fast track to judicial glory in 1992, when George H.W. Bush tapped him for the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals at the age of 36. But he encountered his first setback when the bid died in the Senate with Bill Clinton's victory. Then George W. Bush tried in 2001 and finally succeeded in 2003. In the meantime, Roberts spent most of the 1990s biding his time, getting rich as a corporate lawyer at Hogan & Hartson, one of Washington's largest firms, where he quickly emerged as the supreme commander of Supreme Court battles. Between his government and corporate jobs, he argued 39 cases before the high court and won 25 of them.

At 50, Roberts is by far the youngest member of the court. Only Clarence Thomas, 57, is close, while all the rest are over 65, and John Paul Stevens is 85. The burning question now, with O'Connor and Rehnquist gone, is, How will the court rebalance?

When Roberts spoke during the confirmation process of the lump in his throat whenever he climbed the marble stairs of the Supreme Court building, it rang true to anyone who had ever watched him in action. And it would match the history and mystery of the court if it turned out that Roberts ultimately alienates conservatives and not those who fear any Republican appointee. Roberts may agree in spirit with those who see the past 50 years of jurisprudence as too expansive and too intrusive but respect too much the way

ALITO SWORN IN AS 110TH SUPREME COURT JUSTICE

Samuel Alito was sworn in as the nation's 110th Supreme Court justice on January 31 after being confirmed by the Senate by a vote of 58–42. The vote was the closest confirmation for a nominee since Justice Clarence Thomas was confirmed 52–48 in 1991. Alito, 55, replaces retiring Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, a moderate swing vote and the first woman appointed to the high court.

The confirmation vote came a day after an attempt by some Democratic senators to filibuster his nomination fizzled. In the end, only 24 of the chamber's 44 Democrats went along with the filibuster, a maneuver allowed under Senate rules to block a vote by extending debate indefinitely. Sixty votes are needed to pass a motion to end debate, called a *cloture motion*; the Senate voted 72–25 to cut off debate, thereby killing the filibuster.

Arguing against cutting off debate, Sen. John Kerry—who spearheaded the filibuster effort with his fellow Massachusetts Democrat, Sen. Ted Kennedy—said Alito's record during his 15 years on the 3rd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals has given “the extreme right wing unbelievable public cause for celebration. That just about tells you what you need to know,” Kerry said. “The vote today is whether or not we will take a stand against ideological court packing.”

But Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist said the move to cut off debate fulfilled a “very straightforward principle—a nominee with the support of a majority of senators deserves a fair up-or-down vote.”

—From CNN.com, February 1, 2006

the law is shaped to ride in and blowtorch it. He may just prove willing to conserve even opinions he faults. If that is so, then it will not be the liberals who come to wonder at George Bush's choice. ■

Questions

1. For what judges has John Roberts clerked?
2. Why is Roberts' ideology hard to pin down?

An American Tragedy

How the U.S. failed the city of New Orleans in its greatest hour of need

By **NANCY GIBBS**

NEW ORLEANS LIVES BY THE WATER AND fights it, a sand castle set on a sponge nine feet below sea level, where people made music from heartache, named their drinks for hurricanes and joked that one day you'd be able to tour the city by gondola.

A city built by rumrunners and slave traders and pirates was never going to play by anyone's rules or plan for the future. So as Katrina, wicked and flirtatious, lingered in the Gulf with her eye on the town, many citizens decided they would stay, stubborn or stoic or too poor to have much choice. As for the ones packing up to go, officials told them to take a look around before leaving, because it might never be the same again.

By the time President Bush touched down in the tormented region, more than just the topography had changed. Shattered too was a hope that four years after the greatest man-made disaster in our history, we had got smarter about catastrophe. Is it really possible, after so many commissions and commitments, bureaucracies scrambled and rewired, emergency supplies stockpiled and prepositioned, that when disaster strikes, the whole newfangled system just seizes up and can't move?

It may be weeks before the lights come back on and months before New Orleans is mopped out, a year before the refugees resettle in whatever will come to function as home, even without anything precious from the days before the flood. But it may take even longer than that before the nature of this American tragedy is clear: whether the storm of 2005 is remembered mainly as the worst natural disaster in our history or as the worst response to a disaster in our history. Or both.

Watching helpless New Orleans suffering day by day left people everywhere stunned and angry and in ever greater pain. These things happened in Haiti, they said, but not here. "Baghdad under water" is how former Louisiana Senator John Breaux described his beloved city, as state officials told him they feared the death toll could reach as high as 10,000, spread across Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama.

No matter what the final tally, the treatment of the living, black and poor and old and sick, was a disgrace. The problem with putting it all into numbers is that they stop speaking clearly once they get too big: an estimated half a million refugees, a million people without power, 30,000 soldiers, up to \$100 billion in damage. "This is our tsunami," said Mayor A.J. Holloway of Biloxi, Mississippi.

Around the country, people watched the scene in growing horror, as babies and old people and diabetics and those worn out surviving the storm died on live television for all to see. Churches started assembling comfort kits; Red Cross volunteers prepared 500,000 hot meals a day.

The private response was all the more urgent because the public one seemed so inept. Somehow Harry Connick Jr. could get to the New Orleans Convention Center and offer help, but not the National Guard. Bush praised the "good work" on Thursday, then called the results "not acceptable" on Friday. By then, 55 nations had offered to pitch in—including Sri Lanka, whose disaster scars are still fresh.

But it was in New Orleans where the cameras converged, a city that had braced for the worst, then briefly exhaled when it looked as if the threat had passed. Several hours after the storm moved through on Monday, August 29, some streets were



essentially dry. Then shortly after midnight, a section almost as long as a football field in a main levee near the 17th Street Canal ruptured, letting Lake Pontchartrain pour in. The city itself turned into a superbowl, roadways crumbled like soup crackers as the levees designed to protect them were now holding the water in. Engineers tried dropping 3,000-pound sandbags, but the water just swallowed the bags.

The levee breach left 80% of the city immediately submerged and 100,000 people stranded. Canal Street lived up to its name. As the temperature rose, the whole city was poached in a vile stew of melted landfill, chemicals, corpses, gasoline, snakes, canal rats; many could not escape their flooded homes without help. Among those who could, only a final act of desperation would drive them into the streets, where the caramel waters stank of sewage and glittered with the gaudy swirls of oil spills. A New Orleans TV station reported that a woman waded down to Charity Hospital, floating her husband's body along on a door.

For the first time ever, a major U.S. city was simply taken offline, closed down. Food and water and power and phones were gone; authority was all but absent. Most of the people left to cope were least equipped: the ones whose Social Security checks were just about due, or those who made for the Greyhound station only to find it already closed, or those confined to bed or who used a wheelchair. "We're seeing people that we didn't know exist," declared Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) director Michael Brown in a moment of hideous accidental honesty. Rescue workers could hear people pounding on roofs from the inside, trapped in attics as the waters rose. The lucky ones were able to cut holes with knives and axes to reach the open air. Emergency workers hovered from house to house, plucking out the living, leaving bodies behind.

The seething center of the angry Crescent City was the Superdome, refuge of utterly last resort for 25,000 people who had waited out the worst of the storm while the sheet-metal roof peeled like fruit, letting the rains pour in. Soon there was no light, no

air, no working toilets. Reports came that four of the weakest died that first night. Members of the city's EMS team made their way there only to find anarchy. "We tried to start triaging and getting the special needs in one section," a technician recalls, but his team was overwhelmed by the hungry crowd and retreated with armed guards to Army trucks.

Only by Friday did some palpable help arrive, in the form of thousands of National Guard troops and lumbering convoys of supplies. Virtually alone, Lieutenant General Russel Honore, commanding Joint Task Force Katrina, seemed to be moving pieces into place. He was out in the streets with his troops, directing convoys and telling anxious Guardsmen to keep their weapons pointed down.

Americans sometimes ask what the government does and where their tax money goes. Among other things, it pays for all kinds of invisible but essential safety nets and

life belts and guardrails that are useless right up until the day they are priceless. Following Katrina, furious critics charged that the government had not heard the warnings. Instead, it cut the funds for flood control and storm preparations and mangled the chain of command. An angry debate opened about how much the demands of the Iraq war, on both the budget and the National Guard, were eating into the country's ability to protect itself at home. Just one month after Katrina struck, Hurricane Rita devastated portions of Louisiana and Texas, causing an estimated \$9 billion in damage. (*Read more about Rita and hurricanes on pages 26 and 27.*) Republican Congressman Jim McCrery of Louisiana argues that Katrina and Rita have revealed how much doesn't work. "Clearly," said McCrery, "with all the money we've spent, all the focus we have put on homeland security, we are not prepared for a disaster of this proportion whether it's induced by nature or man." ■

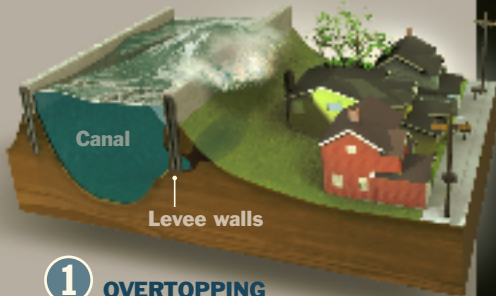
Was Katrina the worst natural disaster in U.S. history—or the worst response to a disaster? Or both?

Questions

1. What event caused by Hurricane Katrina led to the massive flooding in New Orleans?
2. According to critics, what did Katrina reveal about decisions made by the government?

