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TIME

PERSON OF THE YEAR



PRESIDENT
GEORGE W. BUSH

AMERICAN
REVOLUTIONARY

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THE CHALLENGE LASTS FOR DAYS, BUT IT
FEELS LIKE FOREVER.



Sydney to Hobart is the single most demanding race in the world. Its 628-nautical-mile course runs through four very different parts of the Tasman Sea, whose differences are uncanny and eerie. Fickle winds, shallow waters, narrow passes and inclement weather demand every skipper be a master tactician and every crew be masters of the art of adaptation. As we mark the race's 60th anniversary, we honour all those who, over the decades, chose to chart a course into history. **THE ROLEX SYDNEY HOBART YACHT RACE BEGINS DECEMBER 26TH, 2004.**



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24 Bush, ever self-assured, delights in his own critics

TIME

DECEMBER 27, 2004-JANUARY 3, 2005 / VOL. 164 NO. 25

PERSON OF THE YEAR

George W. Bush

For sharpening the debate until the choices bled, for reframing reality to match his design, for gambling his fortunes—and the world's—on his faith in the power of leadership, George W. Bush is TIME's 2004 Person of the Year.....24

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68 Filmmakers Moore, left, and Gibson spurred ferocious global debates

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COVER: Illustration for TIME by Daniel Adel

This is a special double issue of TIME. The next issue will appear on Jan. 3, 2005.



64 Arch-insurgent al-Zarqawi

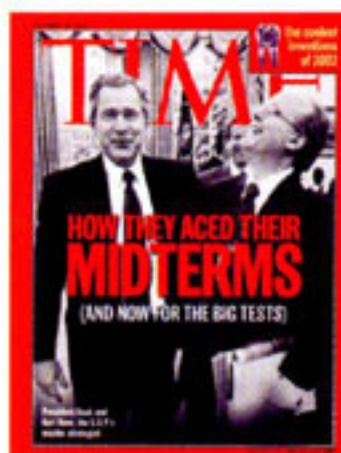
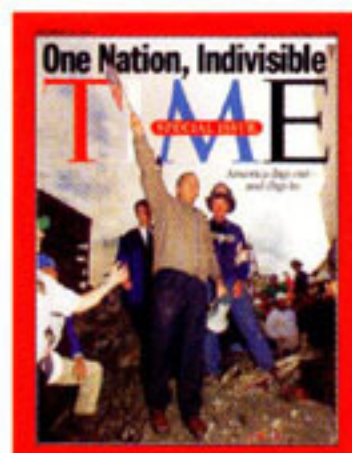
An American Revolutionary

GEORGE W. BUSH FIRST APPEARED on the cover of *TIME* in the summer of 1999, under the headline **PRESIDENT BUSH?** The question mark disappeared in December 2000 when, after weeks of wrangling in Florida and despite losing the popular vote to Al Gore, he emerged as the 43rd President of the United States. That victory, which left many Americans incensed, led us to make him Person of the Year for 2000.

Did that really happen just four years ago? The first months of the Bush Administration were contentious, with fights over how to deal with North Korea, global warming and stem-cell research dominating the headlines. Power shifted in the U.S. Senate when Jim Jeffords of Vermont left the G.O.P. and became an independent. Suddenly the Democrats, led by Tom Daschle of South Dakota, controlled the Senate, and Bush found himself on the defensive. Then came Sept. 11.

All told, Bush has appeared on the cover two dozen times. As the selection of images on this page shows, he's had his highs and lows, with approval ratings at one point hitting 90% and then sinking to 46% as the war in Iraq kept claiming American lives. Even some of his strongest supporters never considered him the odds-on favorite to win a second term. But in the end, George W. Bush prevailed. For sticking to his guns (literally and figuratively), for reshaping the rules of politics to fit his 10-gallon-hat leadership style and for persuading a majority of voters this time around that he deserved to be in the White House for another four years, we name George W. Bush as *TIME*'s Person of the Year for 2004.

This is not the first time a President has earned the title twice. Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower (first as a general), Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton all share that distinction, albeit the last three with partners the second time around (Henry Kissinger, Yuri Andropov and Kenneth Starr, respectively). Winston Churchill, Joseph Stalin, Deng Xiaoping and Mikhail Gorbachev also got the nod twice. Franklin Roosevelt



holds the record, with three appearances.

Our main story is written by Nancy Gibbs and John F. Dickerson, who along with Matthew Cooper interviewed Bush in the Oval Office last week. Photographer Christopher Morris spent several days behind the scenes with the President, including an emotional visit to a naval hospital, where he pinned Purple Hearts on those wounded in Iraq. Karen Tumulty dissects the power and influence of Karl Rove, whom Bush credits as being the "architect" of his re-election campaign and whom Democrats both envy and loathe. Joe Klein examines the President's relationship with women and minorities, who hold more key positions in his Administration than any other in U.S. history. And Hugh Sidey sat down for an illuminating—and amusing—session with the President's parents, one of whom happens to have been our Person of the Year for 1990. These stories were edited by Lisa Beyer and Priscilla Painton, who along with Michael Duffy oversaw our election coverage this year.

Elsewhere, Romesh Ratnesar profiles Abu Mousab al-Zarqawi, the shadowy leader of the Iraqi insurgency, while Richard Lacayo explores the similarities between Mel Gibson and Michael Moore, who created two of the most successful—and controversial—films of the year.

There is lots more in this double issue, including our annual portfolio of People Who Mattered, which includes exclusive pictures of Israel's Ariel Sharon, Ukraine's Viktor Yushchenko, and John Kerry, whom Bush defeated in the U.S. presidential election. And we include a last goodbye to notables who passed away during the year. They included Ronald Reagan—not only a two-time Person of the Year, but also a genuine American Revolutionary. Just like George W. Bush.

Jim Kelly

James Kelly, Managing Editor

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Too many children lack one of their most-basic needs

"It is self evident that all children should have the opportunity both to be a child and to determine their own path through life."

—from UNICEF's *State of the World's Children 2005* report.



a childhood



It's not just that, by UNICEF estimates, some 286,000 children under five die every day from diseases that are easily preventable.

It's also that children are endangered by poverty, conflict, and HIV/AIDS.

Poverty leaves children at greater risk of disease, hinders early child development, and makes children vulnerable to violence, exploitation, and abuse. Conflict results in homelessness, poverty, insecurity, and even more disease. And HIV/AIDS is devastating the lives of children who have been orphaned by it.

To lessen these risks, UNICEF is working together with many other public and private organizations to help more children experience a safe, healthy, active childhood supported by protection and provision for basic needs.

As a company that believes in living and working together for the common good, Canon recognizes the importance and fragility of childhood. We hope to see the day when all children are free and able to grow to their full potential in peace.

Because that's what childhood should be: a period of safety and opportunity, and an interlude of brightened smiles.

The children of today, the promise of tomorrow.

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Hidden hazards: the risks that children face.

*A message from Jackie Chan,
UNICEF/UNAIDS Goodwill Ambassador*



During a visit to Cambodia earlier this year, I was reminded yet again of how difficult it can be to navigate childhood. There, children not only face the dangers of HIV/AIDS and landmines but are also at an unusually high risk of traffic accidents and drowning.

No child should face these kinds of dangers. Children deserve not only our greatest protection, but our diligent and tireless efforts to defend their right to a safe and healthy childhood.

Jackie Chan

Jackie Chan

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Nature's wisdom



More than 15 million visitors will travel to Aichi, Japan for the 2005 World Exposition. Running from March 25–September 25, EXPO 2005 will bring together participants from over 120 countries to address the most important issues facing the planet under the theme 'Nature's Wisdom'.

Don't miss the second special EXPO 2005 advertising section, supported by Toyota and JAL (Europe), appearing in the January 10, 2005 issue of TIME. The section offers an in-depth overview of the global event, plus a guide to the most innovative and exciting EXPO highlights.



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Is God in Our Genes?

“Natural selection and a spiritual gene can no more explain a belief in God and religion than they can say why we find a sunset beautiful.”

DARIN REED
Gallup, New Mexico

YOUR ARTICLE ON MOLECULAR BIOLOGIST Dean Hamer's discovery of a gene for spirituality, the so-called God gene, put too much emphasis on the religious aspect of spirituality [Nov. 29]. While such a gene may very well cause those who carry it to experience self-transcendence and have a feeling of connectedness to a larger universe, that does not always translate into religious beliefs. I tend to get caught up in an experience, have fleeting revelations and insights and feel connected to the world outside me, all of which, according to your article, are indications of spirituality. Having those traits should make me a nun. But I am an atheist. A spiritual gene alone does not cause people to spread their arms, look up at the sky and declare, "Hallelujah! There is a God!"

PREEYA PHADNIS
Milwaukee, Wisconsin, U.S.

MAN HAS ALWAYS TURNED TO A GOD TO explain the unexplainable. Because of religion's ubiquity, it does seem as if there is a God gene in many human beings. Organized religion, however, is now similar to a political bureaucracy that pulls out all the stops to perpetuate itself. The clergy has become a ruling class that ar-

bitrarily makes rules significantly affecting people's lives. Church leaders rule with fear as well as love. Small children are indoctrinated mercilessly. So in fundamentalist denominations, I wonder whether religious belief is due to the God gene or just good old-fashioned coercion.

CAROL KRAINES
Deerfield, Illinois, U.S.



WHEN I WAS A TEENAGER, TIME PUBLISHED a cover asking "Is God Dead?" [April 6, 1966]. I believed this was the case and became a molecular geneticist. I thought I had found the Holy Grail in DNA. Maybe Hamer has found the gene in humans that is responsible for the continual creation of God in man's image, but the truth is a different matter altogether. It sets people free.

JONI MENARD
Edmond, Oklahoma, U.S.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

A PHANTOM NAME

In our review of "How to Film a Phantom" [Nov. 29], we incorrectly named the actor playing the Phantom as Scott Gerard Butler. In fact, he is Gerard Butler, a Scottish actor.

YOUR STORY WAS ANOTHER PATHETIC attempt to explain away the existence of God, our creator. The complexity of DNA and the genetic code points toward an intelligent designer—not the random, haphazard coincidences of evolutionary theory. Evolution does not hold up under the scrutiny of critical thinking. It is a fraud being passed along as scientific fact!

WILLIAM E. BELL
Santa Fe, Tennessee, U.S.

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I WONDER WHEN THEY WILL DISCOVER A gene for believing in Santa Claus.

ARNOLD A. LAZARUS
New Brunswick, New Jersey, U.S.

IF GOD IS A SPIRIT AND WE ARE MADE IN his image, why wouldn't our genes contain God's spirit? Faith in things that cannot be seen and the idea of free will are both compatible with the concept of a gene that gives us spirituality. Healers and miracle workers are able to call upon this force, sometimes without even understanding how it works.

ROBERT C. LILLIE
Colorado Springs, Colorado, U.S.

WHY SHOULD WE CARE ABOUT THE EXISTENCE of God, with all the evidence that our interest is not reciprocated?

MITCHELL WINTHROP
Arlington Heights, Illinois, U.S.

MY HAT GOES OFF TO *TIME* FOR THE provocative piece "Is God in Our Genes?" I am a deeply spiritual person and often wonder why more people are not also that way. With his discovery of a God gene, one that inclines a person

toward spiritual belief, has Hamer answered that question for me? Is it really in the genes? It makes sense to me.

MARGOT ROBINSON
Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.

HUMANS ARE PATTERN-SEEKING SOCIAL animals with a talent for storytelling. Spirituality and religion result from these



traits. They help humans feel comfort in a dangerous, often frightening, world. But the more we learn about ourselves and the universe, the more it becomes obvious that spirituality and religion are really self-created illusions. It's time we faced reality and dealt with the universe

as it really is, not as we imagine it to be. Our continued technological advancement and survival depend upon it.

GARY MEAD
Travis, California, U.S.

WOULD SCIENTISTS EVER ADMIT THEY ARE hardwired to look for a God gene? My guess is no. Scientists would have us believe that everything we do has a genetic cause except, of course, looking for genetic causes.

KYLE OWENS
Edmond, Oklahoma, U.S.

IT IS VERY SAD THAT PEOPLE IN this day and age of scientific discovery still cling to old superstitions. If we would accept that this is the only life we have and stop yearning for a nonexistent afterlife, maybe humanity would

make the world of today a better place.
WILLIAM MCWHINNEY
Coral Springs, Florida, U.S.

Stress Fractures

"WOUNDS THAT DON'T BLEED" [NOV. 29], on the severe stress that is taking its toll on U.S. troops in Iraq, was an excellent article on an aspect of the war the daily media rarely cover. One of the most depressing situations facing our troops is that they can't see the light at the end of the tunnel. So many Americans are having their terms extended that a service member cannot count on any date to go home. That makes it difficult for even the most patriotic and committed troops to hang on.

JAMES A. EMBREE
Sacramento, California, U.S.

Better Safe Than Sorry?

RE "A SHOT SEEN ROUND THE WORLD," about the videotape of a Marine apparently killing a wounded Iraqi in a Fallujah mosque [Nov. 29]: It's amazing that we don't hear more stories like that. I hold no ill will toward the Marine, because I cannot begin to fathom what he and others endure in Iraq every day—car bombs, roadside rockets, booby-trapped bodies and Iraqi civilians who act like your friend one day and shoot at you the next. To all the armchair generals who criticize what happened at the mosque, I say grab a gun and try living a Marine's life for a few weeks and see how you would react. The U.S. holds its soldiers to a higher level of moral behavior, but



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illness for a while

that's my wish!

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war is war and sometimes mistakes are made. If this Marine is found guilty of a crime, he will be held accountable. But where was all the Middle East outrage at the beheading and shooting of unarmed civilian hostages?

JOHN RILEY
Atlanta

IT IS ADMIRABLE THAT U.S. TROOPS HAVE shown any restraint at all while fighting Iraqi terrorists. The fact that the military is ready to punish American soldiers who cross the line only reminds me that we still have the moral high ground. The behavior of any group will always be publicly defined by its worst members. In a good group, the other members will police and correct bad behavior. But among terrorists every despicable act is applauded, rewarded and encouraged.

PAT ORSBAN
Fairview, North Carolina, U.S.

MANY MORE IRAQIS THAN AMERICANS died in the battle for Fallujah. I am perplexed by the grave inequality of this war, which is partly reflected in the brutal killing of the wounded Iraqi soldier. The video captured attitudes that have led to cruel mass murder in Iraq.

HUMBERTO SARKIS LARA
Chihuahua, Mexico

Bush Unbound

IN HIS ESSAY "WHY BUSH HAS NO FEAR" [Nov. 29], Charles Krauthammer argued that the President has no need to be concerned about the political fortunes of an "heir" and so can do without popular ap-

proval of his actions. That is wildly incorrect. First, Krauthammer forgets the royalist tradition of the Republican Party and a certain politically prominent Floridian. Second, he forgets that Bush's political success will be judged in part on whether a Republican succeeds him. Krauthammer is correct that Bush is quite bold. But the President is by no stretch of the imagination reckless. Like Ronald Reagan, Bush simply possesses a more subtle and perceptive political mind than most of his adversaries or friends realize.

JOHN BLECK
Richardson, Texas, U.S.

BUSH HAS A MANDATE, AND HE SHOULD use it. I would like to take a percentage of my Social Security tax deduction and invest it in stocks to earn higher interest than is earned by funds in the traditional Social Security retirement program. Bush's plan to reform the tax code is another brilliant course of action. Think of how much money is wasted on the Internal Revenue Service, not to mention high-priced accountants.

SAM HOFF
Clarkston, Michigan, U.S.

WHAT SHOULD SCARE EVERYONE IS Krauthammer's glib assurance of the rightness of Bush's mission to spread democracy in the Middle East and, presumably, everywhere else. When you've grown up with the idea that Western democracy is divinely favored, that confidence comes easily. When you haven't, and someone tries to change the way you do things, you may feel you're just being bullied. The result will be more terror-

PHIL KNIGHT: JUST DO IT



Phil Knight, who is giving up his role as Nike's CEO while retaining the title of chairman [MILESTONES, Nov. 29], was a pioneer in the art of celebrity sports marketing, signing up big stars to promote Nike products. He was selected by TIME eight years ago as one of America's 25 most influential people [June 17, 1996]:

"If Michael Jordan is God, then Phil Knight put him in heaven. By paying Jordan and other athletes millions to endorse his shoes, the chairman and CEO of Nike has helped turn them into household names . . .

[Knight] is the master of the mantra of the age ('Just Do It') and the proprietor of Nike's unmistakable swoosh, the icon that has turned the lowly sneaker into winged sandals . . .

KNIGHT'S STARS ARE FRONTIERSMEN, EXPONENTS OF AN IN-YOUR-FACE BRAND OF AMERICAN OPTIMISM. By exporting the culture he has conquered the world for America. Knight, however, does not believe empires last forever . . . The pursuit of cheap labor, for example, can rebound on the mighty. But Knight also believes in the eternal return—that Nike's pre-eminence can be restored again and again. Geoff Hollister, a sports consultant who has worked with Knight for 25 years, advises rivals: 'Laugh at him once, and see how long it takes for him to catch up with you.' Swoosh."

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ists, not fewer. And other Americans like Krauthammer will scratch their heads and wonder, Why do they hate us?

ROBERT COULTER
Gimli, Canada

After Arafat

NO MATTER HOW MUCH YASSER Arafat's death has affected the conflict in the Middle East [Nov. 22], isn't it somewhat disrespectful for the media to focus primarily on the benefit that his passing brings to the peace process? His death is a major event and heralds change, of course, but shouldn't we concentrate more on what Arafat gave to the world during his life? It is the respect that everyone deserves.

MICHAEL FOSTER
Fareham, England

ALTHOUGH I STRONGLY SUPPORT THE goal of peace in the Middle East, I disagree with certain ideas about how to achieve it. Are Palestinians such a threat that the Israelis have to build a wall around them? The wall not only violates human rights but also imposes on innocent people the same kind of restrictions

that the Jews endured 60 years ago. I'm disappointed that Americans don't seem to care about the world outside their borders. People need to be more aware. Not only has the future of the U.S. been affected by the re-election of President Bush, but the whole world will have to bear the consequences.

DEBORAH MATHIJSEN
Ghent, Belgium

The Federation of Iraq

UNLESS THE U.S. IS SMART ENOUGH TO make the right decision soon, it is going to have one Fallujah after another in Iraq for years to come [Nov. 22]. Sunnis and Baathists were able to control Iraq for decades under Saddam Hussein. They will fight forever, since the Shi'ite majority would defeat them in a general election. Why not create an Iraq federation of three states—Shi'ite in the south, Sunni in the middle and Kurd in the north? Each state would govern itself, and the Iraqi federal government would be in charge of the oil industry, defense, foreign diplomacy and smoothing over religious differences. What other scheme will get the U.S. out

of the Iraqi quagmire anytime soon?

MARTIN MICHAELIS
Amherst, New Hampshire, U.S.

HOW TO REACH US

TIME

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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In the heart of Asia lies a land of many cultures, wonders and attractions. As well as a spectacular collection of architectural landmarks reflecting a multicultural heritage. In Kuala Lumpur, for example, the ultra-modern Petronas Twin Towers loom magnificently over the classic Moorish-style old Railway Station. Where is this land, so picturesque and breathtaking? It can only be Malaysia, Truly Asia.

Malaysia
Truly Asia

VERBATIM 2004

“I actually did vote for the \$87 billion before I voted against it.”

JOHN KERRY, responding to Republican campaign ads that criticized his U.S. Senate vote against a bill to authorize \$87 billion in funds for postwar Iraq

“I earned capital in the campaign, political capital. And now I intend to spend it. That’s my style.”

GEORGE W. BUSH, in a press conference after his victory in the Nov. 2 election

“It’s important to show that the republic... will not let itself be eaten away from within.”

JEAN-PIERRE RAFFARIN, French Prime Minister, defending the introduction of legislation to ban headscarves and other religious garb in France’s public schools

“The detainee begged Graner, ‘Mister, mister, please stop.’”

JEREMY SIVITS, former army reservist, testifying to an Army tribunal in Baghdad about the abuse of inmates at Abu Ghraib prison. When he was convicted of mistreating prisoners and sentenced to a year in prison, he apologized to the Iraqi people and the victims, saying “I let everybody down”

“The success and prosperity of Russia cannot and must not depend on one person or one political party, one political force.”

VLADIMIR PUTIN, Russian President, disavowing aspirations to autocratic rule, in his second inaugural address



“If they don’t have the guts, I call them girlie men.”

ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER, Republican Governor of California, complaining about Democrats whom he claimed were delaying his budget proposal, on the late-night comedy show *Saturday Night Live*

“From our point of view... it was illegal.”

KOFI ANNAN, U.N. Secretary-General, on the war in Iraq

“Now I’m going to show you how an Italian dies.”

FABRIZIO QUATTROCCHI, a security guard in Iraq, trying to remove a hood from his head moments before he was murdered by insurgent kidnappers

“Let women play in more feminine clothes... They could, for example, have tighter shorts.”

SEPP BLATTER, president of soccer’s governing body, FIFA, suggesting improvements to the women’s game

“In 2005 we have the opportunity for an historic breakthrough in relations between us and the Palestinians... This is the hour, this is the time. This is the national test.”

ARIEL SHARON, Israeli Prime Minister, speaking at the annual Herzliya conference, on his renewed optimism for peace following the death of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat



SBU head Smeshko, left, and President Kuchma in 2003; former SBU deputy Satsyuk, right



had argued that his job at the SBU was incompatible with being an M.P.)

Meanwhile, the first signs emerged that Ukraine's orange revolution may be seeping across the border into Russia. Last week in the Siberian city of Barnaul, the capital of the Altai region some 3,500 km east of Moscow, more than 100 journalists published an open letter of protest against what they said

was pressure from the Kremlin to smear Vladimir Ryzhkov, an M.P. from Altai and an outspoken opponent of President Vladimir Putin.

According to Valery Savinkov, editor-in-chief of the Altai news agency Bankfax, "A gentlemen from Moscow came [in October] to offer us big rewards should we do their bidding. When I turned him down, he said: 'You either share the bulldozer's driver seat with us or the bulldozer rolls over you.'"

Savinkov says his next visitor was an officer from the FSB, Russia's domestic security service, who warned that the agency would have problems should Savinkov fail to cooperate. That's when Savinkov and his colleague Vladimir Ovchinnikov, editor-in-chief of *Svobodnyi Kurs*, a Barnaul-based weekly, drafted the protest letter. "It's not about Ryzhkov really," says Ovchinnikov. "It's about the regime [the Kremlin] is once again imposing on this country. We don't want to let it happen." Altai's journalists are bracing for reprisals and have launched a new media union with local colleagues in hopes of preserving their independence.

—By Yuri Zarakhovich

Guess Who Came to Dinner?

WHO POISONED VIKTOR Yushchenko? On Dec. 17, doctors identified a massive dose of TCDD, the most toxic form of dioxin, as the cause of the Ukrainian opposition leader's grievous illness and facial disfigurement. Yushchenko claimed that the poisoning took place on Sept. 5 at a dinner with General Ihor Smeshko, head of the SBU, Ukraine's domestic security service, and Smeshko's First Deputy, Volodymyr Satsyuk. "That was the only place where no one from my team was present and no precautions were taken concerning the food," Yushchenko said on Dec. 16. The next day, campaigning for the Dec. 26 rerun of the presidential vote, he backtracked a bit, saying he did not intend to accuse the SBU officials themselves of "complicity" in poisoning him at what might have been his last supper.

According to Dmytro Ponamarchuk, a Kiev political analyst opposed to Yushchenko, "The meeting was initiated by Yushchenko, and the SBU agreed to it in good faith to discuss how to keep

[anticipated street protests] under control in case of rigged elections." A key Yushchenko staffer says that Smeshko made it clear at the dinner that the SBU would remain neutral—which amounted to tacit support for Yushchenko. At least one part of Yushchenko's account is disputed by Volodymyr Sykvovych, who is leading a parliamentary investigation into the dinner.

Sykvovych told *TIME* that someone from Yushchenko's team *was* present at the meal: David Zhvania, an M.P. with Yushchenko's Our Ukraine party. According to Sykvovych's preliminary report, "Food was served on common dishes. Zhvania and Satsyuk were pouring the drinks from the bottles, opened in each other's presence." The next morning, Yushchenko became seriously ill.

Smeshko has flatly denied involvement in any poisoning attempt; Satsyuk has so far

remained silent, and a spokesperson at the SBU declined to comment; Zhvania did not return calls. But Yushchenko's remarks raised eyebrows. Why would he implicate his potential allies? "It might be the influence of some of his top lieutenants who want to keep the masses mobilized," says the staffer.



Yushchenko backtracked from accusing the SBU of poisoning

"Or he simply let it slip, provoked by incessant questioning." Last week, outgoing President Leonid Kuchma abruptly fired Satsyuk from the SBU and a motion, pending since July, to strip him of his parliamentary status—and thereby his immunity—was approved. (Satsyuk's opponents

A GOOD MAN FALLS HARD

IT WAS A WEIRD, SAD EXIT FOR an honorable public servant. British Home Secretary David Blunkett, the country's chief law-enforcement officer, had no choice but to resign when an inquiry unearthed an e-mail and fax showing his office had helped speed up a residency permit for his ex-lover's nanny. The offense was tiny—the nanny was entitled to the permit anyway—but Blunkett had insisted there had been no intervention at all. (He later said he had forgotten the e-mail and fax.) Several missteps had steered him toward this patch of political quicksand. The public seemed willing to forgive his three-year affair with a married woman—his hardscrabble background, blindness and gift for straight talk bought him sympathy—but worried that his judgment had become skewed when he went to court to demand access to his lover's



2-year-old boy, who Blunkett says is his son. An authorized biography full of nasty remarks about his Cabinet colleagues was released as his troubles mounted, making enemies when he needed friends. One day after he attended the Christmas party of backbench Labour M.P.s and awkwardly sang the Fred Astaire-Ginger Rogers standard *Pick Yourself Up*, he was forced to dust himself off and start all over again.

Charles Clarke, the bruising former Education Secretary and close buddy of Prime Minister Tony Blair, will replace Blunkett. He has a big job: Blair is grounding his re-election campaign this year on

the security agenda Clarke now runs, including controversial compulsory ID cards. But the day after Blunkett quit, the country's highest court sank one of his toughest law-and-order legacies. It voted 8-1 that

foreign terror suspects could no longer be detained indefinitely without trial, because the emergency the government declared to square this with European human rights law was invalid, and indefinite detention too extreme. Shami Chakrabarti, director of the human rights organization Liberty, called it "the most important constitutional decision in recent history." Lacking Blunkett's personal stake in this reversal, Clarke may find it easier to manage a nimble recovery—and, perhaps, soften the authoritarian instinct of which Blunkett's Home Office was so often accused.

—By J.F.O. McAllister

PRESIDENT OF PROMISES

THE SURPRISE SECOND-round victory of Traian Basescu in Romania's presidential election marks a clear break for a country that hopes to enter the E.U. in 2007. Fifteen years after a revolution brought Romania's communist era to a bloody close, Basescu is the first President to come to power promising to take on the country's entrenched communist-era bureaucracy.



Basescu greets supporters in Bucharest's Constitution Square

Coincidentally, his party colors were the same orange that stirred revolution next door in Ukraine. That may have boosted his chances against ex-Prime Minister Adrian Nastase, the left-wing candidate. Crowds greeted his election with cries of "Down with communism!" Basescu, a former sea captain and mayor of Bucharest, is known for a populist style and for cleaning up the capital city. He vowed to maintain a high profile despite the limited powers of his office. "I will be a strong President," he told supporters in Bucharest. "I will turn Romania into a nation of winners." Because no party emerged from parliamentary elections last month with a majority, Basescu must choose the country's new Prime Minister. Next, he promises to tackle the country's corruption and cronyism. "He is a fighter," says Adrian Ursu, an editor at the Bucharest daily, *Adevarul*. "He thrives on conflict." —By Andrew Purvis and Mihai Radu

► **SECURITY MOMS** Former U.S. soccer moms were less worried this year about traditional family issues than about whether terrorists would take their children hostage. Lots of them voted for Bush.

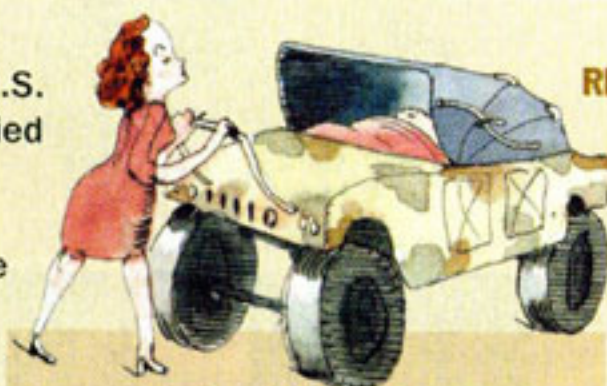
► **UP-ARMORED** Humvees with the heaviest armored protection—of which, U.S. soldiers told Rumsfeld, there aren't enough in Iraq.

▼ **BACKDOOR DRAFT** John Kerry's term for the U.S. military's tactic of extending reservists' service in Iraq. He lost the election, but the problem didn't go away.

► **SO FETCH** "Cool," to the cool high school crowd in the movie *Mean Girls*.

► **MESS O'POTAMIA**

That's what Jon Stewart dubbed the Iraq war. Can American TV's hottest satirist make the OED, too?



The Year in Buzzwords

► **RED STATE/BLUE STATE** Four years ago it was the coinage of U.S. TV newscasters and Beltway insiders. Now, the whole world knows the symbol of America's Republican-Democrat divide.

► **CHRISMUKKAH** TV drama *The O.C.*'s inter-faith holiday. But let's give it one more season and see if the greeting cards catch on.

► **WARDROBE MALFUNCTION**

Janet Jackson's breast said hello, a nation reacted in horror, and Justin Timberlake, her partner in crime, came up with an explanation that stand-up comics couldn't have invented.

► **TIVO (verb)** Only 2.3

million subscribe to this digital recording service—but everyone, it seems, is "TiVoing" his or her favorite shows. And probably still Xeroxing, too.





Is he paving the way for a major new attack?

guidance," says Scheuer, "was always: Before you attack someone, warn them very clearly and offer them a chance to convert to Islam." He contends that bin Laden, by making his warnings very explicit, has "done everything that's required" so that, in his mind, "the criticisms he got after 9/11 won't be valid this time around."

Bin Laden's New Message

IN HIS LATEST AUDIOTAPE message to the world, released Dec. 16 on an extremist Islamic website, Osama bin Laden largely shifted his attention from the U.S. to the Saudi royal family. He called its members "agents of infidels," praised the Dec. 6 attack on the U.S. consulate in Jidda and urged Muslims to support the insurgency in Iraq. According to one leading expert, the new tape was part of a change in emphasis in recent communications by the al-Qaeda leader and his deputy, Ayman al-Zawahiri—an effort to speak as much to the Muslim world as to the U.S. and a paving of the theological way for what may be another major terrorist attack.

Michael Scheuer, an al-Qaeda analyst who recently retired from the CIA and once headed its bin Laden unit, tells *TIME* he believes that, in their series of recent messages and tapes, bin Laden and al-Zawahiri have been subtly addressing criticism from some Muslim clerics that the Sept. 11 terror strikes violated Islamic edicts against surprise attacks. "The Prophet's

Says Scheuer: "I think what he's done is clearly setting the stage for a large attack."

Scheuer says he was particularly alarmed by the video by al-Zawahiri, aired Nov. 29 on the Arabic TV network al-Jazeera, in which he offered a "final piece of advice for America . . . you must choose between two ways of behaving toward Muslims: either you deal with them on the basis of respect and mutual interest or you treat them as easy prey." Scheuer says, "What bothered me is he said this is the 'final' time we're going to raise

"We ask God to have mercy on the mujahedin who attacked the American consulate."

this. I had not seen them ever before say, 'This is the end of this discussion we're having with you.' If al-Zawahiri intended his message to be a last warning to the U.S., bin Laden's

latest could be seen as a corollary shift in focus toward the Muslim world.

A U.S. intelligence official said all tapes by the two leaders are "a matter that's taken very seriously, and their appearance causes concern." But the official stressed that the tapes could be interpreted in several different ways. For his part, Scheuer concedes that he has no idea where or when an attack might occur. "I've been wrong too often trying to predict dates," he says.

