



WWW.YDY.COM

本站提供的所有资源均是网上搜集或私下交流学习之用。

任何涉及商业盈利目的均不得使用，否则产生的一切后果将由您自己承担！

本站严禁任何色情反动的话题，一经发现，杀无赦！

本站仅提供一个观摩学习的环境，将不对任何资源负法律责任！

本站所有资源请在下载后24小时内删除，如果您觉得满意，请购买正版！

本站严厉谴责和鄙夷一切利用本站资源进行牟利的盗版行为！

All resources offered by this website are collected through the internet
and exchanged between peers for personal study.

Use of any resources offered for commercial purposes is prohibited.
Otherwise you need to be responsible for any consequences produced!

We only offer an environment of communion and study and
we won't bear any legal responsibility for the resources.

Please delete all resources you've downloaded from this site within
24 hours. Please purchase legal copies if you feel satisfied.

Any profitable behavior of utilizing the resources downloaded from
this site is condemned and disdained sternly!

伊甸园论坛

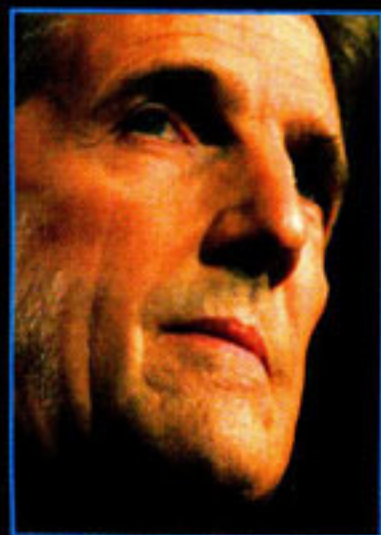
Copyright@2004 www.ydy.com All Rights Reserved



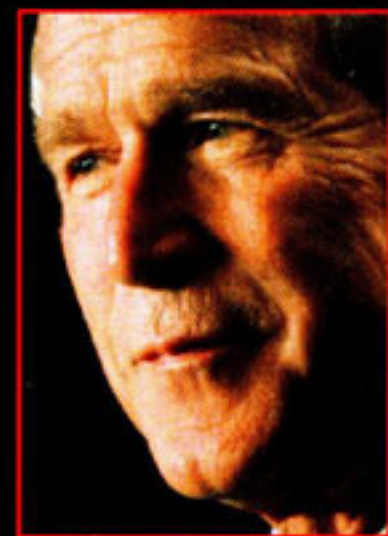
TIME

YEMG YDY electronic magazine group

The Morning After



ON NOVEMBER 3, assuming there is a clear winner, the world will wake up to either an American President returning to office or a newly elected one. To the victor goes a nation



divided. A nation split over its place in the world, over its basic values, over its future direction. No matter who wins, the Uncivil War is likely to continue. After such a venomous campaign, will it be possible to pick up the pieces, bridge the gaps and reunite the United States? To restore trust—not only in the country's leaders but also between America and the rest of the world? The stakes are higher than we could ever imagine.

www.ydy.com



44

*In this ever changing world,
Singapore Girl, you're a great way to fly.*





SINGAPORE
AIRLINES

A STAR ALLIANCE MEMBER



Cape Town • Sydney • Over 55 major cities

Introducing the 2004 Laureates



Claudia Feh

Establish a learning centre to support the reintroduction of Przewalski horses.

MONGOLIA



David Lordkipanidze

Protect the Dmanisi site where the oldest Eurasian hominids have been discovered.

GEORGIA



Kikuo Morimoto

Revitalise rural Cambodia by preserving traditional silk fabrication.

CAMBODIA



Teresa Manera

Preserve prehistoric animal tracks at a unique site on the Atlantic coast.

ARGENTINA



Lonnie Dupre

Undertake the first summer crossing of the Arctic Ocean.

ARCTIC OCEAN

Setting the world's last wild horses free.

There are only 1,500 Przewalski horses alive today. Rolex Awards for Enterprise Laureate and equine expert Claudia Feh believes that the breed's best chance of survival is to live naturally, in the wild. She plans to establish a reintroduction site in remote Western Mongolia, with a multidisciplinary learning centre, the Wild Horse Mesh, where local nomads and international scientists will exchange knowledge. She is one of the 2004 Rolex Laureates – five men and women whose groundbreaking endeavours have been selected by a panel of distinguished judges for their potential to expand human knowledge or improve the lot of mankind.

For almost 30 years, the Rolex Awards for Enterprise have assisted scores of Laureates to realise their vision and prove that a single man or woman can make an enormous difference to the lives of many. The 2004 Laureates have each received a gold Rolex chronometer and US \$100,000 towards the completion of their projects. So now, in remotest Mongolia, in Georgia, Argentina and Cambodia, even on the icy shores of the Arctic Ocean, they will take their first steps towards making the world a better place.

FOR FURTHER DETAILS WRITE TO: The Secretariat, The Rolex Awards for Enterprise, P.O.Box 1311, 1211 Geneva 26, Switzerland, or visit www.rolexawards.com.



www.rolexawards.com

COVER: UNITED STATES

An Uncivil War

Another drawn-out, disputed presidential election could tear an already fractured America even further apart.....**28**

DEJA VU ALL OVER AGAIN: How voting chaos could emerge in several states.....**36**

WHAT TO WATCH: A guide to the key states that could swing the result.....**38**

LIFE DURING WARTIME: Bush and Kerry differ over foreign policy. Who would be the better Commander in Chief?.....**40**

28 Bush and Kerry are reaching for every last vote in the election's final frenzied days

EUROPE

Culture Clash

As more countries move to grant gay couples equal rights, new cracks appear along Europe's church-state divide...**50**

BUSINESS

DOWN ON DOWNLOADS: Hollywood seeks to muzzle file-sharing fans.....**54**

PALEONTOLOGY

FEATHERED FRIENDS: New discoveries boost the once obscure theory that birds evolved from dinosaurs.....**60**

MOVIES

DREAM DUO: With *Look at Me*, Jean-Pierre Bacri and Agnès Jaoui prove they are France's finest film couple.....**68**

BOOKS

STONES FAN: Rocker Julian Cope charts the Continent's prehistoric monuments in *The Megalithic European*.....**70**

THEATER

HYPE CAST: *The Producers* gets a boost from Richard Dreyfuss's exit.....**71**

LETTERS.....**10**

NOTEBOOK.....**17**

BIZ WATCH.....**24**

PEOPLE.....**72**

COVER: *Sunrise*: Malcolm Fire—Getty Images; *Bush, Kerry*: Jay L. Clendenin—Polaris Images

68 *Look at Me* is a French film to watch

60 More proof that birds are descended from dinosaurs

50 The battle over gay rights heats up in Europe



sharp + hp

Yoichi Sakai, CIO

"We can never be second."

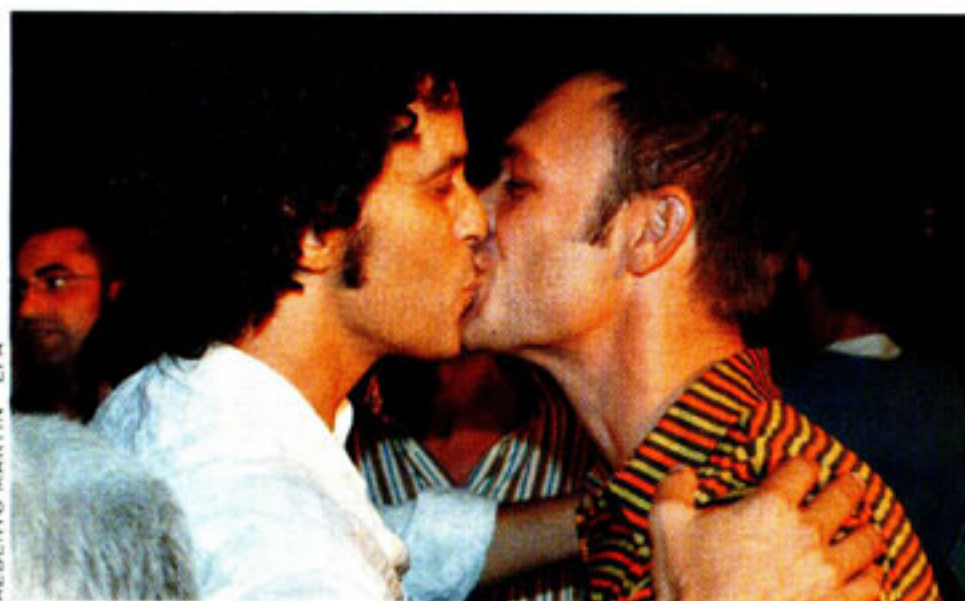
"Sharp developed the first commercial liquid-crystal display back in 1973. But we established our LCD leadership when, together with HP, we developed Computer Integrated Manufacturing and completely automated our Mie plant in 1994. To make a profit, the CIM system had to run non-stop 24 hours a day, every day. Six plants and 10 years later, guess what? It still works.

"Supported by HP's business-critical servers, the process is reliable beyond reason. It helped us radically improve our LCD quality and more than triple our productivity, and it led to our current success in the LCD TV business. Now, if we just keep adapting, we will stay number one."

Make change work for you. Visit www.hp.com/uk/adapt

Solutions for the adaptive enterprise.





GAY RIGHTS

After a European Commission candidate referred to homosexuality as a "sin," the issue of gay rights is again at the top of the Continent's political and social agenda. For a look at how laws and attitudes are changing across Europe, go to: www.timeeurope.com/gays



ELECTION 2004

To track the twists and turns of the U.S. presidential race, make regular visits to our minisite at www.timeeurope.com/election2004. President George W. Bush and Democrat John Kerry are running neck and neck, and TIME's reporters have unrivaled access to their campaigns.



TIME GLOBAL ADVISER

Our collection of tips for the globetrotter now has its own home on the Web. We warm up to the Lewes bonfire festival, relish classic gourmet recipes, review the best in American political lore and stock up on bikinis in Hong Kong. Go to: www.timeeurope.com/tga

ONLINE SERVICES

■ TIME Customer Services

For your convenience many of TIME's customer service facilities are now available online. All of the following services can be accessed 24/7:

■ Subscribe at Big Savings

Take advantage of our huge discounts for online subscribers

■ Give the Gift of TIME

TIME is the perfect present for any friend or relative who appreciates incisive reporting, expert opinion and analysis, and brilliant photography

■ Change of Address

Make sure you keep getting your copy of TIME, or put it on hold while you're traveling

■ Frequently Asked Questions

Ordering, pricing, reprints and privacy; you'll find the answers here

TIME EUROPE

EDITOR: Eric Pooley
DEPUTY EDITOR: James Geary
SENIOR EDITORS: Jim Ledbetter
ART DIRECTOR: Paul Lussier
PICTURE EDITOR: Mike Bealing
SENIOR WRITER: Peter Gumbel (Business)
INFORMATION MANAGER: Michael Brunton
STAFF WRITERS: Maryann Bird, Penny Campbell, Jeff Chu, Andrea Gerlin, Jennie James, Kate Noble
COPY EDITORS: Michelle Patient (Chief), Lucy Fisher
REPORTERS: Charlotte Greensit (Chief), Reema Ameer, Theunis Bates, Jumana Farouky, Hugh Porter, Adam Smith
ASSOCIATE ART DIRECTORS: Yvonne McCrimmon (Senior), Helen Carter
GRAPHICS: Gareth Burgess
PICTURE EDITORS: Julius Domoney (Deputy), Nahila Bibi (Assistant)
TIMEEUROPE.COM: Max Brockbank (Producer), Andrew Fielden (Associate)
PUBLIC RELATIONS MANAGER: Heather Tomlinson
ADMINISTRATION: Elizabeth Lea (Atlantic News Desk), Stacey Carr (London), Angela Leuter (Vienna), Jean Max (Jerusalem), Claire Senard (Paris)
MAKEUP: David Crane, Emma Dixon
EDITORIAL PRODUCTION: Leonard Burns (Manager), Chris Eyles (Edit Production Controller), Trevor Ausbruch, Chi-Wing Cham
ADVERTISING PRODUCTION: Meryem Goktopal, Yasmin Huda
TECHNOLOGY: Richard Reid (Manager)