WHEN THE LEVEE BREAKS

New Orleans is surrounded by a 350-mile (563 km) system of levees that hold back the waters of the Mississippi River and Lake Pontchartrain. When three levees failed, the city filled like a bathtub



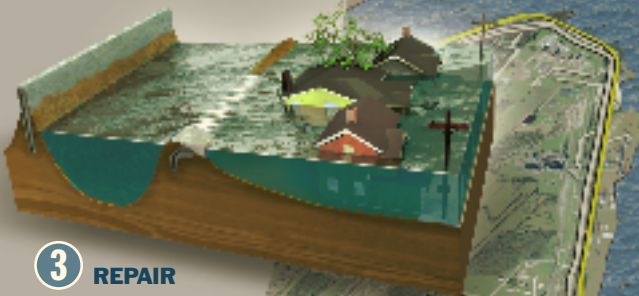
1 OVERTOPPING

Floodwaters may have risen past the tops of the levees. The city's pumping system, designed to handle smaller storms, lost power and failed



2 BREACHING

Because the flooding didn't begin until after the hurricane, some suspect the levees may have leaked from within. The water pressure would have turned tiny cracks into gaping holes



3 REPAIR

Crews have been trying to plug the collapsed levees with giant sandbags and concrete barriers. Once the levees are sealed, the challenge of draining the city begins. That job could take months

TIME Graphic by Ed Gabel and Lon Tweeten; text by Kristina Dell

Sources: Dean Gesch, U.S. Geological Survey; Army Corps of Engineers; Digital Globe; New Orleans Times-Picayune. Inset model of downtown New Orleans "Intelligent 3D Map" provided by ITspatial, imagery provided by Sanborn Mapping

AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY

New Orleans Under

17th STREET CANAL

Helicopters dropped giant sandbags in an effort to seal the initial breach



TRAVIS HEYING—KFTABACA



LOUISIANA SUPERDOME

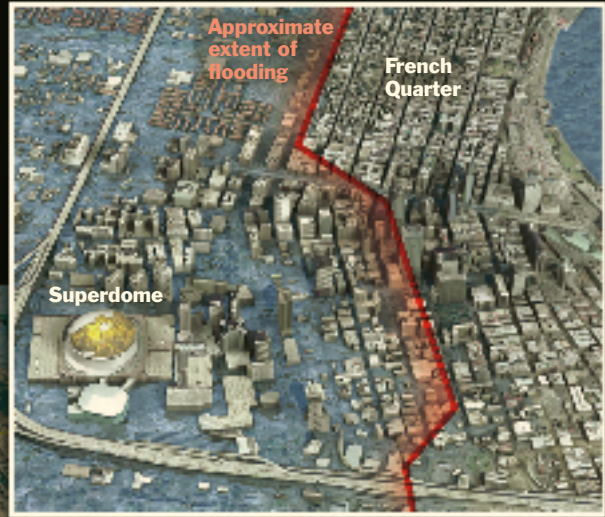
As aid began to trickle into the city, thousands waited for evacuation



JAMES NIELSEN—AP/GETTY IMAGES

Water

The storm passed, and the city had survived. Then a levee broke. The worst-case scenario had arrived



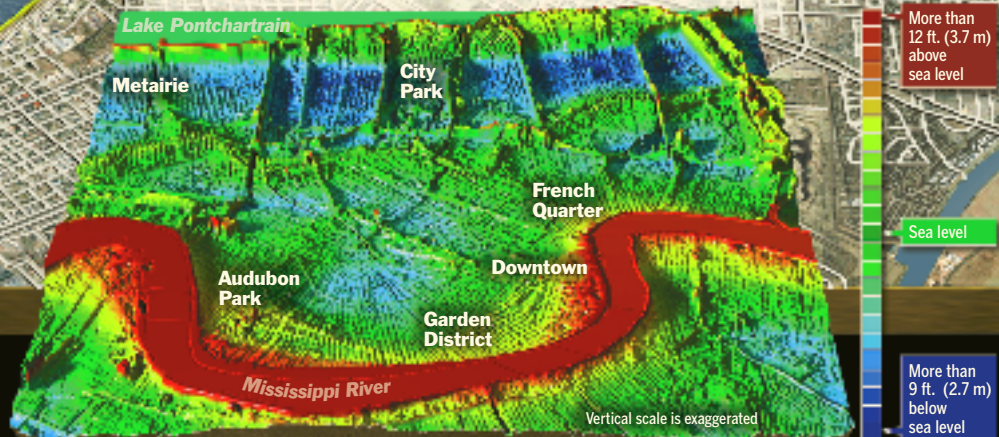
DOWNTOWN MOSTLY DRY

Much of New Orleans' main business district is built on the highest ground in the city. The Superdome wasn't so lucky



WHERE WATER IS HIGHER THAN LAND

New Orleans sits in a wide, shallow bowl, with the levees of the Mississippi as one rim and the levees of Lake Pontchartrain as the other. The bottom of the bowl is filled with small ridges, which created small islands when the city flooded



CONVENTION CENTER

Lynn Jackson, 46, hugs her daughter after being rescued from her home



JOHN PENNINGTON/ST. PETERSBURG TIMES



The Impact of Hurricane Katrina

In “An American Tragedy” on pages 10 and 11, Nancy Gibbs presents evidence from a variety of sources to help readers understand Hurricane Katrina’s impact on New Orleans. Take a closer look at the piece and use the questions below to see how Gibbs uses statistics, quotes and anecdotes to tell the story.

Statistics: The Power of Numbers

1. As you read “An American Tragedy,” underline each sentence in which writer Nancy Gibbs includes statistics. Then look back at the sentences you have underlined. In your opinion, which sentence presents the most powerful and dramatic numbers? Write it here:

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

Quotations: The Power of Voices

2. Now circle all the sentences in the article in which Gibbs incorporates quotations. If you were trying to tell a friend about Katrina’s impact and had to choose one quotation to convey the storm’s devastating force, which quote would you select? Write it here:

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

3. Why did you select this quotation? Consider the role of the person being quoted, as well as the content of his or her statement. Is this person an expert? An eyewitness? An ordinary citizen? A government official?

.....
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.....

Anecdotes: The Power of Personal Stories

4. What is an anecdote? Using a dictionary, look up *anecdote* and write the definition here:

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

5. Now put a box around all the anecdotes that appear in “An American Tragedy.” Select one anecdote that particularly stands out to you and describe it here:

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

6. Why do you think Gibbs chose to include this anecdote in her article?

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

7. Share your work. Exchange worksheets with a classmate and read your partner’s choice of statistics, quotations and anecdotes. Then discuss: What does each of these elements add to “An American Tragedy”? Working together, select the one sentence from the article that you think best encapsulates the impact of Katrina. Write it here and be prepared to defend your choice:

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

An Unlikely Alliance

Bill and Melinda Gates have teamed up with Bono, the world's most famous rock star, to launch a global crusade against poverty

By **NANCY GIBBS**

THESE ARE NOT THE PEOPLE YOU EXPECT TO come to the rescue. Rock stars are designed to be shiny, shallow creatures, furloughed from reality for all time. Billionaires are even more removed, nestled atop fantastic wealth where they never again have to place their own calls or defrost dinner or fly on commercial jets. So Bono spends several thousand dollars at a restaurant for a nice dinner, and Bill Gates, the great predator of the Internet age, has a trampoline room in his \$100 million house. It makes you think that if these guys can decide to make it their mission to save the world, partner with people they would never otherwise meet, care about causes that are not flashy or dignified in the ways that celebrities normally require, then no one really has a good excuse anymore for just staying on the sidelines and watching.

Such is the nature of Bono's fame that just about everyone in the world wants to meet him—except for the richest man in the world, who thought it would be a waste of time. It took about three minutes with Bono for Gates to change his mind. Bill and his wife Melinda, another computer nerd turned poverty warrior, love facts and data with a tenderness most people reserve for their children, and Bono was hurling metrics across the table as fast as they could keep up. “He was every bit the geek that we are,” says Gates Foundation chief Patty Stonesifer, who

helped broker that first summit. “He just happens to be a geek who is a fantastic musician.”

And so another alliance was born: unlikely, unsentimental, hard nosed, clear eyed and dead set on driving poverty into history. The rocker's job is to be raucous, grab our attention. The engi-

neers' job is to make things work. 2005 is the year they turned the corner, when Bono charmed and bullied and morally blackmailed the leaders of the world's richest countries into forgiving \$40 billion in debt owed by the poorest; now those countries can spend the money on health and schools rather than interest payments—and have no more excuses for not doing so. The Gateses, having built the world's biggest charity, with a \$29 billion endowment, spent the year giving more money away faster than anyone ever

has, including nearly half a billion dollars for the Grand Challenges, in which they asked the very best brains in the world how they would solve a huge problem, like inventing a vaccine that needs no needles and no refrigeration, if they had the money to do it.

For being shrewd about doing good, for rewiring politics and re-engineering justice, for making mercy smarter and hope strategic and then daring the rest of us to follow, Bill and Melinda Gates and Bono are TIME's Persons of the Year.

“Katrina created one tragedy and revealed another,” Melinda Gates said in a speech after the hurricane. “We have to address the inequities that were not created by the hurricanes but ex-



posed by them. We have to ensure that people have the opportunity to make the most of their lives.” That just about captures the larger mission she and her husband have embraced. In the poorest countries, every day is as deadly as a hurricane. Malaria kills two African children a minute, round the clock. In that minute a woman dies from complications during pregnancy, nine people get infected with HIV, three people die of TB. A vast host of aid workers and agencies and national governments and international organizations have struggled for years to get ahead of the problem but often fell behind. The task was too big, too complicated. There is no one solution to fit all countries, and so the model the Gates Foundation and Bono have embraced pulls in everyone, at every level. Think globally. Act carefully. Prove what works. Then use whatever levers you have to get it done.

The challenge of “stupid poverty”—the people who die for want of a \$2 pill because they live on \$1 a day—was

enough to draw Gates away from Microsoft years before he intended to shift his focus from making money to giving it away. He and Melinda looked around and recognized a systems failure. “Those lives were being treated as if they weren’t valuable,” Gates told *FORTUNE* in 2002. “Well, when you have the resources that could make a very big impact, you can’t just say to yourself, ‘O.K., when I’m 60, I’ll get around to that. Stand by.’”

There have always been rich and famous people who feel the call to “give back,” which is where big marble buildings and opera houses come from. But Bill and Melinda didn’t set out to win any prizes—or friends. “They’ve gone into international health,” says Paul Farmer, a public-health pioneer, “and said, ‘What, are you guys kidding? Is this the best you can do?’” Gates’ standards are shaping the charitable marketplace as he has the software universe. “He wants to know where every penny goes,” says Bono, the Irish-born singer whose organization DATA (debt, AIDS, trade, Africa) got off the ground with a Gates Foundation grant. “Not because those pennies mean so much to him, but because he’s demanding efficiency.”

His rigor has been a blessing to everyone—not least of all Bono, who was at particular risk of not being taken seriously, just another guilty white guy pestering people for more money without focusing on where it goes.

The Gates commitment acts as a catalyst. They needed the drug companies to come on board, and the major health agencies, the churches, the universities and a whole generation of politicians who were raised to believe that foreign aid was about as politically appealing as postal reform. And that is where Bono’s campaign comes in. He goes to churches and talks of Christ and the lepers, citing exactly how many passages of Scripture (“2,103”) deal with taking care of the poor; he sits in a corporate boardroom and talks about the role of aid in reviving the U.S. brand. He gets Pat Robertson and Susan Sarandon to do a commercial together for his ONE campaign to “Make Poverty History.”

Bono grasps that politicians don’t much like being yelled at by activists

who tell them no matter what they do, it’s not enough. Bono knows it’s never enough, but he also knows how to say so in a way that doesn’t leave his audience feeling helpless. He invites everyone into the game, in a way that makes them think that they are missing something if they hold back.

This is not about pity. It’s more about passion. Pity sees suffering and wants to ease the pain; passion sees injustice and wants to settle the score. Pity implores the powerful to pay attention; passion warns them about what will happen if they don’t. The risk of pity is that it kills with kindness; the promise of passion is that it builds on the hope that the poor are fully capable of helping themselves if given the chance. In 2005, the world’s poor needed no more condolences; they needed people to get interested, get angry and then get to work. ■

For rewiring politics and re-engineering justice, Bill and Melinda Gates and Bono are TIME’s Persons of the Year.

Questions

1. What is the aim of the alliance between Bono and the Gates?
2. According to the writer, what makes Bono a particularly effective activist?

A Rebel Crack-Up?