—By Timothy J. Burger

WHY HE POPPED THE QUESTION

If this is my 15 minutes of fame, I hope it saves a life," says Thomas "Jerry" Wilson, the U.S. National Guard specialist who unnerved Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld in a public forum by asking why American soldiers have to scrounge for scrap metal to arm their vehicles before heading into Iraq. Wilson, 31, who joined the National Guard a few days after Sept. 11, has kept a low profile since the Dec. 8 town-hall meeting in Kuwait, even as his question—and a reporter's later account of his role in preparing it—became a hot topic. But in an interview with *TIME* last week, the soldier from Tennessee's 278th Regiment gave his first public account of why and how he decided to pop the question.

Wilson, of Ringgold, Georgia, says he met and befriended Edward Lee Pitts, an embedded reporter from the Chattanooga *Times Free Press*, at California's Fort Irwin, where his unit trained. Later in Kuwait, after Pitts learned that only soldiers could ask questions at the upcoming Rumsfeld meeting, he urged Wilson to come up with, as Wilson recalls, some "intelligent questions." Wilson decided on one after his convoy arrived at Camp Arijan. The camp had hundreds of fully armored vehicles waiting for a unit scheduled to arrive in July. When



Wilson, top, says his question wasn't meant to embarrass Rumsfeld, above

Wilson asked if the 278th could use them in the meantime, the answer was no. Wilson then devised a question about the shortage of armor and showed it to Pitts. But even though the reporter "suggested a less brash way of asking the question," Wilson says, "I told him no, that I wanted to make my point very clear." Wilson insists he came up with the question and three alternates on his own.

As for Rumsfeld's brusque response—that even a fully armored vehicle "can be blown up"—Wilson says, "Personally, I

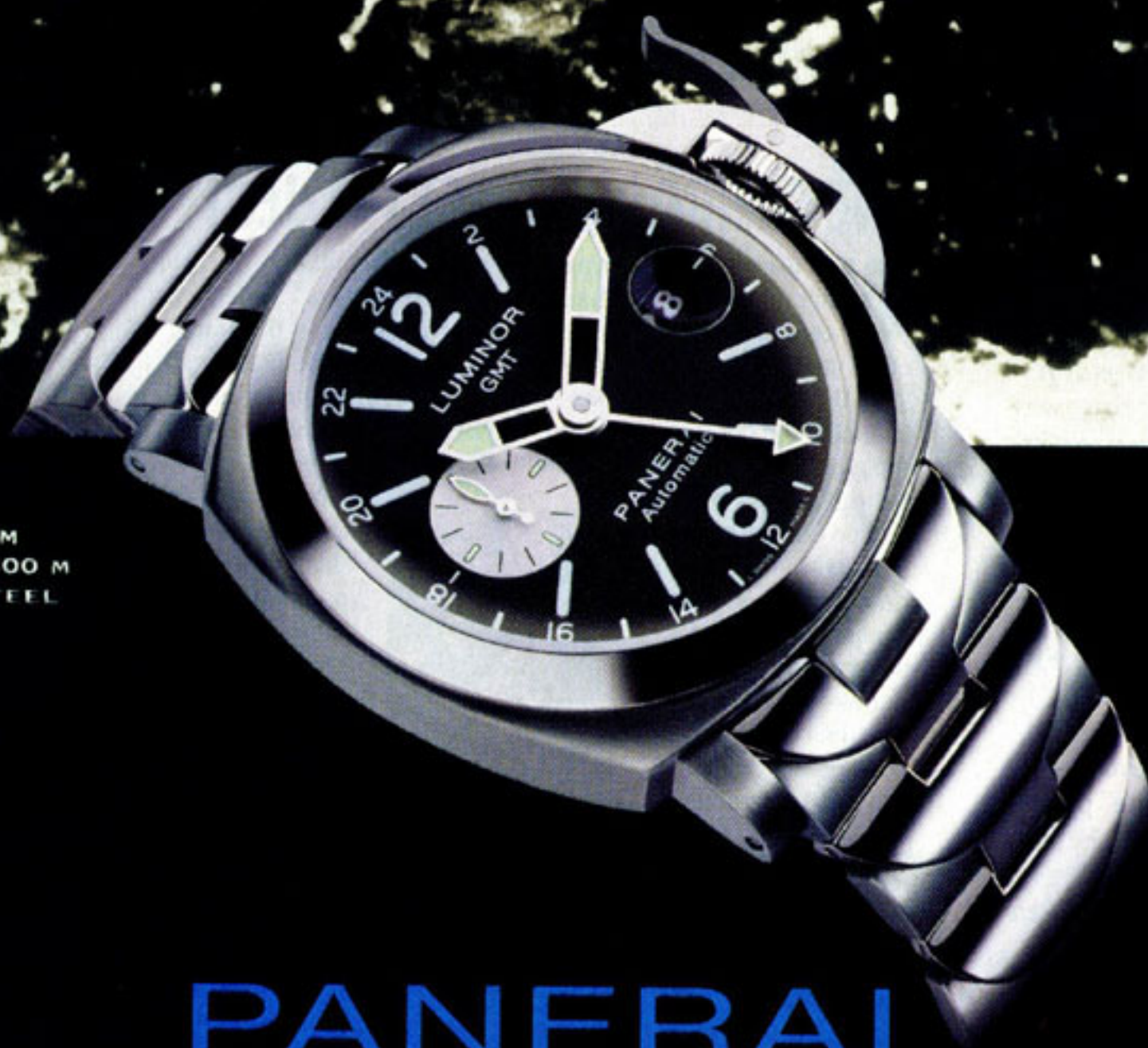
didn't like that answer." But as a George W. Bush supporter, he adds, "I hope I didn't do any damage to Secretary Rumsfeld." After the meeting, Wilson told Rumsfeld he did not intend to put him "on the spot" or show disrespect, and the two shook hands. While most soldiers were "overwhelmingly positive" afterward, one officer suggested Wilson should have asked the question in a more "proper forum." Says Wilson: "My response was: 'What would the proper forum be?' If it costs me my career to save another soldier, I'll give it."

—By Anne Berryman

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RISKING ALL FOR A CURE

WHEN JONATHAN SIMMS was 17, doctors thought he had 14 months to live. The Belfast teen was exhibiting the first symptoms of variant Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease (vCJD), the human version of mad cow disease, and there could only be one prognosis. But three years later, his condition is no longer considered terminal. Thanks to a controversial new therapy, he may become the first known survivor of a disease that has killed 147 Britons since 1995.

After the diagnosis, Simms' father Don read about the use



Simms' father Don, left, and family doctor Mark McClean fought for treatment

of an anticoagulant called pentosan polysulphate (PPS) to delay the onset of scrapie, a disease which produces similar brain lesions in sheep as vCJD does in humans. The drug was not licensed for human use in Britain—and doctors were unwilling to test it on Simms until Don secured the High Court's permission in late 2002. Within months Simms' condition stabilized, then improved. Five other victims are now being treated with PPS, with similar results. Doctors believe PPS shuts down the "rogue" prions blamed for the disease. Experts disagree on future numbers of vCJD cases; some say there's an epidemic still to come. If so, the PPS treatment offers hope that a diagnosis is no longer a death sentence. —By Kate Noble



The Empire's New Clothes

Relaxed textile import rules are all sewn up

When global trade rules change, how much time should the E.U. need to prepare? World Trade Organization members had 10 years to ready themselves for the Jan. 1 lifting of quotas on textile and clothing imports. So why is Brussels still jittery? Showing off its caring side, the E.U. fears a surge in Chinese imports could hurt textile suppliers in small countries like Bangladesh and Mauritius, which rely heavily on exports. With China's share of the world's \$400 billion clothing and textile export market expected to soar, Bangladesh alone could lose a million textile jobs, warns John McGhie of Britain-based Christian Aid. But there's also concern for producers closer to home. The E.U. took in around 20% of global textile and clothing imports in 2002. With China already the bloc's biggest supplier, the end of quotas "will have serious consequences for the European industry," says Bill Lakin, director-general of European trade body Euratex. Brussels could yet trigger safeguards should Chinese imports explode. You can be sure it won't need 10 years to do so.

BIZ WATCH
By ADAM SMITH

INDICATORS

HOLIDAY HOOKUPS

A rash of late-year megamergers struck the U.S., including health-care firm Johnson & Johnson's \$25.4 billion takeover of Guidant; the long-awaited \$10.3 billion Oracle-PeopleSoft marriage; phone provider Sprint's \$35 billion merger with Nextel; and the uniting of software companies Symantec and Veritas in an all-stock deal worth around \$12.5 billion.

TRADING PLACES

A takeover battle may be planned for the London Stock Exchange. Following a \$2.6 billion offer from Germany's Deutsche Börse—which the LSE rejected—the transnational Euronext exchange was reported to be considering making a bid.

MONOPOLY PRICING

Just in time for holiday gift buying, a British appeals tribunal upheld a ruling made by regulators against two retailers fined for fixing prices in conjunction with the toy firm Hasbro. The regulators say their earlier decision lowered the price of the board game Monopoly by about \$8 a set. One retailer, Argos, said it might roll the dice and file a further appeal.

THE SCHRÖDERS' PET PROJECT

With German unemployment approaching 11%, Chancellor Gerhard Schröder understands the need to protect jobs. But he could hardly have expected the howls that greeted the news that his fourth wife Doris Schröder-Köpf had helped German drug-store chain Rossmann develop a range of dog accessories—from shampoos to fake bones—to be marketed with the help of the couple's dog, Holly. A share of the revenues

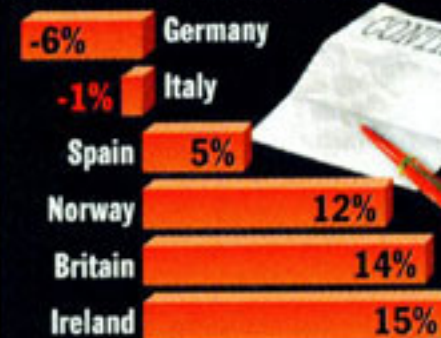
will go to charity. So what's the problem? Klaus Ochsner, president of Germany's pet-trade industry body, the ZZF, suggested that most of the goods are made not by Germans but by low-wage, Far East producers. "The Chancellor's wife ... is insulting the pet industry and endangering German jobs," he told industry title *Tier Bild*. Rossmann claimed that while the products come from all over, "an exact specification is



Dogged by controversy

HIRE POWER

Net percentage difference between firms planning to hire in Q1 and those planning to cut. (Positive figures mean more firms hiring.)



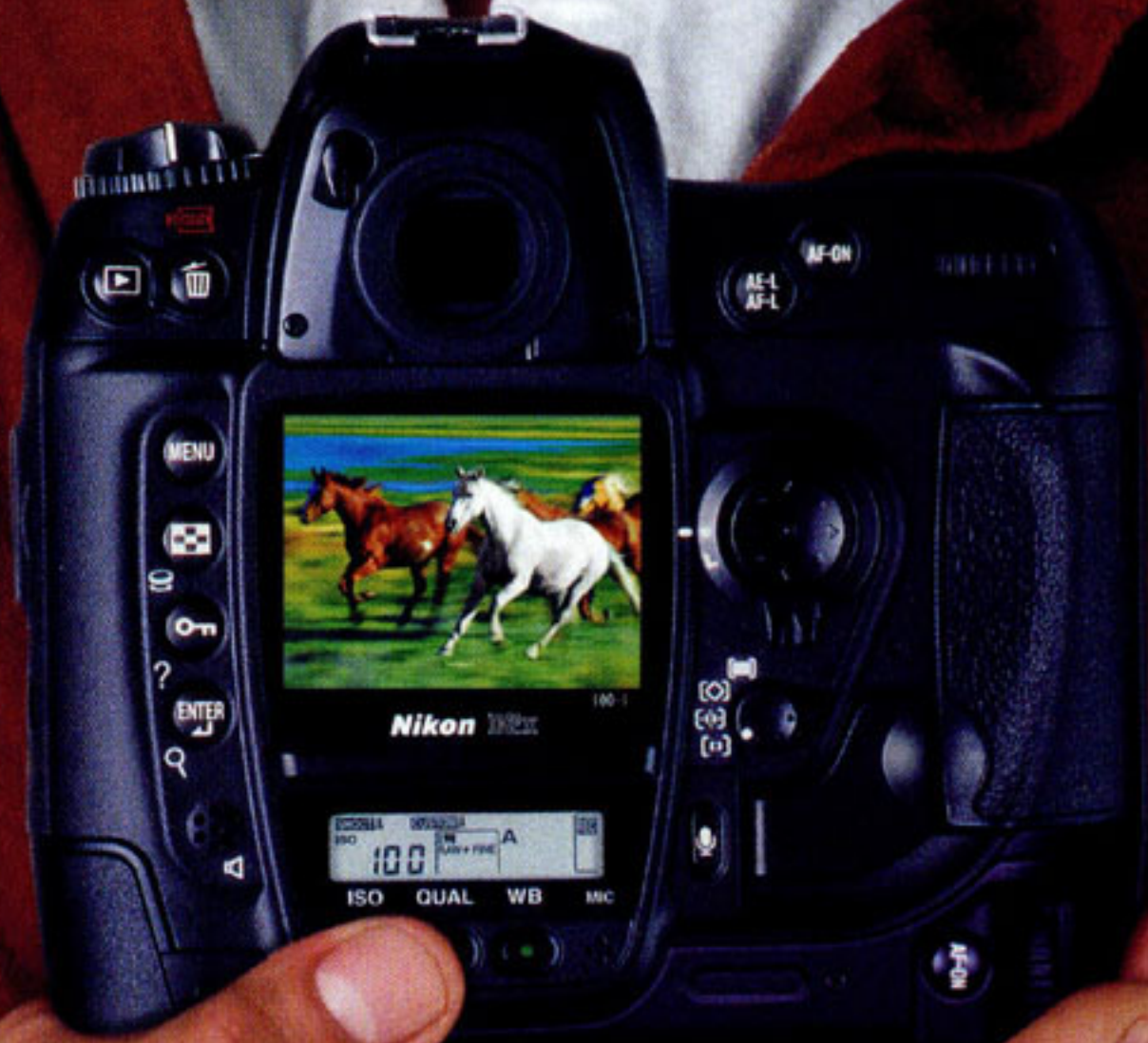
SOURCE: Manpower Employment Outlook Survey

not possible." If Schröder can't find a better line than that, he may end up in the doghouse.

THE BOTTOM LINE "That is indeed a lot, that is indeed hefty." **RAINER HERTRICH**, co-CEO of Airbus parent company EADS, acknowledging the €1.45 billion cost overrun in the development of the Toulouse-based planemaker's A380 superjumbo jet

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THE YEAR

BY NANCY GIBBS AND JOHN F. DICKERSON

Eagles rather than doves nestle in the Oval

He's wearing a blue pinstripe suit, and his shoes are shined point with his hands or extending his arm with his finger

"I've had a lot going on, so I haven't been in a very reflective mood," says the man who has just replaced half his Cabinet, dispatched 12,000 more troops into battle, arm wrestled lawmakers over an intelligence bill, held his third economic summit and begun to lay the second-term paving stones on which he will walk off into history. Asked about his re-election, he replies, "I think over the Christmas holidays it'll all sink in."

As he says this, George W. Bush is about to set a political record. The first TIME poll since the election has his approval rating at 49%. Gallup has it at 53%, which doesn't sound bad unless you consider that it's the lowest December rating for a re-elected U.S. President in Gallup's history. That is not a great concern, however, since he has run his last race, and it is not a surprise to a President who tends to measure his progress by the enemies he makes. "Sometimes you're defined by your critics," he says. "My presidency is one that has drawn some fire, whether it be at home or around the world. Unfortunately, if you're doing big things, most of the time you're never going to be around to see them [to fruition], whether it be cultural change or spreading democracy in parts of the world where people just don't believe it can happen. I understand that. I don't expect many short-term historians to write nice things about me."

Yet even halfway through his presidency, Bush says, he already sees his historic gamble paying off. He watched in satisfaction the inauguration of Afghan President Hamid Karzai. "I'm not suggesting you're looking at the final chapter in Afghanistan, but the elections were amazing. And if you go back and look at the prognosis about Afghanistan—whether it be the decision [for the U.S. to invade] in the first place, the 'quagmire,' whether or not the people can even vote—it's a remarkable experience." Bush views his de-



HIS DOMAIN

President Bush in the Oval Office in early December

Photographs for TIME by Christopher Morris—VII

Office Christmas tree, pinecones the size of footballs are States is pretty close to lounging in Armchair One. bright enough to shave in. He is loose, lively, framing a up as though he's throwing a big idea gently across the room.



cision to press for the transformation of Afghanistan and then Iraq—as opposed to “managing calm in the hopes that there won’t be another September 11th, that the Salafist [radical Islamist] movement will somehow wither on the vine, that somehow these killers won’t get a weapon of mass destruction”—as the heart of not just his foreign policy but his victory. “The election was about the use of American influence,” he says. “I can remember people trying to shift the debate. I wanted the debate to be on a lot of issues, but I also wanted everybody to clearly understand exactly what my thinking was. The debates and all the noise and all the rhetoric were aimed at making very clear the stakes in this election when it comes to foreign policy.”

In that respect and throughout the 2004 campaign, Bush was guided by his own definition of a winning formula. “People think during elections, ‘What’s in it for me?’” says communications director Dan Bartlett, and expanding democracy in Iraq, a place voters were watching smolder on the nightly news, was not high on their list. Yet “every time we’d have a speech and attempt to scale back the liberty section, he would get mad at us,” Bartlett says. Sometimes the President would simply take his black Sharpie and write the word freedom between two paragraphs to prompt himself to go into his extended argument for America’s efforts to plant the seeds of liberty in Iraq and the rest of the Middle East.

An ordinary politician tells swing voters what they want to hear; Bush invited them to vote for him because he refused to. Ordinary politicians need to be liked; Bush finds the hostility of his critics reassuring. Challengers run as outsiders, promising change; it’s an extraordinary politician who tries this while holding the title Leader of the Free World. Ordinary Presidents have made mistakes and then



REACHING OUT

Bush phones a world leader as Condi Rice, in the foreground, listens

sought to redeem themselves by admitting them; when Bush was told by some fellow Republicans that his fate depended on confessing his errors, he blew them off.

For U.S. presidential candidates, getting elected is the test that counts. Ronald Reagan did it by keeping things vague: It's Morning in America. Bill Clinton did it by keeping things small, running in peaceful times on school uniforms and V chips. Bush ran big and bold and specific all at the same time, rivaling Reagan in breadth of vision and Clinton in tactical ingenuity. He surpassed both men in winning bigger majorities in Congress and the statehouses. And he did it all while conducting an increasingly unpopular war, with an economy on tiptoes and a public conflicted about many issues but most of all about him.

The argument over whether his skill won the race and fueled a realignment of American politics or whether he was the lucky winner of a coin-toss election will last just as long as the debates among historians over whether Dwight Eisenhower had a "hidden-hand strategy" in dealing with po-

litical problems, Richard Nixon was at all redeemable and Reagan was an "amiable dunce." Democrats may conclude that they don't need to learn a thing, since 70,000 Ohioans changing their minds would have flipped the outcome and flooded the airwaves with commentary about the flamboyantly failed Bush presidency. It may be that a peculiar chemistry of skills and instincts and circumstances gave Bush his victory in a way no future candidates can copy. But that doesn't mean they won't try.

In the meantime, the lessons Bush draws from his victory are the ones that matter most. The man who in 2000 promised to unite and not divide now sounds as though he is prepared to leave as his second-term legacy the Death of Compromise. "I've got the will of the people at my back," he said at the moment of victory. From here on out, bipartisanship means falling in line: "I'll reach out to everyone who shares our goals." Whatever spirit of cooperation that survives in his second term may have to be found among his opponents; he has made it clear he's not about

to change his mind as he takes on Social Security and the tax code in pursuit of his "ownership society." So unfolds the strange and surprising and high-stakes decade of Bush.

For sharpening the debate until the choices bled, for reframing reality to match his design, for gambling his fortunes—and America's—on his faith in the power of leadership, George W. Bush is TIME's 2004 Person of the Year.

THE LIVING ROOM OF BUSH'S RANCH IN Crawford, Texas, is a place for thinking. There are big windows with long views, a wall of books and on one side a table that is usually freckled with jigsaw pieces. It was a few days after New Year's in 2003. The President had been out clearing cedar, and Laura Bush was lying on a sofa reading, or at least pretending to. That Christmas holiday was a deep breath between the 2002 midterm elections and the walk-up to the war in Iraq. Karl Rove, chief strategist for the Bush re-election campaign, arrived at the house with his faded blue canvas brief-

case in hand. He had come to help put together a different kind of puzzle.

On his laptop was a PowerPoint pitch titled POTUS Presentation to project on the beige walls. It was no secret what the first piece of Bush's re-election strategy would be: to reach out to the base and make sure the Evangelicals, who Rove believed stayed home in 2000, came out this time. But appealing just to one part of one party would never produce 270 electoral votes, so Rove had prepared a series of slides, each with a great big goal in tall letters: BROADEN, PERSUADE, GROW. These were designed to show how Bush could assemble a winning majority by inspiring his party's most ardent supporters while also drawing in more typically Democratic voters, like Hispanics, Catholics and suburban moderates, among others.

But before Rove could begin his song and dance, Bush cut in. "You're not the only smart guy that's been thinking about it," he said. "So before we get going, let me tell you what I've been thinking about." Bush had learned something from the midterm elec-

tions, in which he had gambled his popularity by swooping into tight races. Although the President's party usually loses ground in midseason, with his help the Republicans had made historic gains. That fueled Bush's faith in what could happen when a President resists the temptation to sit tight and instead is willing to spend political capital. For the 2004 campaign, Bush told Rove, he wanted to spend again to further expand his party's majority in Congress. Bush intended to keep doing risky and not necessarily popular things; to lead a revolution, he would need more troops.

As for his re-election campaign, Bush told Rove, it would be all too easy to focus on just three things: "raising the money, running the television ads and moving around the country in the big blue bird." But Bush had no interest in a classic corporate Republican operation that had a lot of money and not much passion. The Democrats are supposed to be the party with the deep grass roots and the ardent volunteers, but in 2000 Bush had managed to draft an army that saw itself as a band of outsiders storming the

gates. "It gave people a lot of energy and enthusiasm," he said. "We can't lose that. I want to leave it so that some number of years from now, people look back and say, 'You know, I really wasn't involved much in politics until the Bush-Cheney '04 campaign asked me to get involved.'"

Keep to the Right

WHEN THE RACE BEGAN FOR REAL LAST March, Bush had the support of 91% of Republicans and 17% of Democrats. This was the biggest gap in the history of the Gallup poll, and it led journalists to write about the Polarizing President and armchair strategists to remind the White House of the First Rule of Politics: once your base gets you nominated, you have to soften the edges and sweet-talk the center to get elected. Bush had honored the rule by running in 2000 as a "compassionate conservative," which was code for "I'm not as mean as Newt Gingrich or Tom DeLay"; by working with liberal Democrat Ted Kennedy on the No Child Left Behind Act; and by diluting any



SPEED RACER

At a Secret Service training facility, Bush bikes and listens to Van Morrison's *Brown Eyed Girl* on his iPod

**POWER LUNCH**

Bush calls a Senator during a meal with Vice President Dick Cheney

claim to fiscal conservatism with his support for prescription-drug benefits and a bloated farm bill. But it is a sign of Bush's political flexibility that, when it suits him, he can reject flexibility.

In his re-election year, far from becoming more accommodating, Bush seemed to do the reverse. In July 2000 he delivered a bridge-building address to the N.A.A.C.P.; in July 2004 he snubbed the organization. Two-thirds of Americans favored extension of the assault-weapons ban; in September he conspicuously let it die. He repeatedly offered swing voters expressly what they told pollsters they did not want: a multiyear commitment in Iraq, a constitutional amendment to ban gay marriage, Social Security private accounts, restricted federal funding of stem-cell research. The most he would do is hint that radioactive U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft wouldn't make it to a second Bush presidency. But even at the height of the Abu Ghraib prison-abuse scandal, Bush would not consider calls to dump U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld. "If you're wasting your time coming up with a way to rec-

ommend this, don't," he told a bunch of top aides in an Oval Office meeting. "And you make sure other people know this. This is absolutely the wrong time for this to be happening."

Most voters said they were looking for a change in direction, but Bush was betting that what they wanted more was leadership. Through it all, the one category in which he never fell behind John Kerry in the polls was being a strong leader. In dangerous times, courage is a currency, so while Kerry ran on his Vietnam combat record, Bush, who didn't have one, suggested that the courage that matters most in a politician is the political kind. "The role of the President is not to follow the path of the latest polls," he told voters. "Whether you agree with me or not, you know where I stand, what I believe and where I'm going to lead. You cannot say that about my opponent." By taking a hard line on divisive issues, he made character—not his record—the issue.

If you go hunting for Bush's margin of victory, you won't find it among Evangelicals, who voted in roughly the same proportion as

in the past. You'll find it among groups that traditionally don't vote Republican. Bush improved his standing among blacks, Jews, Hispanics, women, city dwellers, Catholics, seniors and people who don't go to church. His biggest improvement came in the bluest, most hard-core Democratic of regions, the corridor from Maryland up through New Jersey and New York to Massachusetts. In Kerry's home state, Bush found close to 200,000 more voters than he did in 2000. He won a majority of the vote in a country that a majority of voters thought was heading in the wrong direction. Since, according to polls, more Americans consider themselves conservatives than liberals, he didn't need to win over a majority of the voters in the middle. He just needed to convince enough to put him over the top.

Run as an Outsider

DURING THE 2000 CAMPAIGN, BUSH NEVER left home without a podium. To support the promise to "restore honor and dignity to the White House" and combat the no-

tion that he was a lightweight, his team wanted to make him look presidential whenever possible. But four years later, with the re-election campaign under way, his imagemakers had the opposite worry. There was too much pomp, too many suits. They needed to get him out from behind the lectern and let him be a regular guy. So Bush went from set speeches to town-hall meetings, from suits to shirtsleeves.

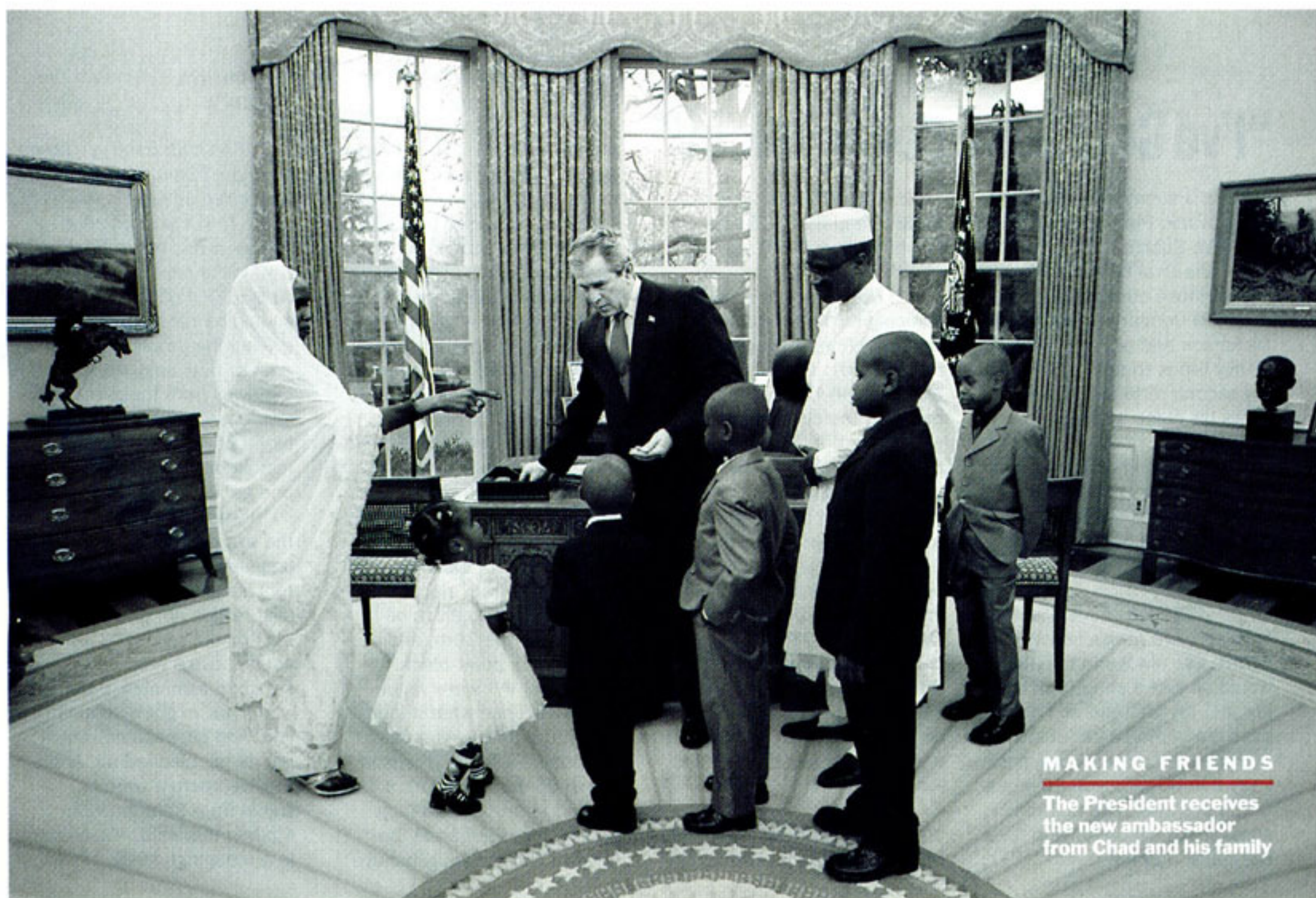
Of course, the audiences were carefully screened to admit only high-fiber Bush supporters. And on most nights the candidate was back home in the First Bedroom because he doesn't much like hotels. But the overall goal of running an outsider campaign came naturally. Bush has been President for only four years but has always been a punk at heart—the guy who in 1973 used to walk around Harvard during antiwar protests wearing cowboy boots and a bomber jacket, who was an outsider even in his own, high-achieving family (the black sheep, he once told the Queen of England). Forty-one U.S. newspapers that endorsed Bush back when he ran as

a pragmatic reformer revoked their support this time around. But that just made it easier; he was running against the mainstream media, and his campaign was feeding the bloggers and surfing talk radio. “You wouldn’t have known that we were the out party,” says Al From, founder of the Democratic Leadership Council, “because we defended the status quo on some stuff. Bush was able to sound like he was the guy who wanted to be a reformer and be the outsider.”

Expanding the party depended on reaching out to outsiders, the literal ones, pioneers of the new American frontiers that ring the old cities and suburbs—places like Colorado’s Douglas County, Ohio’s Delaware County and Farmwell Hunt in Ashburn, Virginia, which advertises itself as a place “where family values, engaged residents, nature, fun and safety come together to form a premier community.” And then he went even further, to the rural communities that Presidents don’t visit very much because of the potential inefficiencies of spending precious time on

such sparsely populated locales. Bush put dozens of such communities on his itinerary, and he can still rattle off their names. In “Poplar Bluff, Missouri,” he notes, “23,000 people showed up in a town of 16,000 people.” He won 97 of the 100 fastest-growing counties in the country—generally by a wide margin. Visiting so many obscure towns, Bush says in retrospect, “was an interesting strategy that really paid off.” The President remembers a local official saying to him when he visited Marquette, Michigan, “I think you will have seen 50% of the people in this area on this one trip.”

Because the strategy worked, Democrats admit they’ll have to look hard at their own model, which focused more on turning out loyal voters than on finding new ones. “The President was freshly minting Republicans all over the country, while we were building the greatest turnout machine ever,” says Kerry adviser Mike McCurry. “The moral is that I don’t think you could do a better job of funding, organizing and deploying a paid get-out-



MAKING FRIENDS

The President receives the new ambassador from Chad and his family

the-vote effort than we did, and it's just not enough to beat a Republican Party that is growing."

Turn into the Wind

IF A CENTRAL DRAMA OF THE SLALOMING Kerry campaign was his agreeing with the last person he spoke to, the drama of the Bush campaign was his refusing to. "If you know me, I guess that's called stubborn," the President says. Whenever an aide comes back to him with reports of receiving a hostile reaction to one of his policy proposals, from bureaucrats bucking intelligence reform or members of Congress squealing about his budget, Bush greets the embattled aide with the same phrase: "You must be doing something right." A Bush adviser puts it more bluntly: "He likes being hated. It lets him know he's doing the right thing."