NEWS DIRECTOR: Howard Chua-Eoan
SCIENCE EDITOR: Philip Elmer-DeWitt
ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITORS: Lisa Beyer, Michael Duffy, Dorinda Elliott, Janice C. Simpson
INTERNATIONAL EDITORS: Michael Elliott (Asia), Steve Waterson (South Pacific)
DIRECTOR OF OPERATIONS: Nancy Mynio
EDITORS-AT-LARGE: Kate Betts, Nancy Gibbs, Bill Saporito, Claudia Wallis
SENIOR EDITORS: Tom Dusevic, Christopher John Farley, William Green, Belinda Luscombe, Romesh Ratnesar, Anthony Spaeth, Robert Sullivan, Richard Zoglin
ART DIRECTOR: Arthur Hochstein
DIRECTOR OF PHOTOGRAPHY: Michele Stephenson
CHIEF OF REPORTERS: Jane Bachman Wulf
COPY CHIEF: Barbara Dudley Davis
DIRECTOR, RESEARCH CENTER: Jim Oberman
LETTERS EDITOR: Betty Satterwhite Sutter
SENIOR WRITERS: Richard Corliss, Christine Gorman, Daniel Kadlec, Joe Klein, Jeffrey Kluger, Richard Lacayo, Michael D. Lemonick, Bill Powell, David Van Biema
STAFF WRITERS: John Cloud, Lisa Takeuchi Cullen, Daniel Eisenberg, Lev Grossman, Anita Hamilton, Michele Orecklin, James Poniewozik, Amanda Ripley, Joel Stein, Josh Tyrangiel
WRITER-REPORTERS: Daren Fonda, Unmesh Kher, Julie Rawe, Eric Roston, Jyoti Thottam, Rebecca Winters
SENIOR REPORTERS: Ratu Kamilani (Deputy Chief), Andrea Dorfman (Special Projects), Elizabeth L. Bland, Amy Lennard Goehner, Barbara Maddux, Alice Park, Ariadna Victoria Rainert, Dody Tsiantar (Department Heads), Harriet Barovick, David Bjerkie, Barbara Burke, Jeannette Isaac, Lisa McLaughlin, Susan M. Reed, Andrea Sachs
REPORTERS: Mitch Frank, Sean Gregory, Barbara Kiviat, Lina Lofaro, Carolina A. Miranda, Nadia Mustafa, Rebecca Myers, Kate Novach, Desha Philadelphia, Patrick Smith, Sora Song, Deirdre Van Dyk

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: Norman Pearlstine **EDITORIAL DIRECTOR:** John Huey
CORPORATE EDITOR: Isolde Motley

CHAIRMAN, CEO: Ann S. Moore
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENTS: Richard Atkinson, Jack Haire, Michael J. Klingensmith, Nora McAniff, John Squires

TIME

Founders: Briton Hadden 1898-1929
 Henry R. Luce 1898-1967

MANAGING EDITOR: James Kelly
DEPUTY MANAGING EDITOR: Stephen Koepf
EXECUTIVE EDITORS: Adi Ignatius, Priscilla Painton, Robert Safian

CONTRIBUTORS: Eugenie Allen, Peter Beinart, Margaret Carlson, Jay Cocks, Dan Crary, Barbara Ehrenreich, Frederic Golden, Jeff Greenfield, Sanjay Gupta, M.D., Robert Hughes, James Inverne, Molly Ivins, Fico Iyer, Leon Jaroff, Michael Kinsley, Walter Kim, Charles Krauthammer, Jim Lacey, Erik Larson, Mark Leyner, Eugene Linden, Thomas McCarroll, Ann Morrison, Donald Morrison, Lance Morrow, Peggy Noonan, Christopher Ogden, Christopher Porterfield, Christopher Redman, Roger Rosenblatt, Richard Schickel, Wilfrid Sheed, R.Z. Sheppard, Hugh Sidey, Terry Teachout, Calvin Trillin, Garry Trudeau, Rod Usher, Richard Woodbury, Robert Wright
COPY DESK: Bland Crowder, Amelia Weiss, Shirley Barden Zimmerman (Deputies), Bruce Christopher Carr, Barbara Collier, Jose Fidelino, Jeannine Lavery (Copy Coordinators), Marjorie Backman, Michael J. Burlingham, Maria Carmicino, Peter J. McGilliam, Peter J. McLaughlin, Mary Beth Protomastro, Jane Rigney, Megan Rutherford, Elyse Segelken, Terry Stoller, Giulia Zarr (Copy Editors)
Senior Foreign Correspondent: Johanna McGeary
Chief Political Correspondent: Karen Tumulty
Senior Correspondent: Sonja Stepoe, Mark Thompson, Douglas Waller, Michael Weisskopf **National Correspondent:** Margot Roosevelt
Washington: Michael Duffy, James Carney, Matthew Cooper, Perry Bacon Jr., Timothy J. Burger, Massimo Calabresi, John F. Dickerson, Sally B. Donnelly, Viveca Novak, Elaine Shannon, Adam Zagorin, Melissa August
New York: Amanda Bower **Chicago:** Marguerite Michaels, Wendy Cole, Maggie Siegel, David E. Thigpen **Dallas:** Cathy Booth Thomas
Miami: Tim Padgett **Los Angeles:** Terry McCarthy, Jeanne McDowell, Jeffrey Ressler **San Francisco:** Chris Taylor **London:** J.F.O. McAllister, Helen Gibson **Paris:** James Graff, Bruce Crumley **Berlin:** Charles P. Wallace
Central Europe: Andrew Purvis **Moscow:** Paul Quinn-Judge, Yuri Zarakhovich **Rome:** Jeff Israel **Jerusalem:** Matt Rees, Jamil Hamad, Aharon Klein **Cairo:** Scott MacLeod, Amany Radwan **Johannesburg:** Simon Robinson, Peter Hawthorne **New Delhi:** Alex Perry, Aravind Adiga
Islamabad: Tim McGirk **Beijing:** Matthew Forney, Susan Jakes
Hong Kong: Brian Bennett, Phil Zabriske **Shanghai:** Hannah Beach
Kuala Lumpur: Simon Elegant **Tokyo:** Jim Frederick
Seoul: Donald Macintyre **Sydney:** Michael Ware **Toronto:** Steven Frank
Bureau Administration: Sheila Charney, Corliss M. Duncan, Lona C. Harris, Anthony Jackson, Sharon Roberts, Judith R. Stoler
News Desks: Eileen Harkin, John Flowers, Greg Fulton, Kristin Kloberdanz, Christine Laidlaw, Alexander Smith

ART: Cynthia A. Hoffman, D.W. Pine (Deputy Art Directors); Marti Golon (Special Projects); Thomas M. Miller (Senior Art Director); Christine Dunleavy, Janet Michaud (Associate Art Directors); Jennifer Roth (Assistant Art Director); Melissa Aurelio, Avi Litwick, Jennifer Taney (Designers)
Covers: Janna Weinstein (Cover Coordinator); Gregory Heisler (Contributing Photographer) **Graphics:** Jackson Dykman (Graphics Director); Ed Gabel, Joe Lertola (Associate Graphics Directors); Lon Tweeten (Artist); Kathleen Adams, Kristina Dell (Reporters) **International:** Cecelia Wong (Asia), Edel Rodriguez (The Americas), Barbara Sheppard (South Pacific)
PHOTOGRAPHY: MaryAnne Golon (Picture Editor); Hillary Raskin (Deputy Picture Editor); Jay Colton, Alice Gabriner, Dietmar Liz-Leporz, Robert B. Stevens (Associate Picture Editors); Bill Kalis (Operations Manager); Cristina T. Scalet, Jessica Taylor Taraski, Marie Tobias (Assistant Editors); Bill Carwin, Audrie Lawrence, Jon Protas (Editorial Assistants); Minam Winocour (Administration)
Traffic: Jessica Cruz, Maria Dumlaio, Masha Bogushevsky
International: Lisa Botos (Asia), Mark Rykoff (Canada)
Bureaus: Martha Robson Bardach, James Colburn, Andrei Polikanov, Mary Studley
Contributing Photographers: David Burnett, William Campbell, Barry Iverson, Brooks Kraft, André Lambertson, Steve Liss, Christopher Morris, James Nachtwey, Robert Nickelsberg, David Rubinger, Callie Shell, John Stannmeyer, Anthony Suau, Ted Thai, Diana Walker **Picture Collection:** Kathi Doak (Director); Daniel Donnelly (Deputy Director); Gay Gilman, Cornelis Verwaal
LETTERS: Gloria J. Hammond (Deputy); Robert Cushing, Edith Rosa
TIME.com: Joshua Macht (Editor/General Manager); Mark Coatney (Deputy Editor); Tony Karon (Senior Editor); Maria Bunai (Picture Editor); Catherine Shanick (Senior Editorial Producer); Patrick Stack (Producer); Gregory Tomlinson (Assistant Producer); James Johnson (Art Director); Garrett Rosso (Senior Designer); Raanan Bar-Cohen (Technology Manager); Adam Embick (Senior Technical Producer); Andrew Arnold (Senior Developer); Shahieda DaSilva (Editorial Coordinator)

TIME INC.

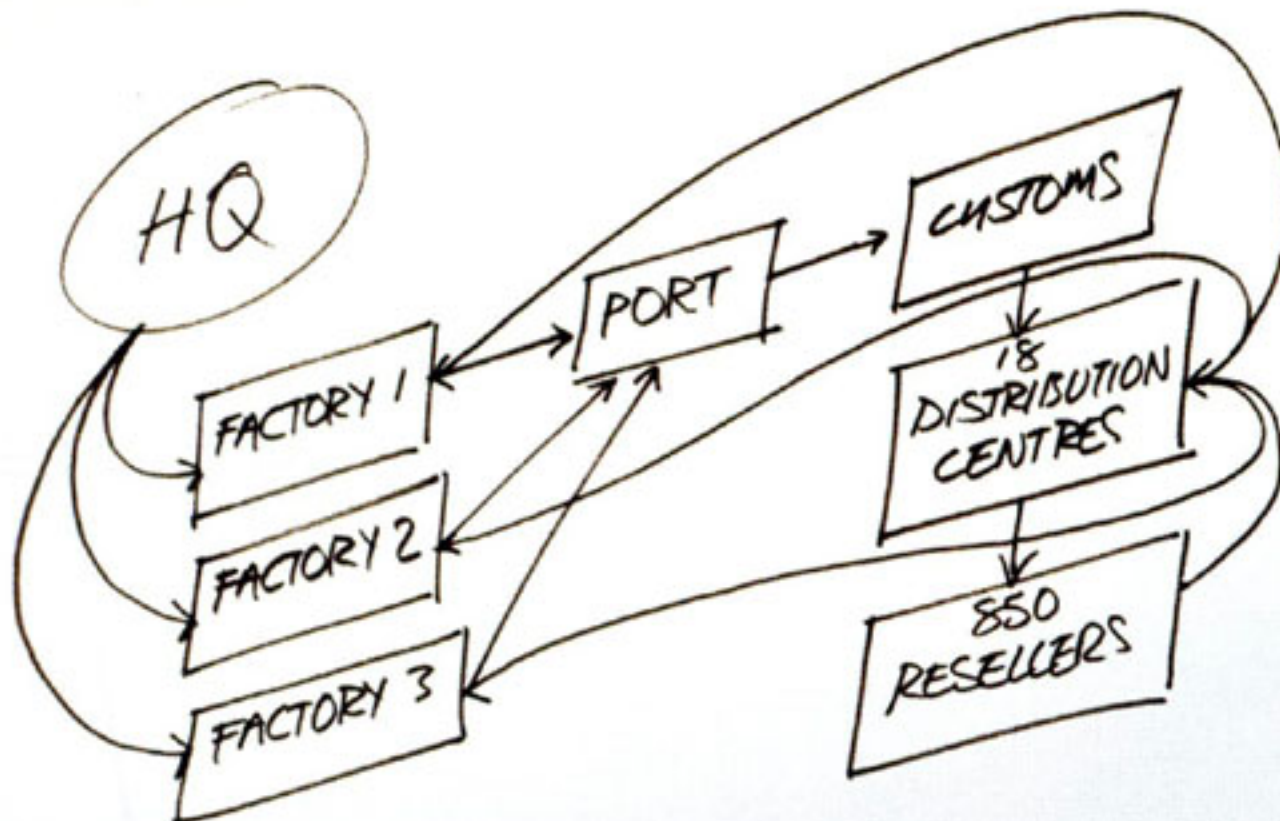
DEVELOPMENT EDITOR: Susan Casey
EDITORS-AT-LARGE: Donald L. Barlett, Angelo Figueroa, James B. Steele
EDITORIAL SERVICES: Claude Boral (Director); Thomas E. Hubbard (Photo Lab); Beth Iskander (Photography); Kathi Doak (Picture Collection); Frank Borrelli (Technology); Patricia Lantis (Syndication)
EDITORIAL TECHNOLOGY: Paul Zazzera (Chief Information Officer); Scott Haglund, Mitchell Klair (Vice Presidents); Bob Alpaugh, Agatha Cutrone, Renee Guttman Stark (Sr. Directors)