Following elections in Iraq, splits among insurgents are erupting in violence and putting al-Qaeda on the defensive as tensions boil over

By **TIM MCGIRK**/BAGHDAD

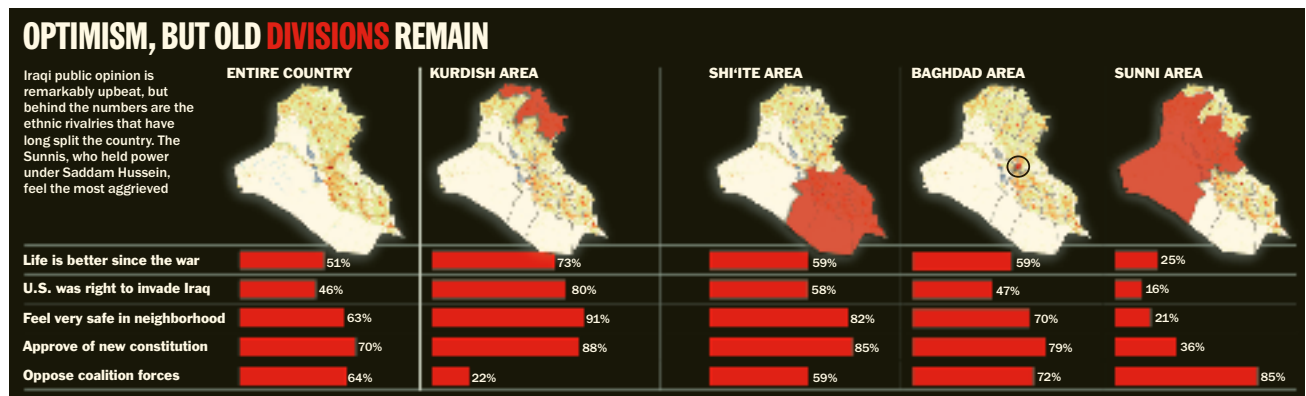
EVEN BY THE STANDARDS OF AL-QAEDA IN Iraq, the suicide bombing in Ramadi on January 5, 2006, was stunning for its boldness. The bomber had blended into the ranks of Iraqi police recruits outside the Ramadi Glass and Ceramics Works before blowing up his explosive vest, loaded with ball bearings for maximum devastation. The blast killed two U.S. service members and more than 70 Iraqi police recruits—but it also turned out to be a deadly miscalculation by the jihadis and their leader, Abu Mousab al-Zarqawi. Most of the victims were local Sunnis, and they were joining the police force under the protection of tribal chieftains who, with the U.S. military's approval, are trying to impose order over their violent swath of Iraq. After the January 5 blast, according to insurgents, tribal chiefs in Ramadi notified al-Qaeda that they were withdrawing protection in the city for the group's fighters. The jihadis responded by gunning down several prominent Sunni clerics and tribal leaders. Now al-Qaeda fighters who once swaggered through Ramadi are marked men. "It's war," says an Iraqi intelligence officer.

For months, U.S. officials in Iraq have tried to exploit growing differences over tactics and aims among factions of the insurgency. Though reports

of clashes between Iraqi nationalist groups and religious extremists linked to al-Qaeda remain difficult to quantify, there are signs that at least in some parts of Iraq, the tension is boiling over. Iraqi security sources with contacts in the insurgency told *TIME* that fighting has erupted in several cities that have long been bastions of the resistance, including Fallujah, Samarra, Latifiya and Mahmoudiya. In one recent incident, according to an Iraqi security source, insurgents wounded a Palestinian member of al-Qaeda, tracked him to a Baghdad hospital and then kidnapped him from his bed and handed him over to U.S. forces.

Some Pentagon decision makers believe that the feuding within the insurgency may help U.S. and Iraqi troops quell the terrorist attacks that have made parts of the country ungovernable. "We're starting to see a little bit more every day," says Army Lieutenant General Ray Odierno, assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In places like Ramadi and Fallujah, Odierno says, "we've had some Iraqi insurgents' groups actually put up defenses to protect their people against al-Qaeda forces."

What's behind the rift? Even though some Iraqi insurgent groups have cooperated with jihadist fighters to battle U.S. troops, insurgent leaders say they have grown sick of al-Qaeda's killing innocent Iraqi Shi'ites, whom al-Zarqawi considers infidels.



Cracks in al-Qaeda's alliance with the Iraqi groups became more pronounced after the December 15 election. Al-Zarqawi saw the poll as a detour from his goal of turning Iraq into a base from which al-Qaeda could spread terrorism throughout the Middle East and Europe. Many Sunni resistance groups have a narrower focus: ridding Iraq of all occupation forces—U.S. troops and the pro-Iranian militias that slipped across the border. Sunni politicians managed to convince some key rebel groups that unless the Sunni minority voted, the elections would enhance the power of Kurdish and religious Shi'ite parties, some of which have ties to Iran. Election results showed that Sunni Arab parties will hold 55 seats in the new parliament, up from 17 in the previous one. Abu Noor al-Iraqi, a leader of the Unified Leadership of Mujahedin, a new amalgam of four nationalist guerrilla outfits, tells TIME that "when al-Zarqawi's group threatened to attack the polling centers, we stood against them."

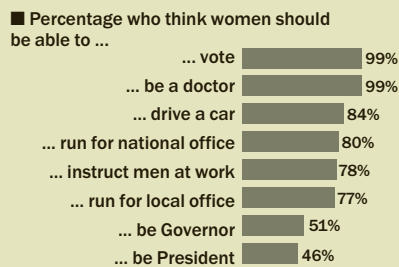
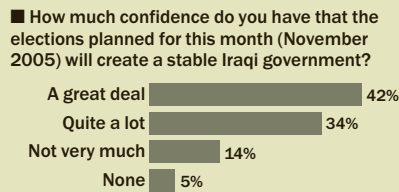
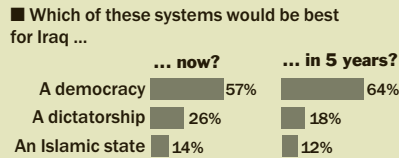
Since then, the fissures between the nationalists and al-Zarqawi have widened. U.S. political and military officers persuaded some Sunni tribal chiefs to send their youths into the security forces to ensure that Sunnis—not Shi'ite outsiders—would command their cities' police. But in recent meetings with various insurgent groups, al-Zarqawi's lieutenants made it clear that any Iraqi who joined the security forces was considered the enemy, thus drawing a battle line between the jihadis and their former comrades. In Latifiya, outside Baghdad, al-Zarqawi's fighters pressed

Sunnis to desert a mixed Sunni-Shi'ite battalion under U.S. command. When the Sunnis refused, al-Qaeda shelled the camp with mortars. In response, local insurgents hunted down al-Qaeda's chief for southern Baghdad and killed him and four Syrian fighters.

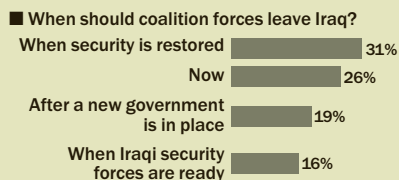
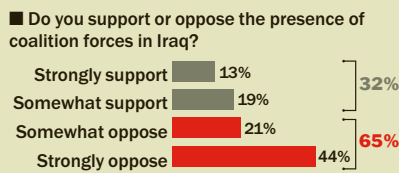
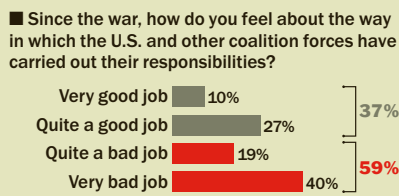
Al-Zarqawi's men, though, have shown few signs of backing down. In Latifiya, al-Qaeda fighters captured and murdered five members of the nationalist Islamic Army in Iraq in mid-January and assassinated a Sunni colonel. After the backlash in Ramadi, al-Zarqawi's men supposedly retreated into the rocky western deserts but have continued to target local leaders.

Such clashes don't spell the end of the insurgency. U.S. officials believe that even if terrorist attacks subsided, many Sunni insurgents would continue attacking U.S. and Iraqi forces if they felt their interests were being shortchanged by a Shi'ite-led government in Baghdad. U.S. Senator Jack Reed, who was briefed on the insurgency during a January visit to Iraq, cautions against giddiness at reports of a backlash against al-Qaeda. "The center of mass of the insurgency is not the foreign terrorists," the Rhode Island Democrat told TIME. "They're a small band able to create spectacular attacks. But the real long-term danger is the Sunnis continuing to fight." The U.S. is still a long way from persuading them to stop. ■

THEY WANT A STABLE DEMOCRACY ...



... BUT HAVE LITTLE PRAISE FOR THE U.S.



This poll was conducted for TIME, ABC News, the BBC, NHK and Der Spiegel by Oxford Research International. Interviews were conducted in person from Oct. 8 to Nov. 13, in Arabic and Kurdish, among a random national sample of 1,711 Iraqis age 15 and older. Margin of error is ±2.5 percentage points.

Questions

1. Why is there a rift between Iraqi insurgents and al-Qaeda?
2. According to Senator Jack Reed, what long-term threat does the U.S. face in Iraq?



Violence in Iraq

A GALLERY OF VIEWS

The Bush Administration had hoped that after Iraq held elections on December 15, 2005, the insurgency that has brought ongoing violence to the nation would wane. While there are signs of rifts among rebel factions, as described in **A Rebel Crack-Up?** on **page 17**, violence persists in Iraq. In response to this bloodshed, commentators have 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 the woman makes the comment she does? What does this suggest about the cartoonist's view of the insurgents' strategy?
3. How does the creator of the middle cartoon depict Iraq? What do the smiley face and podium stand for?
4. How does the third cartoonist view the war in Iraq? Do you share his view? Why or why not?
5. Of the three images, which do you think is most supportive of the Bush Administration's Iraq policy? Why? Do you think the other two cartoonists support the President's strategy? Explain.
6. **Following up.** Working with a small group of classmates, use library resources or the Internet to learn about the latest developments regarding the insurgency in Iraq. Then write a one-page essay in which you advocate a specific course of action for the U.S. in Iraq.



Can Militants Make Peace?

After its surprising election victory, Hamas is the new governing power among Palestinians. Now Israel and the U.S. have to consider how to deal with a party they view as terrorists

By **SIMON ROBINSON**/RAMALLAH

HE IS AN EXPERT AT PLOTTING ATTACKS AGAINST Israel. But now the chain-smoking Hamas military commander is trying to map out a different sort of plan: how to govern the Palestinians. The operative, a veteran of 16 years fighting Israel, met in the West Bank with other Hamas officials in late January to celebrate the militant Islamic party's victory in Palestinian legislative elections and to figure out what in the world to do next. "People should realize that we have an essential job: protecting Palestinians from Israeli arrogance and aggression," says the military man, who declined to be named because he is on the run from Israeli authorities. "We want them to recognize the Palestinian people as a partner in this land."