People close to Bush have their theories about this. Some think he likes the cries of outrage because they signal that he's making tough calls, which is how he views his job description. "Part of it could be his faith," says an adviser. "Being persecuted is

not always a bad thing." Some of it may be learned. He has hated the political echo chamber ever since he watched insiders he viewed as self-preserving and backbiting carve up his father's Administration. When you're a lie-in-wait politician like Bush, who has gained so much from being underestimated, absorbing criticism toughens your skin and eases the wait for the coming reward. "There's no victory for Bush that is sweeter," says an aide, "than the one he was told he couldn't have."

Bush admits to savoring a good fight. "I think the natural instinct for most people in the political world is they want people to like them," he says. "On the other hand, I think sometimes I take kind of a delight in who the critics are." He talks about how he relishes the moment when the political world is at his feet as he stands before Congress to deliver the State of the Union. "Sometimes I look through that teleprompter and see reactions," he recalls. "I'm not going to characterize what the reactions are, but nevertheless it causes me to want to lean a little more forward into the prompter, if you know what

I mean. Maybe it's the mother in me." As he says that, he practically leans out of his chair, as though his antagonists were there in the room.

So the President didn't mind taking on his campaign opponent earlier and more frequently than sitting U.S. Presidents are supposed to. When Bush first referred to Kerry in a campaign speech in early March, he was criticized for trading away the power and prestige of the office and elevating Kerry in the process. "His office is the coin of the realm," a Washington political veteran said at the time, "and he's squandering it." Instead of sitting back and enjoying the Rose Garden, though, Bush felt he had to define Kerry before the Massachusetts Senator could define himself. "He discovered in 2000 that campaigns are choices and not referendums," says Bush's media adviser, Mark McKinnon. "You have to frame the choice, or your opponent will frame it for you. So unlike 2000, in 2004 he came up to the plate with a big bat."

The piece of advice Bush ignored most diligently was the call for him to admit mis-

THE INTERVIEW

"I've Got All the Power I Need"

On a sunny afternoon last week, President George W. Bush sat down in the Oval Office with White House correspondents Matthew Cooper and John Dickerson and editor at large Nancy Gibbs to talk about Iraq, his second term and how he views his place in history.

TIME: What kind of turnout are you looking for in the Iraqi elections—50%, 70%?

BUSH: I would hope as many people as possible.

TIME: What does it feel like to have no more re-elections?

BUSH: I've always felt politics would be just a chapter of my life, not my life. And so I don't have any remorse about saying, Oh, gosh, no more campaigns. I say that now. Maybe 10 years from now, when you find me somewhere, I'll be longing for a campaign. I doubt it.

TIME: Sheriff Bush...

BUSH: Yes, exactly. Some say I've already got it. [Laughter.]

TIME: How was your re-election campaign different from those waged by Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton?

BUSH: Mine was different because the circumstances were different. I had to make it very clear that the foreign policy of this Administration would lead to peace. This was a tough four years for the American people. I know it has been. And I think it's very important for somebody running for office to say that, one, I will confront problems and not pass them on but also that by having confronted problems, that the next four years will be hopefully a more peaceful period of time for people.

TIME: Another thing you did is that you told people what they

might not want to hear:

"You may not agree with me, but you know where I stand."

BUSH: Well, I guess that's called stubborn. Wasn't that the word they used at some point in time, stubborn? Look, I believe that if you believe something, you've got to stand your ground, particularly in the face of criticism. I think the American people are looking at somebody running for office and they want to know what they believe, why they believe it and do they really believe it. And it's particularly important in these kinds of unsettling times. Take, for example, my wish for the Iraqi elections. I believe they ought to be on January the 30th, and I've said so, point-blank. Otherwise, if it were vague—"Well, we'll see what it looks like at the time"—you can bet people will find a reason not to do the hard work. I believe strongly when I say something, I generally believe it. Not generally believe

it—I believe it. Scratch the generally.

TIME: Another issue you have been out front on is steroids. You talked about it in the State of the Union last year. And, of course, it has become a big deal in the past few weeks.

BUSH: First of all, baseball should be focused on solving the problem before a lot of fans begin to really fall away from the game. I love baseball, and I understand how important the history of baseball is from one generation to the next.

I was more worried about the example that major leaguers, adults, were setting for youngsters, who basically said, "Juice up, and you'll make more money." I believe adults have a responsibility to set good examples, particularly when you've got a spotlight on you. And baseball now must get its act cleaned up. And they've heard a warning signal from Senator John McCain that said, "Clean it up in a meaningful way, or we

takes. It was not just the New York Times demanding that he apologize for alleging there was a link between Saddam Hussein and al-Qaeda, or Michael Moore saying he should apologize to dead soldiers' families for sending their kids into a war over oil. It was also a chorus of Republican wise men, like one who e-mailed a top White House official after a presidential press conference. "I wish he had found a way to admit a mistake. The press corps is not going to let the issue go away," the e-mailer wrote. He even offered Bush a script: "One mistake was my initial opposition to [establishing the Department of] Homeland Security. Another mistake was initial opposition to the 9/11 commission, and another mistake was my failure to address the problems between the FBI and the CIA." As Kerry became more aggressive in his criticism of Bush's Iraq policy, other Republicans said the President had to beat back the challenger's charge that Bush was out of touch. "We had to admit that we'd gotten some things wrong," said a senior

Republican, "or we were beginning to look like we were living on another planet."

The Bush camp was hearing all this and debating the price of admission. "It was one that we constantly talked about," says a senior White House adviser. "During Abu Ghraib, people were calling for people's heads," says another, "and the President was unwilling to just fire somebody because it would satisfy people." Besides, Bush thought people were basically looking for him to call the whole Iraq invasion a mistake, which he was not about to do. Privately, he did acknowledge there had been blunders, but that didn't mean it made sense to say so publicly. At the second presidential debate, a town-hall meeting of undecided voters, a woman called Linda Grabel asked Bush to name three mistakes he had made while in office. A part of Bush wanted to answer; his father had landed in trouble during a town-hall debate when he fumbled a young woman's question about how the national debt personally affected him. But when you are

running a character

campaign, Bush felt, you don't wring your hands. So he dodged the question, and Kerry walloped him for doing so.

Then a funny thing happened on the way to the motorcade. Once the cameras were off, Bush went into the audience and tracked Grabel down. "I appreciate your question," he told her, according to an aide. "And I hope you appreciate my answer, because with the political climate we live in, I know it was not your intent to play gotcha with the President of the United States. But this is where it ends up. Let me just assure you, I know that I haven't done everything right."

Keep Your Focus

BUSH'S FAMOUS LOYALTY, BOTH TO PEOPLE and policies without apparent regard for performance, lay at the heart of the demands for contrition. His critics deplored the stubbornness that often prevents him from stretching beyond the limits of his experience. When it comes to setting policy, they argued, the risks of shutting out dissent and refusing to adjust course have become increasingly clear. But



President Bush speaks with Dickerson, left, Cooper and Gibbs in the Oval Office

will." My hope is that they do. But I will sign legislation if McCain can get it to my desk.

TIME: Knowing what you know now, do you think more highly or less highly of your predecessors?

BUSH: Of my predecessors? Very interesting. More highly of them all.

TIME: All of them?

BUSH: Well, I would say all of them. I've got a much

better appreciation of what they've been through, some more than others. My appreciation for Lincoln has grown immeasurably. He is a President who was a visionary for the good of the country. I've got his painting right there. And he's there because he had this great vision about a United States of America in incredibly difficult times.

I have sat here and thought about what it would be like to be the President when brother

was fighting brother and cousin killing cousin. And the deep anguish his writings reflected about seeing the country torn asunder. And yet he had a clarity of vision the whole time. He clearly saw what needed to happen about keeping this country united.

All the people who serve here serve in different circumstances, but they have the same basic requirement, and that is the capacity to make decisions and know where you want to lead.

TIME: What about Bill Clinton?

BUSH: This is a person who embraced the job and loved it. He took on issues; he took them on with enthusiasm and energy. He loved being the President. That's an admirable trait.

TIME: Some people have said that in making your personnel

changes for the second term, you're consolidating power.
BUSH: I'm consolidating power? I've got all the power I need.

TIME: Some say the people you trust are your closest friends, and they will give it to you with the bark off. But nobody in your Administration will talk about any instance in which you got it with the bark off. When have you, and have you listened to them?

BUSH: I can't think of an incident right now, but it happens all the time. Part of my management style is to provoke thought and get people thinking, is to lay something out there. And they'll say, "That's not a good idea, Mr. President" or "You know, I can't believe you said that."

McCain is a guy who—we get along well, we agree a lot, and sometimes we don't agree. A lot of my friends are people that don't understand or agree with some of the decisions I've made and question why I made the decision I made.



HEADING OUT

In the elevator of their residence, the First Lady checks Bush's suit

when it comes to running for office, his aides felt, there was a great advantage in having a candidate who set a strategy and then stuck to it as well as to his team.

Most campaigns are known for carnage and chaos. Bob Dole left staff members on the tarmac when he fired them. Clinton had an official campaign team and then the whole secret shadow operation of Dick Morris. Kerry's campaign had more layers than a baklava, and as an aide complained, "he never gave the same speech twice." In Bushland, aides didn't have to be worried that someone would go around or undermine them or that they would be thrown under the bus at the first sign of trouble. "I've been more worried about job security in city-council races than the presidential," says McKinnon. "That gave us the ability to focus and do our job. I would get calls from the chief of staff in the middle of the campaign saying, 'Got everything you need?' That's unheard of—not to bitch or fire me but to see if I needed anything."

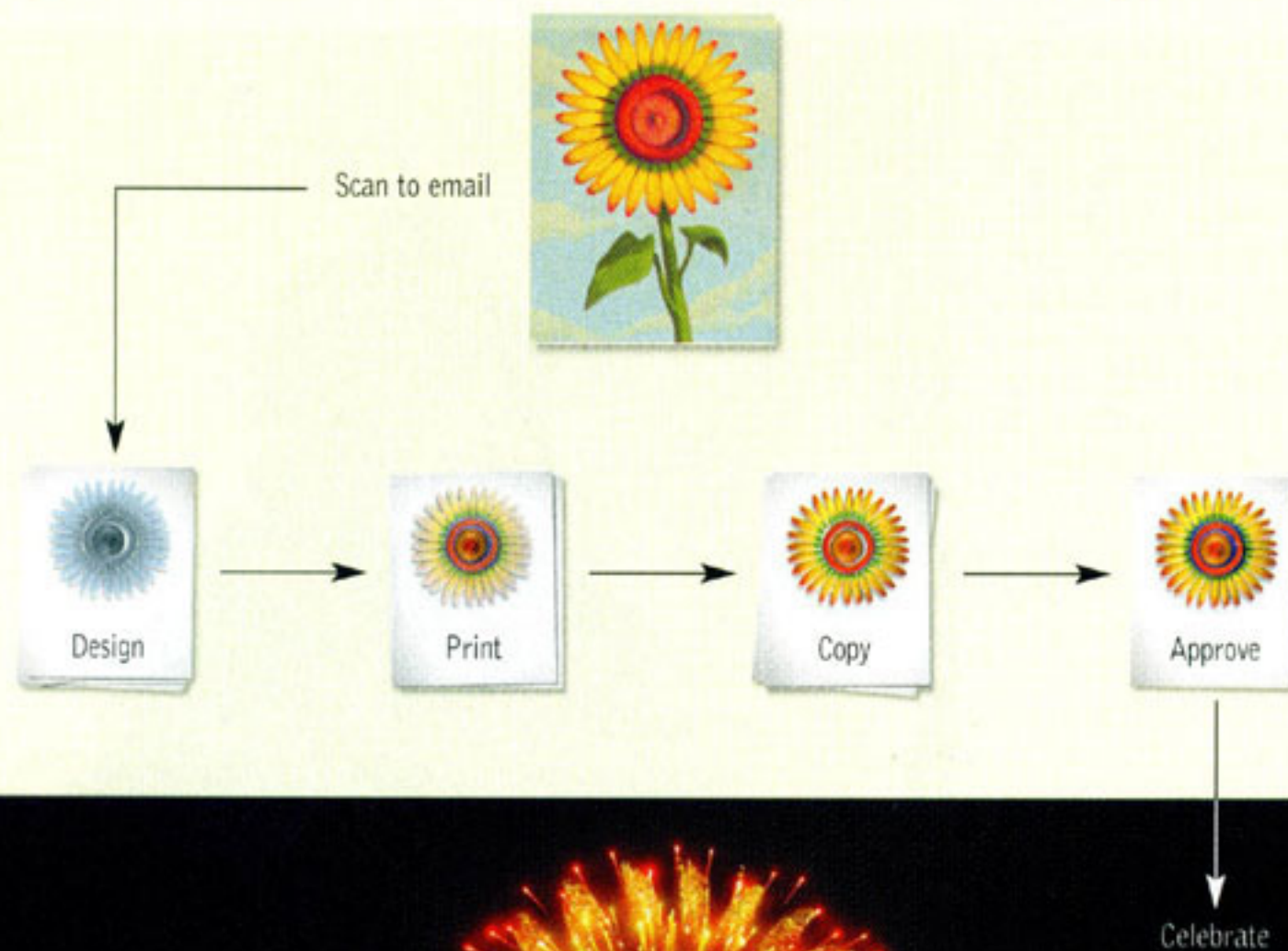
It's easy to have a happy and loyal campaign team when everything's going fine.

But for much of the year, Bush was behind in the polls, and the pundits' predictions were growing more dire. Undecided voters would break for Kerry. No U.S. President had won with an approval rating below 50% so late in the campaign. More than 60% of Americans thought the country was on the wrong track. The war was a mess. It's eternally tempting for politicians to trade away principles while campaigning and say they will reconcile things when they win. But Bush aides insist that wasn't in their playbook. "Campaign meetings I was in when the President was 8 points down felt the same as campaign meetings when the President was 8 points up," says outgoing Republican National Committee chairman Ed Gillespie. In fact, Democrats admitted to feeling some envy of the Bush team's discipline. Says former Kerry campaign manager Jim Jordan: "They understand that politics is a game of checkers, not chess," a steady progression in one direction across the field of play. "The quality of your plan," says Jordan, "is not as important as the quality of your execution."

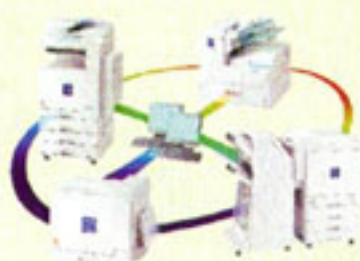
ONCE RE-ELECTED, BUSH HAD NO TIME TO lose. The two years he has before he's perceived as a lame duck will be the most powerful period of his presidency, given his enlarged majority in Congress and the absence of any election distractions. Bush is already the most legislatively successful U.S. President since Lyndon Johnson, according to the *Congressional Quarterly*; roughly 80% of the legislation he supported has passed. But his domestic goals for the second term—from Social Security reform to tax restructuring to deficit reduction—mirror in ambition the foreign policy revolution of his first. In his second term, he will need to make peace with a Congress that sees the world differently from its end of Pennsylvania Avenue. Not just Democrats but fellow Republicans as well carry some bruises from the first term, during which they feel they were treated like junior partners in everything from the fight over tax cuts to the war on terrorism.

So it was a kinder, gentler Rove who descended on the annual Republican

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Party congressional retreat at the Tides Inn on the Chesapeake Bay on the last day of November. As Bush told *TIME*, "Taking the issue [of Social Security reform] on will require a certain amount of political courage in the legislative body." The President's victory, Rove told the delegates, proved that voters will reward candidates who show guts on a tough issue like Social Security. But it was not lost on the lawmakers that they are the ones who will face voters in the future—some in 2006—so they pushed back. "This cannot be done by sheer force," says a top Republican staff member, characterizing one lawmaker's reaction to Rove. "We are not carrying the water ourselves. If you say you have political capital, we're ready to see you place some bets with it." Many Americans are not convinced that Bush has so much capital. The *TIME* poll found that only 33% believe he has a mandate to change Social Security so people can invest in private accounts; just 38% say he has a mandate to change the tax code. So lawmakers are demanding a major sales-and-p.r. job by Bush and a detailed plan. They insist the President not send up vague principles and expect Congress to work out the politically dangerous details.

As it happens, that kind of campaign is just what Bush had in mind. Within two weeks, he would have leaders from both parties up to the White House to look for common ground. The re-election campaign machine is being retooled. Bush will hit the road for town-hall meetings designed to prove that inaction is dangerous, to demystify the policy and to fly over the "filter" of the national media. Rove is working the conservative interest groups, business lobbies and think tanks to use their leverage to sell the public and sway lawmakers. The 1.2 million Bush campaign volunteers will be called into service to create public pressure on lawmakers.

In his pursuit of a second term, Bush was just as radical as he was in his conduct of a pre-emptive war. As a politician, he showed the same discipline, secrecy and nerve he demonstrated in his conduct as President. So he emerges with his faith only deepened in the transformational power of clear leadership. Whether or not the election actually yielded a mandate for his policies, he is sure to claim one for his style, because he stuck to it against all odds, much advice and the lessons of history. And on that choice at least, the results are in.

—With reporting by Mitch Frank/
New York and Douglas Waller/Washington



TO WORK

Bush, with his beloved dog Barney, enters the Oval Office the back way



Grading the President

A 21st century visionary? A failed adventurer abroad? Six U.S. scholars suggest how history will judge George W. Bush's first term in office—and compare him with his predecessors

ROBERT DALLEK

Creating His Own Troubles in Iraq

HISTORIANS EVALUATING George W. Bush's first term will focus on foreign policy and, most of all, 9/11. I think they will criticize him for his early reaction, for not returning at once to Washington, D.C. Although the White House says it was worried about threats to Air Force One, it's worth noting that Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill didn't hesitate to enter war zones during World War II. And Lyndon Johnson, who didn't know at first whether a conspiracy might be behind the killing of John F. Kennedy, didn't hesitate to return to the capital. That said, Bush subsequently responded fairly well to 9/11, speaking effectively for the nation and then going into Afghanistan in a measured and sensible way that gave the country some sense of an appropriate response to 9/11.

With Iraq, it's difficult to imagine that historians will give him anything but poor marks. Bush took the country to war on false intelligence. His defenders will say a President has to go with the information he has and the advice he receives. But that's a cop-out. The greatest Presidents have been those who demonstrated astute judgment in times of crisis—often despite the advice they were getting. Bush was told that 140,000 troops would be



“Bush declared a worldwide war on terrorism, fully aware that Americans might grow impatient with it.”

—BESCHLOSS

sufficient for the occupation of Iraq. This turned out to be wrong. As Truman said, the buck stops here. Success in past U.S. conflicts has not been strictly the result of military leadership but rather the judgment of the President in choosing generals and setting broad strategy.

RICHARD NORTON SMITH

Trumanesque, in His Audacity

HAVING WATCHED HIS FIRST term, we know this about George W. Bush: he is an important President. We don't know the long-term consequences of his policies,

particularly his pre-emptive war in Iraq, but we know that he matters. Truman, in Korea, similarly embraced a military doctrine that was radically unlike what Americans were accustomed to. If you accepted the need to contain communism, then Truman's “police action” in Korea was a critical part of the economic, social and diplomatic war between the West and the Soviet Union. Truman paid a heavy political price: his poll ratings in 1951 were lower than Richard Nixon's at resignation. Yet 50 years later, Truman is widely admired as a President who had the vision to define the realities of the postwar world.

We can't know yet whether

Bush's doctrine, born in the rubble of the World Trade Center, is a 21st century version of Truman's containment, a strategic vision that will shape and define not only our politics but also our very way of life for decades to come. We don't know if Iraq is another Korea, or to what other nations Bush's doctrine might yet apply. Likewise, we can only surmise the cost, if any, in terms of alliances weakened by his policies. But we do know that Bush's approach is no less audacious than the one Truman undertook at considerable risk a half-century ago.

MICHAEL BESCHLOSS

Bold, Certainly. Wise? We'll See

WATCHING A PRESIDENT in real time, historians can identify clues as to whether later generations might see him as an important leader. Does he change the terms of the foreign- and domestic-policy debates? Is he willing to take bold and innovative steps that might be politically risky? With Bush, the answer to both questions is yes. But only with the clarity that history provides will later Americans know for certain whether the President's major decisions—and the way he made them—were wise or not.

Someone other than Bush might have responded to the 9/11 attacks more incrementally. Bush almost immediately declared a worldwide war on terrorism, fully aware that it would probably take decades to fight, that Americans might grow frustrated and impatient with it, and that it might provoke brutal retaliatory attacks for which Americans might blame the President. Bush waged the Iraq war knowing that if optimistic assurances about finding

weapons of mass destruction should prove wrong he might lose re-election. You see the same willingness to break the envelope on domestic issues, in tax policy, Social Security reform, conservative social issues.

In the end, however, great Presidents are those later viewed as both bold and wise. If Americans in 2034 believe that with his boldness, Bush successfully used a moment of U.S. global pre-eminence to make the world more peaceful and democratic, he will probably do well before the bar of history. If not, he'll have a tougher time.

**DORIS KEARNS
GOODWIN**

The President and The Rest of Us

PRESIDENCIES ARE DEFINED in part by the challenges that confront them. Dramatic events, like wars or 9/11, create openings for Presidents to be remembered. We will remember President Bush for having been in office during great events, but we will finally judge him on his response to those events. His signature event, the war in Iraq, will ultimately be judged on whether it brings greater freedom, democracy and security to the world and to our nation. World War II did all of that; Vietnam did not.

Presidents who succeed in wartime have been able to sustain their countrymen's spirits during the long years of struggle. F.D.R. understood that he could no longer be a partisan leader, that he had to



“The U.S. is divided, and Bush has identified himself with the segment of the populace that is resistant to change.”

—ELLIS

reach out to all Americans. He appointed Republicans to top positions in his Cabinet; he put out an olive branch to business; he created countless ways for ordinary Americans to be involved in the war, through buying war bonds, joining the civilian-defense corps, bringing scrap rubber and aluminum to village greens, accepting increased taxes to ensure that soldiers had all the supplies and equipment they needed. And, of course, the draft meant that nearly everyone knew someone overseas. This war has been waged in a very different manner. It remains to be seen if Bush will be able to sustain our spirits if the war continues to defy the expected hope for victory.

DAVID M. KENNEDY

Sagely Reading America's Mood

GEORGE W. BUSH AND HIS adviser Karl Rove have proved remarkably shrewd in their reading of modern U.S. history. Many others misjudged the direction of the country and its essential nature. The liberal left in particular has paid a price for that mistake. The fact

is, long-term political majorities can be assembled by locating and amplifying cultural trends. The classic example was F.D.R., who crafted a 30-year-plus stable majority in the Democratic Party by recognizing that the large immigrant communities that had arrived the generation before the Great Depression were ready to become politically mobilized. In embracing those constituencies, the Democratic Party built itself a durable long-term majority.

These days, similarly, one of the most significant cultural shifts in America is the growing Hispanic presence. Many assumed this constituency would be solidly Democratic. However, thanks in part to Bush's emphasis on traditional and particularly religious values, the Latino vote is coming into the Republican fold in surprising quantities. Bush had a decent record with the Latino community in Texas, but that had been dismissed as an anomaly—until this past election, in which he won an impressive 40% of the Latino vote. Evangelical Christians are another potent new political

force. Many liberals dismissed evangelicals as the “Booboisie” and underestimated their size and power. Bush deserves credit, not for pandering to them but for honoring the authenticity of their beliefs—and recognizing their electoral weight.

JOSEPH ELLIS

A Missed Moment On Gay Rights

THE HISTORY OF LIBERALISM IS a gradual evolution in which first women's rights and then the rights of blacks and now of gays have made claims on the values of the nation's founders. The role of the Republicans has been to resist each of those reforms. Fifty years from now, I suspect that Bush's position on gay rights—in particular his opposition to gay marriage—will look as misguided as opposition to civil rights in the 1960s looks today.

That said, Bush does accurately reflect the core beliefs of the majority of the public. Most Americans are socially conservative, and many oppose abortion and gun control in addition to gay marriage, and Bush's positions reflect that. Indeed, one characteristic of a real democracy is that the leader can't get too far ahead of public opinion. F.D.R. and Bill Clinton understood that. The U.S. is now culturally divided, and Bush has identified himself with the segment of the populace that is resistant to change. I think it's sincere on his part, but in the end, Presidents who have resisted the expansion of rights have not looked good in the history books. —Interviews conducted by Massimo Calabresi



“We will remember Bush for having been in office during great events, but we will finally judge him on his response.”

—GOODWIN

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HIS TOWN

Karl Rove, reflected in the rearview mirror, drives his Jaguar past the U.S. Capitol on his way to a breakfast meeting in early December

Photographs for TIME by
Brooks Kraft—Corbis

The Rove Warrior

No adviser has ever dominated the White House like Karl Rove. So what does President Bush see in him, and what's he planning to do next? **By Karen Tumulty**



FOR SOME AMERICANS, THERE CAN BE AN ODD SORT OF SOLACE IN THE IDEA THAT there's an evil genius behind a President they don't like. Without the image of a manipulative tactician calling the shots, how could the left live with the fact that the country has elected him again? Even for those American conservatives who love their President, the occasional apostasy—like steel tariffs or that election-eve endorsement of gay civil unions—is easier to take if they can convince themselves that it's not him talking but that unprincipled operative, who has been whispering in his ear. No one knows better than Karl Rove how useful it is to have an easy explanation for George W. Bush when the real one is inconvenient. Being Karl Rove, he even uses a fancy word for it. "Heuristics," he says. "It's a shortcut to explaining something complex—or in this case, explaining away something complex."

That something—the relationship between the President and his friend of 31 years, whom Bush credited in his victory speech as "the architect" of his re-election—has never quite been seen before in Washington, which is why there is much intrigue around it. Modern U.S. presidential campaigns have made legends of message men like James Carville and Lee Atwater, pollsters like Dick Morris, imagemakers like Michael Deaver. Earlier ones would not have succeeded without power brokers like Mark Hanna, whose 1896 campaign plan for William McKinley provided Rove with the model for part of Bush's 2000 strategy,

and devoted handlers like Louis Howe, who discerned and nurtured F.D.R.'s political talent when everyone else dismissed him as a lightweight.

But for all the credit they got for putting their chosen ones in the White House, none of those geniuses had anything close to Rove's influence on how their President went on to govern. Even Bobby Kennedy operated from the U.S. Justice Department, not from the White House. Rove "has more bandwidth, I think, than any presidential adviser has ever had in history," says Bush-campaign media consultant Mark McKinnon. The intentionally banal title "senior

adviser" tells you everything and nothing about what Rove does from Hillary Clinton's old office in the White House. His Office of Strategic Initiatives is responsible for giving coherence to Bush's domestic agenda and turning it into reality. Rove was once asked to name a domestic issue he doesn't have a hand in, and his wisecrack answer was not so far off the mark: "Anything involving baseball."

There is no significant political relationship—with Congress, the Republican Party, Governors, mayors, special-interest groups—that isn't overseen by the Architect. He has gone around the country handpicking Republican candidates for Governor and Congress and clearing the field of those he deemed less suitable. His chessboard moves sometimes cross party lines. In a creative though unsuccessful maneuver that would have further reduced the Senate's Democratic minority, he sounded out Nebraska Democrat Ben Nelson last month about the possibility of becoming Agriculture Secretary. Democrats are worried that Rove might still find a way to persuade Nelson to switch parties.



THE MULTITASKER

Rove works in Hillary Clinton's old office in the White House. He has two computers, a BlackBerry and color-coded folders to keep track of everyone

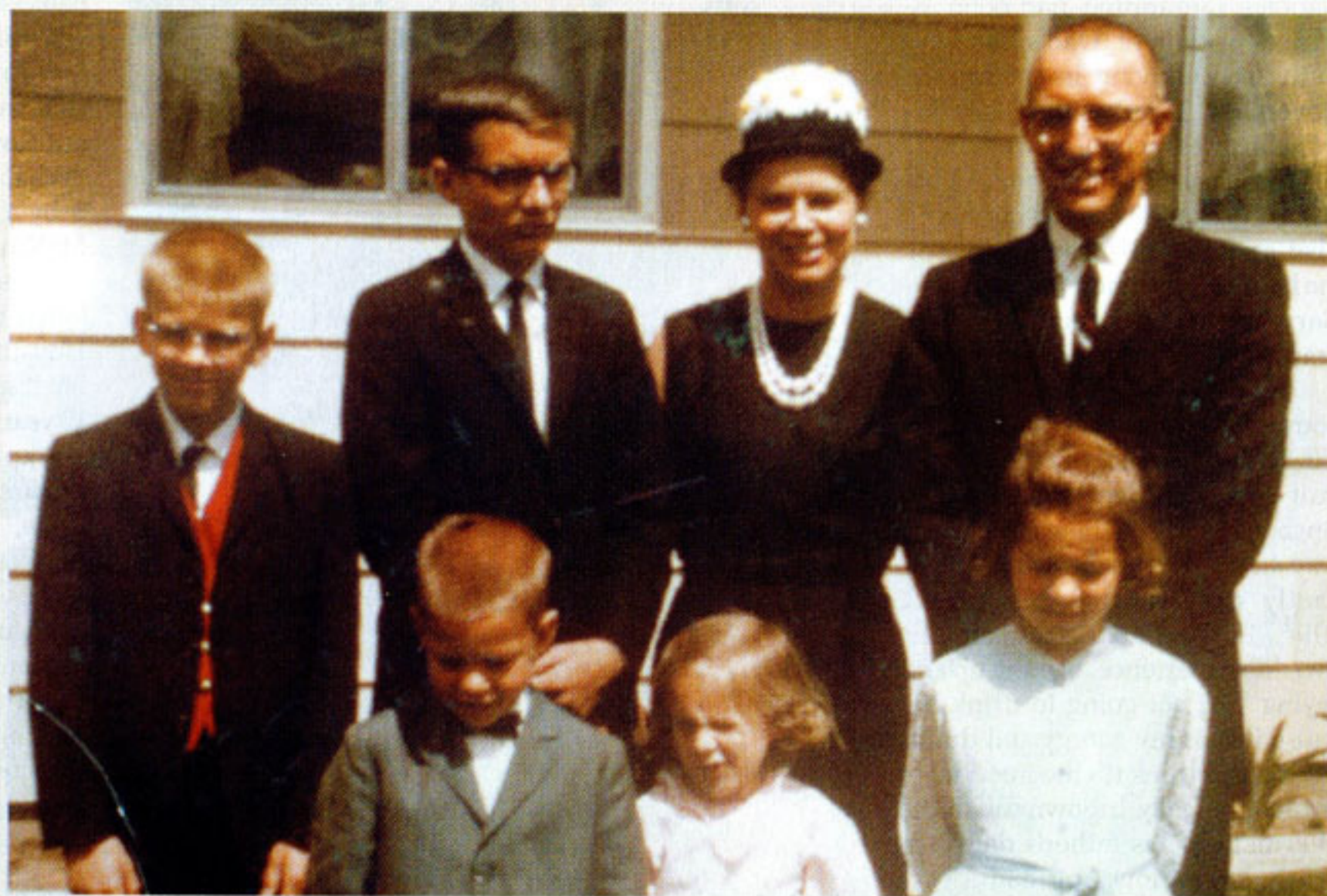


BOY GENIUS

Rove at age 2 in Denver and as a senior in Salt Lake City. He carried a briefcase as a teen



OLYMPUS HIGH SCHOOL—ZUMA



TOP LEFT AND RIGHT: COURTESY REBA HAMMOND

THE ROVES Clockwise from far left, Karl, Eric, Reba, Louis, Alma, Reba and Olaf pose on Easter Sunday 1963 in Sparks, Nevada. Rove's parents would split in 1969, and his mother would commit suicide in 1981

The most sinister theories have it that Rove even injects his political calculations into global affairs. After he advised Republican candidates in 2002 to emphasize the new war on terrorism in their campaigns, the *New York Times* reported that a friend of Colin Powell's teased the U.S. Secretary of State, "Who runs foreign policy—you or Rove?"