TIME EUROPE

PRESIDENT: Andrew Butcher
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT: Richard Evans
FINANCE DIRECTOR: Alistair Sharpe
VICE PRESIDENT, MARKETING DIRECTOR: Anne Pappas
VICE PRESIDENT, CONSUMER MARKETING: Ann Hext
HUMAN RESOURCES DIRECTOR: Lisa Webster
INTERNATIONAL DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS: Emma Gilpin
CREATIVE SERVICES DIRECTOR: Judith Davis
SALES DIRECTORS: Northern/Eastern Europe: Thomas Sticklemaier
 Dusseldorf: Helmut Steinkraus
 Geneva: Inna Hartmann
 Johannesburg: Paul Vos
 London: Nadine Howarth
 Paris/SO. Europe: Isabelle Mollat
SALES DEVELOPMENT DIRECTOR: James Griffiths
ADVERTISING BUSINESS DIRECTOR: Regina Peters Buckley
PRODUCTION MANAGER: Melanie Briggs

TIME INTERNATIONAL
VICE PRESIDENT: Peter Vincent
DIRECTORS: Yoko Harada, Inna Hartmann, Rob King, Penny Scott

COMMERCE. SYNCHRONISED.



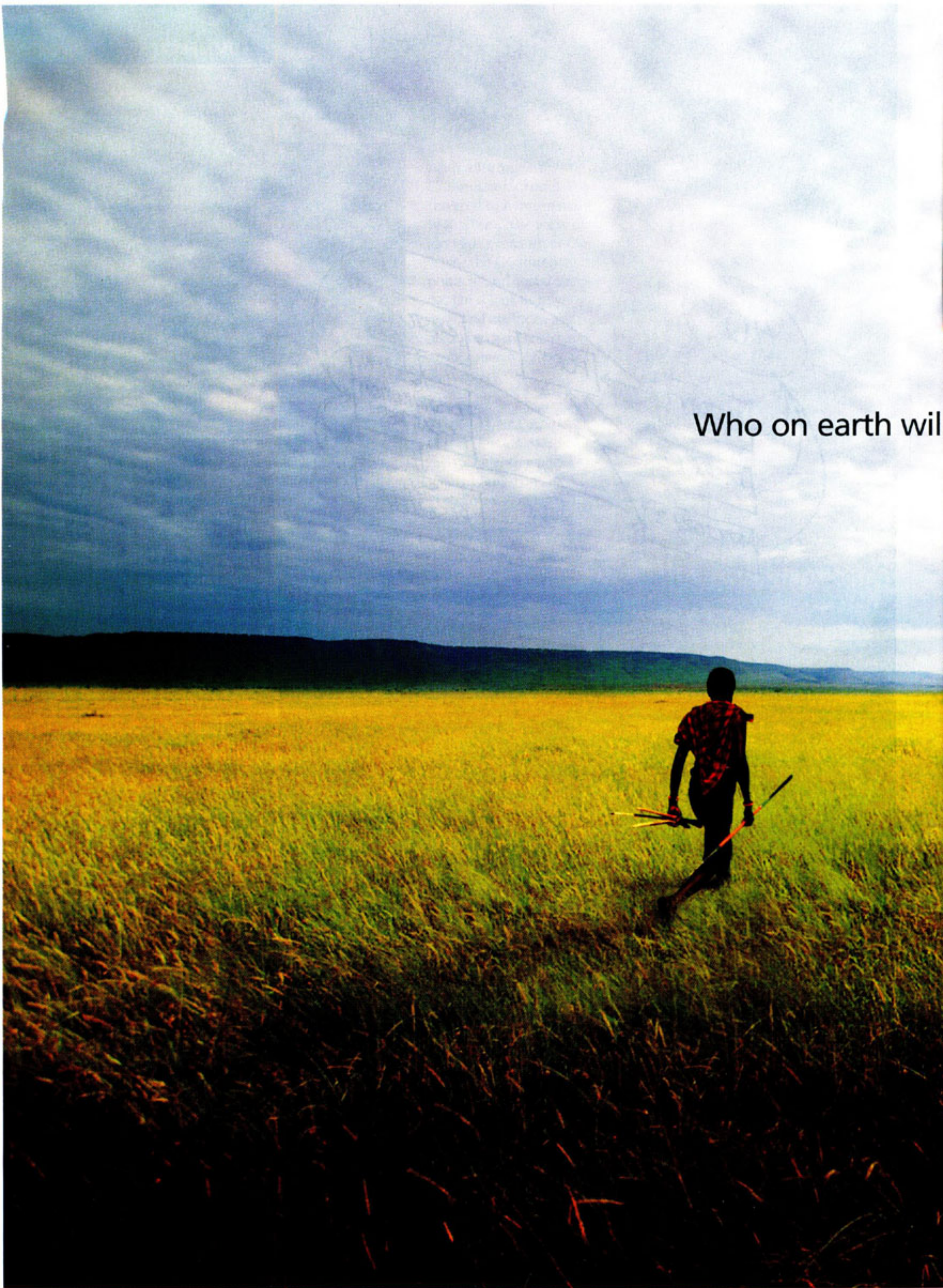
The problem is, sometimes it's not that obvious. But at UPS Supply Chain Solutions, we have years of in-depth knowledge to help streamline your supply chain. We can help you reduce inventory costs and create a more efficient distribution structure. And while you speed your products to market, our sophisticated technology increases visibility throughout your supply chain. This isn't dry theory. It's a practical approach.

ups-scs.com

What's wrong with this supply chain?



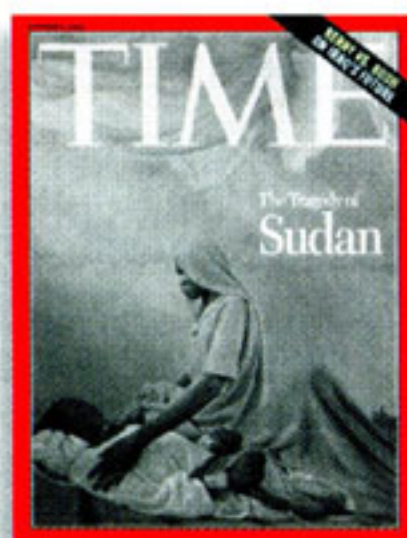
Who on earth wil



Over 100 destinations across 6 continents



50 tickets to be won at www.malaysiaairlines.com



The Tragedy of Sudan

“The moral irrelevance and depravity of the U.N. and its member states can be summed up in one word: Darfur.”

JACQUELINE BALK-TUSA
Washington

I HAVE BEEN HAUNTED AND SICKENED BY the photos and news coming out of Sudan [Oct. 4]. Most of the world seems to completely ignore the genocide in the region of Darfur carried out by the government-backed Janjaweed Arab militia against non-Arab Muslims. Although I am wondering what I can do to help, world leaders appear to be waiting for the murder to magically come to an end. With all the wealth and power in this world, why aren't they jumping in to save the people in Darfur? Are Sudanese oil interests and political alliances so important that 50,000 people must be allowed

to die? It feels as though we are losing our sense of humanity. My hope for the future of our world is diminished each time we blatantly ignore the needs of our fellow human beings.

KRISTY CARUSO
Sauquoit, New York, U.S.

A DECADE AFTER THE GENOCIDAL MURders of the Tutsi by the Hutu, Rwandans are still confronting the memory of their worst crisis. Today the Janjaweed are

ther deteriorate the existing socioeconomic and political problems of the entire African continent.

OKEKE JIDE MARTYNS
Bradford, England

THE KILLINGS IN DARFUR ARE AN EVEN greater challenge to the Muslim world than the devastation in Iraq. Muslims should know that Islam abhors racism, terrorism and all other forms of injustice. The Janjaweed's terrorist tactics are un-Islamic. Human life is sacred, and so is a woman's chastity. These murderers and rapists should repent and embrace reconciliation.

ABDULLAHI KIRFI
Lagos

YOU HAVE DONE A SERVICE IN UNDERSCORING the human tragedy in the devastated nation of Sudan. In this era of technological and economic advances, to learn about the gruesome conditions in Darfur was a shock. It shows the amount of work yet to be accomplished by all nations in spreading education and humane values and eradicating hunger and poverty.

RAJENDRA ANEJA
Bombay

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

SERVICE RIGHT

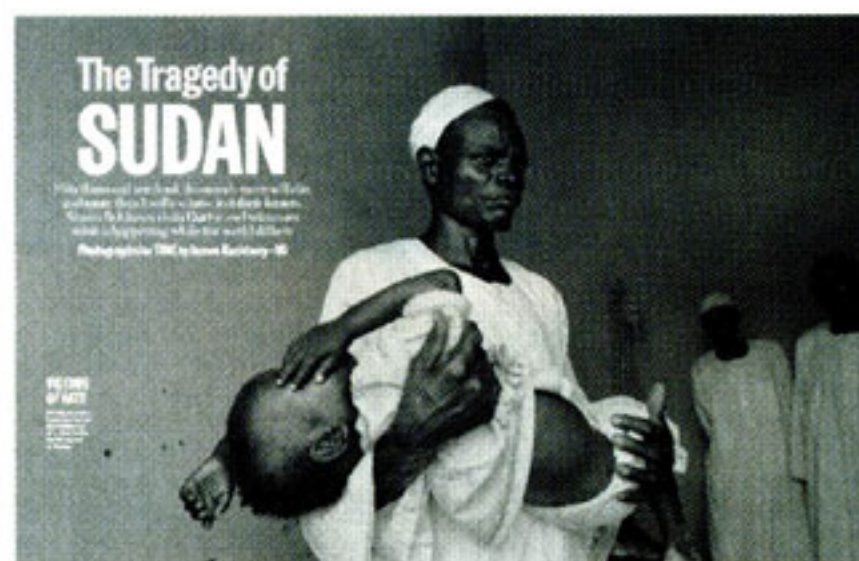
■ In our PEOPLE item on Prince Harry of Wales [Oct. 4] we referred to his father as “an air force man.” While Prince Charles started his military career in the R.A.F., where he gained his “wings,” he served in the Royal Navy from 1971-76.

THE OTHER JACKSON

■ In his ESSAY about Republican bands getting involved in the presidential election campaign [Sept. 6], Joel Stein said he contacted guitarist Ted Nugent through Nugent's Tedquarters in Jackson, Mississippi. His quarters are in Jackson, Michigan.

THE OTHER KOREA

■ The IN THE ARENA column “Kerry in a Straitjacket” [Aug. 30] said President Bush had announced he wanted to bring U.S. troops home from North Korea. The reference should have been to South Korea.



similarly butchering black people in Darfur by the thousands, yet the U.N. has refused to call it genocide. Maybe the tragedy will fit that definition when thousands of human skulls are stacked up in memorials as in Rwanda. What is more genocidal than the story you reported: a 1-year-old baby boy being tossed up in the air and shot? Please, U.N. members, unite and help the Africans now.