That land was rocked in late January by what Palestinians are calling the "earthquake." Hamas, the militant organization identified as a terrorist group by the U.S. and the European Union, won 76 seats in the 132-seat Palestinian parliament, trouncing the ruling Fatah party, which had dominated Palestinian politics for more than four decades. Fatah's moderate leader Mahmoud Abbas will stay on for now as President; he must find a way to work with a legislature controlled by a party whose commitment to Israel's destruction is a cornerstone of its charter. But before that, the Palestinian people—and observers all over the world—have to readjust to the stunning results.

The earthquake shook Israelis just as hard as it did Palestinians. Coming so soon after Prime Minister Ariel Sharon slipped into a coma and in

the middle of Israel's own election campaign, the Hamas victory "has people sweating," a senior Israeli security official told TIME. "We had a plan for every eventuality in the Middle East except for this one." Acting Prime Minister Ehud Olmert said he would not negotiate with a Palestinian government "if even part of it is an armed terrorist organization calling for Israel's destruction."

Virtually no one foresaw Hamas' surge. Pre-election polls generally gave Hamas, which was founded in 1987 as an offshoot of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, about a third of the vote. But when election day dawned on January 25, voters leaped at the chance to rid themselves of the incompetent and corrupt Fatah. It was Hamas' commitment to welfare and social services that ultimately proved appealing. Hamas also benefited from a slick and

The Palestinian people—and observers all over the world—have to readjust to the stunning election results.

professional campaign. In the Gaza Strip, Hamas officials went from house to house explaining the party's policies. By contrast, "Fatah leaders were busy holding rallies with luxury cars," says Zakarya Ba'aloush, a disgruntled former Fatah security official.

The thorniest problem ahead may be Hamas' legacy as a terrorist organization. Israeli officials estimate that

Hamas has been responsible for scores of suicide bombings that have killed hundreds of people. That complicates how Israel and the West may interact with a new Palestinian government. President George W. Bush, who often talks of his hope that democracy will sweep the Middle East, applauded the fact that Palestinians had spoken at the ballot box, and he said the results were a wake-up call for the Fatah leadership. But he also said the vote did nothing to change the U.S. position that Hamas is a terrorist organization. If it wants to deal with the U.S., he said, Hamas must recognize Israel and renounce violence. "I don't see how you can be a partner in peace if you advocate the destruction of a country as part of your platform," Bush said. ■

Questions

1. Why is Israel nervous about Hamas winning a majority of seats in the Palestinian parliament?
2. What accounts for Hamas' surprise victory?

Troubled Soil

With Ariel Sharon off the stage, Israel prepares for life after its iconic leader—while facing new challenges in making peace with the Palestinians

By JOHANNA MCGEARY

SOON AFTER ARRIVING HOME ON THE EVENING of January 5, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, 77, complained of an excruciating headache. He was rushed to Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem, where an MRI scan revealed a massive brain hemorrhage. Sharon underwent a two-stage operation that lasted more than eight hours. After another surgery, he remained in a medically induced coma and was attached to a respirator.

Since his election as Prime Minister four years ago, Sharon has towered over Israeli politics, shaping it to his will. But the prognoses from medical experts indicated that he would never return to the tan leather chair at the center of the Cabinet table. And so the country began the wrenching process of moving on. Deputy Prime Minister Ehud Olmert inherited Sharon's duties and his suffocating security retinue.

The rapid handover of power, though, did little to ease the shock and uncertainty that accompanied Sharon's exit from public life. As Israelis monitored the Prime Minister's condition around the clock, they knew they were witnessing the end of an era—and, perhaps, the vanishing of the country's

best hope for a durable settlement of the Palestinian dispute. Sharon's credentials as an uncompromising hawk meant the public trusted him to make painful concessions for peace, even if "peace" for him involved imposing territorial boundaries without the negotiated assent of the Palestinians. That process began last August, with Sharon's decision to withdraw Israeli settlers from the Gaza Strip and four West Bank settlements.

Until December, the future looked relatively sunny for this corner of the world. The constant fear of Palestinian suicide bombings has largely dissipated from Israeli life, and Israel's economy emerged from a long slump to become one of the fastest growing in the developed world. Prosperity and the success of the Gaza pullout boosted Sharon's political confidence. When the angry right of Likud hamstrung his government after the Gaza evacuation, he asked Israeli President Moshe Katsav to dissolve the parliament and call for early elections to be held this March. Then he took an even bolder gamble: he left the Likud Party and built a new one, Kadima ("forward" in Hebrew) on center ground. Labor voters seeking tough security and Likud voters ready for pragmatic solutions flocked to Kadima.

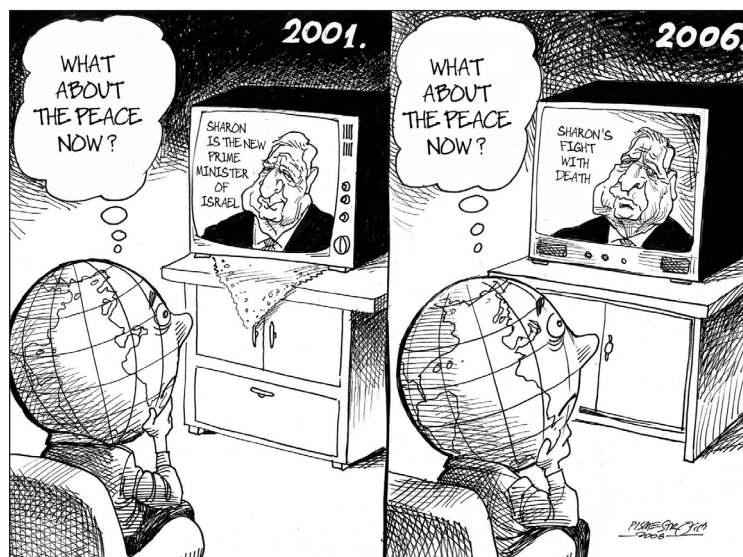
In fact, it may well be that without the strong hand of Sharon to reassure Israelis, it is the Palestinians who will determine the outcome of the country's March vote. The mounting turmoil in the territories and the prospect of a resurgent Hamas launching new terrorist attacks could

provoke an Israeli turn to the right.

A Hamas official told *TIME* that if the next Israeli government responds to the growing chaos in the West Bank and Gaza Strip with force, a "new round of confrontation between Palestinians and Israelis will begin before the end of this year." The mettle that moderates on both sides show in coming days will determine whether Sharon's last overtures toward peace outlive him. ■

Questions

1. Who is Israel's new Prime Minister?
2. How did Sharon give hope to Israelis?



Nightmare in the Mountains

After a devastating earthquake, delays in getting relief to the Himalayan quake zone have left millions on the edge of survival

By **TIM MCGIRK**/NORTHERN PAKISTAN

THE RESCUERS HAD SEARCHED THE RUBBLE for days, with little expectation of finding anyone alive. Even the mother of 5-year-old Zarabe Shah had given up hope, leaving the ruins of Muzaffarabad, Pakistan, a once boisterous river town of about 150,000, to grieve elsewhere for her lost daughter. But what happened next was proof that even in the most devastated settings, miracles can happen. As workers pounded a hole in a collapsed house, the tiny figure of Zarabe crawled out. Her shiny red dress and spiky hair were caked with dust, and she was scared and thirsty. But otherwise Zarabe was unhurt—a living, breathing testament to the human will to survive.

She was among the lucky ones. As military helicopters and aid convoys began delivering food, water, medicine and tents to those stranded in the Himalayas, the full scale of the disaster became more apparent. The 7.6-magnitude earthquake that hammered northern Pakistan and India on October 8 flattened entire villages, burying scores of people whose bodies remain unrecovered. In Pakistan, officials expect the final toll to exceed 50,000 dead, with many thousands injured and more than 2 million people left homeless. In India, the quake killed more than 1,300 and left more than 100,000 without shelter. For the survivors, the devastation of the quake was followed by even more misery, as untold numbers in remote mountain villages went days without seeing any sign of relief. The delay in getting supplies to the disaster zone raised fears of untreated injuries, disease and malnutrition, or worse: the looming snow sea-

son could present the specter of masses of people freezing to death.

Most of the destruction took place in Kashmir, a stunningly beautiful land of rivers, lakes and valleys beset by decades of conflict and tragedy. India, which controls roughly two-thirds of the area, and Pakistan, which controls the rest, have fought two wars over the disputed territory. Both governments said they had summoned all available resources to assist the victims, but neither country's response was adequate to the task.

Like last year's tsunami, the Himalayan disaster

In Pakistan, officials expect the final toll to exceed 50,000 dead, with many thousands injured and more than 2 million people left homeless.

presented a political opportunity for the Bush Administration, which hopes that by providing assistance to a Muslim country in need like Pakistan, it can help improve its image in the Islamic world. Washington has promised \$50 million in emergency aid, and already C-130 cargo planes are parachuting an airlift of blankets, plastic sheets, medical supplies and disaster-survival kits to victims. But U.S. officials say

the military can't afford to make an open-ended commitment to the relief effort without hampering antiterrorism operations in Afghanistan. Meanwhile, relief groups trying to raise money for the victims say they are encountering donor fatigue—perhaps caused by the massive private responses to the tsunami and to Hurricane Katrina. Jan Egeland, the United Nations' top humanitarian-aid official, is calling for worldwide donations of some \$272 million. "We are losing the race against the clock in the small villages," he says.

It is in those tiny outposts that the horror is still being uncovered. The quake struck as children were in their morning classes, in shabbily built schools that crumbled under the first shock waves, crushing thousands of boys and girls. Four days

after the quake, a teacher named Said Rasool traveled down from his village to seek help in Balakot, his cream-colored trousers still stained with the blood of his dead students. He wandered from one cluster of soldiers to another, pleading that they help him try to dig out his students. But there was still too much work to be done in Balakot before the soldiers could follow the teacher up