That he has so many roles fits the personality of the consummate multitasker. Rove keeps two computers in his office: a PC for government work and a Mac (his preference) for politics and his Amazon.com book-ordering addiction. His BlackBerry has every appearance of being surgically attached to his hand, and he uses color-coded folders to keep track of his business with those who orbit in his universe. The blue one marked POTUS goes home with Rove on Friday because he knows he will talk to Bush several times over the weekend.

That's probably why he arrives at 7 a.m. each Monday with a new list of things to do after he puts in for a breakfast of creamed chipped beef from the White House mess. Rove returns from presidential trips loaded with paper scraps noting which county Republican chairmen are expecting an autographed photo. He pores over the White House Christmas party's invitation list to make sure no swing-state legislator who has been helpful (or could be) has been missed.

What has a habit of falling by the wayside is his twice-a-week appointment with the personal trainer he shares with Budget Director Josh Bolten at the gym in the Eisenhower Executive Office Building.

All those around, including the President, are sensitive to the often repeated tagline that Rove is "Bush's brain." They are happy to let it be known that the President will cut off one of Rove's bombasts with a curt "Thank you for that brilliant idea" and that when Bush is feeling cranky or overscheduled, Rove is the one who gets yelled at. When the *National Journal* put Rove on its cover two years ago, Vice President Dick Cheney told one of its writers, Carl Cannon, that such star treatment by the serious weekly was "grossly excessive." Ask someone who has seen the dynamic between Bush and Rove to describe it, and the answer always comes back the same. "Karl is incredibly deferential," says outgoing Republican Party chairman Ed Gillespie. "It's a friendly relationship but a subservient one."

The next thing Bush insiders invariably point out is that Rove is part of an ensemble cast—the most cohesive and tightly disciplined one in memory. Rove has "an encyclopedic mind, and he thinks several steps ahead of anyone else," says counselor Karen Hughes. "He is the strategist, but there are other im-

portant parts of the President's team as well."

What makes the pairing of the President and the Architect so intriguing is its allegorical possibilities—the instinctual politician and the political technocrat; the pedigreed C student with degrees from Yale and Harvard and the middle-class intellectual who attended five universities but never managed to graduate; the self-assured firstborn son whose family turned its humming functionality into a brand and the second son of a broken home that kept its secrets from the children.

That kind of yin-ing and yang-ing tires Rove—almost as much as the insulting suggestion that someone besides Bush does the President's thinking for him. "If you can think a problem through and have clarity about what you think needs to be done, with a healthy respect that you may be right or you may be wrong, then people will say that it's anti-intellectual," says Rove. "I don't. I see it as he has a practicality about himself that is born out of comfort with ideas, and it is tempered by values that don't change."

OF ALL THE STORIES THAT ARE TOLD ABOUT the two of them, the one that Rove has fostered into mythos concerns the day in 1973 he first met George W. The budding operative, then working for chairman George Herbert Walker Bush at the Republican

National Committee, had been assigned to deliver Dad's car keys to the son arriving home for the November Thanksgiving holiday from business school. As Rove tells it, the rush of charisma—That bomber jacket! Those cowboy boots! That sexy stride!—nearly gave him the bends. "Not Brad Pitt. Let's see—Gary Cooper," he recalled in the umpteenth telling the other day.

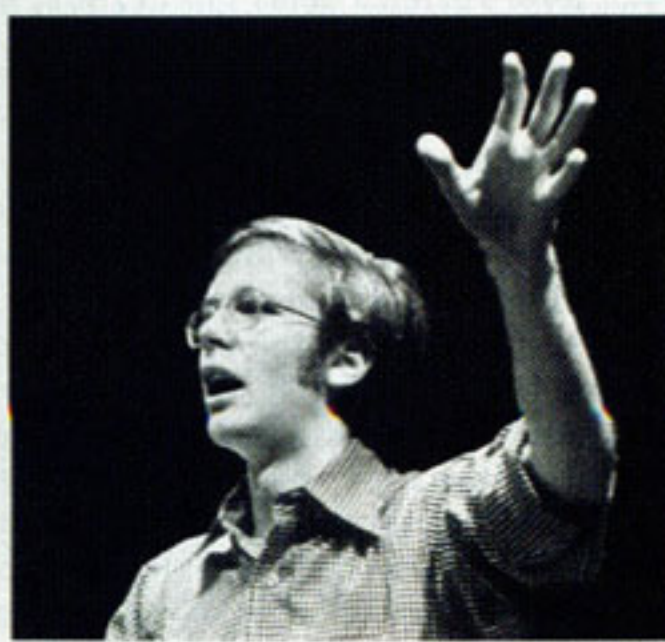
Young Karl's dorky awe of young George makes for a funny riff, but it's probably not as important as what Rove saw take over Bush in midlife. "He was a certain way in 1988, and he was significantly different by 1990, 1992, 1994," Rove recalls. "I think it's his own life experience, waking up and saying 'I'm not going to drink because it saps my energy and drains my focus.' I think it's the freedom of being, ironically, his own self in the aftermath of his father's defeat in '92. I don't know. You could psychoanalyze it. Clearly, he's always had incredible abilities, [but] he had a stronger focus and a discipline. He brought all of his many talents to bear after he went through—I suspect like all of us do—something that changed his center of life."

If you were a Republican in Texas suddenly discovering a political calling, Rove was a handy fellow to know. He arrived in the state from Virginia as a direct-mail whiz in 1977, a time when Republicans held precisely one statewide office. "When I put up the shingle for my company [in 1981], it was a wasteland," he says, "but it was clearly a place of great potential." By the time he left for Washington in 2001, Republicans were sitting in all 29 of Texas' statewide offices. And most of those officials—including the Governor, Lieutenant Governor and both Senators—had at one time or another employed Karl Rove & Co.

What Rove saw sooner than most were the political opportunities being created by demographic shifts, such as a wave of corporate relocations from the north and west of the country to places like Collin County near Dallas and the Woodlands outside Houston. He was aware that homegrown Texans, having voted for Ronald Reagan, were noticing for the first time in their lives that there was another side to the ballot. So Rove set about recruiting candidates who could speak to the moderate impulses of suburban voters by emphasizing issues like



BOB DAEMRICH—POLARIS



COURTESY CRNC

COMING UP

As a direct-mail whiz, top, in Texas during the 1980s, Rove helped transform the state's political landscape. His only experience as a candidate, above, was his election in 1973 as head of the College Republicans

education, even as they pried conservatives away from the Democrats with proposals like cutting back on lawsuits against business. And Rove knew the moneymen who could give his candidates the resources they needed to pound the opposition.

Media consultant McKinnon, then making ads for Democrats, knew how it felt to be on the wrong end of Rove's wrecking

ball. Like just about everyone else who did politics in Texas back then, McKinnon says the state's political shift would have come about without Rove but not nearly as quickly. "What Karl did was just accelerate it by a lot, probably by a decade," McKinnon says.

The time Rove gave to politics killed his brief first marriage, to a Houston socialite, in the late 1970s, but it sparked the one that has lasted 19 years, to Darby Hickson, who was a graphic artist in his direct-mail business. The two have a son Andrew, 15, and friends say she's a perfect foil and counterweight to a man who demands a strategic plan even for pancakes. (In their struggle for control of the kitchen, she argues that the blueberries are perfectly fine mixed into the batter; Rove, who considers himself an expert cook, insists they should be sprinkled on top after the batter is in the skillet.)

Of all the opportunities Rove discerned before anyone else, there was never one like George W. Bush.

When Rove in the late 1980s started touting the President's son as a future Governor and introducing him around the state, George W. was not yet an owner of the Texas Rangers, and others saw little to recommend the failed oilman beyond his famous name. Still, "he kind of fit the model of what Karl saw as the growth in the party and in politics in the state. A conservative but someone who could appeal to a lot of people," recalls Reggie Baschur, a longtime Republican strategist in Texas. "I can honestly say with Bush, it was different for Karl. Karl is committed to all the candidates he works for, but this was special."

Rove insists that Bush's quality was not that he fit a political formula but that he came up with one. As Bush finally got serious about running for Governor in 1993, he took a few days to consider what kind of race he wanted to conduct and made a list. "I wish I'd kept it. He wrote it down on a yellow pad," Rove says. "It was like the template for what followed."

Bush came up with three issues: education reform, welfare reform and juvenile criminal justice. "I remember being particularly struck by the second issue on there, where he said, 'A dependency on government saps the soul and drains the spirit,'" Rove says, the wonder fresh in his voice nearly a dozen years later. "You know, this was not 'Welfare is bad because people cheat and drive around in Cadillacs.' And when he



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talked about juvenile justice, it wasn't 'Lock the little buggers up.' It was 'We're going to lose a generation of children to lives of despair and violence unless we intervene, and our object is to show them love.' I thought it was very unusual. You had a Republican candidate for Governor talking about criminal justice, and his answer was 'Show them love.' That was all the more remarkable at a time when the rest of the Republican Party was falling under the tough-but-no-love sway of Newt Gingrich. Bush's list became the basis of what would come to be called compassionate conservatism.

Rove insists his only contribution was

which the Democrat was gaining. "He doesn't fight clean at all," says Garry Mauro, who claims Rove sicced the FBI on him when he was Texas land commissioner in the 1980s. Rove denies all such charges, occasionally at the top of his lungs. (The Mauro case stayed open for two years, although Mauro was never charged with anything, and Rove's connection is circumstantial.)

As Governor Bush turned his attention in late 1998 to the prospect of a presidential race, he asked Rove to sell his business and sever his ties with all his other clients. Bush told him, "If I do this, I want you free and clear." It should have been a hard decision,

Rove announced he would be President someday, says his younger sister Reba Hammond. And there's a story of how he had a poster over his bed exhorting, WAKE UP, AMERICA.

Not true—any of it, says Rove, who was the second of five children. "With all due respect to my sister, whom I love dearly, her recollection of these things is a little suspect." Rove does own up to being a know-it-all who wore a tie and carried a briefcase every day to Dilworth Middle School in Sparks, Nevada, in the late 1960s. "I did write my fifth-grade civics paper on the theory of dialectical materialism," he



to add a fourth issue, legal reform, which in Texas is shorthand for cutting down on lawsuits against business, and not incidentally, choking off the income of the trial lawyers who are major contributors to the Democrats. Rove recalls telling Bush, "We've got a big problem in Texas with our judicial system." And he said, "Yeah, absolutely right." And he added it on.

Even in Texas, their partnership was the subject of intense curiosity and speculation about whether the political consultant was the dark side of a shining politician. Throughout Rove's career, there had been whispers of dirty tricks, like the suspicion that he engineered the 1986 bugging of his own office to create a distraction in a Governor's race in

BIG NIGHT

As early election results come pouring in on Nov. 2, Rove and assistant Susan Ralston, center, check county-by-county tallies from a command center in the Old Family Dining Room of the White House

Rove says, but it wasn't. So Karl Rove & Co. became a wholly owned subsidiary of Bush Dynasty Inc.

Then again, had Rove ever been meant for anyplace but the White House?

THE FOLKLORE BY NOW IS SO ESTABLISHED that even Rove's relatives subscribe to it. Family legend has it that as a 3-year-old,

says. "My son asked me last night what that was, and I told him, and I remember it: thesis, antithesis, synthesis."

The family moved around because of Louis Rove's job as a geologist. Karl was a star debater and the supremely confident student-senate president at Olympus High in Salt Lake City, Utah. His history teacher Eldon Tolman made his class go see the procession of presidential candidates and national hopefuls who came through town in 1968. "In one year, I saw Nelson Rockefeller, Ronald Reagan, Richard Nixon, George Wallace and Hubert Humphrey speak," Rove recalls. "In fact, this is where Humphrey makes his famous speech breaking with Johnson on the war." Rove fancied

Rockefeller enough to get a few posters, was smitten with Reagan but ultimately settled on being "a Nixon man."

Rove's tidy world started crashing as the family prepared to follow Louis to yet another job in Los Angeles. On Christmas Day 1969, which happened to be Karl's 19th birthday, Louis announced he would be leaving alone. "I had a wonderful childhood. I had wonderful parents," Karl says. "You never really know what goes on in the private lives of your parents. They overcame big things in their lives. My dad would never speak about why the marriage broke up, but it clearly pained him till the end of his days that it did."

The shock of his parents' separation, however, didn't compare with the one Karl got the following year, when an aunt informed him that the man who had raised him was not his biological father. Louis had adopted his wife's two oldest children, Karl and his older brother Eric. To this day, Rove says, he doesn't know the circumstances or even the timing of their adoption. "My supposition is that I was less than 2 and he was less than 4," Rove says. Karl was the trustee of Louis' estate but says he found no record that would shed any light on the adoption. The two brothers later met their biological father once, but they have not pursued the relationship.

"You know, you could psycho-analyze this," Rove says with breath-taking understatement. When Karl asked Louis about it, "he said, 'It didn't matter to me, and I hope it didn't matter to you.' Here was a guy, at this point they're now divorced, and he's sending a check to help me get through school. My father was living on nothing because he was supporting his children. And it turns out he didn't need to."

In 1981 a third devastating blow struck what remained of the Rove family. Karl's mother committed suicide in Reno, Nevada. She had surmounted much in her life, Rove says, starting with poverty. Her father had worked on a road crew in the San Juan Mountains and sold knives from the back of his truck to grocery stores in little out-of-the-way towns. "They lived in a house in southern Colorado where, when they finished reading the evening newspaper, they'd take flour paste and slap it on the wall for insulation," he says.

After persevering through all that, the disintegration of a marriage and the challenge of raising five children by two fathers,

why had Reba Wood Rove reached a point where she couldn't go any further? "Again, it's hard to figure out," Rove says. "You can speculate on what demons she just wasn't able to overcome, but she couldn't. And it's very sad for my sisters, who were very close to her."

As for Rove, he had not considered himself particularly close to either parent. It wasn't until after his mother's death that Rove began to seek out a new relationship with the man who had raised him, maybe because the son who had lost so much needed this bond for the first time. "It was in the '80s that I started seeing my father more, and we ended up vacationing every year in Santa Fe," Rove says. In 1998 they ex-



HAIL TO THE CHIEF

Rove greets Bush backstage at the 2004 Republican National Convention in New York City. The two have known each other since Rove worked as an assistant to Bush's father 31 years ago in Washington

plored Louis' roots in Norway together, and in 2001, as the rest of the Bush White House was riveted by California's energy crisis, Rove was on the phone with his siblings trying to figure out how to keep his emphysema-stricken father's oxygenator running in Palm Springs. Louis died last July, and Karl keeps a little picture of him in a star-shaped frame in his office. As he studied the beaming image recently, Rove pronounced his father to have been a happy man: "He lived life exactly the way he wanted to live it."

Did the mysteries and eruptions of his own family draw him to one that never seemed to have a day of doubt about itself? "No, no. I mean, that suggests they're a substitute," Rove says. "Look, [the President] is my boss and my friend. I have benefited enormously by my association with him and his father. Both of them are great men. But you know, I had a great father."

THE PRESIDENT AND THE ARCHITECT HAVE a jokey little ritual. When Rove comes across a book he thinks Bush might like to read—most recently, Ron Chernow's *Alexander Hamilton*—Rove lends it to him with the understanding that both

will write something in it. Bush's inscriptions are often wry turns on all the speculation about who's the real brains of the operation. "He'll return it to me saying, 'I heartily recommend that you read this book,' like he came up with the idea," Rove says, laughing. "I'm happy to loan you this book from my private library. Please return when finished." Bush recommends reading material to Rove as well. The latest is Israeli politician Natan Sharansky's book on democracy. "Being the cheapskate that he is," says Rove, "he simply told me to get a copy."

Rove is settling in for a second term, during which he says Bush will achieve big reforms that will fortify the Republican Party's hold on power well beyond Bush's presidency. But it's hard not to wonder what lies ahead for Karl Rove. There's already talk of a "Rove primary" in which a wide open field of Republican hopefuls would vie for his talents. Rove misses Texas, McKinnon says, "but I don't know if it's in the cards for him to ever go back. It's gravity and physics that keep him here now."

So is Rove planning to pick a horse in 2008? "I don't know," he says. "I don't believe I will. I mean, I'm a Bush man." But there are other Bushes, and the Architect did buy a house in Florida a few years back. Rove says he takes that state's Governor, Jeb Bush, at his word when Jeb says he isn't running. But of course, you wouldn't expect Rove to be closing any options. "I don't think Marvin is running," Rove says, a sly smile creeping across his face. "I can't speak for Neil."

—With reporting by Peta Owens-Liston/Salt Lake City and Stacy J. Willis/Las Vegas

Joe Klein

The Benetton-Ad Presidency

A WEEK AFTER GEORGE W. BUSH WAS RE-ELECTED PRESIDENT, he chose Alberto Gonzales, a Mexican American, to be the next Attorney General. A week later, he selected Condoleezza Rice, an African-American woman, to be Secretary of State and Margaret Spellings, a white woman, to be the next Secretary of Education. Then he selected Carlos Gutierrez, a Cuban American, as Secretary of Commerce. It took Bush a month before he named a standard-issue white male, Governor Mike Johanns of

Nebraska, as Agriculture Secretary. Since then, Bush has announced that two Asian Americans, Norman Mineta at Transportation and Elaine Chao at Labor, will remain at their posts. The President is not done naming yet—there are more Cabinet positions and at least one Supreme Court nomination to come—but no one will be surprised if Bush selects people who are neither white nor male.

The President has said privately he doubts that he will ever get credit for this eruption of American diversity. But admirably, he has never really asked for credit. He hasn't gone around trumpeting the fact that during his first term, the Secretary of State and the National Security Adviser were the first African Americans to hold those positions. Or that there were four women in his Cabinet. Or that Gonzales would be the first Hispanic Attorney General. "He doesn't think that way," says Karl Rove. "He thinks in terms of personal stories. When we learned [that Commerce Secretary] Don Evans wanted to leave, the President mentioned Gutierrez—not because the guy is Hispanic but because the President loves the story: a guy who starts at the bottom at Kellogg's [as a truck driver delivering Frosted Flakes in Mexico] and rises all the way to CEO of the company."

Of course, as the Bernard Kerik fiasco has

demonstrated, a dramatic up-by-the-bootstraps story shouldn't be the only qualification for a presidential appointment. But in this honeymoon season, give credit where credit is due: George W. Bush has not only appointed the two most diverse Cabinets in U.S. history, he has also raised the possibility that the Republican Party—long a pale-male refuge—could become a more attractive option for traditionally Demo-

cratic constituencies like women and the rapidly growing nonwhite electorate. "These appointments mean a lot in the Latino community," says Congressman Robert Menendez of New Jersey, chairman of the House Democratic Caucus. "The joke has been that we're the afterthought. We get HUD. Clinton broadened that a little by appointing Federico Peña as Secretary of Transportation. But a Hispanic Attorney General—that means something. And even Commerce Secretary—

that's a job that usually goes to a white businessman. These aren't 'tokens.' This is real."

In a way, President Bush is the beneficiary of 40 years of Democratic policy—not just affirmative action, which helped create a broader, deeper pool of successful nonwhite college graduates, but also the Democratic Party's historic support for civil rights legislation, the feminist revolution and the easing of strict immigration policies in the 1960s, policies long opposed by many Republicans. But the Bush Cabinets have also been very much a reflection of who George W. Bush is and always has been.

He has always been a gutbucket populist egalitarian. That was, in part, a Texas rebellion against the starchy Greenwich, Conn., aristocracy of his family, but it was also hardwired, a consequence of Bush's native predilection for studying people rather than books. His bright-line test was intel-

lectual pretense. If you weren't stuffy, you were O.K. "George's little Texas group [was] more friendly than their Northern counterparts," an African-American classmate at Andover is quoted as saying in Peter and Rochelle Schweizer's comprehensive family history, *The Bushes: Portrait of a Dynasty*. "With respect to the African-American guys in class, he got along very well with them."



FROM TOP, LEFT TO RIGHT: WONG—GETTY; INOUYE—AP; KRAFT—CORBIS; REUTERS; PHILIPOTT—CORBIS; STARNES—UPI/LANDOV; WILSON—GETTY; WONG—GETTY; LAMBERT—AP; GETTY; RILEY—REUTERS; VERDUGO—AP; LEVENSE—CORBIS; KENNEDY—KRIABACA; AP; SISCO—CORBIS

His feelings about women were, undoubtedly, more complicated and strongly influenced by family history. There is an innate fierceness to the Bush women. When the President's mother first came to the family, her mother-in-law was worried that Barbara wasn't tough enough because of her diffidence on the tennis court: "She won't play net!" The family's assumption was that women were as strong and smart as men and superior when it came to loyalty. "He was influenced by growing up where he did, too," says Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison, who maintains that women in Texas were different from their prissy Eastern and Southern sisters. "We have a tradition of strong women who ran big ranches and businesses." There is still a fair amount of free-range machismo in Texas, Hutchison concedes, but the President is different from most men: "He doesn't talk to a woman as if he's talking to a woman. He doesn't trivialize or condescend. He never condescended to Ann Richards when he ran against her for Governor. Women notice that."

There is a difference between egalitarianism and liberalism. "He's a small-D democrat," says John DiIulio, who served as Bush's director of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives—and left because of the Bush Administration's inability to act on its promises to the urban poor. "He really loves people, and he doesn't discriminate." But there is a disconnect between sentiment and action. Bush talked passionately about faith-based social programs but wasn't willing to make the necessary compromises to get his plan through Congress. Often, the President's small-D democracy leads him to conservative conclusions. He doesn't make distinctions by race, and therefore he doesn't take much stock in programs, like affirmative action, that do. He sees poverty as the absence of opportunity, not as a racial issue. He believes a better education will rectify the difference.

Then again, informality may be the ultimate American ideology—and Bush's

plainspoken, easygoing demeanor does have policy implications. It sends a clear message of acceptance to the newest immigrants. "My father met the President," says Bobby Jindal, a young Louisiana Republican and the first Indian American to be elected to Congress in nearly five decades. "He's a building contractor, and he was working on hurricane repair in Florida. Jeb Bush and the President came to his site one day, and he took pictures with both. The picture with Jeb was standard meet and greet. With the President, it was completely different: the two of them are standing there, with their hands in their pockets,

Rove made a conscious effort to wean Hispanic voters from their traditional home in the Democratic Party. "I think half the Latino small businessmen in my district have been given free trips to Washington to meet the President," says Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez, a California Democrat. There is also a growing sense that there are more opportunities in the Republican Party for Hispanics. "We Democrats had 10 African Americans speak in prime time at our convention and only two Latinos," Sanchez says. "Our party hasn't figured out yet that Latinos are now swing voters."

They swing between a Democratic tradition of social services and the Republican proffer of lower taxes and social conservatism on issues like abortion and gay marriage. The lower taxes appeal to a new generation of college-educated and entrepreneurial Hispanic business owners; the social issues appeal to the older generation of devout Roman Catholics and also to the growing Hispanic Pentecostal movement. "I am not sure many of our people are familiar with the Bush 'ownership society' ideas yet," says Abel Maldonado, a young Republican state senator from California. "I don't know how they'll feel about Social Security privatization or MediSaver accounts, but I do know this: everyone who comes across that border wants to start a business—and the Republicans are the party of business."

In the end, the President's success is personal, not philosophical. It is something people feel rather than think about. Rod Paige, the outgoing Secretary of Education, felt it the first time he met Bush. "It was at an African-American fund raiser for his father in 1988. There were about 700 of us, and he was about the only white guy there. Now, we had seen white Republicans in a room full of black folks before, and you could usually count on a fair amount of, well, discomfort. There was none of that with W. I don't remember a thing he said. I just remember he was hanging out, easy, with the rest of us."



"He doesn't talk to a woman as if he's talking to a woman. He doesn't ... condescend. Women notice that."

laughing about something like they're best friends. My dad is wearing his baseball cap, and I asked him why he didn't take his cap off and show more respect. 'I forgot he was the President,' my father said. 'He just seemed like a regular guy.' A lot of immigrants like my dad just simply feel comfortable with the man."

The comfort level seems to have increased most dramatically in the Hispanic community, which gave the President 40% of its vote in 2004, up from 35% in 2000. Bush's personal popularity was reinforced by brother Jeb, who speaks fluent Spanish and was a constant presence on Spanish-language television during the campaign. In addition, Karl

THE RAINBOW TEAM On the previous page, Bush's picks in his first and second terms, from left to right: Norman Mineta, Secretary of Transportation; Condoleezza Rice, Secretary of State-designee; Margaret Spellings, Secretary of Education-designee; Rod Paige, former Secretary of Education; Alphonso Jackson, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; Elaine Chao, Secretary of Labor; Gaddi Vasquez, Peace Corps director; Karen Hughes, presidential adviser; Gale Norton, Secretary of the Interior; Carlos Gutierrez, Secretary of Commerce-designee; Colin Powell, Secretary of State; Hector Barreto, head of the U.S. Small Business Administration; Christine Todd Whitman, former head of the Environmental Protection Agency; Alberto Gonzales, Attorney General-designee; Harriet Miers, new White House counsel; Bobby Jindal, former Assistant Secretary in the Department of Health and Human Services

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LONG SHADOW
A Bush has been on the ticket for six of the past seven presidential elections. Is Jeb next?

Don't Call It A Dynasty

But that's what the Bush family is. So just how has America's most enduring political family endured, and who's next in line? **By Matthew Cooper**

THE BUSHES HATE THE WORD dynasty, but they can't resist telling these kinds of stories: on the first day of his son's presidency, George Herbert Walker Bush, tired and cold from the Inauguration parade, was relaxing in a tub in the White House when he heard a knock at the bathroom door. It was a longtime butler telling him that the Presi-

dent wanted to see him in the Oval Office. At first, a groggy Bush was a bit confused about who this President was. Then, of course, he realized it was his son. He considered saying no, wanting to finish his soaking, but he thought better of it, and so the wet former U.S. President sprang out of the tub, got dressed and, with still damp hair, went over to the Oval Office to visit his eldest child. The

moment of one President being summoned by another was immortalized in a picture that popped up around the White House.

The scene was repeated almost exactly four years later, and this time it was Barbara Bush who was eager to describe it. "We had a repeat of it the day after the election this year," she told TIME. "George was in the shower, and George W. at 7 a.m. came by, and he said, 'Mom, where's Dad?' I said, 'He's in the shower.' He said, 'Well, tell him if he wants to come up to the Oval Office, I'd love to have him over there.' You never saw a guy get out of the shower so fast in your life and get over there."

You get the point: this family may have produced two Presidents of the U.S., the Governors of the second and fourth most populous states and one U.S. Senator, but theirs is an accidental dynasty, perpetuated, above all, by a sense of humility. "No braggadocio" is how White House chief of staff Andy Card describes the family ethic. "I know from President Bush 41 that he was chastised by his mother not to practice braggadocio. When they have a lot to brag about, there is no pounding of the chest," he says.

Compare the Bushes with the Ken-

BROOKS KRAFT—CORBIS FOR TIME

nedys, and it's the Republican clan that casts the longer shadow. A Kennedy was America's President for a thousand days or so, but if George W. Bush completes his second term, someone named Bush will have been U.S. President for 4,383 days. There has been a Bush on the Republican ticket for six of the past seven presidential elections and a Bush in or near the White House for 16 of the past 24 years. And the run may not be over. Jeb Bush said in October that he would not run in 2008, but not everyone believes that promise is airtight. "I think there's still a sliver of a chance he goes," said one of Jeb's confidants. "First, it's the family business, and it's hard to see him leaving it. And there are enough unemployed Bush samurai out there who will want to eat and who will lean on him to run. He may not want to do it now, but I think he may."

Some of what drives the family can be found in ancient tribal script laid down by the patriarch, the President's grandfather, Senator Prescott Bush, who died in 1972, a decade after he left elective office. He told the oral-history project at Columbia University in 1966 that "everybody doesn't have an equal obligation. Some people have better opportunities than others to serve and better faculties, better equipment ... to do something about the public service." But if noblesse oblige is one ingredient behind the family's magic, it doesn't begin to describe the permanent marks the Bushes have made on American political life in the past 25 years. Several other traits help explain their success:

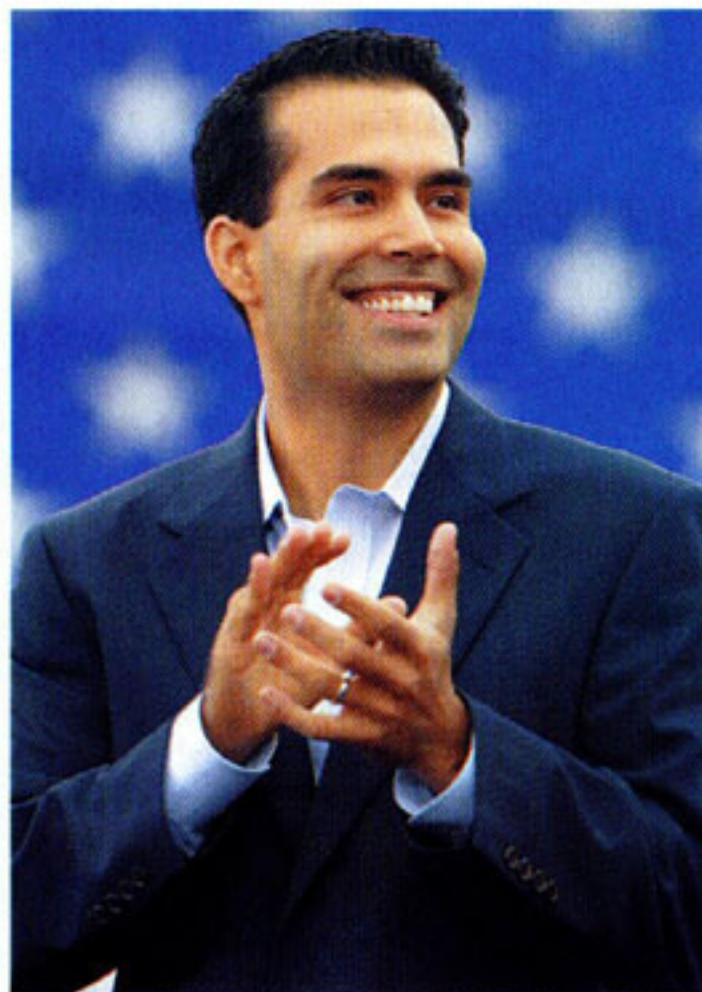
■ THEY MOVE WITH THEIR PARTY

The Bush machine has carefully tracked the geographic and philosophical changes in the Republican Party over the past 50 years. Both the family and the party slipped their moorings in the moderate northeastern U.S. in the 1960s and drifted south and west, toward new, more conservative strongholds in the Sunbelt. Prescott Bush was an iconic, New England moderate Republican who played golf with Ike and supported Planned Parenthood. George H.W. Bush straddled both worlds, running from Texas as a Goldwater Republican in 1964 but also embracing the Big Government Republicanism of Nixon in the '70s. By '88, he was again in synch with his party, having moved rightward to embrace the Reagan legacy but later pushing off with a "kinder, gentler" thrust that voters admired. Jeb, who is perhaps the most socially conservative Bush, is the most multicultural: he married a Mexican woman, and

his children speak fluent Spanish. It's a good bet his son George Prescott Bush, 28, will run for something in the years ahead. But the distance from Prescott to Jeb is unmistakable: Jeb finds himself in court these days fighting to keep the husband of a severely incapacitated Florida woman from turning off her respirator.

■ THEY LEARN FROM THEIR MISTAKES

Every Bush has tasted defeat early on, and that too is both a rite of passage and a secret weapon: the Bushes go to school on their own failures. Prescott Bush lost a U.S. Senate bid in 1950 before he was elected two years later. George H.W. Bush also tried for the Senate in 1964 but was defeated and later won a seat in



NEXT IN LINE?

Jeb's son George P. Bush, 28, a lawyer, may be the next to try his hand at the family business

Congress. In 1994 Jeb blew his first attempt to become Florida Governor. And W. got shellacked when he first ran for Congress, in 1978. "I vowed never to get out-countried again," W. told *TIME* four years ago. They even study one another's losses. One night in 1994, Bush peppered a houseguest who had worked for his father for four years with questions about why the old man had lost in 1992. "They learn from their defeats, and they keep coming after you," said a friend who likens them to science-fiction characters who will not die despite being bombarded by lasers.