STANLEY WASHYNTON
Zurich

THE SITUATION IN DARFUR REMINDED ME of the lawless state of nature described by the philosopher Thomas Hobbes, in which life is “nasty, brutish and short.” If urgent steps are not taken by the Sudanese government and the international community to end the Darfur atrocities, the fighting may extend to the neighboring East African region and fur-

The Fight for Iraq

YOU ASKED WHETHER THE IRAQ war can be won [Oct. 4]. There can never be a final victory there as long as President Bush fails to face the realities on the ground. He continues to say “freedom is on the march,” even though the National Intelligence

Estimate on Iraq, representing the consensus view of the U.S. intelligence community, presented the possibility that there might be civil war there. A number of military professionals say more troops will be needed to secure Iraq's elections next January. Members of the President's own party have also spoken out about the dangerous conditions in Iraq. The sooner the President acknowledges the realities there, the sooner he can answer the question of whether we are taking the right approach to winning the peace.

ROBERT TORMEY
MAJOR, U.S.A.F. (RET.)
Escondido, California, U.S.

THE INSURGENTS IN IRAQ CAN IDENTIFY U.S. troops, but American soldiers cannot identify the terrorists. They can blend in with the population, smile,



**Technology should be as
simple as the box it comes in.**

We believe technology can be advanced and simple at the same time. It can be easy to experience. It can be designed around people. Simplicity can be the goal of technology. It certainly is the goal at Philips. It just makes sense.

Join us on our journey at www.philips.com/simplicity

PHILIPS

sense **and** simplicity

shake our hands, thank us and take our money one day, then attack us the next. This could go on indefinitely as casualties continue to increase with no end in sight. We cannot win this war. The election of a puppet government in Iraq will not end it. If we return Bush to office, we are telling the President and the world that we support the war. Bush will take this as a mandate to continue his war. We are betraying our responsi-



CAN THIS WAR BE WON?

bility to the world, our nation and our troops by allowing this situation to continue. It must end—now.

BILL WELCH
Blue Springs, Missouri, U.S.

IN HIS OCTOBER SPEECH TO THE U.N. General Assembly, President Bush declared, "We know that dictators are quick to choose aggression, while free nations strive to resolve differences in peace." Is that positive proof of the President's lack of awareness of how his country's recent actions are perceived internationally? I am not suggesting that the U.S. is a dictatorship, but it's ironic Bush noted that free nations prefer peaceful means.

CALLUM SMELLIE
Auckland, New Zealand

THE CONCLUSION OF YOUR STORY ASSESSING whether the U.S. can win the war in Iraq noted that in the short term the country might end up like Afghanistan, plagued by insurgents and with a weak government dependent on U.S. protection. That assessment was accurate. Since it is almost impossible to cobble together a representative government in a country that includes so many different groups with varying objectives, the U.S. should focus on establishing local governing councils in each city. In this way we could cut down on strife in several of these urban centers, promote commercial and industrial growth and minimize the appearance of our presence as an occupying force.

MARC GILMORE
Watertown, Massachusetts, U.S.

The Nader Effect

READING ABOUT RALPH NADER, HIS EFFECT on the 2000 election and his possible effect on the 2004 election infuriated me [Oct. 4]. Who does this man think he is? Nader is a self-important egomaniac who is under the illusion that he and his naive, deluded supporters actually matter. This stubborn idiot is willing to take votes away from the Democratic presidential candidate (with the gleeful support of the Republicans) and put the far right in control for four more years. He has zero chance of winning anything except the opportunity to have a devastatingly negative impact. Why should he be allowed that sort of influence? Go away, Nader, and stay away!

ROBERT BERMUDEZ
Farmingdale, New York, U.S.

NADER HAS SADLY MORPHED FROM A selfless consumer advocate to a self-absorbed egoist and Republican pawn. His insatiable need to extend his 15 minutes of fame illustrates what a poor leader he would be. For those who question whether a vote for Nader is a vote for Bush, they need look no farther than the Oval Office.

SPRING DAVIS
Durham, North Carolina, U.S.

What Surveys Show

IN "THE TROUBLE WITH POLLS AND FOCUS Groups" [Oct. 4], columnist Joe Klein wonders whether focus groups have outlived their usefulness. They have, if candidates look to polls and focus groups to inform themselves about the right thing to do. But Klein shouldn't conclude that getting the public's opinion is no longer useful. When a candidate wants to persuade voters to agree with what he thinks is right, a focused group discussion (the original name for the technique) can be quite potent. Asking a presidential candidate to run a campaign without a focus group is like asking a physician to reach a diagnosis without a stethoscope. Candidates should view a focus group as a simple tool, not a murky crystal ball requiring a wizard to decipher it.

GARY BLACKTON
Portland, Oregon, U.S.

KLEIN ARGUED THAT POLLING HAS BECOME "less scientific and more speculative. It means polls should be trusted

only to verify broad shifts ... rather than specific point spreads." Even this may be optimistic, since the flaws in polls may be systemic and not random. I would guess that poll numbers roughly correspond to the category of people who are susceptible to telemarketers. If you rely on a cell phone, have caller ID or are worried about identity theft and privacy, then, respectively, you don't have a phone number pollsters can call, you won't pick up the phone and you won't give personal answers. That puts poll results into question.

STEPHEN NASH
Arlington, Virginia, U.S.

No Surrender

"THE STRUGGLE WITHIN ISLAM" DESCRIBED the battle between moderate and fundamentalist Muslims [Sept. 20]. I dream of the day when all the religious groups of the world may coexist peacefully, even though that may be several generations away. Human nature and history tell us that as long as there are

LITERARY IMP



The first novel of French author Françoise Sagan [MILESTONES, Oct. 4] was chosen by TIME as one of the best books of 1955. When her second book came out a year later,

TIME took the opportunity to fill in readers on the precocious Frenchwoman [April 30, 1956]:

"When convent-educated Françoise Sagan [real name Françoise Quoirez] dashed off her first novel, *Bonjour Tristesse*, in a summer month ... **SHE BECAME ONE OF EUROPE'S FASTEST-SELLING, MOST CONTROVERSIAL AUTHORS** ... [the book] won the *Prix des Critiques*, touched off a sizzling French literary controversy and, in one U.S. paperback edition alone, sold an astonishing 1 million copies in one month ... The second book is now out, and so is the verdict. Sagan's novel, *Un Certain Sourire* (A Certain Smile), written in two months, is the new literary sensation of Paris. **FRANÇOISE SAGAN REPEATS HER OFFENSE AND ... WINS!** headlined one weekly. In Paris' *Le Monde*, venerable critic Emile Henriot wrote: 'At her flying start ... we could wonder if this 18-year-old girl ... would be the woman of only one book ... We had to wait for her second book. Here it is ... and it is perfect.'"



**Because babies don't
come in two dimensions.**

Philips 3D Ultrasound. Ultrasound images that are more like life itself. 3 dimensional and in real time. A true innovation that allows doctors to see things as they really are. It's a case of technology imitating life. It just makes sense.

Join us on our journey at www.philips.com/simplicity

PHILIPS

sense and simplicity

adults teaching children that their religion and philosophy of life are unique—and that any other should be destroyed—violence will be perpetuated. The best tool to change the thinking of those radical groups is dialogue. When that fails and the groups resort to violence to impose their views, then drastic actions are necessary. The war in Afghanistan and the fight against the Basque terrorist group ETA in Spain are justified. Once strong measures have been taken, it is essential to be firm and not surrender to terrorists' blackmail. The withdrawal of the Spanish troops from Iraq was a mistake. The new government should carefully analyze its decisions before acting.

ANGELO GONZALEZ
Vigo, Spain

Polling the World

I READ WITH GREAT AMUSEMENT SIMON Robinson's proposal for the rest of the world to vote for the U.S. President [Sept. 27]. I would like to suggest that on Nov. 2, 2004, an official election be held in which all citizens of the world can participate, possibly by voting on the

Internet. It would give millions of people the chance to officially express their views on an election that carries global import and will affect millions of lives.

SARAH COENE
Hinsbeck, Germany

Let the Foxes Live

RE YOUR ITEM ABOUT PRO-HUNTING demonstrators objecting to the U.K. ban on fox hunting with dogs [Sept. 27]: Nature's law is to kill other animals only if a creature cannot find food in any other way. But very few hunters today kill wildlife to keep their children from starvation. Most hunters kill for pleasure. The hunting of any wild animal should be banned once and for all. But no politician is brave enough to favor such a position—hunters vote.

VASSILIS BANAVAS
Thessaloniki, Greece

YOU NOTED THAT PROTESTERS AGAINST the hunting ban have pointed out that foxes will still have to be killed as agricultural pests. That is not only appalling, but also downright absurd. Foxes deserve the same protection as the creatures highlighted in TIME's recent cover story

"Saving the Big Cats." The big cats too are killed under the pretext of being pests.

MATTHIAS GEIGER
Birchwil, Switzerland

HOW TO REACH US

TIME

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Want to be published in TIME? We'd like to know what's on your mind. If you've got a comment on one of our stories or about an important issue of the day, simply mail, fax or e-mail it to us at the location below that's most convenient. Please include your name and address, as well as your fax number or e-mail address. Letters may be edited for purposes of space and clarity.

TIME Magazine, PO Box 36819, London, WC2E 7YQ, England

■ **BERLIN** (fax) +49 (0) 30 72626 1701
■ **LONDON** (fax) +44 (0) 20 7322 1230
■ **PARIS** (fax) +33 (0) 1 72 25 14 60
■ **E-MAIL** Letters@time.com

■ REPRINTS

For information on reprints please call:
+44 (0) 20 7322 1322, fax +44 (0) 20 7322 1276 or e-mail:
reprints_time@timemagazine.com (minimum order 1,000 copies)

■ TIME CUSTOMER SERVICE

For fast, 24-hour customer service, please visit www.timeeurope.com/customerservice. You can change your address, check your subscription status and make other subscription changes.

Or call +31 (0) 20 4874 232

U.K. only: please call 020 7365 0938

Or fax +31 (0) 20 4874 468

Or write to us at

P.O. Box 20500, 1001 NM Amsterdam, The Netherlands

■ TIME ADVERTISER SERVICE

+44 (0) 20 7322 1088 or fax +44 (0) 20 7322 1213

AOL Keyword: TIME

INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF MANAGEMENT

**Fully accredited
in USA and Europe.**

Customized programs
for senior managers and
top-level executives.

**American professors
with extensive first-hand
international business
experience.**

Student Profile:

30-45 years old, average
professional experience
of 10 years, more than
60 nationalities.

Admission:

January, April, October

Paris, New York, Tokyo, Barcelona

leMBA

- International Executive MBA Program
- Part-time in one year or full-time in 9 months

DBA

- Doctor of Business Administration
- Part-time over two years

PhD

- One-on-one instruction
- Associate Professorships available
- International Publishing Opportunities