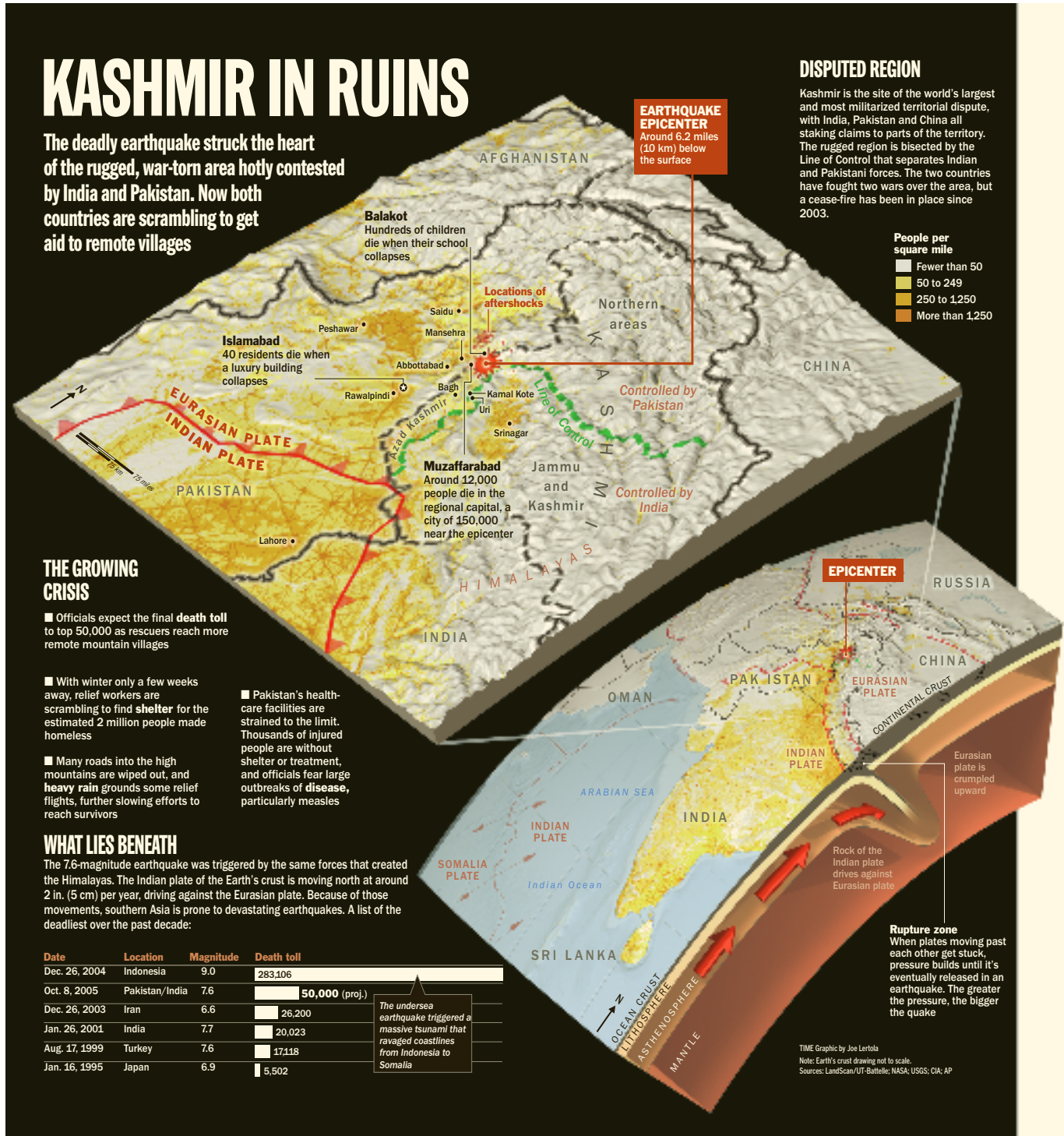
into the mountains. For Rasool, as for so many still awaiting relief, hope has already run out. ■

Questions

1. Who controls the region where the earthquake occurred?
2. Why does the Bush Administration believe that the earthquake provides a political opportunity?

KASHMIR IN RUINS

The deadly earthquake struck the heart of the rugged, war-torn area hotly contested by India and Pakistan. Now both countries are scrambling to get aid to remote villages



Can a New Chief Remake Germany?

Incoming Chancellor Angela Merkel faces a divided government and an uncertain future

By **ANDREW PURVIS**/BERLIN

IT TOOK THREE WEEKS OF HARD BARGAINING AND backroom deals to settle a woefully indecisive election, but Germany finally has a new Chancellor-designate: former physics instructor Angela Merkel, 51, who will be the first woman ever nominated for the post.

Although they gave up the chancellorship, the Social Democrats will receive eight places in the new cabinet, including the important Foreign and Finance Ministries. Merkel's Christian Democrats will control six spots, including Economics, Defense and Interior. The political future of Schroeder, who served as Germany's chancellor from 1998 to 2005, is uncertain; he will not serve in the new government and is expected to take a private-sector job.

The protracted negotiations over staffing the cabinet may yet prove easy in comparison to the talks currently under way over how to govern. The two sides agree in principle on the need for economic reform, but the Social Democrats are not expected to back the tougher measures advocated by the Christian Democrats, including weakening the bargaining power of labor unions.

On matters of foreign policy, as chancellor, Merkel will take the lead. But the Foreign Minister,

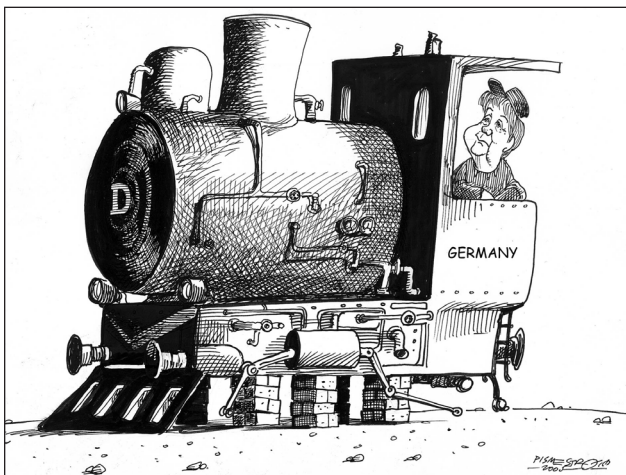
who will be a Social Democrat, will have a strong voice as well, potentially making this an area of tension for the coalition. The two parties have in recent years differed on such matters as transatlantic relations and ties with Moscow, with Schroeder cultivating a close friendship with Russia's Vladimir Putin and France's Jacques Chirac while Merkel has indicated a desire to work more closely with London and Washington. Relations between the U.S. and Germany deteriorated sharply over the Iraq war, and while Merkel did not back the war, she disapproved of Schroeder's handling of the crisis.

Merkel's party, however, has its own differences with Washington, most importantly over the question of Turkey's joining the European Union: Washington strongly backs Turkey's accession to the Union, while the Christian Democrats are openly opposed to granting Ankara full membership. The Social Democrats say admitting Turkey is a good idea.

For Merkel, the resolution of what Germans had come to call "the Chancellor's War" comes as a relief. She had been widely expected to win the election outright until the final days before the vote, and the final result, which gave her party just a four-seat margin over Schroeder's Social Democrats, came as a severe disappointment. Having to hammer out an agreement with the Social Democrats means that she will have to water down some of her more ambitious free-market-oriented policies. Merkel, a protégée of longtime Christian Democrat chancellor Helmut Kohl, is widely respected for her intelligence and her toughness in party negotiations, qualities that were on display over the past few weeks as she stuck to her guns despite criticism of her campaign performance. That toughness will be further tested in the coming weeks as Germany seeks to forge a new governing program from two different governing philosophies. ■

Questions

1. What distinction does Angela Merkel hold in German politics?
2. What is the most important foreign-policy disagreement between Merkel's party and the Bush Administration?



Why Paris Is Burning

As France is hit with its worst urban unrest in years, TIME takes an inside look at the deep-seated roots of Muslim discontent

By JAMES GRAFF/PARIS

THE YOUNG MEN IN HOODED SWEATSHIRTS GO by rapper tags—Spion, El Pach, Benou and K-Soc—and like thousands of others from the grimy, soulless apartment blocks that ring France's big cities, they were out cruising the mean streets of Paris' banlieues, or suburbs, in early November. Near the city hall of Bobigny, a rough town on the northeastern outskirts of Paris, a circle of fire marked the spot where a trash container had been set alight to provoke a police patrol. "People mix it up with the police every day around here," says Spion, 19, who is of Moroccan origin. But this is different, says his friend Benou, whose parents came from Algeria. "This is May 1968—but in the banlieues."

France won't soon forget 1968, when ferocious student riots brought down a government, and at times last week Paris seemed to be reliving those tumultuous days. Night after night, another set of embittered citizens turned their forgotten wastelands into a battleground. The rioters were mostly Arab or black, but they were also mostly French, born and bred in the neighborhoods they were setting ablaze. Their anger spread in an arc across northern Paris, just a few miles from the city's glittering heart, as one desolate neighborhood after another joined in the mayhem. Thousands of police and firemen struggled to douse the rebellion and found themselves inflaming it. In one suburb, four shots, a rarity in France, were fired at the cops. French leaders tried to strike a balance between condemning the violence and seeking to understand it, but they seemed powerless to impose order on the streets.

The working-class suburbs of Paris are dominated by sterile high-rise public housing, where Arab immigrants from North Africa were shunted when they started arriving in the postcolonial years. Now their children and grandchildren subsist in squalor alongside fresh waves of African and South Asian immigrants and their French-born children. Families struggle to hang on to their dignity, while drug dealers and petty criminals exploit the only business opportunities to be found in those barren towns. Unemployment in some neighborhoods surpasses 40%, and hope is a rare possession.

The spark for last week's chaos came on October 27, with the deaths of two teenagers from the jumble of apartment blocks that make up Clichy-sous-Bois. Bouna Traore, 15, of Malian origin, and Zyed Benna, 17, whose parents are Tunisian,

thought they were being chased by police. When they took refuge with a third teenager in the relay station of a high-voltage transformer, Traore and Benna were electrocuted. Locals blamed overzealous policing for the deaths, although an official inquiry found that there had been no pursuit. That evening an

Unemployment in some neighborhoods surpasses 40%, and hope is a rare possession.... Rioters torched thousands of cars and set fire to buses and buildings.

angry group demonstrated in front of a nearby fire station, setting off a rolling wave of nightly clashes between young Arabs and French riot police that leapfrogged across the suburbs of Paris. After nine nights of rage, the uprising had reached as far east as Dijon and south to Marseilles, as rioters torched thousands of cars and set fire to buses, schools and government buildings.

Liberté, égalité, fraternité are ideals that France has nurtured over the centuries. But they were in little evidence last week around Paris. Changing that will require the French to confront the widening disparities between those in the banlieues and the rest of the country. Until then, the rage and resentment inflaming the streets will surely continue to smolder. ■

Questions

1. What sparked the violence in the Paris suburbs?
2. How did French leaders react to the outbreak?

Global Warming: The Culprit?

Evidence mounts that human activity is helping fuel monster hurricanes

By **JEFFREY KLUGER**

NATURE DOESN'T ALWAYS KNOW WHEN TO quit—and nothing says that quite like a hurricane. The atmospheric convulsion that was Hurricane Katrina had barely left the Gulf Coast before its sister Rita was spinning to life out in the Atlantic.

Katrina and her kin are part of a trend of increasingly powerful hurricanes that have been playing out for more than 10 years. Dramatic

changes like this inevitably raise the question, Is global warming to blame? For years, environmentalists have warned that one of the first signs of a climatological crash would be an upsurge in the most violent hurricanes, which thrive in a suddenly warmer world. Now, after watching two Gulf Coast hurricanes reach Category 5 in the space of four weeks, even skeptics are starting to wonder whether something serious is going on.