■ THEY SPREAD ACROSS THE COUNTRY

This isn't just a family; it's also a national franchise system. Bush children for years were told to "Go forth and seek your fortunes elsewhere," just as the Walkers and the Bushes had done in the 1920s. And so they have: after university and grad school George W. went back to Texas. Jeb went to Florida. Other sons gave Virginia and Colorado a try. The by-product was like a series of feeder colonies, a 50-state network with kinsmen and pyramid builders always ready to report for duty. Even the matriarch, Barbara Bush, who would dismiss the word dynasty with a frosty toss of her head, was known to remind people back in 1999 that "1 out of every 8 Americans is governed by a Bush."

■ THEY'RE MORE LIKE AVERAGE AMERICANS THAN PEOPLE THINK

The Bushes have developed an Everyfamily feel that they lacked 25 years ago, and this too has made them better pols. Bush 41 grew up taking a limousine to school but then moved to dusty West Texas and suffered the loss of his first daughter. Bush 43 struggled at business and had a notoriously irresponsible streak until his 40th birthday. Jeb's wife Columba was fined for customs violations, and his daughter Noelle has battled prescription-drug addiction. Neil Bush, the President's brother, went through an eyebrow-raising divorce. And First Daughters Barbara and Jenna have been caught on the wrong side of fake IDs once or twice. The Bushes stopped marrying heirs and heiresses a generation ago. They went from being highbrow Episcopalians to being Methodists like W. and Catholics like Jeb. And many in the family have known their share of heartbreak. All that has humanized the formidable family and made the Bushes stronger at the gut-level game of connecting emotionally with voters in the crunch of a close campaign.

So why the reluctance to admit the business they are *really* in? It would be unwise to tout oneself as a dynasty in a country that specifically bans nobility in the Constitution. Plus, it wars with the family's kitchen-table lesson that calling attention to oneself is tacky, if not just plain wrong. "President Bush [41] would cross out every personal pronoun in his speech drafts, changing every *I* to a *we*," recalls his staff secretary James Cicconi. "The family ethic frowns upon anyone who is self-centered or self-seeking."

That too is just smart politics. And in that category, the results speak for themselves. ■

PERSON OF THE YEAR

gdy electronic magazine group

PATHS OF POWER

The President comes from a long line of achievers, from financiers to judges to politicians. Today the bonds of family form a nationwide network of influence

Father's side



LUCRETIA "LOULIE" (WEAR) WALKER

1874-1961

Oversaw a privileged, sports-loving household in St. Louis, Mo.



GEORGE HERBERT WALKER

1875-1953

A successful broker and president of the U.S. Golf Association



FLORA (SHELDON) BUSH

1872-1920

Raised her children in the Ohio county where she grew up



SAMUEL PRESCOTT BUSH

1863-1948

A steel magnate who became an adviser to President Herbert Hoover



DOROTHY (WALKER) BUSH

1901-92

The most competitive Bush, she bred in her children the drive to win but never brag



PRESCOTT SHELDON BUSH

1895-1972

An investment banker and the first Bush to win elective office, he became a Senator from Connecticut



PRESCOTT SHELDON BUSH JR.

1922-

A businessman and developer with strong ties to Beijing, he ran the U.S.-China Chamber of Commerce



NANCY (BUSH) ELLIS

1926-

The most liberal Bush, she is an environmentalist and a civil rights activist and a campaigner for her brother and nephews



JONATHAN JAMES BUSH

1931-

An investment banker and a political fund raiser who helped find investors for George W.'s Texas oil business in the 1980s



WILLIAM H.T. "BUCKY" BUSH

1938-

A venture capitalist based in St. Louis, he most recently helped George W.'s re-election campaign in Missouri



GEORGE HERBERT WALKER BUSH

1924-

The standard bearer. His eight years as Vice President and four years as President followed a lofty public-service career

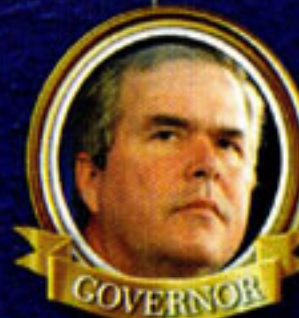
The President's Generation



PAULINE ROBINSON "ROBIN" BUSH

1949-1953

George H.W. and Barbara's second child (after the current President), she died of leukemia two months before her fourth birthday



JOHN ELLIS "JEB" BUSH

1953-

A former real estate developer serving his second term as Governor of Florida, he is often mentioned as a presidential contender



NEIL MALLON BUSH

1955-

After weathering a savings and loan scandal in the 1980s and a bitter divorce last year, he is focusing on an educational-software company

Children

GEORGE P. BUSH, b. 1976
NOELLE BUSH, b. 1977
JOHN ELLIS BUSH JR., b. 1983

LAUREN BUSH, b. 1984
PIERCE BUSH, b. 1986
ASHLEY BUSH, b. 1989



Great-Grandparents



**SCOTT
PIERCE**

1866-1945

After losing his wealth in the 1893 iron crash, he sold insurance



**MABEL
(MARVIN) PIERCE**

1869-?

Jeb Bush's wife
Columba inherited
Mabel's wedding ring



**JAMES E.
ROBINSON**

1868-1932

A farmer's son who
became an Ohio
supreme court justice



**LULU (FLICKINGER)
ROBINSON**

1875-?

After her husband's death,
she learned to drive and
toured the country



FRANKLIN PIERCE

1804-1869

The 14th U.S.
President is an
ancestor of Barbara
Bush's grandfather
Scott Pierce

Grandparents



**MARVIN
PIERCE**

1893-1969

Started as an assistant at
McCall's Publishing and
rose to president and
chairman of the board



**PAULINE
(ROBINSON) PIERCE**

1896-1949

She died in an accident
when her husband, trying to
keep coffee from spilling,
lost control of the car



**WILLA GRAY
(MARTIN) PIERCE**

1911-

Marvin Pierce's second
wife, she is a painter,
writer and socialite from
South Carolina



QUEEN ELIZABETH II

1926-

According to Burke's
Peerage of London,
Britain's monarch is
a 13th cousin twice
removed of
President Bush's

Parents, Aunts, Uncles



**BARBARA
(PIERCE) BUSH**

1925-

The clan matriarch was a
de facto single mother,
raising her family in seven
cities while her husband
was in oil and politics



**JAMES ROBINSON
PIERCE**

1922-93

An Army and Navy
veteran of World War II,
he followed his father into
publishing, consulting on
several sports magazines



**SCOTT
PIERCE**

1930-

As president of E.F.
Hutton & Co., he
pleaded guilty in 1985
to check kiting on behalf
of the company



**MARTHA (PIERCE)
RAFFERTY**

1920-99

She became a model
for Vogue magazine and
married a stockbroker.
She was also an active
Republican



**JOHN
KERRY**

1943-

You have to go back
to the late 1500s to
make the connection,
but the former
presidential rivals are
very distant cousins



**MARVIN PIERCE
BUSH**

1956-

The youngest Bush brother
runs an investment firm
in McLean, Va., and has
served on several
corporate boards. He
campaigns for W.



**DOROTHY "DORO"
(BUSH) KOCH**

1959-

In addition to campaigning
for her brother, she serves
on the board of the
Barbara Bush Foundation
for Family Literacy. She
lives in Maryland



**GEORGE
WALKER BUSH**

1946-

Once an oil and gas man, he
became managing partner of
the Texas Rangers. He was
elected Texas Governor
in 1994 and President
in 2000 and 2004



**LAURA
(WELCH) BUSH**

1946-

She met and married the
future President in 1977,
when she was working as
a school librarian in Texas.
The First Lady champions
literacy issues



**HUGH
HEFNER**

1926-

Bush and Kerry share
another famous
cousin, the founder
of the Playboy
empire. Hef's a ninth
cousin twice removed
of the President's

MARSHALL BUSH, b. 1986
CHARLES W. BUSH, b. 1989

SAMUEL LEBLOND, b. 1984
ELLIE LEBLOND, b. 1986
ROBERT KOCH, b. 1993
GEORGIA KOCH, b. 1996

**JENNA BUSH
BARBARA BUSH**
Twins, b. 1981



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"They're Talking About ... Our Kid"

George and Barbara Bush on the highs and lows of having a son in the White House

IN THEIR SUNNY LIVING ROOM IN HOUSTON, FORMER PRESIDENT George H.W. Bush, 80, and his wife Barbara, 79, sat down with TIME's Hugh Sidey to talk about parenting a two-term President, their daughter-in-law, the family's detractors, their hopes for their son's legacy and whom Barbara plans to marry if George dies first. Excerpts:

TIME: You've finished one term of parenting a President and a First Lady. What are the rules? How do you do it?

BUSH: We talk a lot, Barbara and I, to Laura and George. I talk mainly to the President. They know that we're not going to make any statements about what we talk about. He's very interested in how his brothers and sister are doing, although he sees more of Doro and Marvin than we do. Plus, we can talk on issues, but it's not real in-depth. It's not his saying to me, "What do I do now?"

MRS. BUSH: He knows we're the only two people in America who are awake at 6 in the morning. He calls from the Oval Office to talk to George, and we put him on speakerphone. The rules are, No repeating what he tells you, No. 1, and not giving unsolicited advice and not passing on things that people ask you to give the President or Laura: gifts or advice or ideas or wanting jobs. We pass those on to Jean [Becker, the former President's chief of staff]. We just have made that deal, because we were there. We know what it's like.

TIME: What is it like to have a son in the White House?

BUSH: It's pride of a father in a son, and it transcends or avoids the issues. You know, the idea that George wanted to redeem me after my loss, all this crazy stuff like that, it has nothing to do with that.

TIME: Here's the most important man in the world, your son.

MRS. BUSH: It's an extraordinary feeling every now and then. You think, they're talking about—

BUSH: Our kid. Remember when Ann Richards said George Bush was born with



The parents-in-chief stroll in the yard at their Houston home

a silver foot in his mouth? And then when George beat her in his first run for Governor—I must say I felt a certain sense of joy that he finally had kind of taken her down. I could go around saying, "We showed her what she could do with that silver foot, where she could stick that now."

MRS. BUSH: Good speech material.

TIME: What's bad about having a President for a son?

MRS. BUSH: Criticism of your children is just the worst.

BUSH: Sometimes I've got ideas on things, and I don't feel free to discuss them because I think it might in some way be used against him. If I ever varied

publicly on any policy, then the press would immediately go off: "He's sending some signal, disapproval, through this column to his son." So I don't do it. If there's some difference, I can talk to him about it. The thing that was perhaps the most hurtful to me was the theme that the President doesn't know what he's

doing, that he's dumb, that he's some know-nothing cowboy from Texas. And when I sat with him, as I did out at Camp David, at Crawford, and heard him with the intelligence people, talking about the world and asking the appropriate questions—what's the development in this country or that—I was surprised at how broad the vision and grasp are. But he gets no credit for that.

TIME: What has surprised you about George W.?

MRS. BUSH: I think his steadfastness has. I think that's a surprise—not a surprise, but it's something to be very proud of. Let me put it that way.

TIME: What has surprised you about Laura?

BUSH: What surprised me was that years ago, she didn't want to give a speech, didn't want to be involved, and now she's captured the imagination and the hearts of the country. She really has.

MRS. BUSH: Laura does not surprise me. When she came into our family, our huge family, noisy and loud, she was a reader and a

gentle Southern girl, and she took to us like nothing you ever knew. Immediately she was generous and part of the family.

TIME: What was the low point of this past term?

MRS. BUSH: When a bunch of books all came out, filled with half-truths, like saying George's father was an alcoholic.

BUSH: Kitty Kelley. Did you see where somebody handed her her hat the other night, the *Washingtonian*? [Kelley was dropped from the magazine's masthead.] I loved that.

MRS. BUSH: Well, anyway, suddenly we found ourselves—what we thought was a nice, normal family with bumps and

warts—we suddenly found ourselves as the devil.

BUSH: Michael Moore's got to be the worst for me. I mean, he's such a slime-ball and so atrocious. But I love the fact now that the Democrats are not embracing him as theirs anymore. He might not get invited to sit in Jimmy Carter's box [at the Democratic Convention] again. I wanted to get up my nerve to ask Jimmy Carter at the Clinton thing [the opening of Bill Clinton's library], "How did it feel being there with that marvelous friend of yours, Michael Moore?" and I didn't dare do it.

MRS. BUSH: Darn.

BUSH: You can write that if you want.

Michael Moore just slandered our family and me.

TIME: After this election, some people talk about Karl Rove as if he were the puppet master that created George W.

MRS. BUSH: Karl is a political animal, no question about that, but George W. is not going to do something he thinks is wrong. I know that for a fact, and I saw it in action election night. They wanted George to go accept that moment, when it was 3:30 in the morning and it was clear he'd won, and he said, "Absolutely not." He said, "I'm not going to do that. It isn't right."

TIME: How did you deal with the rest of the family while you were parenting a President through four years?

MRS. BUSH: He's just one other member, and we all try to leave him space, because you need space when you're President.

TIME: Let's talk about John and Abigail Adams and John Quincy.

BUSH: It's so different. It's hard to compare because Quincy was in office so little time while his dad was still alive. I think they were close, but I don't know whether John Adams and John Quincy were as close as we are with George W.

TIME: Here was a case in which the father reared his son to be President.

BUSH: Not the case here at all.

MRS. BUSH: Just wanted him to grow up.

TIME: You've got no plan for Jeb?

BUSH: No. And he's got plans for himself, which do not include running for public office. He's been successful, and he's knowledgeable, and he'd be a wonderful public servant at the national level. So—

MRS. BUSH: But he won't.

BUSH: I'm convinced he won't. He says he won't.

TIME: What would you like to see in the second term?

BUSH: Peace. Clear, positive solutions to Iraq and the Middle East. What I'd like to see is the President's view of a Palestinian state come true.

TIME: What about the divide in the country?

BUSH: As long as you have a major thing like Iraq, which divides, why, it'll be there. But I think if my dream comes true, if the President's dream comes true, these divisions will be far less. And, of course,

MRS. BUSH: He's a rich young man. He won't use them, because he's lefthanded. Now, go on. That's the oldest joke. When I say, "Now, George, when I die don't let her use my golf clubs," he says, "Don't worry. She's lefthanded."

TIME: You're going to be on the Inaugural stand again soon. What will you feel?

MRS. BUSH: I keep wishing that our parents were alive. They would think this was the cat's meow.

BUSH: They didn't think in terms of grand, you know, leadership-of-the-country terms.

MRS. BUSH: No. I meant that we would be at the White House with our boy.

TIME: Last question. The Bush effect or the whole Bush—

BUSH: Dynasty?

TIME: The Bush influence. It permeates so much of our national and international life.

MRS. BUSH: I hope it's a good influence.

BUSH: I don't really think much about that. It's mind boggling in a sense to think that we're a family that has had, continues to have, an interest in shaping national affairs. But it's not something we spend a lot of time on. I think it's there. But we don't dwell on it. We have a certain standing, not just here but abroad, because of that. But having said all that,

again I just keep repeating, I don't try to do anything to enhance that.

TIME: You must feel that what has transpired suggests this country reflects your values.

MRS. BUSH: Yes. I think very definitely.

BUSH: Well, I think the election was an affirmation of that, not totally but pretty much so, because I don't think the elites in this country, quote, got it, unquote, about George when he talked about family and faith and marriage and these things. So after the election was over, they said, "Well, it was a bunch of radical, Evangelical pastors that won this election." They missed it, that it was something far deeper and far bigger. I do think that the President's onto something, maybe in the same way that we are too, his parents are, certain values.

TIME: Thank you.

BUSH: All right. Let's get our pictures taken, and then let's go get a pizza. ■



Father and son share the spotlight at the 2004 Republican Convention

you've got these domestic issues like revenues and Social Security reform. These are huge problems that the President is trying to face up to, and in a way that's very different from that of any of his predecessors. Social Security, if that's a success, why, that will be enormous in terms of history.

TIME: Mrs. Bush, what are your personal plans going forward?

BUSH: She's writing every morning. I don't know what she's writing.

MRS. BUSH: I'm writing—if this old man doesn't stop talking, I'm through.

BUSH: All right. I promise—

MRS. BUSH: I'm trying to write things that I find interesting, and—

BUSH: You're trying to write a new book.

MRS. BUSH: Well, I'm surely going to write one if 10 years go by.

BUSH: If I die, are you going to marry a younger man?

MRS. BUSH: Darn right.

BUSH: Don't let him use my golf clubs, though.



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LANCE
CORPORAL
WESLEY
ROSS, 20

As his parents
watch, the U.S.
Marine from
Florence, South
Carolina, receives
a Purple Heart
from the
Commander
in Chief

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PERSON OF THE YEAR

Paying Homage

After his recent annual physical at Bethesda's National Naval Medical Center, the President visited injured troops. TIME photographer **CHRISTOPHER MORRIS** was there

**CORPORAL
WILLIAM
HATCHER, 22**

The U.S. Marine from Fayetteville, North Carolina, shakes Bush's hand after the President awards him a medal for wounds sustained in Fallujah



**LANCE
CORPORAL
JEFFREY
HUDGENS, 19**

After the U.S. Marine from Tahlequah, Oklahoma, injured by a homemade bomb, gets his medal, his folks get a hug from the President

**LANCE
CORPORAL
JACOB
KNOSPILER, 23**

A U.S. Marine from Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania, he was shot while clearing a building in Fallujah



**LANCE
CORPORAL
SEAN
PHILLIPS, 21**

Injured by an explosive device in Ramadi, the U.S. Marine from Montgomery, Alabama, chats with his mother and the President





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Face of Terror

How Abu Mousab al-Zarqawi transformed
the Iraq insurgency into a holy war and
became America's newest nightmare

By Romesh Ratnesar

Illustration for TIME by Brad Holland

HOLLAND

THE KILLER LIVES IN SHADOWS, A PHANTOM MENACE whose whereabouts are known only to a few trusted deputies. He exhorts followers to seek martyrdom in suicidal assaults against U.S. soldiers, Iraqi policemen and Christian churchgoers even as he remains perpetually on the run, seeming to abandon hideouts just as his pursuers arrive. Intelligence analysts say that before U.S. forces chased Abu Mousab al-Zarqawi out of the city of Fallujah, he would call lieutenants from a cell phone and then trash the SIM card after a single use to avoid giving himself away. So obscure is his identity, so ghostly his purported lifestyle, that even some who have joined al-Zarqawi's campaign against U.S. troops and their Iraqi allies question whether his accomplishments are mostly myth. "We have not felt the existence of al-Zarqawi," says insurgent leader Abu Lina, a top nationalist commander. "We haven't known him or understood him." But to a devoted few, his word is absolute. "Some just have to sit and listen to him," a senior insurgent leader in Fallujah told TIME, "and they walk away committed."

In the past year, that commitment has helped produce an almost daily horror show of suicide bombings, kidnappings, mass executions and televised beheadings. The atrocities have killed or maimed thousands, jeopardized next



month's elections, dragged Iraq to the brink of civil conflict and drawn U.S. troops deeper into a war whose costs seem increasingly unbearable. Ascribing the mayhem in Iraq entirely to al-Zarqawi and his minions would overlook both U.S. miscalculations and the scope of the insurgency, which may command the support of as many as 20,000 Sunnis. But through his capacity for self-promotion and the sheer ruthlessness of his methods, al-Zarqawi, 38, has become the face of an insurgency fueled as much by religious zealotry as by nationalist resistance. He has catapulted himself from a fringe player on the global terrorist stage to its most potent operative, a villain judged by U.S. intelligence to be so dangerous that the bounty on his head now matches Osama bin Laden's.

Al-Zarqawi's aims seem clear: in messages intercepted by the U.S. military and in public statements posted on websites associated with his organization, formerly known as al-Tawhid and Jihad, al-Zarqawi has voiced his contempt for Iraq's majority Shi'ites and his desire to provoke a civil war by slaughtering those perceived to be collaborating with the U.S. or the fledgling Iraqi authorities. In a July al-Tawhid document obtained by TIME, al-Zarqawi's former



HORROR SHOWS

An Iraqi, top, waves the flag of al-Zarqawi's group after an attack on a U.S. tank in Baghdad; a videotape shows a man identified as al-Zarqawi holding a sword before beheading American captive Nick Berg

deputy, Abu Anas al-Shami, refers to the group's assassination of Ayatullah Mohammed Baqir al-Hakim, one of the most prominent Shi'ite leaders in Iraq, in an August 2003 bombing in Najaf. Al-Zarqawi has lured hundreds of zealots, foreign and homegrown, to join him by portraying Iraq as the new arena of global jihad, the proving ground for an epic war against the infidel. He pledged his

allegiance to bin Laden in October in a Web announcement but has cultivated a global profile of his own, forging links with terrorist cells across Europe and the Middle East. An audiotape made in the summer and given to TIME records al-Shami saying the group's goal is to turn Iraq into a fundamentalist state modeled on the Taliban's rule, whose primeval strictures for Afghanistan al-Zarqawi has admired. (Al-Shami was killed in September in a U.S. bomb attack.)

Al-Zarqawi has shaped the Iraqi insurgency into the war he felt the Muslim world needed, elevating it from a ragtag nationalist movement into a holy war fought with the methods of the true believer. U.S. troops combing through ruins after their assault on Fallujah in November discovered evidence of the jihadists' ghoulish designs: safe houses littered with bomb-making materials, bloodied knives and cages in which the group's prisoners were held before they were executed.

While his notoriety grows with each atrocity, al-Zarqawi remains an enigma. Unlike bin Laden, he has never granted an interview to Western journalists or appeared in public. In the May videotape in which he personally carried out the beheading of

American Nick Berg, al-Zarqawi's face is hidden behind a black mask. "The stories about him are almost like he's a ghost," says a U.S. general in Iraq. Military commanders believe al-Zarqawi made Fallujah a base of operations, but associates say he and his aides fled long before the U.S. moved on the city. He may have relocated to Mosul or Baghdad, or slipped out of the country. The few who claim to have met him say al-Zarqawi projects an air of humility, casting himself as a reluctant leader thrust into the spotlight by events. On an al-Tawhid website, a man named Maysarra al-Gharib who belongs to the group's religious council gives an account of a conversation with al-Zarqawi in which the leader spoke of his celebrity. "I am not a hero," al-Gharib quotes al-Zarqawi as saying. "But I have to show up."

Al-Zarqawi was not born into privilege. He grew up in Zarqa, Jordan, a bleak factory town that is home to several Palestinian refugee camps and the country's major breweries. By some accounts, al-Zarqawi was a thug and boozier, a high school dropout who liked getting into scrapes. In the late 1980s, he joined a mosque that introduced him to Salafism, a stringent brand of Islam that exhorts followers to model their behavior after the life of the Prophet Mohammed. He soon headed to Afghanistan but arrived too late to taste combat in the jihad against the Soviets. "I wish I would have been killed in Khost in Afghanistan in 1990," he told al-Gharib, according to the account posted on the website. "My heart was more tender and my soul was purer than now."

In 1994, after returning to Jordan, al-Zarqawi was arrested for possessing explosives, which he purportedly intended to smuggle into the West Bank. In prison he devoted himself to memorizing the Koran and became the leader of his cellblock of 20 political prisoners. "They were all bearded, they all wore the same Afghan clothes and shared the same thinking," says Youssef Rababa'a, 35, who spent three years in various Jordanian prisons with al-Zarqawi. "He stayed in the background, but the members of the group would do nothing without his approval." Al-Zarqawi railed against Jordan's secular rulers, plotting their overthrow. His gang recruited jailmates to join their struggle and denounced those who didn't as un-Muslim. "Either you were with them or you were an enemy," says Rababa'a. "There was no gray area."

When al-Zarqawi was released in 1999, he returned to Afghanistan. There he is believed to have met bin Laden and set up an al-Qaeda-allied training camp in the western city of Herat. While bin Laden was willing to tolerate Muslims who didn't share his extremism, al-Zarqawi viewed moderate Muslims as enemies of the faith. But he also proved to be a valuable asset for al-Qaeda, a tireless networker with a par-

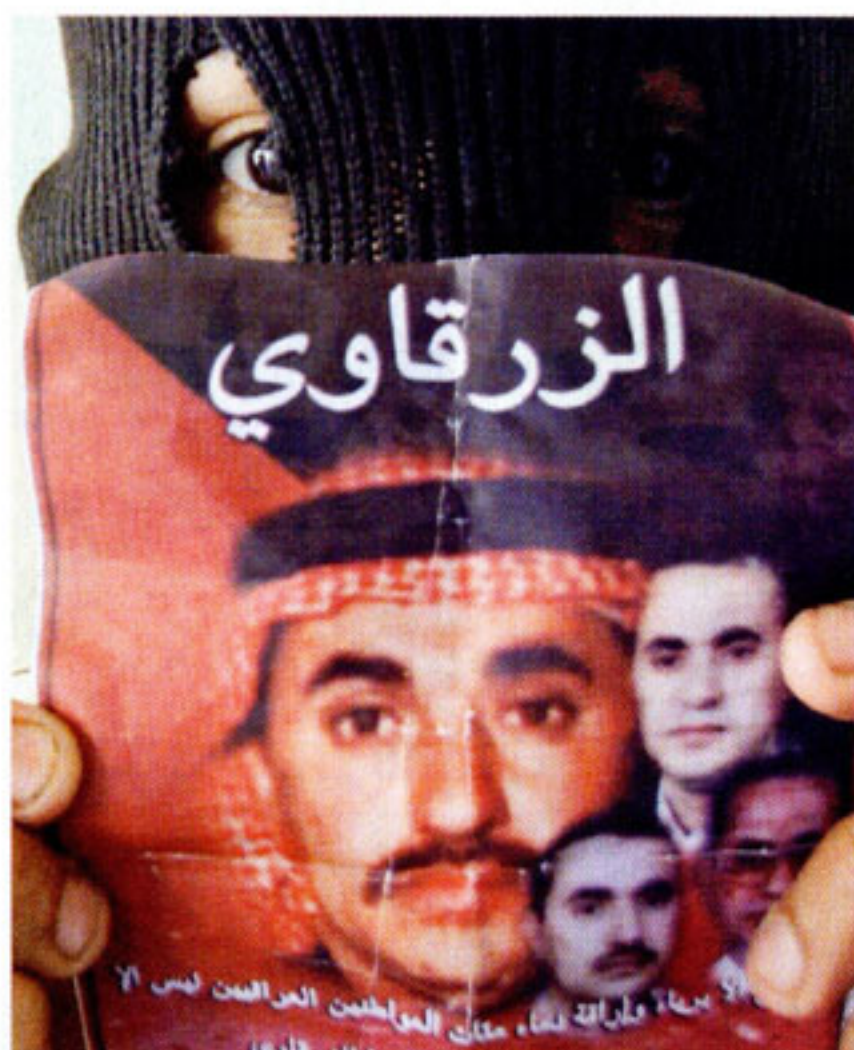
the Iraqi capital while Saddam Hussein was in power.

Al-Zarqawi has built his network in Iraq by exploiting the furies unleashed by the fall of Saddam. Insurgents familiar with the inner workings of the al-Zarqawi network say he is less a military commander than a mafioso godfather, maintaining control over the flow of money from gulf states and Islamic charities and using it to influence the activities of the insurgent groups that make up his network. He imposes discipline through an unsparing code of loyalty: those whose devotion wavers are executed before they have the chance to desert. "There are only two ways to leave that organization," says a midranking Iraqi insurgent leader. "You die in battle, or they kill you." This insurgent says he considered merging his group's operations with al-Tawhid, but reconsidered after meeting al-Zarqawi's top aides. "It's as though they're from another planet," he says. "You don't know what they're thinking one minute to the next."

The excesses of the al-Zarqawi-led jihadists—in particular, their indiscriminate targeting of Shi'ite civilians—have alienated nationalist groups that condemn attacks on innocents. In recent statements, al-Zarqawi has expressed frustration at the failure of his supposed Sunni allies to stop the U.S. onslaught into Fallujah. In a letter to bin Laden intercepted by U.S. intelligence in January, al-Zarqawi writes that if he should fail in his effort to defeat democracy in Iraq, he and his followers will "pack our bags and search for another land, as is the sad, recurrent story in the arenas of jihad." The sentiment is echoed in a tape of a "seminar" for jihadist recruits given to TIME, in which he refers repeatedly to Iraq's place in a larger quest to restore Muslim pride. "It is shameful," he says, "to see shame on us."

With many of his closest lieutenants caught or killed, al-Zarqawi may be more vulnerable to capture. But some adherents of his destructive views will surely remain, willing to give their lives in the service of ripping Iraq apart—a goal they have already come close to achieving. In one motivational tape, al-Zarqawi is heard to say, "It is either dignity or the coffin." The toxic legacy of al-Zarqawi's deeds will persist long after he is gone.

—Reported by Scott Macleod/Amman, Saad Hattar/Zarqa, Bruce Crumley/Paris and Timothy J. Burger and Elaine Shannon/Washington



WANTED An insurgent displays a poster showing some of al-Zarqawi's suspected guises

"There are only two ways to leave [al-Zarqawi]'s organization. You die in battle, or they kill you."

ticular interest in attaining weapons of mass destruction. To al-Zarqawi, the U.S. invasion of Iraq presented the ideal conditions for waging jihad, as well as his chance to make up for missing the Afghan war in the 1980s. He spent the months leading up to the war moving through Iran and northern Iraq, where he attached himself to the Kurdish Islamist group Ansar al-Islam. A confidential al-Tawhid document obtained by TIME describes a fighter killed in Fallujah last April as having joined al-Zarqawi in Baghdad "just before the fall of the previous regime"—a claim that backs up the Bush Administration's disputed assertions that al-Zarqawi passed through

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Box Office She

Mel Gibson and Michael Moore made very different movies with the same message

AT FIRST GLANCE, YOU MIGHT not think that Mel Gibson and Michael Moore had much in common beyond the fact that they both have Oscars and an M in their first name. Mel the buff pilgrim, Michael the lumpy rebel: Opposite poles of the human spectrum, no? But watch them long enough—and in the past year we have had plenty of opportunity—and it dawns on you that maybe these guys have more in common than one would suppose. They both have a reassuring regular quality. Both seem like guys who maintain a clear channel, albeit from different locations, into that enigmatic, shape-shifting thing, the American mainstream. And if that's true, maybe it's not so surprising that they had something else in common this year, something important. Let's call it a shared intuition. Both of them knew there were enormous reservoirs of feeling out there—yearning, anger, fear—emotions that were not being satisfied by the usual run of movies or network news reports. And both made films, one sacred, one profane, that powerfully tapped into those emotions.

Did we say tapped? What we meant was drilled. *The Passion of the Christ* and *Fahrenheit 9/11* pressed deep and hard into some of the most sensitive areas of the American psyche. You could go to any theater where either one was playing and find yourself at some point in a full house of tears, some of them probably your own. And what Gibson and Moore both cared about wasn't just the easy sentiments that can be summoned up anytime you have Frodo say goodbye to Gandalf. These were filmmakers operating in the very largest realms—the longing for faith, the demand for truth—in a world that can be patronizing to the first and indifferent to the second.

And though only one of them made an explicitly political film, they both produced works that struck major chords in a presidential election year in which faith and truth were in some ways the questions at the very heart of the campaign. How should religious values be expressed in public life? Did the President lie to get support for the war in Iraq? Newt Gingrich, the former House Speaker, has even said

pherds

The truth shall make you free **By Richard Lacayo**

that the ongoing struggle for the definition of America can be described as "Michael Moore vs. Mel Gibson."

It isn't quite that simple, of course. Just ask Moore, who says that his film, too, resonates with Christ's message. *The Passion of the Christ* emphasized Christ's final hours and, for the most part, left out scenes of his ministry. "But my film dovetails with the rest of Jesus' life," Moore told *TIME* last week. "It connects to his message about questioning those in authority, of being a man of peace, of loving your neighbor." And there were people this year who loved both movies—loved Moore's acrobatic wit and Gibson's unyielding gravity. And still others who hated both—hated Moore's penchant for flamboyant speculation and Gibson's reckless portrayal of the role Jews played in Jesus' death.

All the same, Gingrich had a point. Even if it weren't composed entirely of inhabitants of some vast spiritual red zone, the huge audience for *The Passion of the Christ* was one more sign of the magnitude of the Great American Congregation, the tens of millions of people of faith all across the country, people the Republicans court aggressively and the Democrats woo awkwardly.