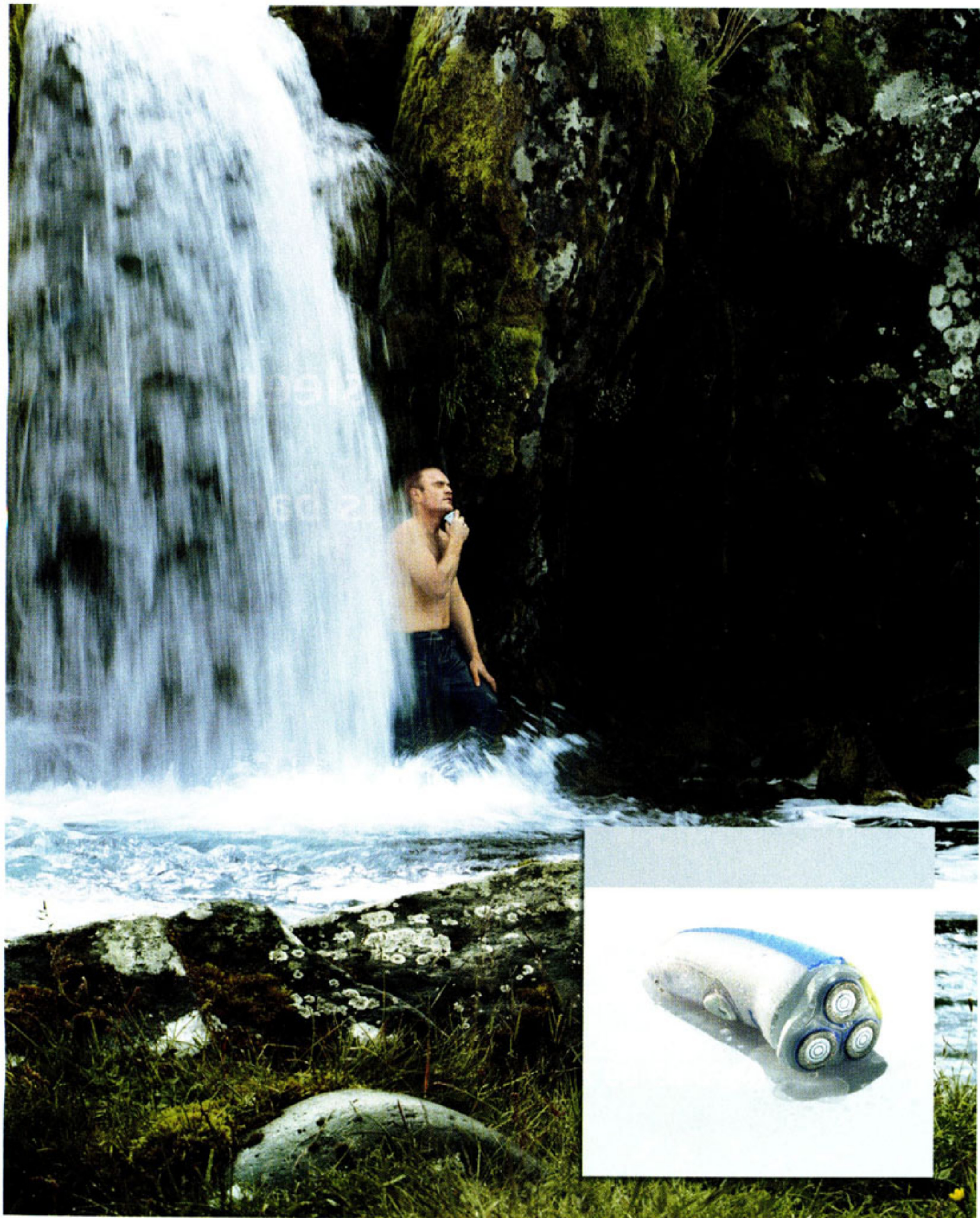
e-LEARNING : OPTION FOR ALL PROGRAMS

148, rue de Grenelle - 75007 Paris

Tel. : + 33 (0)1 45 51 09 09 - Fax : + 33 (0)1 45 51 09 08 - info@ism.edu

Programs managed by International School of Management, New York

www.ism.edu



Shave wherever you shower.

Philishave Cool Skin. Shaving in the shower is more enjoyable than shaving in front of the sink. And a lot more invigorating. So Philips designed a shaver so versatile it lets you shave anywhere. Even in the shower. And if this idea brings a smile to your face, it will also bring an extremely close shave. It just makes sense.

Join us on our journey at www.philips.com/simplicity

PHILIPS

sense **and** simplicity

Make sure you get to sleep First

Our best ever offer is back

**Book full fare Club World and receive
a free one-way upgrade to FIRST.*
See your travel agent or call
0870 85 09 850 by 5th December.**



*Terms and conditions apply. Purchase and travel on a full fare Club World return flight (booking class J2BA) on a BA operated mainline service between 07/09/04 and 05/12/04 inclusive and qualify for an upgrade to FIRST (on participating routes only; in booking class A) on one leg of that journey (flights scheduled to depart on 5th December, which do not land until 6th December will be included in this promotion). Participants must request the upgrade at the time of booking. Not bookable online. Travel on BA franchisees, codeshare, alliance and partner airlines not included, except Qantas (booking class J2QF1; on Qantas aircraft only). Tickets must be purchased in the UK or Republic of Ireland; all travel must start and finish in the UK or Republic of Ireland. Promotion is not transferable; no cash or credit alternatives given. Upgrade seats available for this promotion on each flight are limited. Seats available under this promotion may be fully booked during peak periods even though seats are still available in a different booking class in the same cabin. No upgrades are available on connecting or any other flights. To view full terms and conditions visit ba.com/sleepfirst

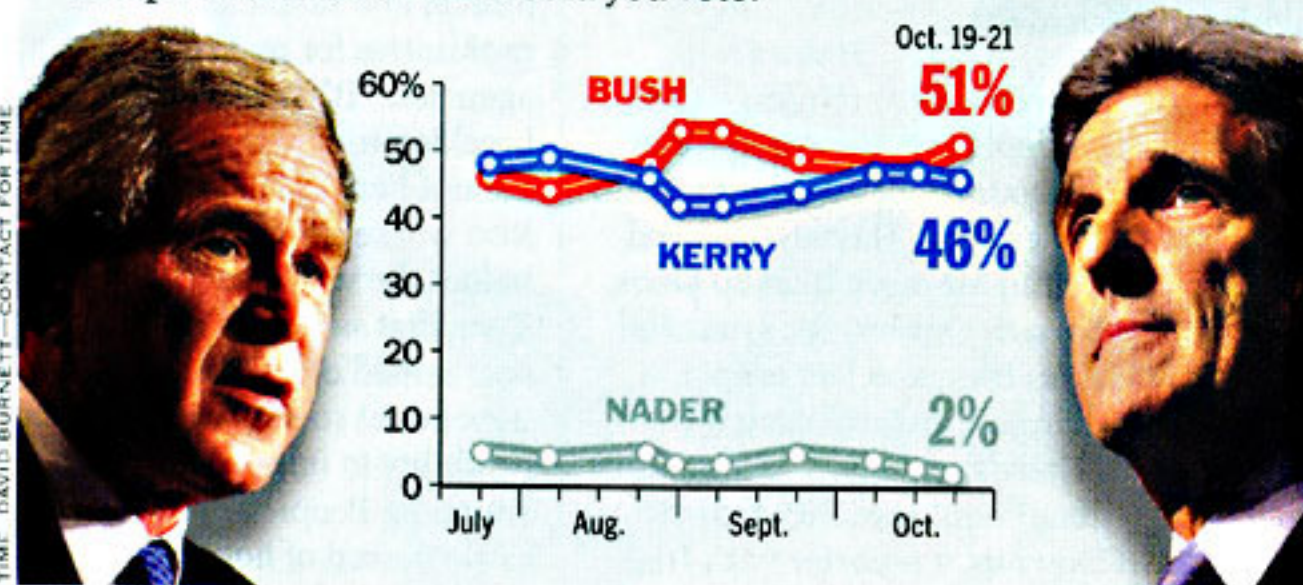
YEMG ydy electronic magazine

THE FRENZIED FINISH

SENATOR JOHN KERRY may have won all three of his debates with U.S. President George W. Bush, but he's having trouble converting those victories into votes, according to a new TIME survey. With the campaign entering its final, frenzied week, Bush leads Kerry among likely voters by 51% to 46%

On most domestic matters, Kerry's once large advantage has either been eroded or disappeared. Voters favor the Democrat by just one point—46% to 45%—on handling the economy. On health care, a traditional Democratic issue Kerry once seemed to own, his lead has narrowed to just four points. Perhaps most important to Bush, 53% of voters say they approve of his

■ Suppose the 2004 election for President were being held today, and you had to choose among **John Kerry**, the Democrat; **George W. Bush**, the Republican; and **Ralph Nader**, running as an independent. For whom would you vote?



nationwide. The President held a similar five-point edge over Kerry in a TIME poll before the first debate.

What explains Bush's advantage? For one, terrorism is tied with the economy as the issue voters say is most important to them. And when asked which candidate would best handle the war on terror, voters prefer Bush over Kerry by 19 points—56% to 37%—up from just 11 points a week ago. The President has widened his lead on all the so-called hard issues of national security: whether it's providing leadership in difficult times, preventing the spread of WMD or being Commander in Chief, voters choose Bush by double-digit margins.

overall performance on the job; traditionally, Presidents with an approval rating above 50% have gone on to win re-election.

The problem for Bush is that the race is still extremely close. In fact, other major independent polls taken last week showed the two men in a dead heat; one gave Kerry a three-point lead. And several surveys showed Kerry outperforming Bush in the so-called battleground states—places like Ohio, Pennsylvania and Florida—that will really decide who takes the oath of office next January. With so much conflicting data, each side can claim momentum going into the final leg of the campaign.

—By James Carney

VERBATIM

“I had forgotten that Mrs. Bush had worked as a school teacher and a librarian, and there couldn't be a more important job.”

TERESA HEINZ KERRY, wife of Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry, apologizing for saying that she didn't know whether First Lady Laura Bush had ever held a real job

“She apologized but she didn't even really need to apologize. I know how tough it is and actually I know those trick questions.”

LAURA BUSH, accepting Teresa Heinz Kerry's apology

“International terrorism has as its goal to prevent the election of President Bush to a second term.”

VLADIMIR PUTIN, Russian President, speaking at a press conference in Dushanbe, Tajikistan, in comments widely seen as supporting George W. Bush. He later explained he would respect “unconditionally” the choice of the American people

“We've been looking forward to Castro's fall for years, but this isn't what we had in mind.”

A U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL, on Cuban President Fidel Castro's tumble from the dais at a graduation ceremony near Havana last week. Castro broke his left knee and right arm

“My dad has put his hand up and will be 90 at the time; my kids definitely want to come; and if there is room for my mum she will come as well.”

RICHARD BRANSON, founder of the Virgin business empire, on who will join him on the first of his proposed commercial space flights. There is already a waiting list of 7,000 for the \$210,000 trip

“Real Americans aren't interested in your pansy-ass, tea-sipping opinions.”

A RESPONSE FROM TEXAS, after the U.K.'s Guardian newspaper organized a letter-writing campaign from Britons to voters in Clark County, Ohio, to try to influence the result in the crucial swing state

“The guy wants me to stand in line with everybody else. I'm not everybody else.”

COURTNEY LOVE, rock star, during a court appearance during which she was forced to wait in line before she could plead guilty to disorderly conduct for hitting a fan with a microphone stand

SOURCES: Associated Press (3), Agence France-Presse, Press Association, Guardian, New York Times



Juan Cole, an Iraq expert at the University of Michigan.

In a video released last Friday, Hassan was shown weeping as she said, "Please, please I beg of you, the British people, to help me ... I don't want to die like Bigley," a reference to British hostage Kenneth Bigley, who was decapitated by his captors earlier this month. She also urged people to ask Prime Minister Tony Blair to withdraw U.K. troops from the country.



مقتل جنديين فرنسيين في حادث مروري في أفغانستان

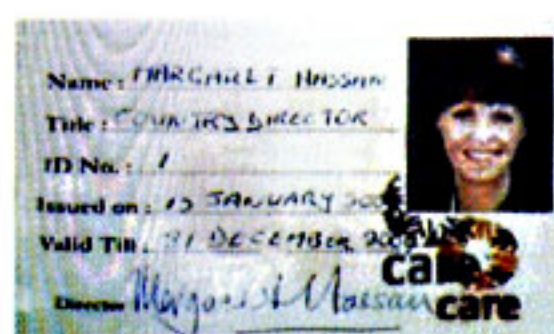
THE WAR ON AID WORKERS

AT FIRST GLANCE, THE INSURGENTS who target humanitarian aid workers in Iraq might seem to be committing a public relations blunder. After all, these are selfless, apolitical volunteers—people such as Margaret Hassan, CARE International's Iraq country director, who was taken hostage last week. But the same strategy has been used successfully by the Taliban in Afghanistan to sever links between the people and those whose work might signal that improvements are under way.

The goal: to stall reconstruction so citizens lose hope and turn against the new government. That seems to be the thinking of insurgents in Iraq who have been targeting aid workers for abduction and attacking Iraqis perceived to be helping the Americans. Last Thursday, four Iraqi office workers at Baghdad International Airport died when gunmen ambushed the bus taking them to work. "The purpose is to deny [interim Prime Minister] Allawi's government and the Americans key infrastructural support," says

abduction will reinforce the perception among Iraqis that the country has descended into lawlessness. Hassan has lived in Iraq for more than 30 years. Born in Dublin, she's married to an Iraqi and has been a stringent critic of sanctions. "There's a steely determination about her," says Richard Downes, a reporter with Irish television station RTE who knows Hassan well. "She blames Britain and America for what has happened in Iraq, particularly America."