“There is no doubt that climate is changing and humans are partly responsible,” says Kevin

HURRICANE RITA

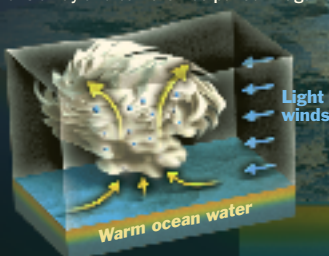
A VICIOUS CYCLE

Over the past 35 years, the number of hurricanes each season has remained constant, but their average intensity has increased, with the number of Category 4 and 5 storms—the most powerful—nearly doubling. Given the swelling populations along the coasts, the danger from monster hurricanes like Rita and Katrina has risen dramatically

1 AREAS OF LOW PRESSURE over the ocean draw in air from surrounding, higher-pressure areas. The earth's rotation makes those winds spiral counterclockwise in the northern hemisphere



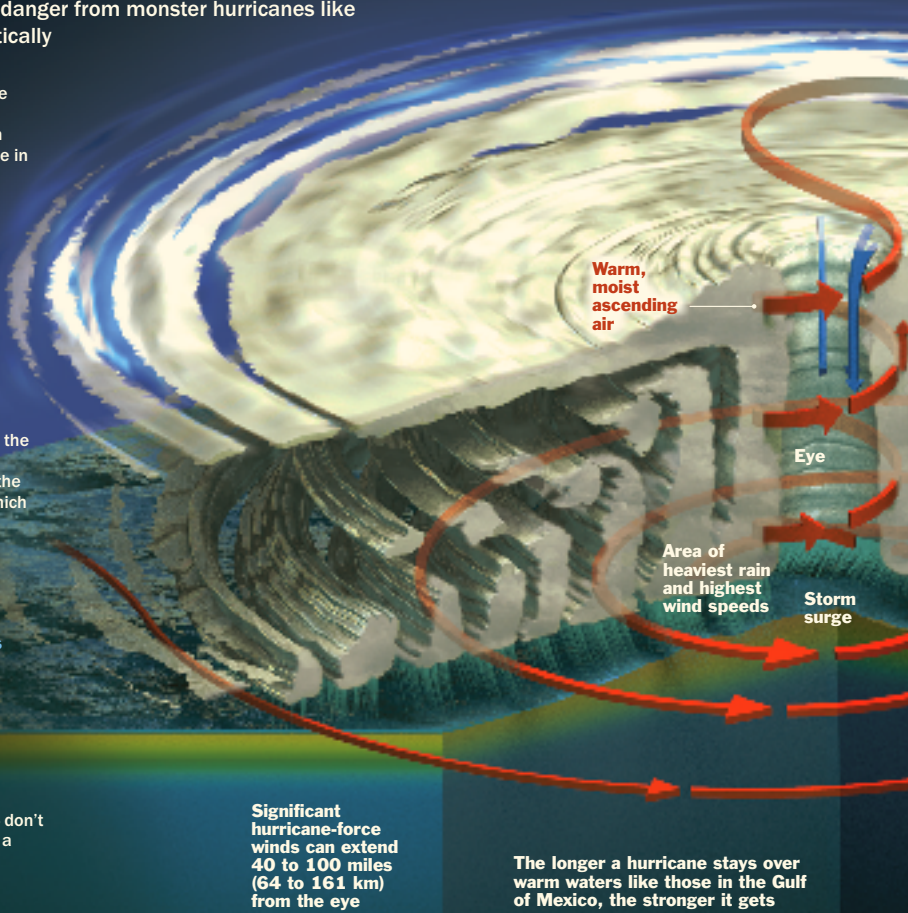
2 MOIST AIR WARMED by the heat of the ocean rises through the storm, intensifying the suction effect. Eventually the storm dumps some of its water as rain, which falls away and can then be pulled in again



3 IF STRONG ATMOSPHERIC WINDS don't break this cycle, the storm becomes a hurricane when spiraling air speeds reach 74 m.p.h. (119 km/h), forming a vortex of rain-laden clouds that circle a calm eye

Significant hurricane-force winds can extend 40 to 100 miles (64 to 161 km) from the eye

The longer a hurricane stays over warm waters like those in the Gulf of Mexico, the stronger it gets



Trenberth, head of the climate-analysis section at the National Center for Atmospheric Research (NCAR) in Boulder, Colorado. “The odds have changed in favor of more intense storms and heavier rainfalls.”

But do scientists really know for sure? Can man-made greenhouse gases really be blamed for the intensity of storms like Rita and Katrina? Or are there too many additional variables to say one way or the other? Chris Landsea of Miami’s National Hurricane Center is one of many experts who believe global warming may be boosting the power of hurricanes—but only a bit, perhaps 1% to 5%. “A 100-mile-per-hour wind today would be a 105-mile-per-hour wind in a century,” he says. “That is pretty tiny in comparison with the swings between hurricane cycles.” What’s more, historical studies rely on measurements taken both before and during

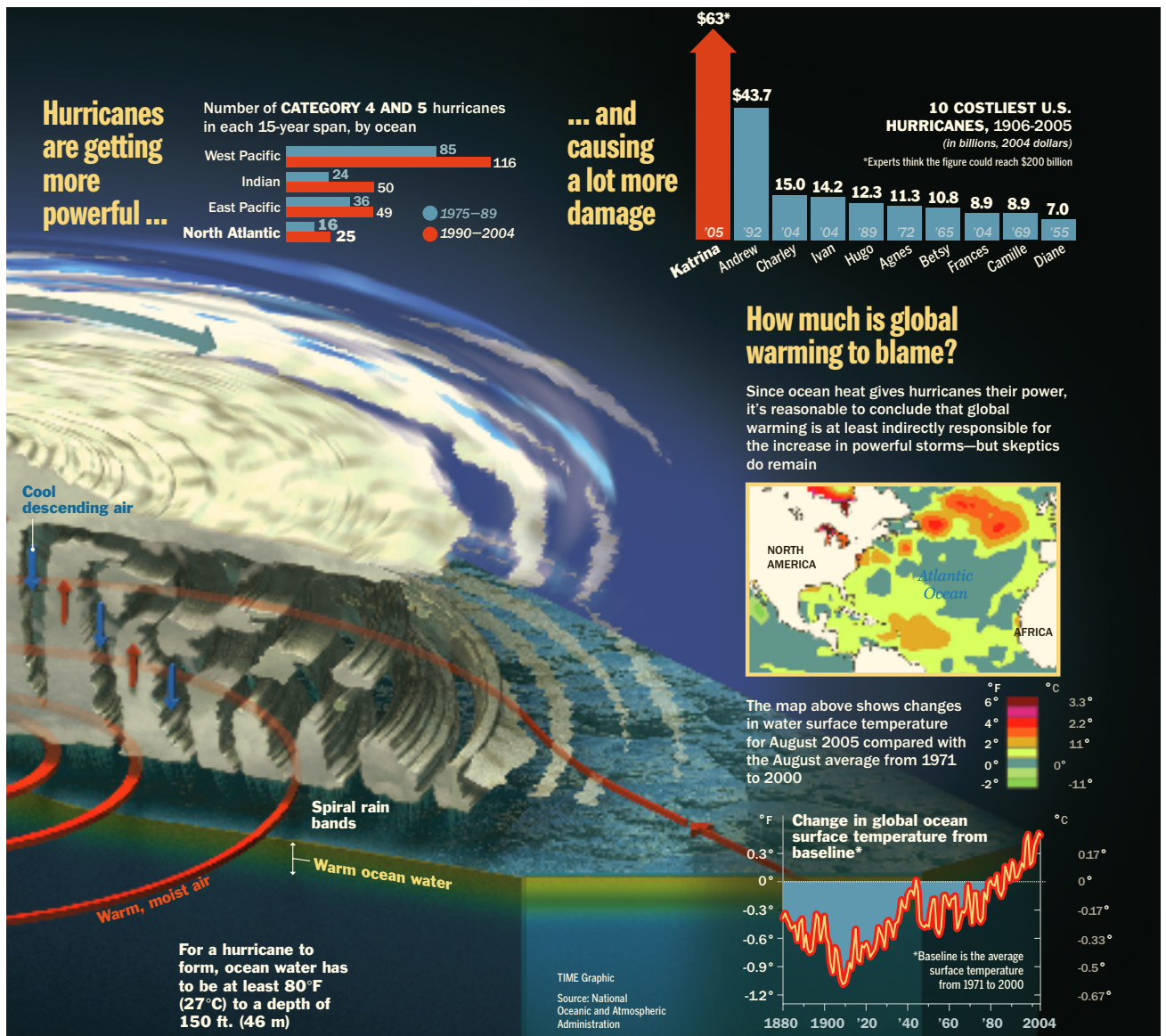
the era of satellites. Size up your storms in divergent ways, and you’re likely to get divergent results.

Some scientists are also studying the even more alarming phenomenon of abrupt climate change. Ice cores taken from Greenland in the 1990s show that the last ice age came to an end not in the slow creep of geological time but in the quick pop of real time, with the entire planet abruptly warming in just three years.

It’s hard to say whether any of this will convince global-warming skeptics. What does seem clear is that the ranks of those skeptics are shrinking. ■

Questions

1. What pattern in hurricane strength have scientists observed in the last 10 years?
2. How long did it take for the last ice age to end?



A Transplant First

Surgeons use a donated face to reclaim a disfigured woman's life. But troubling ethical questions remain

By **CHRISTINE GORMAN**

SO MUCH OF HOW WE SEE OURSELVES—AND how other people see us—is bound up in our faces that the idea of transplanting one person's visage onto another seems not just improbable but bizarre. And yet for the past few years, surgeons at a handful of medical centers in the U.S. and Europe have been cautiously preparing for just such a procedure to offer hope to patients who have been severely disfigured by burns or accidents. No one had yet raised a scalpel to try, in part because of numerous medical, ethical and psychological concerns that had to be considered first. That's one reason it was so startling to learn in early December that the first face transplant—albeit a partial one—has taken place. Doctors in France reported that they took a triangular patch of facial tissue containing the nose, lips and chin of a brain-dead donor and transplanted them onto a 38-year-old mother of two who had been severely mauled by a dog last May.

By all accounts, the operation, which was approved by at least three different sets of public-health and ethics authorities, was a success. The match and color of the transplanted section “were even better than we had expected,” said Dr. Bernard Devauchelle, coordinator of one of the surgical teams. “In just four hours we had re-established vascular connections between the skin fragment and [the patient].”

The facial transplant, which would have been unusual under any circumstances, stirred heated debate following a French media report that the

woman might have sustained her injuries during a suicide attempt in which the dog apparently bit her in an effort to wake her up. That raised the question of whether she was stable enough psychologically to give consent to the operation, never mind care for herself afterward. But Dr. Jean-Michel Dubernard, one of the surgeons who operated on the woman, denied the report. “There was no suicide attempt,” he told reporters. Instead, he said, the woman took a sleeping pill after a family fight, and the dog bit her when she stepped on it in the night. She was examined by several psychiatrists, he added, who determined that she was a suitable candidate for transplant.