As for *Fahrenheit 9/11*, although red staters went to see the movie and bought the DVD when it came out, strategically, just before the November elections, it was in the blue zone that it became the cultural event of the year. For liberals weary of living in a country full of war whoops from the right, a place where Bill O'Reilly is always puffing out his chest and Ann Coulter snapping her jaws, *Fahrenheit 9/11* became the emotional rallying point that the Democratic Party—its convention, its 2004 campaign, even its candidate—never entirely provided. Moore says his film helped bring out millions of Democratic voters. "Had there been no *Fahrenheit 9/11*," he says, "and no MoveOn.org, no Bruce Springsteen or Jon Stewart—with a war going on, Bush would have won by a landslide."

Speaking of Springsteen and Stewart, both films arrived in a year in which public discourse was, more than ever, conducted by cultural means. In a nation that looks to Stewart and Jay Leno for its news, and in which rap and rock stars worked alongside political operatives to turn out the vote,

mere candidates sometimes seemed secondary to the more visible and closely followed celebrity wise guys. It's that world that Moore now stands astride like an unkempt colossus. There were times last summer and fall when he was a virtual one-man opposition party, the guy who went regularly and brazenly where the Democratic standard bearers feared to tread, the one unafraid to roughhouse with George W. Bush over his family's links to the Saudis or his slow-motion response on the morning the planes hit the towers.

In fact, one key to the success of *Fahrenheit 9/11* was its willingness to humili-

behold the excruciating particulars of Christ's suffering, Gibson obliges them to confront what he has called "the enormity of that sacrifice. To see that someone could endure that and still come back with love and forgiveness."

However fiercely they believed in what they were doing, there were times early on when Gibson and Moore both thought they might be turning out fairly humble products. "A small film" is what Gibson once called his picture. "Another little documentary" is how Moore says he thought of his. It's understandable. Neither film seemed like box-office gold

before it opened. *Fahrenheit 9/11* would have graphic footage of Iraqi war casualties and no stars, unless you count the President and Moore himself. *The Passion of the Christ* was an even longer shot. Not only would it have no big stars but it would have a 9-min. whipping scene and dialogue in Latin and Aramaic. Not exactly a date movie, unless your date is the type who thinks flagellation and subtitles make a movie kind of cool and European.

As it turned out, of course, *The Passion of the Christ* and *Fahrenheit 9/11* were very big projects. While ticket sales are

not what made them important, their grosses—that perfect word for Hollywood's most tireless preoccupation—made the world outside Hollywood pay attention to them. By now, *The Passion of the Christ* has earned more than \$370 million in the U.S.—the ninth highest domestic take of all time—plus an additional \$240 million abroad. It's not that cynicism about religion didn't also continue to sell this year. So did knuckleheaded sensationalism. (You have heard, perhaps, of *The Da Vinci Code*?) But Gibson recognized that there was an audience, particularly in the wake of the Sept. 11 attacks, for simple, direct piety, with no trace of irony or insubordination. For *Fahrenheit 9/11*, the box-office figures are lower but still out of the ballpark for a documentary—\$119 million at home, \$101 million outside the U.S. That's enough to make it the 13th highest-grossing film of the year.

As everyone everywhere probably knows, both films benefited hugely from prerelease controversy. Moore saw his film dropped by its distributor, Disney, after Disney's embattled chief, Michael Eisner,



Gibson and Jim Caviezel, the movie's Christ, on the set in Rome

"If you believe, you believe that there are big realms of good and evil and they're slugging it out."

ate, belittle and demystify a President with a fierceness not seen since, well, Sean Hannity, the Fox News conservative fang barer, last glared in the direction of Bill Clinton. Ferocity, after all, is what incites the passion of the audience. It was one of the things that made *The Passion of the Christ* as powerful as it was. "I wanted it to be shocking," Gibson has said. "I wanted it to push the viewer over the edge." So he made a film distinguished by brutalities so continuous that they threatened to turn the episodes of Christ's agony into "action beats," the moments of onscreen adrenaline that screenwriters are taught to provide every few scenes to keep the audience satisfied. But the bloodshed has a point. By forcing the film's viewers to

decided he didn't want his company too closely associated with a picture that went after the President with the gloves off. For three weeks—during which it won the top prize at the Cannes Film Festival—*Fahrenheit 9/11* was a movie orphan but also, by the end of that time, a much publicized one. And once it opened, Moore was subjected to criticism, and not just from the right, that he had glided over the malign nature of Saddam's regime to show pictures of kite-flying Iraqi children and that he had clouded the presentation of his claims. For one thing, if you left the theater with the erroneous impression that scores of Saudis flew out of the U.S. in the days right after 9/11, when civil aviation was grounded, you weren't the only one.

The Passion of the Christ, which was also turned down by the major studios, was surrounded by an even more toxic dispute, about whether it vilified Jews. Certainly the Jews are the film's heavies, howling for Christ's blood and led by their high priest, Caiaphas, a sneering villain. But is the film anti-Semitic? Truer to say that it's guilty in many places of reckless indifference to the impressions it creates.

The controversies are receding now, but the profits are still coming in. Gibson and Moore are like two kings in their countinghouses, figuring out where to go next with the much increased means they have to change the world. Gibson, who has also moved heavily into TV production with the ABC sitcom *Complete Savages*, the CBS drama *Clubhouse* and the UPN drama *Kevin Hill*, has talked about making a film about the rebellion of the Maccabees, the Jewish heroes of the Hanukkah story who defeated the Syrian Greeks and then rededicated the holy temple in Jerusalem. Moore is already at work on *Sicko*, a documentary about health care in the U.S. "I'm able now to do what I want to do," he says. "And I don't need the stamp of approval from a large studio to do it." And then there's the prospect of a *Fahrenheit 9/11* sequel, another angry romp through the pitfalls of empire and homeland security. "I'm not sure what it will be yet," Moore says. "We'll just start gathering film and shooting. We started *Fahrenheit 9/11* half-way through Bush's term. This time we'll be paying attention from the beginning."

For all their similarities, in the end what Moore and Gibson produced were films with radically different objectives: Gibson's was constructed to promote faith, Moore's to inspire doubt. *The Passion of the Christ* is the story of a man who submits himself to his fate, who tells God, "Let your will be done." And by its power the film is effectively an invitation for the viewer to submit as well, to join God's side in a cosmic battle. "If you believe," Gibson has said, "you believe that there are big realms of good and evil and they're slugging it out." Though he didn't mean his film to be a recruiting device for

son, it also became a novel weapon in that resistance. No one had ever done that before, made a film for theatrical release as a means to influence a U.S. election. As you will have noticed, the election didn't go the way Moore had hoped. But Moore may have invented a new political tradition: the documentary as campaign spitball. If partisan nonfiction films become a standard feature of American presidential elections in years to come, we will have Moore to thank for that.

There's one more way in which those men did something similar this year. At a time when the U.S. is engaged in a costly war with no end in sight, they made films that hinged on a simple, easily understood human tragedy: a mother sacrifices her son. But how each regards that sacrifice goes to the essence of the different messages their films convey. Early on in *The Passion of the Christ*, as she watches her son being led into the temple to be scorned and interrogated, Mary looks into the camera and says, "It has begun. So be it." Acceptance of what Gibson understands as God's will is at the heart of the director's message to a scornful, disobedient world and also the mantra of the religious right.

The mother in Moore's film is Lila Lipscomb, whose son Michael died in Iraq. Moore presents her at first as a self-described "conservative Democrat," patriotic and proud of her boy in uniform. But his death leads her to question much that she believes, above all about the war. Late in the film, Lipscomb is confronted by a woman on the street in Washington who first doubts that Lipscomb lost a son in Iraq, then tells her to blame it on al-Qaeda. But the grieving mother doesn't accept that al-Qaeda was linked to Iraq, and at that point she cries out the words that could be Moore's working motto: "People think they know, but you don't know!"

Moore's working motto? Gibson's too. For all the things that separated them this year, both directors worked from the same script—to convey the truth, or at least the truth as they see it, to a world in urgent need of it. People think they know, but you don't know. Who could have imagined there would be so many millions of people ready to hear their pitch? Almost no one—except them. ■



Moore in a scene with Lila Lipscomb, who lost her son Michael in Iraq

"My film dovetails with the rest of Jesus' life. It connects to his message about questioning authority."

any particular political party, its huge success further galvanized evangelical Christian groups at the very time they were pressing forward with their "moral values" agenda.

Fahrenheit 9/11, meanwhile, is the work of a man who sees the present in no less apocalyptic terms. But he thinks of the contending forces not as supernatural but more as bad guys who operate behind a veil of secrecy and illusion. And so Moore made a movie to pierce the veil, one opposed to faith, at least faith in government. Opposed to obedience too. It was a call to arms to resist the course of events set in motion by the disputed first election of George W. And because Moore dropped his film into the middle of campaign sea-

VIKTOR YUSHCHENKO *edy* electronic magazine group

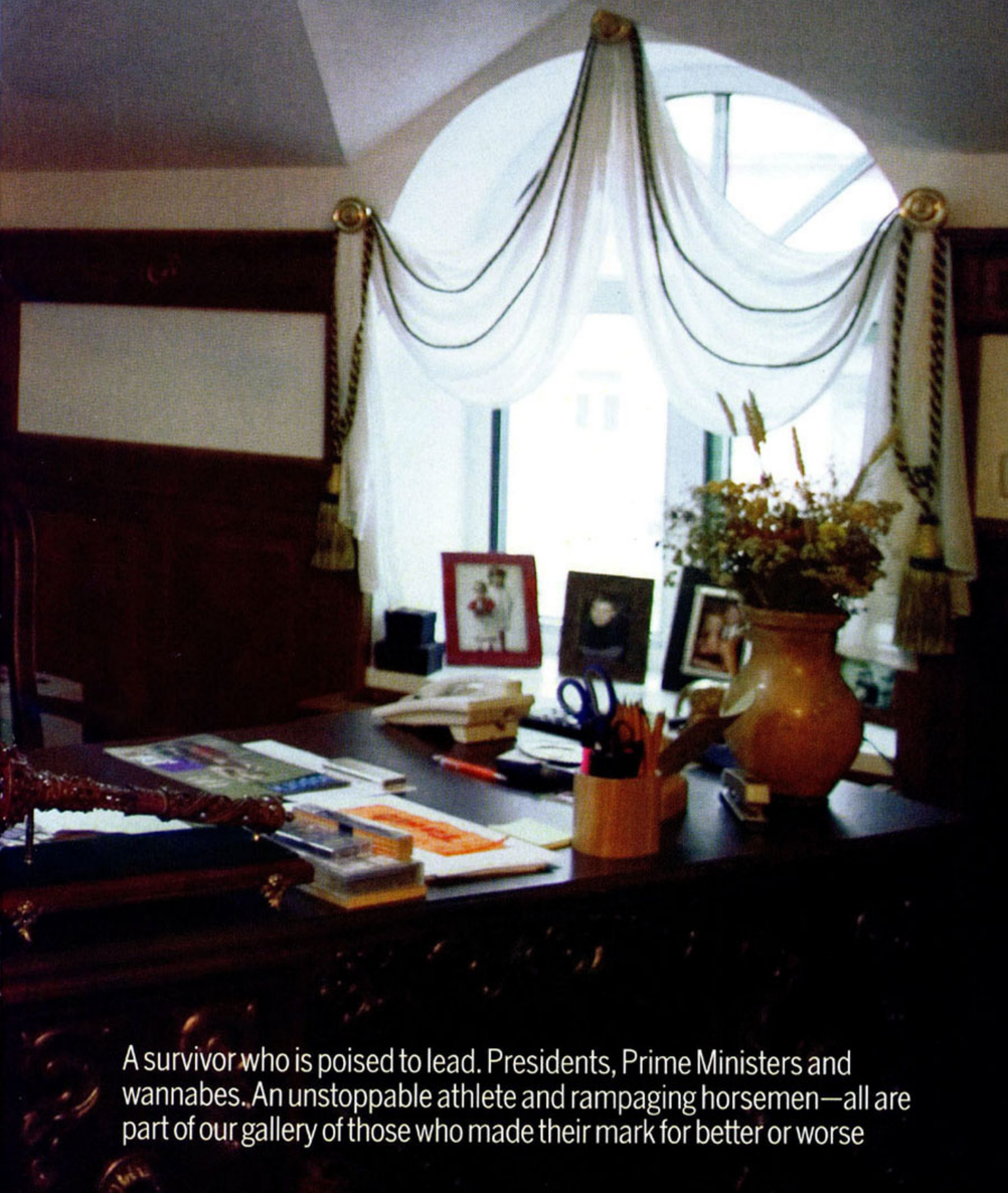
Even more than his rousing words, it was the disfigured face of Ukraine's opposition candidate—caused by dioxin poisoning—that spoke volumes about the high stakes of that country's presidential race. Yushchenko, here in his Kiev office, also survived rigged elections, standing up to authoritarian powers with the help of demonstrations by supporters. With a new vote scheduled for Dec. 26, he may soon become the face of a more democratic Ukraine.

Photograph for TIME by Yuri Kozyrev

People Who Mattered 2004

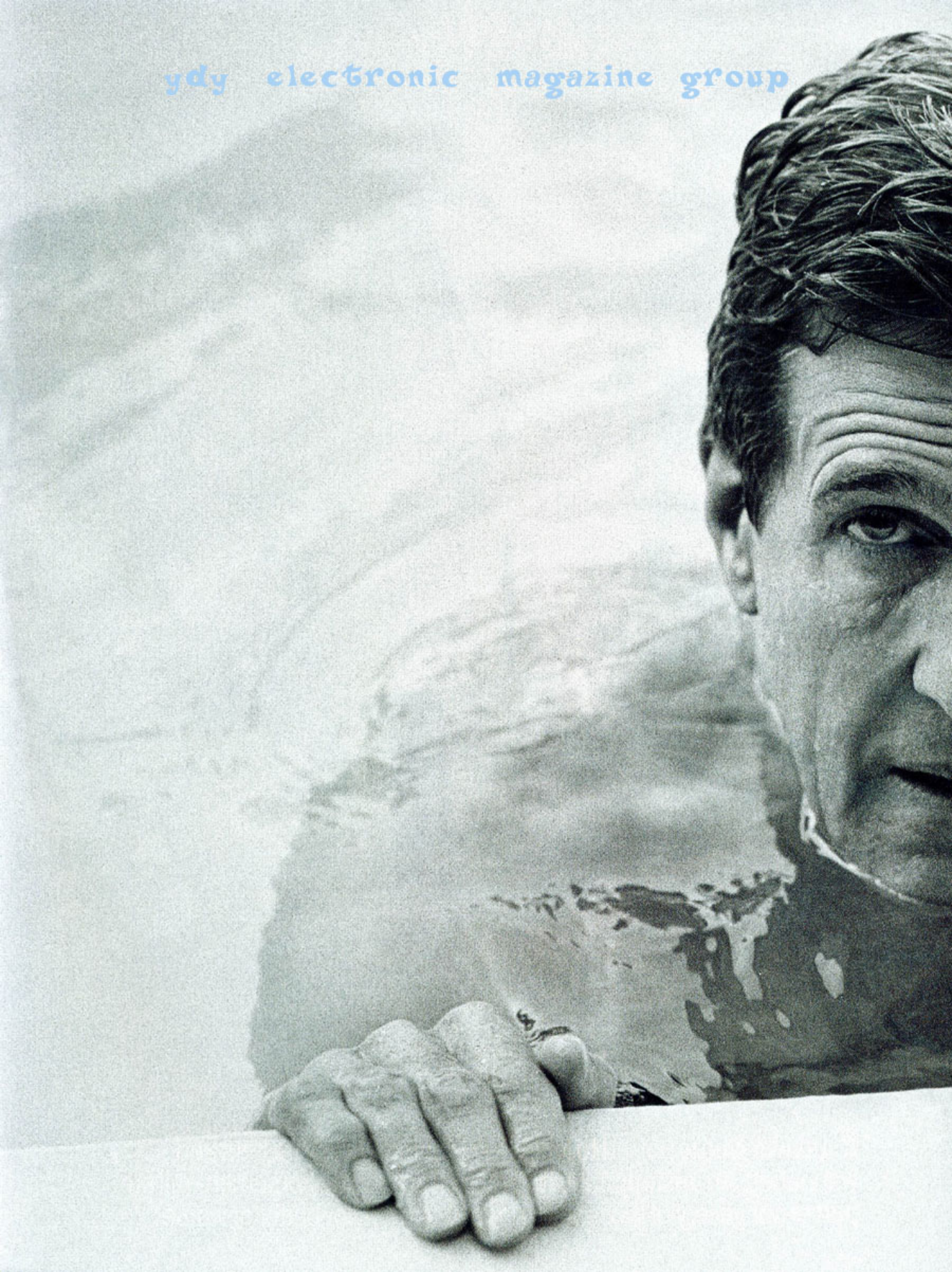


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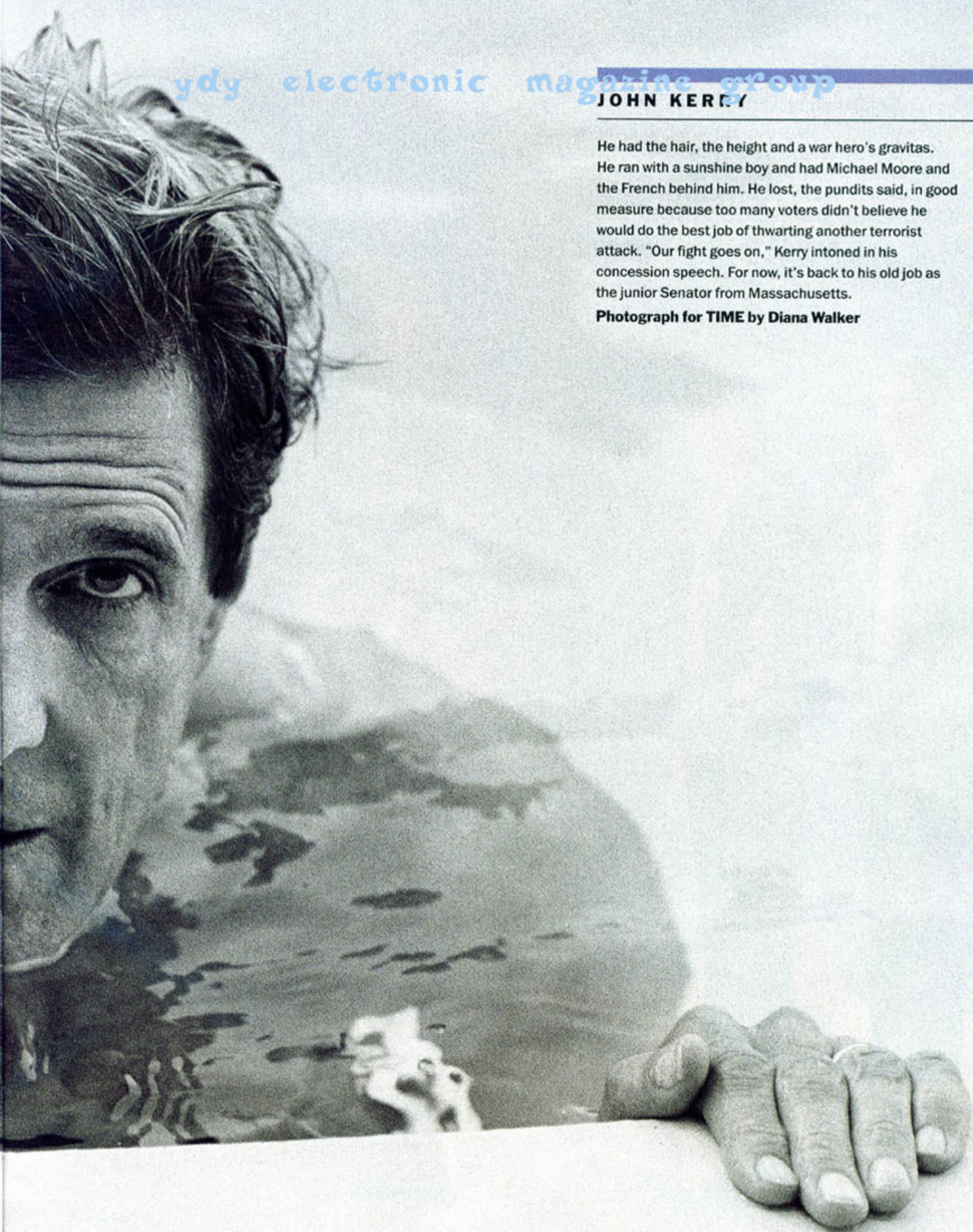
A survivor who is poised to lead. Presidents, Prime Ministers and wannabes. An unstoppable athlete and rampaging horsemen—all are part of our gallery of those who made their mark for better or worse

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He had the hair, the height and a war hero's gravitas. He ran with a sunshine boy and had Michael Moore and the French behind him. He lost, the pundits said, in good measure because too many voters didn't believe he would do the best job of thwarting another terrorist attack. "Our fight goes on," Kerry intoned in his concession speech. For now, it's back to his old job as the junior Senator from Massachusetts.

Photograph for TIME by Diana Walker



GAVIN NEWSOM

edy electronic magazine group

After letting 4,000 same-sex couples marry despite California's own ban, San Francisco's mayor was a star of the left. But by Election Day, when 11 other states barred gay marriage, many blamed Newsom for unwittingly helping the President win a second term.

Photo-Illustration for TIME by Glen Wexler



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YDY
IYAD ALLAWI

electronic magazine group

Appointed in June, Iraq's interim Prime Minister has played the tough guy, reinstating the death penalty, backing U.S.-led assaults on Najaf and Fallujah, imposing martial law. Allawi, with security in tow at Baghdad airport, vowed to work for a "united Iraq where brotherhood and justice prevail." Next step: convince skeptical Iraqi voters he's no U.S. stooge.

Photograph by Marco Di Lauro—Reuters/Pool



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HAMID KARZAI

Amid ethnic tensions, threats of violence and vocal naysayers, Hamid Karzai became Afghanistan's first democratically elected President. Now he has to deliver on his promises to root out heroin production and gain control over a country still primarily ruled by warlords—and the reconstituted Taliban. Karzai is proud of the new paved road from Kabul to Kandahar, but he has a long road ahead before he can claim victory.

Photograph for TIME by Zalmi—Redux

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ARIEL SHARON

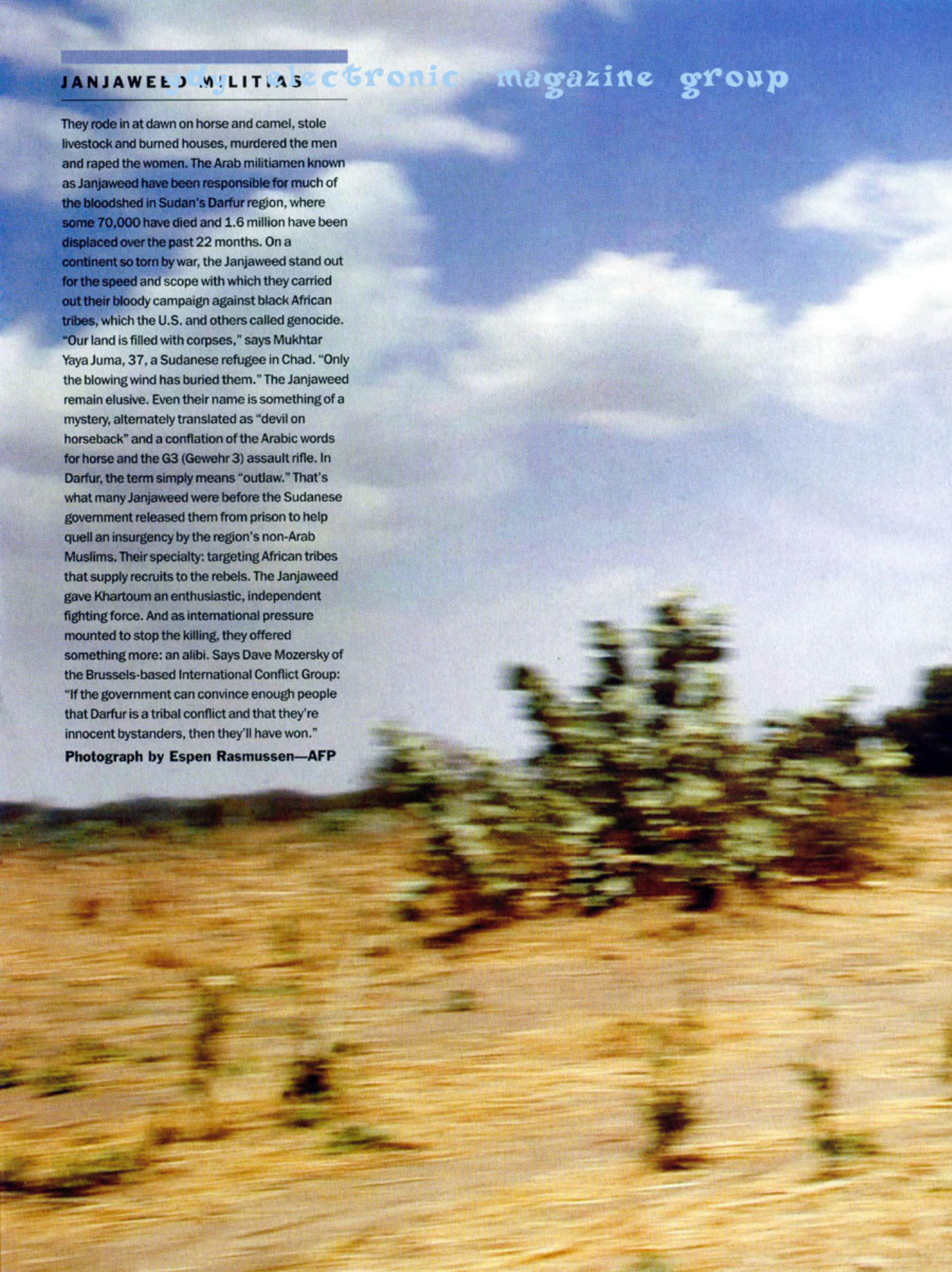
Standing resolute, Israel's Prime Minister survived a corruption scandal, outlasted his archrival Yasser Arafat and plowed ahead with a bold plan to remove Israeli settlements from the Gaza Strip. Branded a traitor by the settler movement he had fueled as an Agriculture Minister in the 1970s, Sharon, here at his Negev ranch, finally acknowledged that the "sword alone" would never provide Israel with true security. Whether the old hawk will prove himself a peacemaker once the Palestinians have elected a new leader is an open question.

**Photograph by Sarah Lee—
Eyevine/Zuma**

JANJAWEE MILITIAS electronic magazine group

They rode in at dawn on horse and camel, stole livestock and burned houses, murdered the men and raped the women. The Arab militiamen known as Janjaweed have been responsible for much of the bloodshed in Sudan's Darfur region, where some 70,000 have died and 1.6 million have been displaced over the past 22 months. On a continent so torn by war, the Janjaweed stand out for the speed and scope with which they carried out their bloody campaign against black African tribes, which the U.S. and others called genocide. "Our land is filled with corpses," says Mukhtar Yaya Juma, 37, a Sudanese refugee in Chad. "Only the blowing wind has buried them." The Janjaweed remain elusive. Even their name is something of a mystery, alternately translated as "devil on horseback" and a conflation of the Arabic words for horse and the G3 (Gewehr 3) assault rifle. In Darfur, the term simply means "outlaw." That's what many Janjaweed were before the Sudanese government released them from prison to help quell an insurgency by the region's non-Arab Muslims. Their specialty: targeting African tribes that supply recruits to the rebels. The Janjaweed gave Khartoum an enthusiastic, independent fighting force. And as international pressure mounted to stop the killing, they offered something more: an alibi. Says Dave Mozersky of the Brussels-based International Conflict Group: "If the government can convince enough people that Darfur is a tribal conflict and that they're innocent bystanders, then they'll have won."

Photograph by Espen Rasmussen—AFP



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HU JINTAO

Once upon a time, he was just a bureaucrat from the provinces. Now, after the first orderly transfer of power in China's communist history, Hu is the undisputed leader of Asia's economic engine. Since taking over as military chief in September, China's President has resisted calls to revalue the currency, pushed to moderate growth and targeted the gap between rich and poor. While stressing good relations with key trading partners, including the U.S., Hu hasn't got too friendly. Western-style democracy, he has said, is a "blind alley."

Photograph by Eric Hadj—SIPA



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LANCE ARMSTRONG

Appearing relaxed as he took a break from training in Megève, France, the 32-year-old Texan pedaled on to a record sixth straight Tour de France title. Dogged by rumors of doping—despite his denials and negative drug tests—he explained the historic feat by saying, “Everything went perfectly.” His yellow jersey shared honors with his yellow Live Strong wristbands, which help raise cancer awareness—and millions for research.

Photograph by Jonas Karlsson



One Last Goodbye



“Trust and love are wonderful, but don’t forget the earrings.”

ESTÉE LAUDER,

founder of the Lauder cosmetics empire, advising mothers on what they should bequeath to their daughters-in-law

YASSER ARAFAT

From Revolutionary To Recalcitrant

The crude joke in Israel is that Yasser Arafat deserves a second Nobel Peace Prize—for dying. Arafat, felled by a mysterious illness, had spent his early career championing the cause of Palestinian nationhood. But his final legacy was shaped by his refusal to accept compromises that could have achieved that dream. The kaffiyeh-clad fighter drove the Palestinian cause onto the global agenda through brute violence and

canny propaganda. As a revolutionary in exile, he invented TV terrorism and tenaciously waged long-distance guerrilla war. Though Palestinians never stopped loving him for his devotion to their cause, they might have fared better under a more flexible ruler. When Arafat came home to the occupied territories as chairman of a constricted Palestinian Authority, he wasted the respect of his citizens with his corrupt,

authoritarian rule. As a diplomat, he left a lamentable trail of missed opportunities. He wanted history to revere him as the founding father of Palestine, but his inability to renounce violence cost him and the Palestinians the international allies they needed to achieve independence. Israel and the U.S. finally cast him out as a negotiating partner. Small wonder, then, that those he led and those who loathed him see in his death the best chance in years to make peace. —*By Johanna McGeary*



GENEVIEVE CHAUVEL—CORBIS SYGMA

“Those who say that we’re in a time when there are no heroes, they just don’t know where to look.”

RONALD REAGAN,
in the Inaugural Address
as he began his first term as
U.S. President in 1981

MARLON BRANDO

Remembering the Lightning Strikes

Two kinds of loss had to be reckoned when Marlon Brando died. One was his squandering of his potential during so many of his later years, when, bloated and cynical, he got hung up on causes, became entangled in personal turmoil,

For many people today, alas, the later Brando looms larger than the earlier. His innovative legacy is scarcely noticed because it has been so thoroughly absorbed by other actors (“He gave us our freedom,” Jack Nicholson said). His



HULTON ARCHIVE—GETTY IMAGES

appeared in mediocre (or worse) movies, and poured contempt on his profession as “a bum’s life . . . it all adds up to nothing.” The other was the loss to us of the transcendent gift that he displayed in a succession of 1950s films like *A Streetcar Named Desire* and *On the Waterfront*, and that flared again briefly in the ’70s with *The Godfather* and *Last Tango in Paris*. In such roles he transformed movie acting, taking it to a new level of startling intensity and achingly honest emotion.

original achievement seems too remote, too scattered among a mere handful of films. But perhaps any artist can be defined the way Randall Jarrell once defined a poet, as “someone who manages, in a lifetime of standing out in thunderstorms, to be struck by lightning five or six times.” Five or six great performances in a career of six decades may not seem like a lot. Yet in Brando’s case, the brilliance of those thunderbolts will blaze for a very long time. —**By Christopher Porterfield**



NORMAN SEEFF

RAY CHARLES

Hallelujah, He Just Sang His Soul

Almost alone among the first kings of rock 'n' roll, he was a grownup. Where Elvis and his brethren set the image of the rebellious teen, singing about what they wanted to do, Ray Charles—totally blind from age 7, raised in an orphanage, then on the road and on his own from 17—sang about what he had been through. His voice rasped like a man whose heart is in his throat and has just been broken.