The kidnapping may yet



Hassan, shown weeping in a video recorded by her captors, left; her CARE ID card, above

backfire on Hassan's abductors. "To humiliate a woman like this, especially an Arab woman, is unacceptable," said Saad al-Nasseri, a Baghdad businessman who met Hassan in the late '70s. "Whoever has her, they will get no sympathy from the Iraqi people." But Hassan's kidnapping has prompted CARE to suspend its operations in Iraq. The cost—in human and financial terms—is prohibitive for most aid agencies. "It's been quite heart-breaking to say [that the NGOs] are not here anymore," says one NGO worker. A few months before the war, Hassan told TIME that sanctions against Iraq had helped create "a dependent society with little or no ability to improve its situation. People are being dispossessed of hope and happiness, of everything that makes us human." Sadly, that analysis still holds true. —By

Phil Zabriskie. With reporting by Mairéad Carey, Aparisim Ghosh, Scott MacLeod and Michael Ware

BAND AID REVIVAL

THE SONG REMAINS THE SAME

Mullet haircuts, famine in Africa, Bob Geldof, Midge Ure and top British pop stars trying to raise money with a Christmas single. It's 1984, right? Not exactly. A 2004 re-recording of Band Aid's *Do They Know It's Christmas?* is in the works. Here's how to tell the difference:

THEN

FAMINE: Ethiopia

TRUE BELIEVER: Bono (U2)

BOY-BAND MEMBER MAKES GOOD:

George Michael

MOST LIKELY TO TURN THE AMP UP TO 11:

Status Quo

THREE STRONG WOMEN:

Bananarama

MOST LIKELY TO KISS AND MAKE UP:

New romantic rivals Duran Duran and Spandau Ballet swap makeup tips with Culture Club

Big hair circa 1984: Michael of Wham!

NOW

FAMINE: Sudan

TRUE BELIEVER: Chris Martin (Coldplay)

EX-BOY-BAND MEMBER MADE GOOD:

Robbie Williams

MOST LIKELY TO TURN THE AMP UP TO 11:

The Darkness

THREE STRONG WOMEN: Jamelia, Dido,

Beverley Knight

MOST LIKELY TO KISS AND MAKE UP:

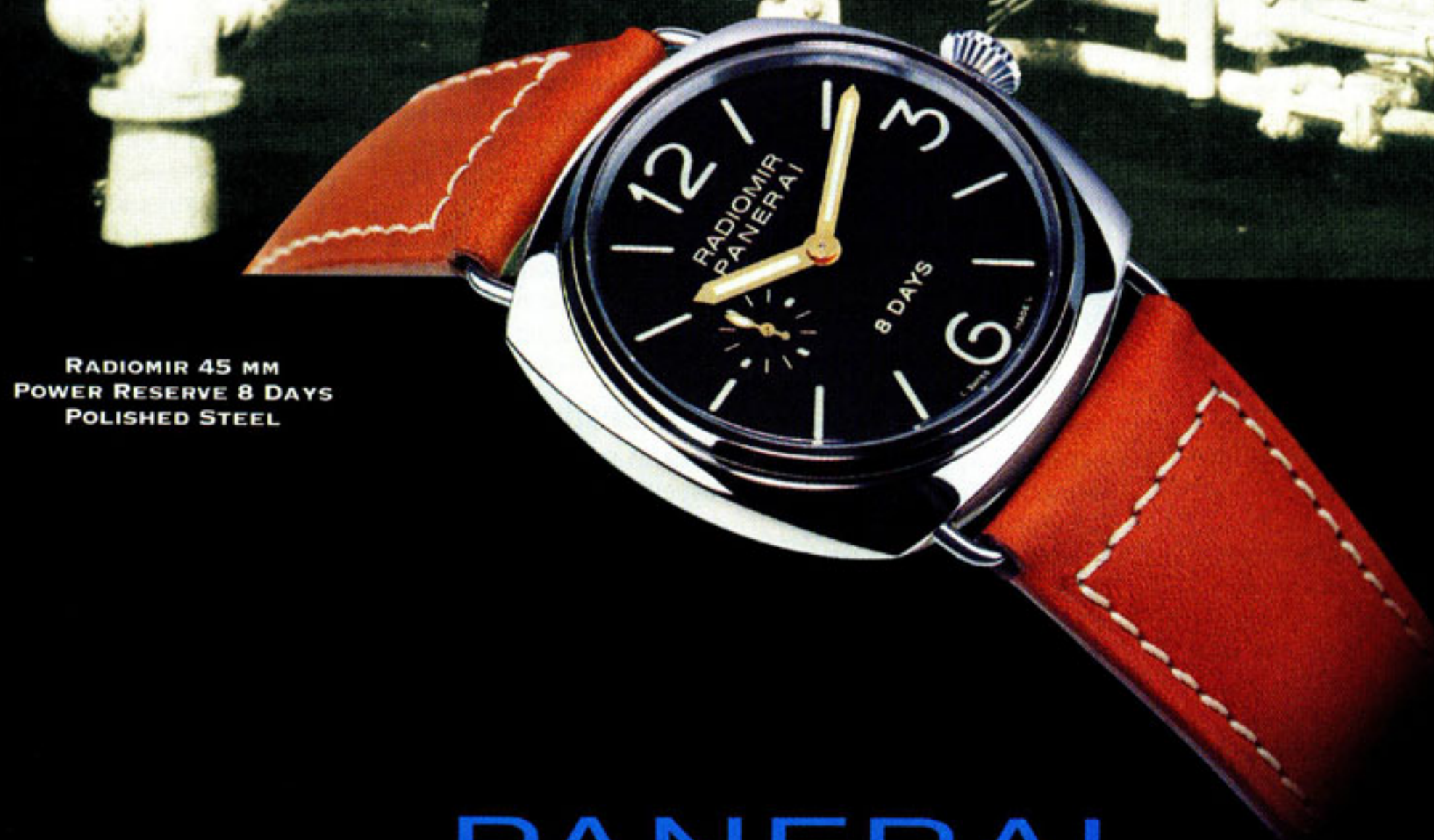
Britpop rivals Damon Albarn (Blur) and Noel Gallagher (Oasis) swap etiquette tips—you never know, it's for charity —By Hugh Porter

Big hair circa 2004: Justin Hawkins of The Darkness



IO, COMANDANTE DEL TEMPO.

Lasciata



**RADIOMIR 45 MM
POWER RESERVE 8 DAYS
POLISHED STEEL**

PANERAI
WHERE IDEAS COME TO LIFE.

www.panerai.com

Phone: +39 02 38000208

THE TOP LINE ON POLLS

As the U.S. presidential candidates make their final push to get out the vote, recent surveys show everything from a 3% Kerry lead to an 8% Bush lead. How accurate can they be?

Are pollsters sampling the whole of America? Pollsters usually interview about 1,000 registered voters; 95% of the time those 1,000 accurately reflect the opinions of the entire country, with a margin of error of + or - 3%. But polls are conducted by phone, which leaves out about 8% of adult Americans, including those in institutions (prisons, hospitals, military bases), some low-income people and the approximately 4% of adults who have only cell phones.

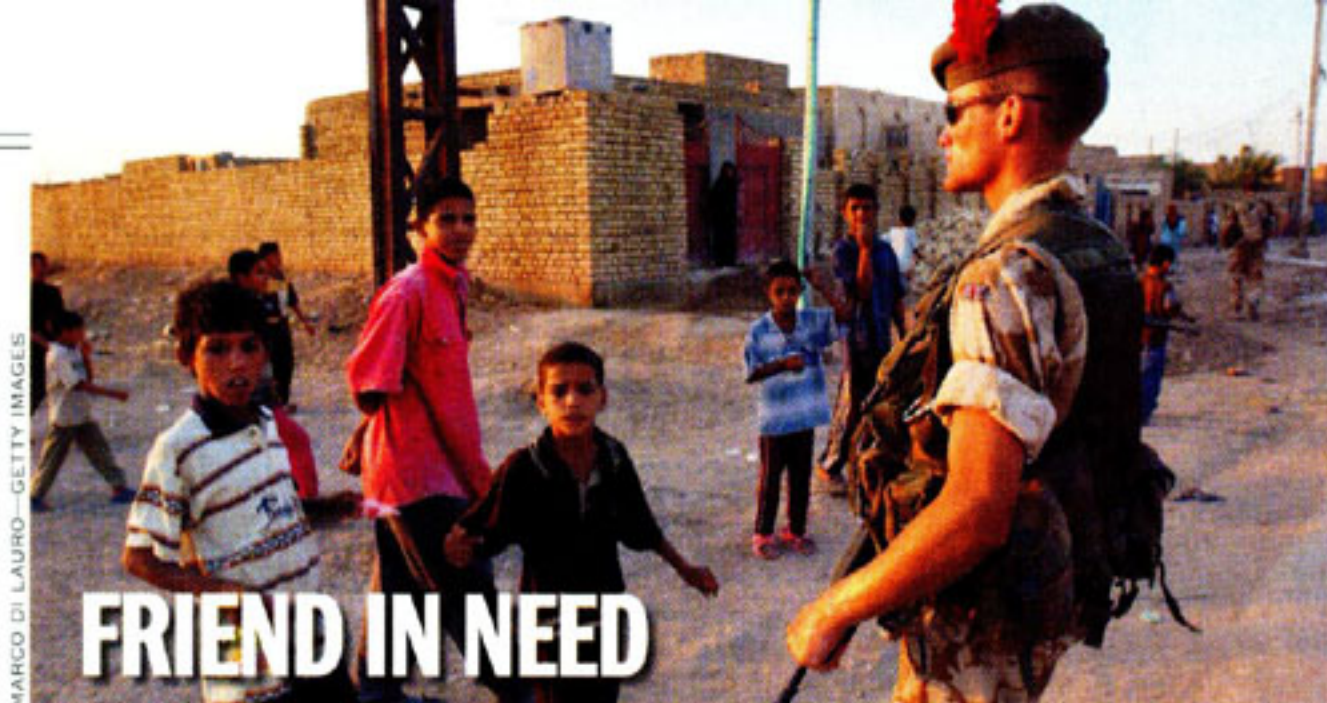


Door-to-door polling in New York City in 1962

How do pollsters compensate for that? They weight the data. For example, 80% of adults are high school graduates, so if only 60% of the respondents are high school grads, the pollster gives their answers more weight, making them count as 80% of the sample. Most election polls—including TIME's—weight for age, sex, race, education and region.

How do pollsters decide who is a "likely voter"? They ask about previous voting patterns. But pollsters still have to estimate what turnout will be on Election Day. Some believe that this year's turnout will match that of the 2000 U.S. presidential election. Other pollsters, including TIME's, expect a higher turnout this year.

—By Mitch Frank



A British soldier in southern Iraq; his regiment is headed to Fallujah

the U.S. has 138,000 troops in Iraq, why does it need this small number of Brits, who already have their hands full around Basra? Were the Americans going to suck

After a struggle that looked more like mud-wrestling than statesmanship, the British government announced it would send 850 soldiers from its zone in southern Iraq to the American zone near Baghdad. When news of the redeployment first broke—via leaks by family members who were outraged that the soldiers wouldn't be home for Christmas as planned—Prime Minister Tony Blair had an ugly fight on his hands. Only 40% of British people now think the Iraq war was justified, and to many M.P.s, including previously loyal members of Blair's Labour Party, this additional accommodation to Washington was a bridge too far. In Parliament and in the newspapers, questions rained down: If

them into a heavy-handed assault on Fallujah, undermining the British army's reputation? The darkest suspicion was that Blair was trying to boost George W. Bush on the eve of the U.S. election—the actress and Labour M.P. Glenda Jackson said she feared British troops were being "reduced to the level of mercenaries for a Republican White House." But the military rode to Blair's rescue. General Michael Walker, Chief of the Defense Staff, said that the request had come through proper military channels, and that the troops would remain under British command—and be home by Christmas anyway. Blair's backbenchers quieted down—for now.