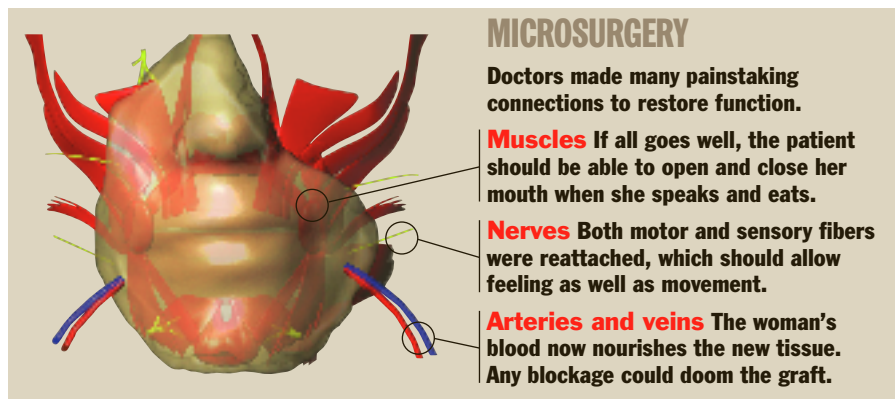
Others criticized the operation as a rush to make history. “I believe a better result could have been achieved with careful facial reconstruction,” says Dr. Denys Pellerin, vice president of the French National Academy of Medicine. “This procedure was based on ambition.”

Dubernard would have none of it. “For us, it was not a matter of being first,” he told TIME. “It just happened that we had a good candidate and a good donor and an excellent team.”

For now, the doctors are pleased with their patient's progress. “[She] is happy with the results,” Dubernard says. “She can finally look at herself in the mirror—something she could not do just a week before.” The next few months and years will determine whether that good fortune continues. ■

Questions

1. In your view, what medical, ethical and psychological concerns are posed by face transplants?
2. What issues did the French media raise concerning this particular case?



A Jury of Their Peers

In youth courts, teens run the show, but experts say that there's nothing juvenile about this innovative form of justice

By JEREMY CAPLAN

TO COMPLETE HER CROSS-EXAMINATION, PROSECUTOR Sarah Carr, 16, had one final question for Andrew G., 17, the defendant in a recent case at the youth court in Colonie, N.Y.: "Didn't you know it was wrong?" Andrew nodded shyly, eyes averted. He knew that stealing a \$4.97 *Star Wars* action figure from Wal-Mart was not only a petty crime but also a geeky one in the eyes of his high school peers, some of whom were serving on the jury.

In Colonie's youth court, the jurors and lawyers are adolescents and so are the judge and the bailiff, who swears in witnesses that often include the only adults in the room: parents, victims and police officers. The perpetrators are limited to first-time offenders who are under the age of 19 and who admit guilt to minor crimes. Sentences are generally creative forms of community service, never jail terms, and the record shows that 99% of those sentenced complete the required tasks. Doing so keeps their criminal records clean, which helps for college and job applications.

Youth court is quickly becoming an institution across the United States. In 1994, there were just 78 such courts; today the number is 1,035 and growing. Some are run by schools, others by police departments or nonprofit groups. All told, these junior courts will hold more than 100,000 trials this year, according to the National Youth Court Center in Lexington, Kentucky.

Advocates say they not only help relieve crim-

inal-court backlogs but have also proved they can turn around a kid who has gone wrong. A study by the Urban Institute found that youth courts are often more effective in preventing repeat crimes than are other methods used by cities to discipline first-time minor offenders, which range from a letter of warning to referral to juvenile criminal court.

The peer-court concept dates back to 1947 in Mansfield, Ohio, where kids handled neighborhood trials for young bicycle snatchers. The modern youth court started to take shape in the early 1970s, when a few cities experimented with a more formal kind of peer justice. In recent years, the movement has gained momentum, cheered on by police departments and local governments eager for justice that works and does so cost effectively. An entire youth-court trial typically takes less than an hour, including deliberations. Nationally, the program's average cost per case is about \$480, according to an American Youth Policy Forum study. Probation, on the other hand, costs about \$1,635, while the cost of trying a juvenile in criminal court usually ranges from \$21,000 to \$84,000, according to the study.

During deliberations in Andrew's sentencing, juror Stephen McCann, 13, wondered aloud why a 17-year-old was still playing with action figures. The jury foreman then questioned whether Andrew should have confessed sooner to his parents. After all the jurors had their say, the group reached a consensus: 30 hours of community service and an apology letter to Wal-Mart. "By now he should be mature enough not to steal toys," McCann said. "I think this will help him resist the temptation." ■

Youth court is quickly becoming an institution across the U.S. In 1994, there were just 78 such courts; today the number is 1,035 and growing. All told, these junior courts will hold more than 100,000 trials this year.

Questions

1. What types of offenders are eligible to have trials in youth court?
2. How and when did youth court start?
3. How effective are youth courts compared to other methods of preventing repeat crimes?

War on the Water Front

As the thirst for bottled water grows, a battle is brewing over precious resources—and profits

By JYOTI THOTTAM

IN A STATE BETTER KNOWN FOR ITS LOBSTER rolls and rugged landscape, James Wilfong has a radical new vision for Maine's future. On his trips abroad as a Small Business Administration official in the 1990s, Wilfong came to realize that in many places, water was worth fighting for. "The light went off in my head," he says. "Water is Maine's oil in this century."

Maine has only 1.3 million people but at least 25 trillion gallons of drinkable water in its lakes and aquifers. Wilfong, a former state legislator, wants to turn that resource into cold cash. So he proposed a tax on large bottled-water operations that is set for a ballot referendum next year. Maine is one of several states where activists are challenging the \$10 billion U.S. bottled-water industry. Declares Wilfong: "We're just saying, This water is not free."

Nestlé, with six of the top 10 brands and more than \$2.2 billion in bottled-water sales, is the largest bottled-water company in the U.S., and it's at the

center of a water war on several fronts. As owner of Poland Spring, which uses 500 million gallons of Maine water a year, Nestlé could owe \$96 million in tax each year if Wilfong's proposal is passed. "His mission is misguided," says Kim Jeffery, CEO of Nestlé North America, which now pays only for the land where

the springs are found. In response to a new tax, he says, Nestlé would cancel a planned new plant, costing the state 250 jobs.

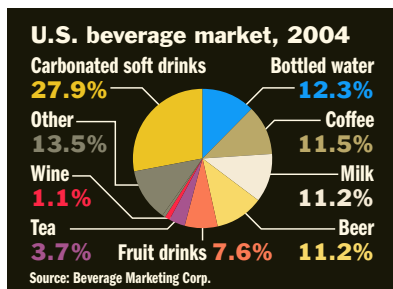
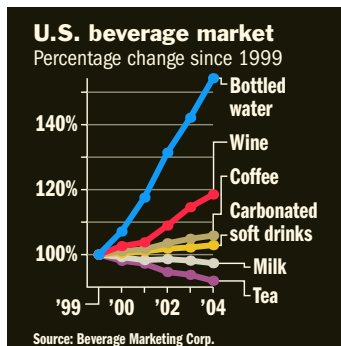
In Michigan, Nestlé is facing environmental challenges. Michigan Citizens for Water Conservation has filed a civil lawsuit to stop the company from withdrawing 210 million gallons of water a year near the small town of Stanwood, arguing that groundwater levels are dropping dangerously; Nestlé says they are healthy. The state legislature is considering 16 bills to set limits on withdrawals of groundwater. In a similar battle over Florida's springs, Nestlé has so far prevailed.

Bottled-water producers say they are being unfairly singled out. The Maine and Michigan proposals "penalize an industry that is producing a clean, safe, healthy product," says Stephen Kay, spokesman for the International Bottled Water Association. He notes that bottled water accounts for less than 1% of the groundwater used every year. Irrigation is by far the biggest user. "That's true but irrelevant," says Peter Gleick, president of the Pacific Institute, a water research group in Oakland, California. Any large groundwater withdrawal from one site risks drying up wells and wetlands in that area, he says.

If such concerns make large springwater sources too costly, Jeffery says, Nestlé could follow the lead of Coca-Cola and Pepsi and shift its focus to selling processed municipal tap water. ("Purified water" brands Dasani and Aquafina made \$1.9 billion last year for the two companies.) But communities willing to sell their springs will still find a market in luxury brands: rural Vanleer, Tennessee, is the proud source of BlingH2O, which sells for an estimated \$240 a case wholesale. And water-rich states like Maine could look elsewhere for their windfall; demand for bottled water in Asia is strong. Says Patrick McGowan, Maine's commissioner of conservation: "We look at that as an absolute great business opportunity." ■

Questions

1. What is the largest bottled-water company in the United States?
2. What action have activists taken to protect Maine's water?



Wal-Mart's Urban Romance

Eager to remake its image, the retailer is courting an unlikely ally: Black America

By **TA-NEHISI PAUL COATES/CHICAGO**

IN THE PAST DECADE, WAL-MART—THE WORLD'S biggest retailer—has been portrayed as a brutal giant. The company stands accused of wiping out small businesses, busting unions, discriminating against female employees, and employing illegal immigrants—not to mention the knock that it is a low payer. But recently one of America's most embattled corporations has found an ally in one of America's most embattled demographics. No longer content to let its profits do the talking, Wal-Mart is trying to remake its image, in some measure with the aid of inner-city African Americans.

Margaret Garner, CEO of the Chicago construction firm Broadway Consolidated, is the first black woman ever hired by Wal-Mart to build a store. In the summer of 2003, when Wal-Mart began looking at Chicago's West Side, the company went searching for contractors to build stores in the city. Wal-Mart decided to rely on Garner's local knowledge, contracting Broadway Consolidated first to demolish the old factory that stood on the store's site and then to build the 150,000-square-foot superstore that will employ as many as 300 people. Garner says the work will produce between 150 and 200 construction jobs, half of which will go to minorities. Half of those minorities will be African Americans, including black men who often have the hardest time finding jobs: ex-cons. In a city whose building trades are dogged by allegations of racism and in which the unemployment rate for black men is

11.8% (double that of white men), those job promises are huge.