"Sinatra, and Bing Crosby before him, had been a master of words," Henry Pleasants wrote in *The Great American Popular Singers*. "Ray Charles is a master of sounds." Wailing or grunting, he sang the blues with a gospel intensity, and his piano was the 88-key choir that shouted back. He shocked the faithful

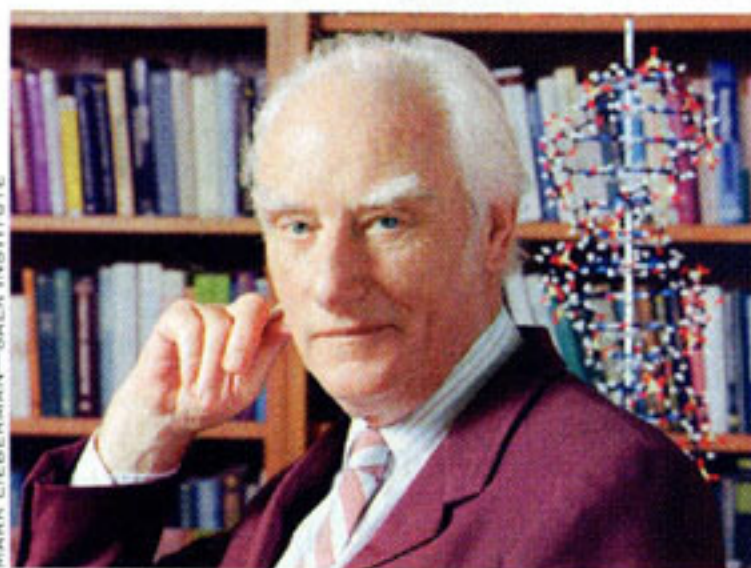
by secularizing old church songs—turning *This Little Light of Mine*, say, into *This Little Girl of Mine*. But that's just what rock did: blend Sunday-morning fervor with Saturday-night fever.

As restless a music lover as he was a womanizer, Charles became a rock star with the epochally orgasmic *What'd I Say*, attacked pop standards and country songs with an inspired musicianship, refashioned *America the Beautiful* into an iconic hymn. He toured for decades, radiating an

indefatigable electricity.

For all the perks of stardom—the money, the women, the heroin (which he kicked in the '60s), the ubiquitous label "genius"—Charles never regained his sight. He still couldn't see that little light. He had to be it. And for a half-century he was.

—By Richard Corliss



MARK LIEBERMAN—SALK INSTITUTE

"It's true that in blundering about, we struck gold, but the fact remains we were looking for gold—asking the right question."

FRANCIS CRICK, on his collaboration with James Watson and the late Maurice Wilkins in discovering the double-helix structure of DNA, key to the fundamental biochemistry of life

"I've been in a great many films, but I suppose if an actor can be remembered for one role, then they're very fortunate."

JANET LEIGH, actress whose 53-year Hollywood career was overshadowed by her role as Marion Crane, who is slashed to death in a motel shower in Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho*

EVERETT COLLECTION



Not soon, as late as the approach of my ninetieth year,

I felt a door opening in me and I entered

the clarity of early morning.

One after another my former lives were departing,

like ships, together with their sorrow.

And the countries, cities, gardens, the bays of seas

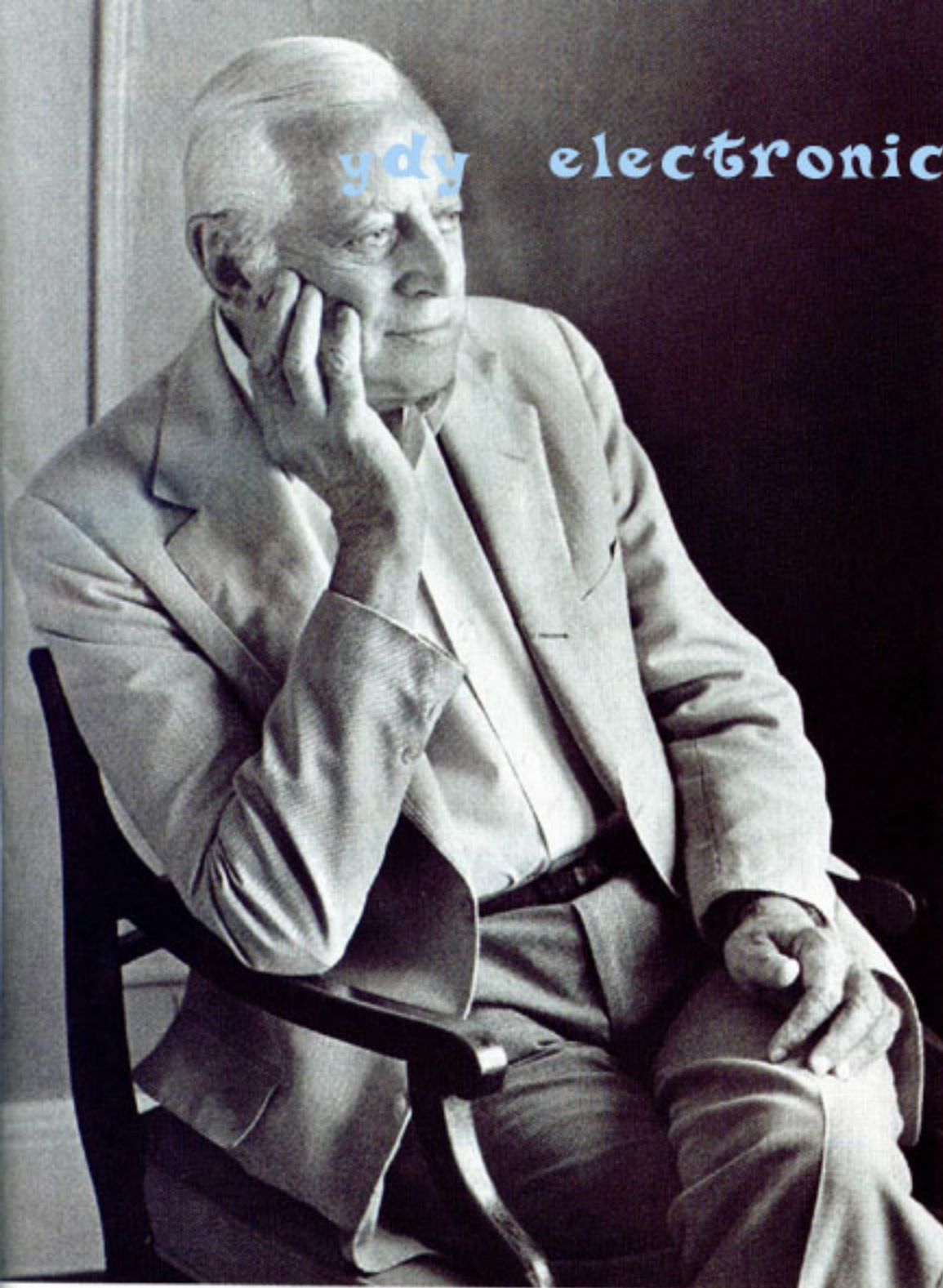
assigned to my brush came closer, ready now to be described better than they were before.

CZESLAW MILOSZ,

Nobel-prizewinning Polish poet, from his 2001 poem *Late Ripeness*



OZONOK—SIPA



ALISTAIR COOKE

Postmark, America

Obituarists like to say the world will not see the likes of their subject again, and the phrase is usually tosh. In the case of Alistair Cooke it is, sadly, all too true. Not just because, in an age when people hop like sparrows from fad to fad, he did one thing supremely well for 58 years; not just because the art form at which he excelled—the spoken essay—has all but passed into history; much more because he epitomized a view of America in all its wondrous generosity that few Europeans now seem able to muster.

Cooke arrived in the U.S. in the 1930s and loved its size, its

openness, its absence of snobbery, as only a scholarship boy from the northwest of England could. To Americans, he became known as a TV presenter, first of *Omnibus*, later of the 13-part series *America* and then as the avuncular host of PBS's *Masterpiece Theatre*. But in his native land it was his radio letters—weekly homilies on everything from Watergate to 9/11 and

on everyone from Bobby Jones to Bobby Kennedy—by which he was known. He loved America both wisely and well, and if there were those who complained that he ignored his adopted country's faults, there were millions more of his listeners who heard Cooke's descriptions of New York City, Washington and San Francisco and determined to come to America. I was one of them.

—By Michael Elliott



“When I’m in New York, I look at the Empire State Building and feel as though it belongs to me, or is it vice versa?”

FAY WRAY, Hollywood star of silent films and early talkies, best known for her role in *King Kong* as leading lady to the giant ape who carried her up the famed skyscraper

“Every day is an adventure. But I can’t say that I feel unlucky or cursed.”

CHRISTOPHER REEVE, onetime Hollywood Superman, left a quadriplegic after a horseback-riding accident in 1995



BRENDA FASSIE

Too Late for Mama

When the South African pop diva Brenda Fassie had what is now known as a “wardrobe malfunction” while making her U.S. debut three years ago, there were no coy apologies. Grabbing

the bare breasts that popped out of her dress, Fassie thrust them at the Washington club crowd and declared, “This is Africa!” Dubbed the Madonna of the townships by TIME in 2001, the provoca-

tive and mercurial Fassie loved to shock. But she also awed a continent with her versatile, power-packed voice, and counted Muammar Gaddafi and Nelson Mandela among her legions of fans. Fassie’s musical style evolved from bubblegum to the unique township blend known as *kwaito*, bringing her massive sales and a host of awards. Along with the highs, there were lows. Fassie’s personal life—including her frank acknowledgment that she was bisexual and a drug addict—became tabloid fodder. In May, cardiac arrest at age 39 silenced her unique voice.

—By Maryann Bird



JULIA CHILD

A French Chef for The Rest of Us

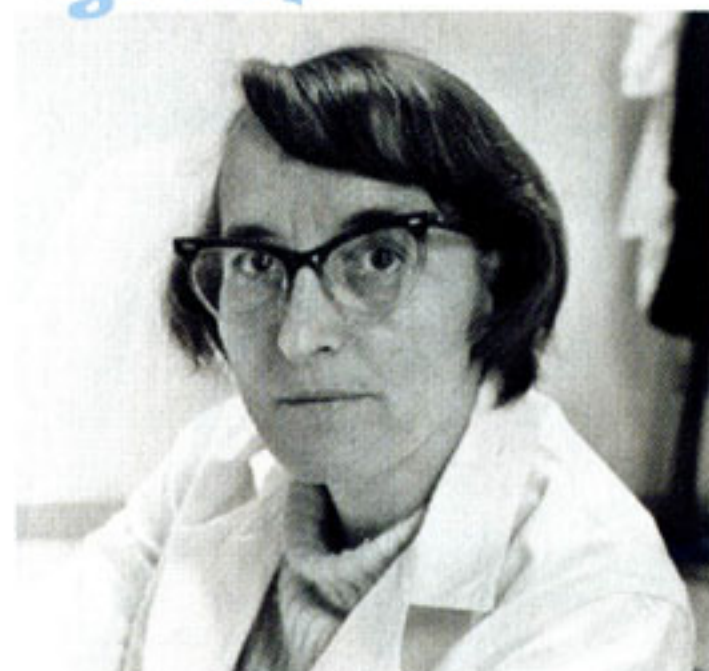
There was a time when "French" was a compliment in the U.S. After World War II, many Americans went to Europe and had meals that would change their lives. Julia Child was one of them. Visiting Rouen with her husband in 1948, she had a lunch of oysters and sole meunière that, she recalled, "I never got over." Neither, in a way, did America. She enrolled in cooking school, and with two colleagues wrote the two-volume opus *Mastering the Art of French Cooking*. In 1963, she brought her philosophy to the masses with her TV show, *The French Chef*. To a U.S. enamored of canned string beans and TV dinners, her lessons were a revelation:

fresh food tastes better, and you don't have to be a chef to cook and eat well. It was her personality as much as her expertise that popularized her message. At 1.8 m, she was a natural ham, and she handled her on-camera missteps so cheerfully that she persuaded a generation of viewers that they could do anything she could. She was unpretentious without ever dumbing down her subject, and her longevity was the best answer to the dietary absolutists convinced that a little butter will kill you. Perhaps it will, but so, in the end, will life. Child, who lived to 91, had her fill of both.

—By James Poniewozik

"Dying is nothing to fear. It can be the most wonderful experience ... It all depends on how you have lived."

ELISABETH KUBLER-ROSS,
Swiss psychiatrist and author of the
groundbreaking book *On Death and Dying*



"You become obsessed with the craft, and it's all you think about."

TONY RANDALL, stage,
film and TV star (*The Odd Couple's*
Felix Unger), on why he loved acting



PIERRE SALINGER

The Man Who Spoke For John F. Kennedy

"Without him, I'm nothing," Pierre Salinger once jovially confessed to a few reporters in Paris, referring to his boss, John F. Kennedy. Salinger, a legendary bon vivant who was a child piano prodigy and later an investigative reporter before being named Kennedy's press secretary, was sipping cognac in the elegant Lasserre restaurant, on his way to the 1961 Vienna summit. Salinger immediately grasped the implications of Kennedy's meeting with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev. "This was a rough meeting," Salinger later confided to reporters. "Tough times ahead."

Salinger initially struggled in his job, since the new President was used to dealing directly with his many friends in the media. But Salinger soon mastered the trade. He helped orchestrate Kennedy's

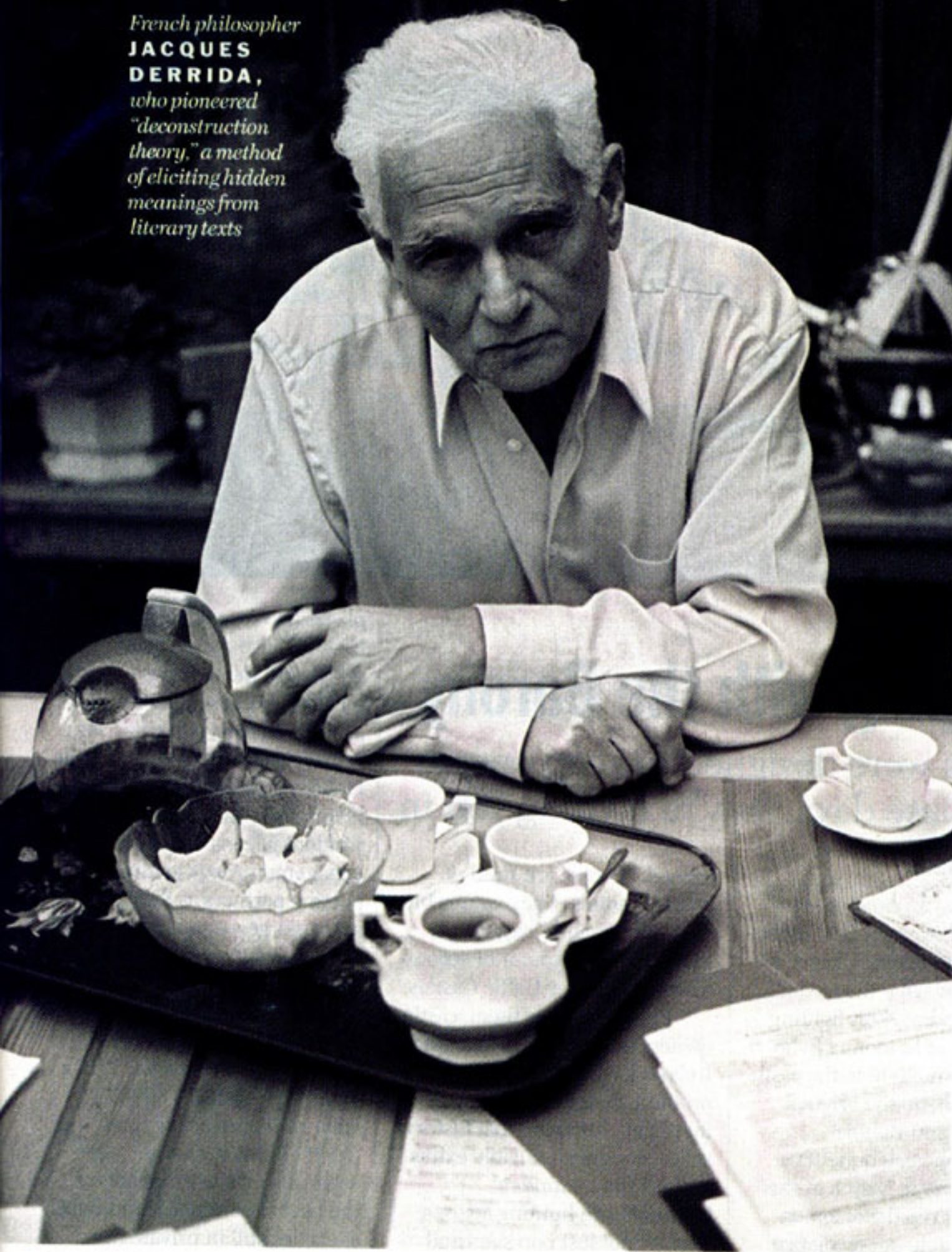
live news conferences, which he termed "the best show in town," and happily admitted to planting questions. When steel price hikes in 1962 prompted Kennedy to erupt privately, "My father always told me [Big Steel men] were s.o.b.s," Salinger promptly leaked the profanity



to the press. Big Steel rolled back the increases. And he held off questions about Kennedy's rumored womanizing with a blunt "What proof have you got?" Years later, such answers wouldn't do it, but Salinger kept the issue off the table. —By Hugh Sidey

“How can another see into me,
into my most secret self, without my
being able to see in there myself?”

French philosopher
**JACQUES
DERRIDA**,
who pioneered
“deconstruction
theory,” a method
of eliciting hidden
meanings from
literary texts



magazine group MILESTONES



JOHN PEEL

Teen Dream-Catcher

Radio DJs are not supposed to matter this much: when John Peel died, philosophers and politicians lined up with the bands and the fans to pay tribute. Feargal Sharkey, lead singer of the Undertones, called him “the single most important broadcaster we have ever known.” Sharkey owed Peel, of course. Not because the Liverpool-born BBC disc jockey chose the Undertones’ *Teenage Kicks* as the “most perfect record ever made,” but because if

in 1978 Peel hadn’t played their self-financed single, even those inclined to agree with him would never have heard it. The gesture was typical of Peel, an agent provocateur who locked himself in the BBC’s studios in 1967, ripped up the playlist, and stayed there for 37 years championing upstarts and “out-there.” Pink Floyd and David Bowie got their first airing and recorded classic live “Peel Sessions” before he opened the door to punks like the Damned and post-punks like New Order. Later still, he spotted Blur and the White Stripes in the four mail sacks of demos he got each week. And even when his late-night fixations on thrash like Napalm Death got to be too much, we still gave thanks that Peel was there to listen for us. —By

Michael Brunton

“We shall get out of this crisis ... To hold fast and go ahead is the best way to honor my brother’s memory.”

Fiat chairman **UMBERTO AGNELLI**, rallying his company after the death of his legendary brother Gianni. He died 16 months later



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KNIGHT LIFE:
A room at
Skibo Castle

TIME TRAVELER

Sleeping with the Barony

Castles were designed to keep people out. These days, they're inviting you in

By **NICK EASEN**

THE VIKINGS FOUNDED THE Scottish stronghold of Skibo in the 9th century, but it is hard to know what they would make of it today. After fighting off the likes of Madonna (who got married in 2000 in the castle that was built on the original Viking site) and Robbie Williams (who celebrated his birthday there in March of this year), the intrepid Norsemen would probably not recognize their 1,000-year-old home. Where once there were serfs, there are now staff, and a golf course stands on former grazing land. Such is the world of 21st century castles.

From Scotland to southern England, castles have always been among Britain's most popular tourist attractions. They're a top lure in Ireland as well. But, travelers, bored with chain motels and overpriced bed-and-breakfasts, are finding the idea of sleeping in a historical monument attractive

indeed. "People are tired of country hotels. They want a bit more personality," says Roger Masterson, proprietor of accommodation agency Celtic Castles.

Eager to oblige them, castle owners throughout Britain and Ireland have been damp-proofing dungeons and touching up turrets, knowing that history sells—along with billable extras such as spa treatments, banquets and hunting lessons. And it's not just pop stars and other celebrities who can afford to swap blue jeans for the blue-blood life. If you and 11 friends can split the minimum \$4,565 charge (about \$380 each), then the Irish castle of Lismore is yours for the night. It comes with a butler, a banqueting hall seating 75, a game room and a vintage collection of *Vogue* magazines that once belonged to Fred Astaire's sister. tel: (353-58) 54424; www.lismorecastle.com

Castle stays are also ideal for old-fashioned romancing. Just think of all those roaring fire-

places and Jacobean four-poster beds. "I have had so many people ask me to choose a castle for them because they want to propose to their partners," says Antony Sherlock of Scotts Castle Holidays. Dalhousie Castle, near Edinburgh, has even trained its resident falcons to deliver engagement rings to unsuspecting partners as they picnic in the gorgeous grounds. Should your beloved's answer be yes, you can exchange vows in the castle's very own candlelit chapel without further ado. Double rooms cost from \$315 a night. tel: (44-1875) 820153; www.dalhousiecastle.co.uk

If all this fires your enthusiasm, a word of advice: the best experiences tend to be at castles still in private hands. Some are even run by descendants of the original owners. About 1½ hours' drive from Glasgow, on the shores of Loch Fyne, is Castle Lachlan. When you check in, it's often Euan MacLachlan, the clan chief himself, who gives you the room key along with lessons in local lore. If that doesn't beat watching the History Channel in your motel room, what does? A three-night hire of the castle costs around \$2,900. tel: (44-1369) 860669; www.castle-lachlan.co.uk



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STYLE WATCH

Toile Gets a Makeover

The traditional pattern shakes its fussy image as designers give it a new look

TOILE DE JOUY, THAT PRETTY print strewn with idyllic scenes of the French countryside, may seem best suited for upholstering a sofa that's covered (permanently) in plastic. But designers are dusting off traditional patterns like toile and splashing them on wallpaper and trench coats.

For his spring 2005 collection for Burberry, designer Christopher Bailey drew inspiration from an English classic: blue-and-white Wedgwood ceramics. The French fabric company Pierre Frey recently introduced Hong Kong, a toile depicting its namesake city, including skyscrapers and traffic jams. And the Glasgow-based design firm Timorous Beasties' toile honors the company's hometown with a tableau of familiar local spots.

"I thought it would be great to do a toile that showed scenes of now—what people are doing in an urban environment, what they look like—but to do it as beautifully as possible," says Paul Simmons, 37, one of Timorous Beasties' designers.

From afar, Glasgow Toile is a lovely wash of red on white. But step closer, and it's not so pretty. In one scene, a junkie uses drugs in a

graveyard—"the moral tale being if you shoot up, you will literally end up in a graveyard," says Simmons.

Not all the new creations are as charged or provocative as those of Timorous Beasties (whose fabrics cost about \$120 a meter from www.timorousbeasties.com). Designer Manuel Canovas rolled out wallpapers with traditional pastoral scenes in funky color combinations like mauve on mustard and rose on lime.

You never know, though: Timorous Beasties' toile may be cutting edge now, but it could become a classic like



PRINTS Hong Kong toile, above; coat, left, by Burberry



Wedgwood someday. Simmons reports that in November he visited Buckingham Palace—where he met the Queen.

—By Kate Novack

TECH WATCH

DEAD BATTERIES? POWER UP WITH A SOLAR JACKET

Two of the most annoying things about portable gizmos are figuring out where to put them and what to do when the batteries die. The Solar Jacket from Scott eVest may help. Made of a breathable, waterproof nylon, this \$425 jacket has 30 pockets for carrying everything from an MP3 player to a cell phone. Attached to the back are solar panels that store energy in a battery that fits in any pocket. Then when, say, your digital camera needs a charge, run a USB cable from the camera to the battery. Charging takes two to five hours. Sunlight—and fashion confidence—are required.

—By Anita Hamilton



AMUSE-BOUCHE

COURSES IN ECONOMICS

You don't need to prime the credit card for a decent three-course lunch in Ho Chi Minh City: the streets of Vietnam's southern capital are lined with choice selections from the country's larder, available for marvelously small sums. Take a stroll from Ben Thanh market, along Le Thanh Ton street, and stop off at a street-side *phở* stall for your appetizer. Vietnam's signature dish of beef noodles—flavored with star anise, cilantro (coriander) and fish sauce—is a soupy snip at 30¢ per bowl.

For your main course, head to the shopping district near the Caravelle Hotel for another savory delight—on Nguyen Thiep street, you'll find hawkers selling *banh goi*. This spicy pastry pillow, also 30¢, is filled with minced pork, deep-fried while you wait, and served in a newspaper wrapper.

Still peckish? Combine a trip to nearby Saigon Zoo and

Botanical Gardens with a treat from the *che* stall at 25 Nguyen Binh Khiem street. *Che* are sweet desserts made from various combinations of fruit, beans, tapioca, sugar and sweetened coconut milk, and are hugely popular in the south of Vietnam. At this stall you'll find a refreshing *che dau*



CHEAP EATS: Ben Thanh market and surrounds

van (made with haricot beans) for a mere 5¢. Then drive it home with a digestif of *rau ma* (liquified pennywort), available from the Ben Thanh market food hall for just 25¢. That brings your three-course meal with drink to a whopping 90¢. What was that about never leaving your credit card at home? —By Graham Holliday

ydy electronic magazine group SLOVAKIA

TURNING A EUROPEAN VISION INTO A PRODUCTIVE REALITY

With its accession to the European Union in May, Slovakia's Soviet legacy of a centrally planned economy is now a distant memory. The country's reformist center-right government is focusing its attention on the next phase of modernization to create a sustainable knowledge-based economy for long-term growth.

Since 1998, the government of Prime Minister Mikuláš Dzurinda — which won a second term in 2002 in coalition with ANO, the business-friendly New Citizen's Alliance — has forged ahead with a dizzying array of reforms overhauling the tax, pensions, benefits, education and health-care systems, cutting costs, and reforming the labor market to make it far more flexible.

In particular, a 19% flat-rate tax has been introduced on all direct income, including corporate and personal. Tax has been eliminated on dividends and the whole system has been dramatically simplified with virtually no distortive exemptions, exceptions, special rates or regimes. The measures have not only cut the financial burden on business but also the cost to public finances of administering the system.

The government has also pushed through one of the most flexible labor market codes in Europe, helping to encourage business leaders to create new jobs.

These wide-ranging reforms are now clearly paying dividends: today Slovakia enjoys one of the highest rates of GDP growth in the EU averaging 4.2% between 2002 and 2004. Inflation remains stable and the government's fiscal deficit has fallen from 5.7% in 2002 to 3.5% last year.

"These reforms are above all a political achievement which reflects our vision, will and courage" says Ivan Mikloš, Slovakia's Minister of Finance, who acknowledges that while they have not been easy, the reforms are creating the conditions necessary to attract manufacturing investment, and raise living standards and wages in the longer term.

With the cheapest labor force in the EU and Central Europe, just 19% of the EU average, Slovakia has maximised the potential of its well-educated population to attract major investment, particularly in the car-manufacturing sector, which accounts for a quarter of the economy and over 30% of the foreign trade balance.

Volkswagen, Peugeot, Kia, US Steel, Holcim and Johns Manville

have all set up operations in the country. Volkswagen — the first to move in, in 1992 — has progressed from using Slovakia to simply assemble its most basic models using imported car parts to producing some of its most sophisticated vehicles, such as the Porsche Cayenne and VW Touareg, inside the country.

This shift in production from low value to higher specification goods and product development reflects Minister Mikloš's long-term vision for Slovakia. "After the completion of the structural reforms we have already embarked on," he says, "the creation of a knowledge economy as well as research and development skills will be even more important, as these are preconditions for long-term growth."

Minister Mikloš adds that with wages low Slovakia now has a window of opportunity — that won't last forever — to invest in education and skills, which will allow the country to compete with other modern post-industrial economies.

"Price convergence (between the EU average and Slovakia) will be a long-term process so the advantage of low wages will remain for a relatively long time, during which we can develop a knowledge economy," he says citing special programs to encourage information technology, research and development initiatives.

Pavol Rusko, the Minister of Economy agrees, pointing out that Slovakia has a long tradition in mechanical engineering, which the country should take advantage of to create highly-trained specialists in automotive design and production. He argues that the goal of the reform program must be to ensure a business environment that encourages higher value-added industries, while production itself gradually shifts east to less sophisticated economies.

"In 20 years we hope not to be manufacturing the cars but designing them," Minister Rusko says. "By then, the quality and advanced skills of the workforce will be our major competitive advantage and not wages."



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Štefan Rosina
President of Matador

MATADOR CELEBRATES 100 YEARS OF SUCCESS.

In 2005 Matador, Slovakia's rubber manufacturing industry leader, will celebrate 100 years of change and transformation that mirrors that of the country itself. Established in 1905, Matador became known as Barum after the war, until management bought out the company in 1993 during the break up of the former Czechoslovakia and restored its original name. Today a

fully-privatized holding structure, Matador has launched overseas joint ventures and is looking for further potential new business partners.

THE COLUMNIST INTERVIEWS MR. ŠTEFAN ROSINA

President and chairman of the Board of Directors of MATADOR

Matador is already involved in several joint ventures. What can you tell us about these?

In 1995 we initiated discussions with Russian partners about the possibility of manufacturing in Russia, following the threat of a new Russian anti-import policy. We received several joint venture offers, chose to work with a company from Omsk and started production there after moving surplus machinery from our plant in Púchov, Slovakia. The production capacity of MATADOR Omskshina JV has doubled in recent years and today exceeds two million car tires per year. Next year that figure should rise again to some three million tires.

In 1998 we started our second joint venture with Continental from Germany. CONTINENTAL MATADOR JV produces truck tires at our plant in Púchov. The joint venture is a manufacturing agreement only and so Matador and Continental remain competitors on the market. The main advantage of the deal for Matador is that we enjoy 24% of the production capacity without investing in any research and development.

Our third joint venture was launched in April this year, when Matador bought 61% of the Addis Tyre Company in Ethiopia, which was built in 1972 by Czechoslovak technicians. This move will allow us to establish the Matador brand in the African market.

Matador has four strategic business units (SBUs). Please tell us more about each of them.

In 1998 Matador was divided into four strategic business units to complement the company's new strategic vision:

- The tire SBU is Matador's core business, representing 72% of the company's turnover. Our short-term three-year strategy in this sector is to continue the expansion of the four companies in Púchov, Omsk, Addis and the JV Continental-Matador in Púchov, and to produce 10 million tires per year within the next five years.
- The second SBU is conveyor belts, which we produce both in steel and textiles. The yearly turnover of this unit is around €25-30 million and sales are mainly concentrated in the Czech Republic, Ukraine, Russia and Germany.
- The third SBU deals with machinery equipment for tire production. Some 50% of the turnover comes from exports, which go mostly to China, India, Afghanistan and Iran.

magazine group

Our new automotive SBU produces parts and chassis for cars. Production will be based on our experience and know-how gained in tire and machinery production. We started this unit using specialist robotic equipment.

We also have our own research institute that opened in 1987. This year we will spend about €7.5 million on research and development. Every year we invest some €30 million in processes across the whole group, and with the new project in Ethiopia this figure will increase to €40 million per year.

What type of company are you looking for as a potential business partner?

We are particularly looking for partners for the automotive SBU — for molding, iron parts, robotics and chassis. In developing this SBU we have two choices: to either develop systems ourselves and try to get contracts with new car companies, or to create a joint venture with companies that need space, well-educated people and production capacity, but that could also gain from our research institute and its know-how. Hence, we are offering not only increased production capacity, but also a young and reactive system that is willing and able to cooperate.

Matador is moving into production areas that require a higher level of skills than your traditional ones. How do you find the academic abilities you need to support this development?

Education and training have become an integral part of business at Matador. We helped to establish a faculty of the University of Trenčín in Púchov, which produces more than 25 graduates each year, about 30% of which come to work for us. During their university years the students participate in Matador training programs and therefore do not need a long training period when they start working for us after graduation. We are also working together with other companies, such as Volkswagen, on projects at secondary education level so that students are better prepared for university. This project welcomes students from all over the world and this year we will receive students from Ethiopia, China and Finland.

Matador is the biggest Slovak exporter. What explains this success?

The innovation of the product portfolio, the maintenance of international quality certificates and production standards are the basis of our successful export policy. However, we would like to stress that our top quality machines and equipment for the rubber industry also play an important role in our strategy in international markets. Exports of our conveyor belts are also strong and in addition to our traditionally successful markets of the former CEFTA countries and Russia, sales to the EU — Germany, Great Britain and Ireland among others — are also growing. Finally, I expect our market position to improve as a result of the Slovak Republic joining the European Union.