—By J.F.O. McAllister

Fresh Charges

BRITAIN Prosecutors in London charged radical Muslim cleric Abu Hamza al-Masri on 16 counts, including allegations that he incited his followers to murder Jews and other non-Muslims. Abu Hamza, a former imam at a north London mosque, has been in detention since his arrest in May on a U.S. extradition warrant. The British indictment will now take precedence.



Scarf Strife

FRANCE At least six Muslim girls, including two 12-year-olds (above) were expelled from schools for wearing head scarves, the first exclusions under legislation outlawing conspicuous religious symbols in public schools. Officials say a further 70 girls are defying the ban.

On the Alert

SPAIN Antiterror police asked Switzerland to extradite Algerian

WORLD WATCH

By PENNY CAMPBELL

Mohamed Achraf, alleged ring-leader of a group of Islamic extremists suspected of plotting to blow up Madrid's National Court. Spanish examining magistrate Baltasar Garzón questioned eight suspected members of the gang arrested in nationwide swoops, and a further 10 Islamic extremists already serving jail sentences for offenses unrelated to terrorism. Officials said the arrests were not connected to the March 11 Madrid bombings.

Near-Death Experience

POLAND Parliament rejected by just 198 votes to 194 a bill to restore the death penalty, which it abolished in 1997 to meet E.U. human-rights standards (Poland joined the E.U. on May 1). The right-wing Law and Justice party submitted the motion following a series of high-profile murders. Surveys show that 77% of Poles support the death penalty for the most serious crimes.

Mining Tragedy

CHINA The death toll from a gas explosion in a coal mine in central Henan province continued to rise, with 77 confirmed fatalities and hopes fading of finding any of the 71 missing alive. China's mining industry is notoriously dangerous; 4,153 miners were killed in the first nine months of this year.

MEANWHILE IN BRITAIN ...

Ostalgia Stalls

Trabant fan Graham Goodall (below) is seeking a new home for 40 of the 49 cars he keeps in the grounds of his home in a picturesque village in northern England. Goodall said he fell in love with the East German icon—whose engine has only five moving parts—on a 1987 visit to Berlin, and it would be a "disaster" to split up the collection. But after neighbors labeled the vehicles—which are in various states of disrepair—an "eyesore," a local court ordered them to be removed or destroyed.



To receive World Watch by e-mail, go to: www.timeeurope.com/ww/subscribe



First to bring broadband internet to your seat.

First to give you access to your network in flight.

First to let you follow your team at 35,000 feet.

All for this one moment.

With Lufthansa's FlyNet™ you can go online with broadband from your seat, removing the barrier between you and communications on the ground. You can send and receive emails, visit websites, and tune into the latest news. Including those vital football results, as they happen. All because your happiness in flight is our main goal. www.lufthansa.co.uk

*On selected routes. Rolling out across our long-haul fleet.

There's no better way to fly.



Lufthansa

A STAR ALLIANCE MEMBER 

Capture what's inside.



www.europe-nikon.com

At the heart of the image

Joe Klein

The Fighter Jock and the Gooseslayer

WHERE'S PAUL NITZE?" A U.S. INTELLIGENCE EXPERT COM-
plained to me a few months ago. "Where's our strategic
plan? Where's the NSC-68 for the war on terror?" He was re-
ferring to the famous 1950 U.S. National Security Council
memo in which Nitze, who died last week at the splendid
age of 97, proposed a strategy for confronting the Soviet
Union. But the expert was also remembering, with anger and nostalgia,
an era that started with Pearl Harbor and ended with the Tonkin Gulf

Resolution of 1964, when strate-
gic thinking in the priestly realms
of American foreign and eco-
nomic policy was unpolluted by
short-term partisan politics,
when words like *intellectual* and
realism and, yes, *global* weren't
terms of opprobrium. The Bush
Administration has presided over
the culmination of a trend that
has been a long time building: the
triumph of politics and populist
anti-intellectualism over policy.

No one expects deep policy
thinking on the campaign trail.
George H.W. Bush ran a shallow,
hostile race against Michael Duka-
kis in 1988; Bill Clinton exploited
a nonexistent recession in 1992.

But in office, the first Bush Administration
conducted a serious, nuts-and-bolts foreign
policy; the Clinton Administration was no-
table for its sophisticated economic think-
ing. The current White House has done
neither. Quite the opposite: it has dumbed
down governance, scorned serious planning,
politicized formerly nonpartisan agencies.
One example: having the Medicare admin-
istrator mislead Congress about the true cost
of Bush's Medicare prescription-drug plan.
The Administration distorted the prewar
analysis of Saddam's capabilities and failed
to plan for the post-Saddam occupation.
Last week it was revealed that U.S. Under
Secretary of Defense Douglas Feith had
blatantly hyped the possibility of an opera-
tional link between Saddam and al-Qaeda.

Paul Nitze's NSC-68 was a rigorous reac-
tion to a perceived crisis. Communists had
taken over Czechoslovakia in 1948 and
China in 1949; the Soviets had exploded a
nuclear bomb in 1949. NSC-68 was assem-
bled over the winter of 1949-50, and it was a



Kerry's goose hunt was as phony as Bush's macho flight-suit posing



BROOKS KRAFT—CORBIS FOR TIME

careful, comprehensive document, describ-
ing the precise nature of the threat and sug-
gesting specific military, political and
economic responses. "If there is similar
thinking going on now with regard to Is-
lamist terrorism, I am not aware of it," an in-
telligence expert told me. The Iraq-addled
Bush White House has issued no marching
orders for the broader war on terrorism.
How, for example, should intelligence re-
sources be allocated among al-Qaeda, Hiz-
ballah, the Chechens, the Saudi financial
networks, the Iranian nuclear program?
What are the priorities? Should the U.S. use
foreign aid to counter the Saudi-funded
network of radical Islamist schools, or
would the money be better spent buying up
the former Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal?
Some of these questions were raised by
Donald Rumsfeld in a memo last year.
There has been no effort to answer them.

At least the Bush foreign policy has a pati-
na of idealism. The President's economic pol-
icy does not. All previous rules of fiscal

responsibility have been tossed aside. A
round of tax cuts was, perhaps, a justifiable
response to the recession in 2001. But those
cuts were followed willy-nilly by a second
round and, worse, by a blizzard of monster
concessions to corporate interests. A recent
example is instructive: this month Congress
hilariously transformed the closing of a \$5 bil-
lion tax break for exporters, which was re-
quired by a World Trade Organization ruling,
into a \$137 billion luau for special interests,

including NASCAR track owners,
railroads and makers of fishing-
tackle boxes. It used to be that
such bills came with matching
revenue-raising provisions. Not
in this Administration. The
President signed the fiasco, as he
has every other spending opportu-
nity to reach his desk. This, in a
year with a \$413 billion deficit.

There has been no responsi-
ble long-term economic planning,
little thought given to how to pay
for the coming baby-boom retire-
ment. Or how the rapid industri-
alization of China and India will
affect the American middle class:
the issue is not just jobs, but also
soaring prices for commodities
like oil. Or how long the U.S. can

sustain a global economic system in which
the combined U.S. budget and trade
deficits soak up 79% of the world's savings,
as they did in 2003. Given the deepening ev-
idence of American unilateralism and fiscal
irresponsibility, the world may soon find
more pressing priorities than the financing
of America's extravagant lifestyle.

And yet Bush stands an excellent chance
of winning re-election. The campaign has
successfully, and with considerable help from
John Kerry, painted the Democrat as an ef-
fete, irresponsible weakling without core
convictions. Which is ironic, because Kerry
offers a return to Nitzerian seriousness. But
two days after Paul Nitze died, the Senator,
who once criticized Bush for prancing
around in a flight suit beneath a MISSION
ACCOMPLISHED banner, could be found
prancing about the backwoods of Ohio cos-
tumed as a hunter on a wild goose chase.
Those two macho, flamboyantly phony
images—fighter jock and gooseslayer—are
the sad legacy of this election year. ■

SITTING PRETTY IN MINSK

WHEN THE VOTERS OF Belarus approved a measure last week abolishing the two-term limit on the presidency, incumbent Alexander Lukashenko declared himself "overwhelmed" by the expression of popular support. He's now free to run again in 2006, after holding the job since 1994. Western capitals were underwhelmed. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe complained of "unregulated intrusion into polling stations." The U.S.

signed into law the Belarus Democracy Act, which calls for sanctions against the regime and support for its political opposition. "I can say that the vote was a sham," said Bogdan Klich, head of

a delegation of observers from the European Parliament.

Lukashenko brushed aside such concerns. But the thousands of Belarusians who demonstrated in the capital, Minsk, took things more seriously, protesting what they say was blatant electoral fraud. Dozens of opposition activists were injured in scuffles with police. In theory, Belarus and Russia will merge into a single country some time in the next few years. The chief official Russian cheerleader for this idea, Pavel Borodin, put a different spin on the vote. Not only was it fair and free, he claimed, but a precedent that Russian President Vladimir Putin should follow. Belarus and Russia needed "czars," he said.

—By Paul Quinn-Judge



Lukashenko casts his vote in Minsk



New York's attorney general is grilling insurers

Business executives in the U.S. have learned to fear Eliot Spitzer, the New York State attorney general whose reforming drives in recent years have drawn billions of dollars in fines from some of America's biggest companies. Now Spitzer is taking on the insurance industry, and European firms are affected. Spitzer's first target was New York City-based insurance broker Marsh & McLennan, which he accused of misusing "contingent commissions," the fees paid by an insurance company to a broker for steering business its way. Marsh says it has been cooperating with Spitzer's investigation since the spring and has stopped taking the controversial payments. But last week it became clear that Spitzer's net had snared U.S. branches of Netherlands-based ING Group, British broker Benfield Group and Germany's Munich Re. The firms have denied wrongdoing, but investors were spooked. There are no reliable stats on how widespread the practice is in Europe, but price pressure on insurers after the scandal could lead to lower profit margins. It's a reminder that global business means global regulation, too.

**BIZ
WATCH**
By CHARLES
P. WALLACE

BARGAIN HUNTING

Europe's supermarket chains have plenty of trouble in store: a mixed bag of weak consumer spending, pressure from no-frills grocers and domestic price wars have hit retailers at the checkout. After warning that it was headed for its first loss in its 135-year history, British grocer J Sainsbury pledged to cut prices. With rival Tesco's substantial buying power allowing it to keep costs down,

For many shoppers, price cuts are in the bag



"price has moved up the consumer's agenda over the last decade," says Gavin Rothwell, senior analyst at U.K. retail consultant Verdict Research. France, too, seems ready for a price war. Finance Minister Nicolas Sarkozy last week pledged to reform an

eight-year-old law forbidding supermarkets from selling below cost price. Beleaguered Carrefour, Europe's largest retailer, cheered the prospect, hoping to take on discounters like Leader Price. But can chains make

INDICATORS

RISKY BUSINESS JOURNALISM

A British court threw out an unprecedented \$420 million claim made by stockbroker Collins Stewart against the *Financial Times* newspaper. The firm claimed damages based on the fall in its share value following the August 2003 publication of allegations of malpractice. Meanwhile, Russia's Alfa Bank won an \$11 million claim for damages against *Kommersant*, after a Moscow court agreed the newspaper falsely reported financial difficulties at the bank last July.

MAKING A WITHDRAWAL

The European Commission ordered Germany to recover more than €3 billion in illegal state aid granted to seven regional public banks during the 1990s, ending a decade-long investigation into anticompetitive subsidies granted to the Landesbanken.

ALTERNATIVE MEDICINE

British drugstore Boots said it plans to sell a range of sex toys in some of its 1,400 branches next year. The health-and-beauty chain hopes to shore up its appeal among women.

A SURE THING

Average gambling losses per adult in 2003



SOURCE: Global Betting and Gaming Consultants. Figures include all types of gambling

money selling products for less? If it raises consumer confidence, many of Europe's politicians won't mind.

—By Adam Smith

THE BOTTOM LINE "They have their weak points and they have their strong points, and life is difficult for all of them." **JEAN-CLAUDE TRICHET**, European Central Bank president, on progress among the E.U.'s 10 newest members toward adopting the euro



AIM: ZERO EMISSIONS

Harmonious. Efficient. Highly evolved.
Toyota's hybrid technology is designed to mirror nature.