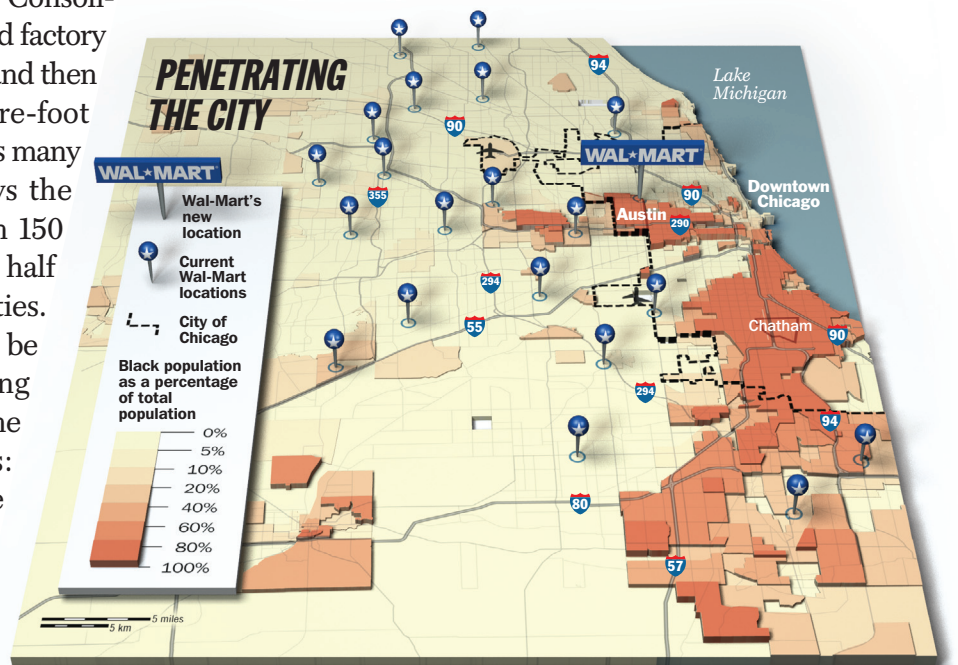
But Wal-Mart's move into the inner city has set off a debate in the black community about economic development. Traditional activists see the company as a corporate parasite. "Desperate people do desperate things. People would rather have a supermarket than not," says Jesse Jackson, whose Rainbow/PUSH Coalition is headquartered in Chicago. "But the point is that employment and development must go hand in hand. We need work where you can have a livable wage and health insurance, and retirement."

Store builder Garner is unconcerned with Wal-Mart's critics. "I think when you're the biggest and the best at what you do, people want to come after you," she counters.

In Wal-Mart, local residents have found a partner of the moment with which they hope to prove a point. Arguments about the supposed low wages, expensive health plans and gender discrimination are almost beside the point in the 37th Ward. "If it's good enough for the suburbs, why isn't it good enough for the city?" asks alderwoman Emma Mitts. "Why isn't it good enough for us?" ■

Questions

1. How many jobs will Wal-Mart create in Chicago?
2. Why does Jesse Jackson criticize Wal-Mart?





Current Events In Review

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

____ **1.** The special counsel who indicted former Vice Presidential Chief of Staff Scooter Libby is:
 a. Judith Miller b. Joseph Wilson
 c. Archibald Cox d. Patrick Fitzgerald

____ **2.** The leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq is:
 a. Mousab al-Zarqawi b. Saddam Hussein
 c. Osama bin Laden d. Abu Noor al-Iraqi

____ **3.** The newspaper that disclosed that the Bush Administration is tapping communications of some Americans without a warrant is the:
 a. *New York Times* b. *Detroit News*
 c. *Washington Post* d. *Wall Street Journal*

____ **4.** The city where Wal-Mart is trying to make an alliance with the Black community is:
 a. New York b. Detroit
 c. Chicago d. Los Angeles

____ **5.** In the Paris suburbs where violent protests took place last November, the unemployment rate is as high as:
 a. 30% b. 40% c. 50% d. 60%

____ **6.** Hurricane Katrina had a devastating impact on the city of:
 a. New London b. New York
 c. New Orleans d. New Haven

____ **7.** The creators of the world's largest charity with an endowment of \$29 billion are:
 a. The Rockefellers b. The Gateses
 c. The Fords d. The Bonos

____ **8.** The U.S. President who nominated John Roberts to the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals when Roberts was 36 was:
 a. George H. W. Bush
 b. Ronald Reagan
 c. Richard Nixon
 d. George W. Bush

____ **9.** The federal agency that has 13 field offices investigating the Jack Abramoff scandal is:
 a. CIA b. FBI
 c. NSA d. Justice Department

____ **10.** Scientists have reported that the increase in powerful and deadly hurricanes is likely linked to:
 a. deterioration of the ozone layer
 b. global warming
 c. nuclear proliferation
 d. increases in atmospheric radiation

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

- A.** Britain
- B.** Egypt
- C.** France
- D.** Germany
- E.** Greenland
- F.** India
- G.** Iraq
- H.** Iran
- I.** Ireland
- J.** Israel
- K.** Pakistan
- L.** The United States

- ____ **11.** Country that has ties to some Kurdish and Shi'ite political parties in Iraq.
- ____ **12.** Moshe Katsav is the president of this country.
- ____ **13.** Bono, the famous rock star and one of TIME's Persons of the Year, is from this nation.
- ____ **14.** European country where the first face transplant took place.
- ____ **15.** Ice cores from this island nation have shown that the last ice age ended abruptly.
- ____ **16.** Hamas was founded as an offshoot of Muslim Brotherhood, which has its home in this country.
- ____ **17.** Democratic nation whose President has recently approved wire-tapping citizens without obtaining a warrant.
- ____ **18.** 50,000 people were killed here in a 2005 earthquake.
- ____ **19.** Ramadi and Fallujah are cities in this country.
- ____ **20.** The most recent election in this country resulted in a woman becoming chancellor, an unprecedented event.

Answers

The Man Who Bought Washington, DC

(pages 2–3)

1. Abramoff has admitted to defrauding four Indian tribes and to buying off public officials.
2. DeLay resigned from his post as House Majority Leader.

When George Met Jack

(page 4)

1. In one photo, the President appears with Abramoff and a casino owner. Another photo shows Bush shaking hands with Abramoff in front of a window and a blue drape. Three other photos are of Bush, Abramoff and one of the lobbyist's sons. A sixth picture shows several Abramoff children with Bush and House Speaker Dennis Hastert.
2. \$100,000

Did Libby Lie?

(page 5)

1. Plame is a former covert CIA operative and the wife of Joseph Wilson, a former ambassador who went to Niger to assess assertions by Cheney's office that Iraq had tried to buy uranium yellowcake from Niger.
2. Libby was indicted on five counts: two for perjury, two for making false statements to the FBI, and one for obstruction of justice.

Has Bush Gone Too Far?

(pages 6–7)

1. After the intelligence-gathering abuses of the Nixon years, Congress passed a 1978 law called the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), requiring the National Security Agency to obtain a warrant any time it seeks to monitor communications within the U.S.
2. The Administration had the option of revising the law or of ignoring it.

Judging Mr. Right

(pages 8–9)

1. Roberts worked for Second Circuit Judge Henry Friendly and for Chief Justice of the Supreme Court William Rehnquist.
2. He worked as a corporate lawyer for many years and argued both sides of many controversial issues.

An American Tragedy

(pages 10–11)

1. Katrina caused a large section in a main levee near the 17th Street Canal to rupture, letting Lake

Pontchartrain pour into the city.

2. Critics argued that the government had not heeded warnings and had instead cut funding for flood control and storm preparations.

The Impact of Hurricane Katrina

(page 14)

Answers will vary but should be supported by sound reasoning.

An Unlikely Alliance

(pages 15–16)

1. The goal of the alliance is to eliminate poverty.
2. Bono knows how to appeal to politicians, never leaves his audience feeling helpless, brings people from many different ideological points of view together, and invites everyone to participate.

A Rebel Crack-Up?

(pages 17–18)

1. Iraqi insurgents are interested in ridding Iraq of occupation forces and object to al-Qaeda's killing of innocent Iraqi Shi'ites.
2. Reed sees continuing fighting by the Sunnis as the greatest threat.

Violence in Iraq: A Gallery of Views

(page 19)

1. In the top cartoon, an Iraqi woman and man are crossing the street carrying gasoline and groceries and commenting on an explosion in the distance. The gas can and groceries represent the basic needs that Iraqis are still lacking three years after the American invasion; the wide-eyed look on the man symbolizes the fear of everyday Iraqis due to the constant violence. President Bush and military personnel are shown looking worriedly at a map of Iraq in the second piece. The smiley face and podium represent what the public hears about Iraq from the Administration. The bottom image shows a man with a bullhorn labeled "common sense" blowing away anti-war demonstrators with the force of his message. The man and the protesters represent the two sides of the debate on staying the course in Iraq.
2. While the U.S. is stressing the elections and democracy, the woman in this cartoon is too busy trying to secure the necessities of life to be aware of when the election is happening. The cartoonist suggests that insurgents have set out to disrupt Iraqi elections in order to cause a setback for the U.S. in Iraq.
3. The second cartoon depicts Iraq as a bomb blast or black

hole. The podium and smiley face represent the "public face" that the Bush Administration is putting on its campaign in Iraq; the cartoonist suggests that this public message is starkly different from the bad news that the generals are reporting.

4. The third cartoonist sees the Iraq war as necessary to defeat Muslim extremism. He conveys this point of view by labeling the bullhorn "common sense" and by blowing the "hard-of-hearing" protesters away with what he says. Answers will vary in response to the final part of this question but should be supported by well-reasoned arguments.
5. The creator of the bottom cartoon clearly believes—along with the Bush Administration—that the U.S. mission in Iraq is aimed at defeating Islamic fundamentalists who are trying to kill Americans. The other two cartoons suggest that the violence is so bad that it might prove futile to stay in Iraq, contrary to U.S. policy.
6. Answers will vary.

Can Militants Make Peace?

(page 20)

1. In the past, Hamas has been committed to the destruction of Israel.
2. Voters wanted to rid themselves of the incompetent and corrupt Fatah party, which was in power until the latest election.

Troubled Soil

(page 21)

1. Ehud Olmert, formerly Deputy Prime Minister, has taken over as Prime Minister.
2. Sharon's credentials as a hawk put him in an ideal position to make peace with the Palestinians.

Nightmare in the Mountains

(pages 22–23)

1. India controls two-thirds of the Kashmir region; Pakistan controls the rest.
2. The Bush Administration sees earthquake aid as a chance to help a Muslim country and to improve America's image in the Islamic world.

Can a New Chief Remake Germany?

(page 24)

1. Merkel is the first woman ever to become Chancellor of Germany.
2. Merkel's party objects to Turkey joining the European Union, while the Bush Administration strongly supports the idea.

Why Paris Is Burning

(page 25)

1. The violence began following the deaths of two teenagers who thought they were being chased by the police.
2. Officials tried to strike a balance between condemning the violence and seeking to understand it, but they seemed powerless to impose order on the streets.

Global Warming: The Culprit?

(pages 26–27)

1. Scientists have observed that hurricanes have become increasingly powerful over the past decade.
2. The entire planet warmed dramatically in just three years.

A Transplant First

(page 28)

1. Answers will vary.
2. The media reported that the patient was suicidal and therefore psychologically unfit for the surgery; the doctors involved in the case denied this claim.

A Jury of Their Peers

(page 29)

1. First-time offenders under age 19 and who admit guilt to minor crimes are eligible for youth court.
2. Youth court dates back to 1947, when kids in Mansfield, Ohio, held neighborhood trials for young bicycle snatchers.
3. A study found that youth courts are often more effective in preventing repeat crimes than are other methods used to discipline first-time minor offenders.

War on the Water Front

(page 30)

1. Nestlé
2. They're proposing a ballot referendum that would tax large bottled-water operations.

Wal-Mart's Urban Romance

(page 31)

1. It will create between 150 and 200 construction jobs, as well as 300 permanent jobs.
2. Jackson charges that Wal-Mart does not provide a living wage, retirement benefits or affordable health insurance.

Current Events in Review

(page 32)

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