The Columnist

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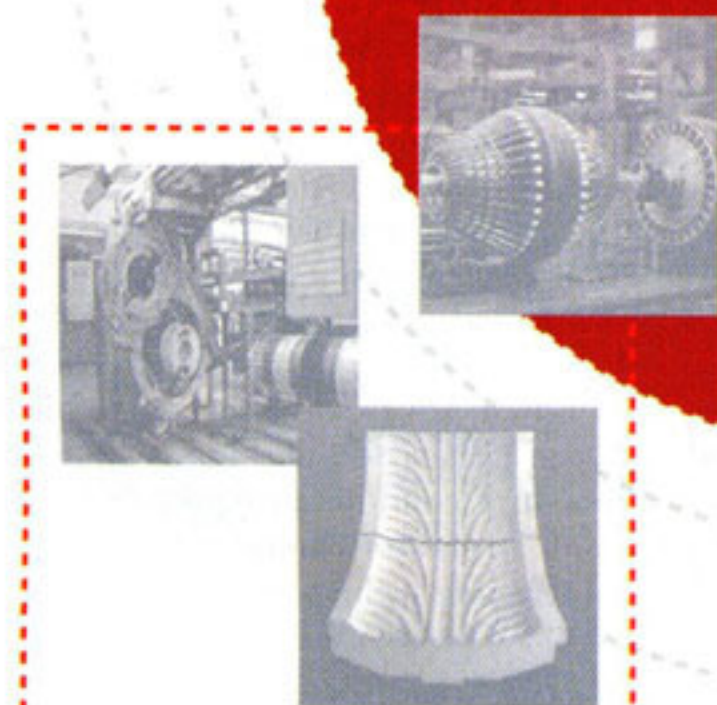
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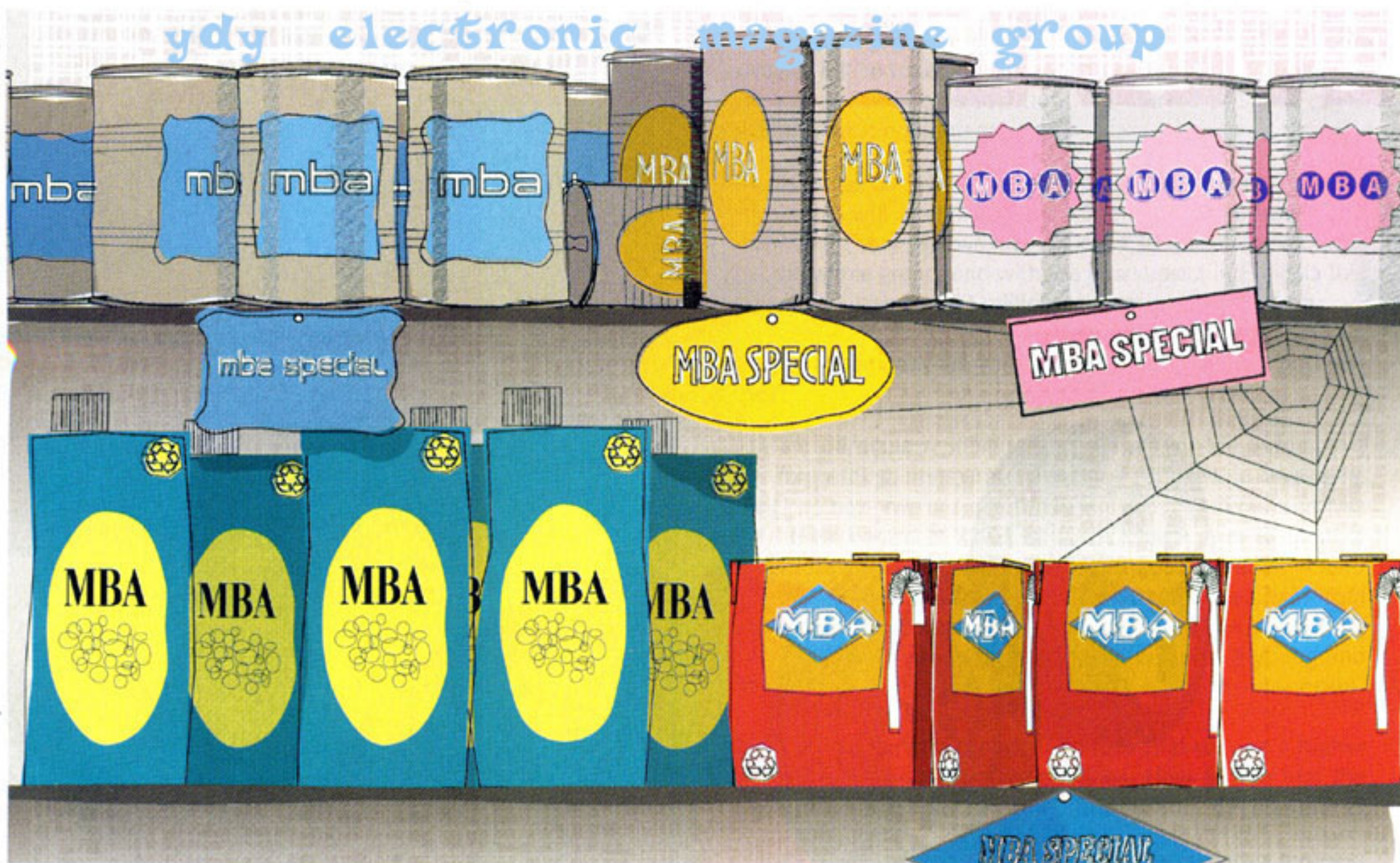


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Branding the MBA

Branding has become big news in business schools. In the UK, Imperial College Management School has been reborn as the Tanaka Business School, and City University Business School has adopted the name Cass after a major donation from the Sir John Cass Foundation. France now has the Audencia Nantes School of Management while in the States there's the catchily-named MIT Sloan School of Management. Meanwhile in the Asia Pacific region well-established western business schools are selling themselves to a new and challenging market.

Branding has long been a buzzword in the business world, so why have business schools been slow to catch on? Professor Hellmut Schutte, dean of the Asian campus of INSEAD believes that it is due to their character.

He argues "All business schools are torn between being an academic institution, which by nature would shy away from branding and any hint of being labeled commercial, and catering for a market which is becoming increasingly competitive. When

the MBA market had a growth rate of 30% a year, few business schools were concerned with marketing, but now the going is tougher they are focusing on how to sell themselves."

There is an ever-increasing number of business schools chasing a decreasing number of potential candidates. In the UK there are more than 100 higher education institutions offering MBAs and so branding is vital for distinguishing between them. Meanwhile the cost of MBAs, and the time which has to be committed to them, has resulted in a groundswell which questions whether they continue to represent value for money. However reluctant, business schools now have to sully their hands with the marketing techniques of the commercial world.

Getting back to basics, what is branding? Professor Richard Speed, ANZ professor of strategic marketing at Melbourne Business School sees it as "the network of meaning held in someone's mind. Business schools are almost pure brands, though perhaps it's not obvious because we tend to talk about reputation rather than brand."

Arnout Most, who studied at INSEAD in Singapore and is now a branding consultant, sees a business school brand as ranging from physical aspects like the buildings and campus to intangibles like the atmosphere, staff and teaching quality.

Professor Speed believes that branding is essential to business schools. "It's a vital signal of quality. If a student knows

something about the Chicago, Wharton or Harvard brand then use it to form a judgment about the program."

William Kooser, associate dean for the part-time MBA program at the University of Chicago Graduate School of Business claims that branding is "the set of beliefs, opinions and emotional reactions which your audience has to your product."

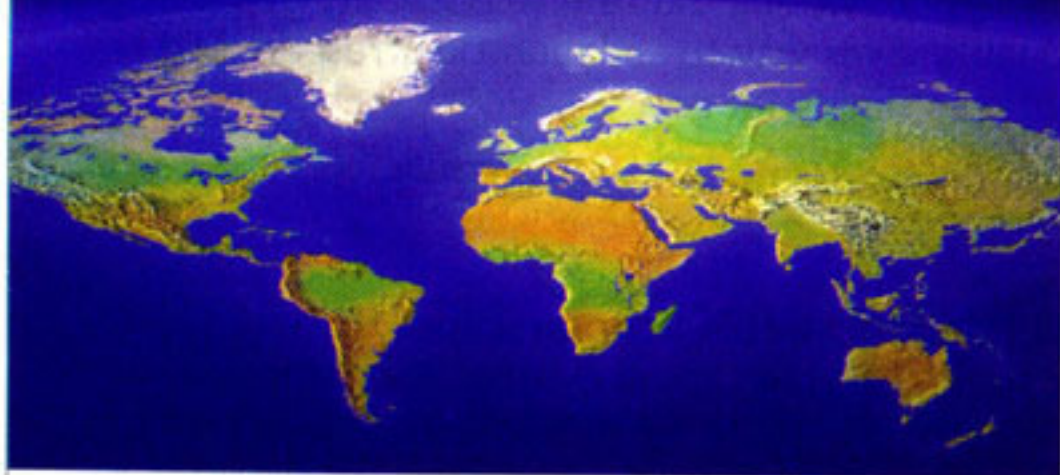
Nearly three years ago ESADE Business School in Barcelona decided that its corporate identity had an old-fashioned image. Monica Rius, director of corporate brand, explains "The school was founded in 1958 and we found that our evolution in terms of innovation wasn't reflected in the picture which we gave to the world. This discovery justified total rethinking of our logo and website."

"When the MBA market had a growth rate of 30% a year, few business schools were concerned with marketing, but now the going is tougher they are focusing on how to sell themselves."

Aside from maintaining a position in the marketplace or finding that their image doesn't accurately reflect their work, business schools reinforce their brand when they move to a new location or rebrand themselves when they adopt a new name.

For example, four years ago INSEAD set up shop in Singapore. The school had a strong brand in Europe, but was little known

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in Asia. Caroline Edwards, business development officer with the International Finance Corporation in Jakarta discovered that she could do the INSEAD MBA program in Singapore. She says "In Europe, INSEAD is well regarded, but it's not seen as a global brand, while in Singapore it has to contend with the fact that for many locals the US business schools like Harvard are seen as the Holy Grail."

Do business school brands have to be tailored to local culture? "Absolutely not," says Professor Schutte. "We've been very careful to strengthen our global brand in Asia rather than project something local. Unlike other US and European schools who open up branches in Asia and fly in professors, we've set up a complete campus with 35 faculty and 150 staff."

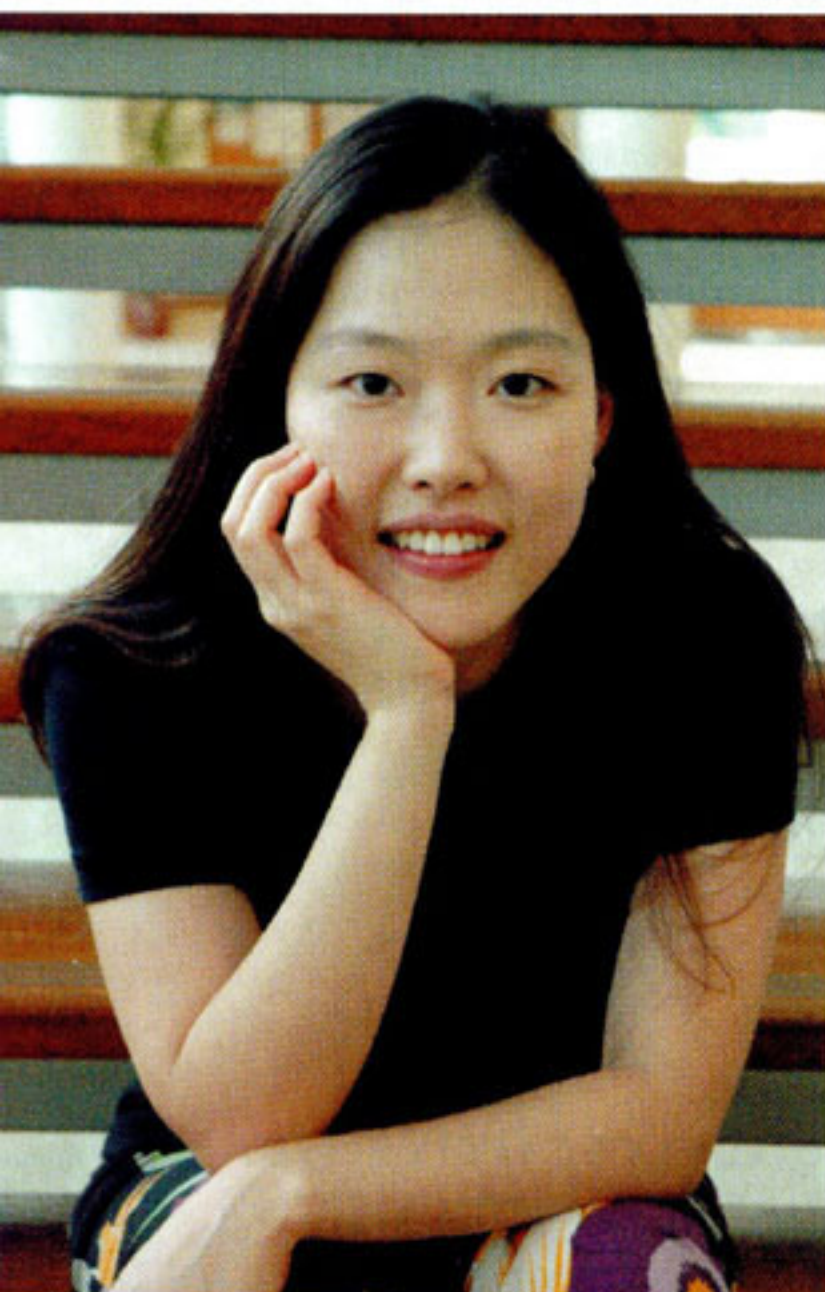
When Gary Tanaka gave the Imperial College Management School £27 million – the second largest benefaction from an individual in the UK – it would have seemed churlish not to name the new-look school after him. Imperial College itself rebranded in 2002 so the opportunity was timely. Professor David Begg, principal at Tanaka Business School says "We had a spectacular new Norman Foster building which was the outward sign of our repositioning. Previously the school had been diverse but we wanted to concentrate on Imperial's strengths such as science and enterprise. Internal rebranding in particular has been a great success, and now all the other faculties have changed their view of us. We'd been seen as the cash cow and ugly duckling rolled into one, but now we're embedded into the college at the entrance to the main campus, and staff from engineering and the life sciences are keen to teach in our programs."

Building a brand used to be a gradual, organic, almost subconscious exercise but now business schools have a branding strategy. INSEAD is building its image in Asia through events and conferences in China, Korea, Japan and South-East Asia. Professor Schutte says "We put lots of effort into this because we want to bring potential students and large companies into close contact with us"

"Building a brand used to be a gradual, organic, almost subconscious exercise but now business schools have a branding strategy"

ESADE created a brand board composed of key leaders within the school. Colin McElwee, director of communications, says "It was important that everyone saw that the process was owned internally." They focused on visible communications, introducing a new logo, changing the signage and advertising. A commercial company would do a rebranding within three months but we did it gently. You're forced to make an investment internally to explain what you're doing, but the costs aren't high because you're diverting expenses from other areas."

How can you measure that the investment is paying dividends? ESADE has been tracking changes in the perception of its brand over 18 months. At INSEAD, says Professor Schutte, "We go on



My workgroup had a Dutch consultant, a French marketer, an Italian banker, a Canadian consultant, and me - a Korean venture capitalist.

In a group like mine at INSEAD, you will never find time to be bored because every day of the year means new experiences. Every task is a challenge to bring together the myriad thoughts, knowledge, and ways of working that are so different from one another. Individuality gives way to collaboration, respect and learning to sometimes simply let go.

Yoon Ju Song • Class of July 2004

INSEAD Alumni Fund Women's Scholarships

INSEAD has a core value of "enrichment through diversity." The INSEAD Alumni Fund Women's Scholarships supports this value by increasing the representation of women at INSEAD regardless of nationality. For the current academic year, 27 awards were made to participants from 16 countries totalling over 200,000 Euros.

<http://www.insead.edu/mba/scholarships>



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the road and listen. Over the past year questions about the school have been more advanced which shows an increased understanding of what we're about. Two years ago we had 10,000 leads on Google, and recently we had 500,000 so we have more press prominence. Most tellingly, we're growing our Asian branch 30% per year."

Opinions differ about how often a branding strategy should be reviewed. Kooser advises that the brand should be constantly checked to make sure the approach is fresh, while Damien Duhamel, a graduate of University of Chicago GSB says that brand development is a long-term exercise so quarterly tracking makes little business sense.

Professor Speed is adamant that it is vital not to rebrand a business school. "Most business schools are seeking a lifelong relationship with their alumni, so rebranding what the school is supposed to stand for at regular intervals is a real threat to that relationship. If I chose a school because of its reputation for finance, then five years after I graduate it rebrands as the school for emotional intelligence, the value of my association with its brand has just plummeted."

So rebranding a business school is not to be undertaken lightly. Changing the name doesn't change the brand. However, if you do change the brand, it is possible to lose much more than you gain.

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2004 BEST & WORST

No one can say that movies didn't matter this year. Big fantasy sequels were still the rage, but splendid films lit up screens throughout the world—and two even sparked global debate and rancor. Some of the year's finest American and Asian movies haven't yet opened elsewhere in the world, so here's something to look forward to in 2005 ■ **By Richard Corliss**

THE HAND



>>> **TIED: 2046 and THE HAND**, both directed by Wong Kar-wai. In the chasm between blustery blockbusters and emotionally cramped art films, Wong's melodramas stand out and above. They are artistic, for sure; his smoky, slo-mo style is instantly identifiable and slavishly imitated. But they are also glamorous, amorous, darkly rapturous. His four-years-in-the-works 2046, ostensibly science fiction but really a love song to the Hong Kong of the 1960s, stars Tony Leung Chiu-wai as a weary rogue who dallies with a galaxy of damaged beauties: Gong Li, Carina Lau, Zhang Ziyi and Faye Wong. You are welcome to study the subtle shadings, the blasé aphorisms, the mastery of every tool of movie- and moodmaking. But first you will surrender happily to the spell of a man and a woman (and another and another) getting lost in the soft melancholy of each other's dreams.

During a break in shooting 2046, Wong filmed a 41-min. episode for the three-part *Eros*; the other, inferior segments are by Michelangelo Antonioni and Steven Soderbergh. Set in—when else?—the '60s, *The Hand* concerns a haughty courtesan (Gong Li again) and the young tailor (Chang Chen) who is more devoted to her than any of her clients. They have just one brief sexual contact—on their first meeting she caresses his thigh with her expert hand—but he is drawn as much by her sadness as by her seductiveness. The actress subtly embodies the decline and transfiguration of a beautiful woman. She knows what she's losing, even as Wong Kar-wai knows, better than anyone, how to put the beauty of loss on film.

2 >>> **SIDEWAYS**, directed by Alexander Payne Two guys—happy, horny Jack (Thomas Haden Church) and deliciously depressed Miles (Paul Giamatti)—drive up the California coast to savor



SIDEWAYS

the local wines, and maybe the women, during a week of buddy bonding. From this not-so-hot premise comes a comedy alive at every moment to the intoxicating properties of friendship, romance and Pinot Noir. Already a prizewinner in the U.S., *Sideways* boasts Oscar-worthy work from both actors and from the sexy, gloriously weathered Virginia Madsen. They play people so quirky and beguiling, you want to spend a life with them; two hours isn't nearly enough.

3 >>> **BAD EDUCATION**, directed by Pedro Almodóvar After two flat-out masterpieces (*All About My Mother*, *Talk to Her*), Spain's perennial enfant terrible spins a film-noirish web around the sad headlines of clerical abuse of children. The writer-director always puts extraordinary creatures in extreme situations while lavishing sympathy on every character, including the evil ones; here the priest, up-close, is nearly as pathetic as he is



BAD EDUCATION

predatory. His sanctity is a mask, but everyone in the movie wears disguises, especially Mexican wonder-boy Gael García Bernal as an actor-drag queen-victim-conspirer. Almodóvar wears a mask too: a Janus face to cover his rage at the harm done to the innocent. *Bad Education* can be seen as a brilliant debate on how art can conceal the deepest sin, and reveal it.

4 >>> **CLOSER**, directed by Mike Nichols This faithful, lucid transfer of Patrick Marber's 1997 play would be important even if it weren't terrific, for it avoids the narrative and emotional laziness of most films. Modern cinema is



CLOSER

the fairy-tale business: the manufacturing of clear-cut heroes and villains, the posing of ethical dilemmas that are a cinch to resolve. That's not the way life is. *Closer* is like life, but with prettier people who talk smarter about the pain they feel and inflict. The two men (Jude Law, Clive Owen) and two women (Julia Roberts, Natalie Portman), who dance in and out of one another's lives and beds, are too complex, too loving, too alive, too damned human to be always right—or wrong. *Closer* draws the audience into the game.

You never know if the film is going to pinch your cheek or slap your face. (Either way, the contact is tonic.) And when the film is over, you can condemn or justify each character, as if he or she were someone as close to you as ... you.

5 >>> **ELECTRIC SHADOWS**, directed by Xiao Jiang A genial young delivery man and a sullen beauty collide, literally, on a Beijing street, and soon realize they have a lot in common, including loneliness and a love for old films. Spanning the harsh years of the Cultural Revolution, this debut feature from a woman director looks back at chaotic childhood with grace, acuity and a born artist's confidence. Movie love was never so engulfing, and rarely so sweet, as in this petite, elevating heart-warmer.

6 >>> **A VERY LONG ENGAGEMENT**, directed by Jean-Pierre Jeunet A young fellow from Brittany is one of several soldiers banished to No Man's Land during the Great War. His disappearance means nothing, except to his fiancée Mathilde (Audrey Tautou), whose love and loyalty turn her into a sleuth for the truth. Jeunet, who makes the most vivacious films in Europe, has reassembled his *Amélie* family (same co-writer, production designer, cinematographer and, of course, star) for this sumptuous, synoptic version of the Sébastien Japrisot novel. Amazing how Jeunet gets the

big picture, of war's sundering effect on civilians, and the little one, of a woman's purest, most selfless obsession.

7 >>> **HOUSE OF FLYING DAGGERS**, directed by Zhang Yimou It was a fabulous year for Chinese film; Stephen Chow just missed our list with his zippy, suavely constructed martial-arts epic *Kung Fu Hustle*. But Zhang topped him with this companion piece to the worldwide hit *Hero*. The slighter, lighter *Flying Daggers* convenes three duplicitous charmers—Zhang Ziyi, Andy Lau and Takeshi Kaneshiro—and sets them spinning, soaring and sword-playing in an autumnal forest. Though the action scenes have sensational verve, the more enticing battles are of the heart. A glance, a smile, a tear can cut deeper than any saber.

8 >>> **GATE OF THE SUN**, directed by Yousry Nasrallah Can a land that is not a nation have a national epic? Can a land without a film industry inspire a superb film? Yes on both counts, if the land is Palestine and the story—a novel, by Lebanese writer Elias Khoury, that embraces a half-century of Palestinian history, real and



HOUSE OF FLYING DAGGERS

imagined—is visualized as lushly as the Egypt-born Nasrallah has done here. Don't expect a humorless, agit-prop slog; it's as verdant and oneiric, as pulsing and plot-thick, as a García Márquez parable, with enough action, passion and gorgeous people to satisfy any mall moviegoer. Magical realism is no mirage in this desert; it materializes to express the fables and fantasies of a people who can only dream of statehood.

9 >>> THE SEA INSIDE, directed by Alejandro Amenábar You couldn't pay a cynic to see this movie, if you said only that it's the tale of a middle-aged man, paralyzed in a diving accident, who decades later petitions the state for the right to end his miserable life honorably. But wait. Amenábar, after the pyrotechnics of *Open Your Eyes* and *The Others*, finds a spare, direct style to match the plangent material. And Javier Bardem, a safe bet for an Oscar nomination, invests heroic power and delicacy in a man who believes that "living is a right, not an obligation." Still not persuaded? All right, I'll pay you to go. Don't be surprised if you refund the gift, with interest and thanks.

PHILIPPE ANTONELLO—2003 ICON DISTRIBUTION; REUTERS



THE PASSION OF THE CHRIST

>>> TIED: THE PASSION OF THE CHRIST, directed by Mel Gibson, and **FAHRENHEIT 9/11**, directed by Michael Moore Moore and Gibson probably couldn't sit at the same dinner table for two minutes without getting into a food fight. But the two most ornery and resourceful mavericks of the movie year (see THE FILMMAKERS) lived through the same roller-coaster plot line. Each is an Oscar-winning director whose controversial film was rejected by one or more major studios, then picked up by a small distributor, then calumniated by people who had not seen it, then supported by an organized core of the faithful who showed up in surprisingly large numbers on the first weekend. Controversy—the enemy's enmity—was a real galvanizer. Attacks on *The Passion* by lefties in the U.S. media, which simply validated the conservative suspicion that a liberal is a man who will defend to the death your right to agree with him, galvanized the Christian right and lured millions of the curious.

One more similarity: the films themselves. In a time of movie timidity, two guys with the courage of their hubris made extreme statements in grand style. Gibson blended the strategies of his pain-and-revenge starring roles with the visual severity of European cinema to create a daring hybrid: the art-action Bible epic. Moore added a gift for synthesizing complex issues to his familiar prankster political comedy, and punk'd the entire White House. If one film was ruthlessly solemn, the other often japing in the face of tragedy, both were fervent, relentless, smartly made provocations that left no viewer indifferent.

And wouldn't it be neat if the Oscar voters nominated both films for Best Picture? It won't happen: Moore might get a nod, but not Gibson. Some Hollywood elders are still miffed they turned it down; others had believed that a film about the participation of Jews in the death of Jesus would stoke anti-Semitism. (It didn't.) Still, imagine the sublime conflict: the outraged left and the religious right replaying the 2004 values campaign—this time over a statuette. Real melodrama ... revenge ... action!

FAHRENHEIT 9/11

CONTROVERSY...WHAT CONTROVERSY



MICHAEL MOORE

FAHRENHEIT 9/11

WINNER / BEST PICTURE
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THE WORST OF 2004

To Ben or Not to Ben

Jersey Girl wasn't really the year's worst movie. That might be *New York Minute*, starring the formerly adorable Olsen twins, or the brute, idiot comedy *Dodgeball*. But it was surely the squirmiest work from a director who usually makes good movies (Kevin Smith). It has sitcom reflexes without that brash sitcom wit. It's shameless in cadging for an audience's indulgence: the cute girl whose father can't see what a pearl she is; the pretty woman (Liv Tyler, right) desperate to be loved; the climactic public embarrassment that serves as atonement for the star lunk.

That would be Ben Affleck, who's gone from hunk to lunk since he became engaged to, then disengaged from, Jennifer Lopez, around the time that their co-starring movie, *Gigli*, made its instant entrance into the Hall of Shame, a few niches down from *Ishtar*. Till then, Affleck had been Ben Affable, a reliable lead in big action pictures (*Armageddon*, *Pearl Harbor*) and an attractive romantic presence in *Chasing Amy* and *Bounce*. But the Bennifer fiasco gave pause to moviegoers and movie pros. "To me it always



JERSEY GIRL

looks like he passed gas," a Hollywood insider said. "He has this smirk like he's covering up something." That stink could be his star status. His latest comedy, *Surviving Christmas*, was a present no one wanted to open, at least at U.S. theaters. For Affleck, bad movies + bad odor = a career temporarily in the commode. —R.C.



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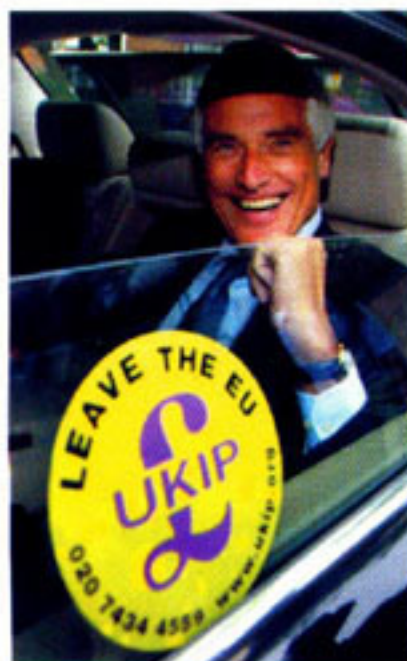
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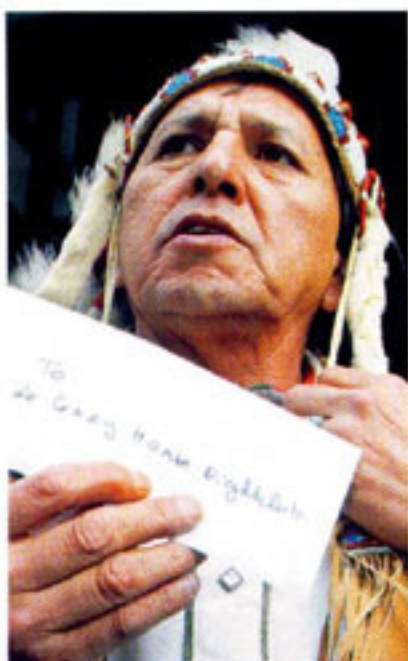
15 WHO GOT THEIR 15 MINUTES

It's easy to make news if you've got talent or power. But the merely ambitious and randomly famous need attention, too—briefly. A look at 2004's flickering stars



MATT DUNHAM—REUTERS

ROBERT KILROY-SILK
Pundit turned pol had to quit his Brussels job



PHILIPPE DEMAZES—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

ALFRED RED CLOUD
Sioux protested Paris' Crazy Horse saloon



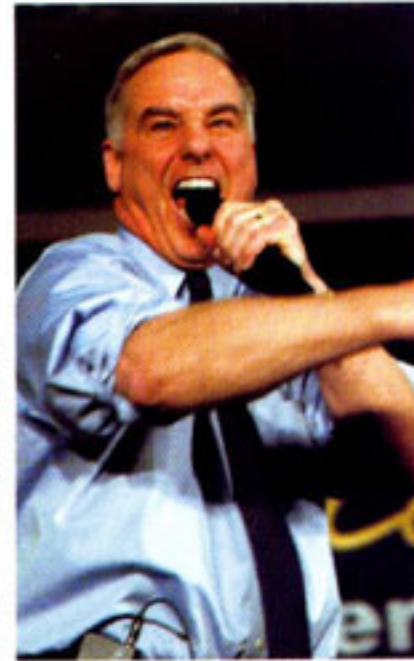
PATRICK SAMBAS—REUTERS

RUSLANA Ukrainian songbird won Eurovision, then switched sides in election



KAI PFAFFENBACH—REUTERS

GREEK FOOTBALL TEAM
Euro heroes now may not qualify for World Cup



PAUL SANCIA—AP

HOWARD DEAN Prez wannabe went from a scream to a whisper



VICTORIA SINISTRA—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

VIKTOR YANUKOVYCH
Ukraine's PM still has Moscow to retire to



FRANCO PAGETTI—POLARIS

AHMED CHALABI Iraqi prez hopeful more popular in Mayfair than Baghdad



PETROS GIANNAKOURIS—AP, STEVE ROSE—GETTY IMAGES

KATERINA THANOU AND KOSTAS KENTERIS Ran from Olympic drug tests



STUDIO CURCHOD

KOJO ANNAN Oil-for-food scandal was used to attack his dad, Kofi



ADAM BUTLER—AP

REBECCA LOOS Did she have text sex with Becks? Does anyone care?



GEERT VANDEN WIJNGAERT—AP

ROCCO BUTTIGLIONE
Italian's anti-gay views caused brief E.U. crisis



DAVID CRUMP—SOLO

LEONCIA CASALME
Nanny's visas toppled U.K. Home Secretary



PAUL COOPER—REX

THE PONCHO This year's fashion choice, next year's secondhand shops



SEBASTIAN SCHEINER—AFP

SUHA ARAFAT Who will fund her modest Paris lifestyle after Yasser?



EPA/PA

JASON HATCH Desperate dad scaled Buckingham Palace walls in costume

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