The Toyota Prius features Hybrid Synergy Drive.
Its combination of electric and petrol power delivers the
cleanest engine technology available today.

To learn more about Toyota's environmental initiatives
please visit www.toyota-europe.com/environment/



TOYOTA



WE STRIVE TO SEND YOU ON VACATION FASTER.

SkyTeam offers you the advantage of accumulating and redeeming your Frequent Flyer Miles on all member airlines. Now you have the advantage of going farther even sooner. www.skyteam.com

Caring more about you™





AFFIRMED. A gold medal for **PAUL HAMM**, 22, U.S. gymnast; by a sports tribunal; in Lausanne, Switzerland. The Court of Arbitration for Sport, in a case brought by South Korean gymnast Yang Tae Young, decided that it would set a dangerous precedent to withdraw Hamm's medal, won at the Summer Olympics in Athens, despite a scoring error that cost bronze medalist Yang a crucial one-tenth of a point, which would have been enough to earn him the gold.

AWARDED. TO ALAN HOLLINGHURST, 50, British author; the Man Booker Prize for *The Line of Beauty*, the first novel with an overtly gay theme to win the literary award; in London. Of Hollinghurst's evocative tale of a young hedonist in Thatcherite London, Man Booker panel chairman Chris Smith said, "The fact it can be considered as a perfectly valid part of contemporary fiction without regarding [gay relationships] as unique shows how much times have changed."

SENTENCED. STAFF SGT. IVAN L. FREDERICK II, 38, highest ranking U.S. Army reservist accused in the Abu Ghraib prison scandal; to eight years in prison; at a court martial in Baghdad. The sentence also

includes a reduction in rank, to private; a forfeiture of pay; and a dishonorable discharge. Frederick, who pleaded guilty to five of eight charges, is



one of seven charged in the scandal; his sentence is the longest of the three imposed thus far.

DIED. KOOSE MUNISWAMY VEERAPPAN, 60, India's most-wanted bandit; in a jungle shootout with police; near Chennai, India. Regarded by the poor as a Robin Hood who fought the ruling classes on



their behalf, he was accused of murdering 130 police officers, slaughtering elephants and smuggling millions of dollars of illegal sandalwood and ivory. The outlaw, who lived in the forest, was reportedly lured to his death by his doctor, who talked him into an ambulance by telling him he needed eye surgery.



DIED. PIERRE SALINGER, 79, White House press secretary for U.S. Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson; in Cavaillon, France. Kennedy called Salinger, a hard-living onetime investigative reporter for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, "the voice of the White House." After serving in the two

administrations, Salinger went on to become ABC News' chief correspondent in Europe; he won the prestigious George Polk journalism award in 1981 for his scoop on the U.S. government's secret negotiations to free American hostages held in Iran.

DIED. BETTY HILL, 85, who claimed that she and her husband were abducted by aliens in 1961; in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Driving in the White Mountains one night, the Hills said they saw strange lights but then blanked out. Later, under hypnosis, they described being probed by aliens aboard a spacecraft; a tale that inspired a book, a TV movie and a wave of popular fascination with alien encounters.

DIED. PAUL H. NITZE, 97, formidable diplomat and negotiator who was one of the principal architects of America's cold war policies toward the Soviet Union; in Washington, D.C. Erudite, brash and sometimes irritable, he worked for Presidents from Franklin D. Roosevelt through to Ronald Reagan, helping to instigate the postwar Marshall Plan and, in 1950, writing a key paper that urged a U.S. economic and military buildup to "frustrate the Kremlin design of a world dominated by its will." Yet this early cold warrior became better known for his later efforts at conciliation, most notably a famous "walk in the woods" with his Soviet counterpart in Geneva in 1982, in an attempt to break an arms deadlock. The agreement they reached failed to win approval, but his efforts paved the way for an arms deal between the U.S. and the Soviets in 1987. Though regarded as a godfather of the neoconservative movement, Nitze in recent months had become a critic of U.S. war policies in Iraq and Afghanistan.

54 YEARS AGO IN TIME

Boston Red Sox general manager Theo Epstein said last week his team beat its New York rivals in the American League baseball championship "for all the great Red Sox players who never beat the Yankees." Among them was **TED WILLIAMS**, who never won a World Series in his Sox career.



Ted Williams of the Boston Red Sox looked as fit as an Indian buck . . . But as usual Ted Williams had a number of worries . . . On paper the Sox have the best first team in the business, but they are weak "on the bench," i.e., in replacements. Midseason injuries to such mainstays as Bobby Doerr and hard-hitting (39 homers last year) Vernon Stephens could put the Sox out of the running. Pennants are never won on paper, and for the past two seasons the Sox have been nosed out of the race on the last day. This year, as last, the Yankees may well out-run them, but no expert would care to guarantee the outcome of the 1950 race . . . Ted Williams, never a bawling optimist, figures the Sox have a 50-50 chance ("at the outside"). Says Ted: "I'd sure like for us to get it. It would be one of the greatest thrills of my life."

—TIME, April 10, 1950

THE MORNING

How this race ends—and when—could deepen the splits in the already fractured U.S. After a season of passion and poison, the winner faces the challenge of picking up the pieces

By NANCY GIBBS



AMERICANS SHOULD CELEBRATE FOR JUST A MOMENT, in the event they don't get another chance. The last time an incumbent U.S. President ran for re-election, in 1996, the mood was so droopy that Jay Leno described one debate as must-sleep TV. Even people who bothered to vote weren't sure it mattered much who won. But this campaign has turned out to be a passion play, with millions more people prepared to paper their yards with signs or make calls at night or write a check to a candidate for the first time ever or offer to drive an elderly neighbor to the polls. Given the questions on the table—war and peace, freedom and safety—it ought to be a relief to see so many Americans come out of their little gated tribal compounds and engage in the fateful debate, hand to hand, door to door.

But Americans now are having to confront the prospect that this campaign, rare in its combination of passion and poison, may end neither quickly nor well. In the darkest vision, Nov. 2 will be a day of apocalypse, with battalions of volunteers, geeks, cops, feds and assorted party watchdogs guarding the polls; 20,000 lawyers riding into battle, brandishing suits challenging the results in half a dozen states; campaign war rooms spitting out charges of fraud and intimidation; and branches of government built to balance and cool one another instead starting to melt. The fact that the last presidential election was decided by the U.S. Supreme Court paved the way for more legal challenges, if not mischief, this time around. And Congress's effort to fix all the problems, the Help America Vote Act, may have only made them worse.

Four years ago, a constitutional crisis, bruising as it was, at least felt like a freak accident. If it happens again, it may feel like an assault. Each side has declared that the other will do anything to win, which means that if this race stays tight, whichever candidate loses is less likely to think that he was beaten than that he was robbed. Already the planes are fueled, the legal teams ready, the recount office spaces reserved and provisions made for staplers and coffeemakers in the event that Election Day does indeed become Election Month.

But as the armies line up to wait for their signal, a weary public watches the spectacle with a different emotion. If the pollsters are right, there is a mass of voters—off the media's radar because they seldom scream—who can live with either outcome but dread an Uncivil War. As the warnings of chaos grow more dire, they



POLITICAL DIVIDE: Neighbors don't agree in a working-class section of Hershey, Pennsylvania

ING AFTER



could be forgiven for caring less about who wins this election than about how he wins and when. A TIME poll finds that 48% of Americans believe that an illegitimate winner may prevail; 56% are ready to abolish the Electoral College. "A certain amount of shenanigans is standard. But it'd be really nice to know who the next President is by Thanksgiving," says Ted Jelen, chairman of the political-science department at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. "I just don't see a gracious concession happening this time. This could get awfully ugly." Especially if institutions that are basically built on trust are infected with a sense that they don't work anymore. Then the necessary healing after any election gets only harder. "It's scary," Jelen concludes. "It scares the hell out of me."

HERE IN THE LAST LAP OF CAMPAIGN 2004, the days get long and the candidates hoarse, and every night is Halloween. By last week the Republicans were all but declaring that American children will die a gruesome death if John Kerry wins, and Kerry was warning that if people catch the flu, it's because George W. Bush screwed up their shots. Vice President Dick Cheney talked about the greater likelihood of a mushroom cloud over a U.S. city if Kerry is elected, inspiring the Boston *Herald* headline VOTE KERRY, GET NUKED, VEEP WARNS. Cheney's rival, John Edwards—who had suggested that among the stakes in this race was whether the lame would walk again—offered an alternative nightmare: "He can't even manage the flu-vaccine crisis," Edwards said of Bush. "How can we expect this President to deal with anthrax?" The Kerry campaign had been handing out rose-colored glasses to reporters to help them get a glimpse of the President's view of reality. At the same time, Kerry was lobbing charges more wildly than he had before, asserting that Bush has a secret plan to gut Social Security and revive the draft, which inspired Bush to accuse his rival of exploiting the politics of fear. The Democrats threw the charge right back when the Bush campaign launched the "Wolves" ad, which shows a pack prowling a forest like terrorists hunting their prey and implicitly suggests the country can't afford to choose Kerry under such threatening conditions.

Both camps are burning through money at the rate of \$9 million a day now—and that's before you get to the

NOOGIE TIME Elated after the third debate in Tempe, Arizona, Kerry captures the moment in a holding room with senior adviser John Sasso

independent 527 groups that have dumped an additional \$386 million into the race. The largest single ad buy of the campaign comes from conservative Progress for America. It shows Bush comforting 16-year-old Ashley Faulkner, whose mother died on 9/11. As it happens, the spot was made by Larry McCarthy, who produced the infamous Willie Horton ad that helped the first President Bush bury Michael Dukakis under charges that he was soft on crime. If that is the iconic attack ad, this is the ultimate embrace—to remind voters of the protectiveness they cherished in the President after Sept. 11. The ad has been ready since July, but sponsors waited until the end to unveil it.

Most of the independent ads are not quite as uplifting. An ad from Operation Truth, a veterans' group, features a soldier talking about going to war in Iraq because of weapons that didn't exist, and it ends with him showing what's left of an arm that was blown off. Another Progress for America spot features pictures of Osama

CALLIE SHELL—AURORA FOR TIME





Democrats complain about unsigned literature calling Bush "pro-family" and Kerry "pro-death."

Go to a battleground state, and you can practically skip from lawn sign to lawn sign without your feet ever touching the ground. But that just means the lawn-sign wars are raging after dark—swastikas painted on Bush's face, bullets shot through Kerry's, signs stolen and trashed and set on fire and mauled with a hatchet. Pennsylvania Democrats have reportedly been spreading itching powder on their signs to protect them from vandalism. In Oregon just about every last Kerry sign disappeared from Klamath County overnight. So now "I'm advising people to do with them like they do with their cats," says Ross Carroll, chairman of the county Democratic committee. "You bring it in at night and put it out in the morning."

If the ground war is a measure of democracy at its best, a million acts of persistence and persuasion, the underground war is democracy at its worst, designed not to express the will of the people but to subvert it. In one battleground state after

another, accusations of dirty tricks are growing daily. Republicans focus on voter fraud and charge Democrats with rounding up homeless felons and plying them with drink to get them to register and vote, early and often. Democrats cry intimidation and argue that Republican officials are trying to disenfranchise voters who oppose them. Both sides have plenty of ammunition and more than enough lawyers to go around.

While Republicans have generally been quieter in their efforts, they are primed for putting the voter rolls under a microscope. In Ohio, Republican Congressman Pat Tiberi complains that four counties have voter rolls with more names than there are voting-age residents in the county, according to the last Census. In one Ohio neighborhood, Mary Poppins, George Foreman and Michael Jordan all signed up to vote. The man who submitted their forms was allegedly paid for his efforts with crack cocaine from a woman volunteering for the N.A.A.C.P. National Voter Fund in Toledo.

Republicans in Wisconsin are using Freedom of Information Act requests to get names of newly registered voters and then conduct database searches on them. In Florida the Republican Party is staffing all



CHRISTOPHER MORRIS—VII FOR TIME

bin Laden and a band of fighters and asks, "Would you trust Kerry against these fanatic killers?" Message makers on both sides say that in a race this tight, it takes extreme measures to break through. "I think it is probably more aggressive and more negative than any campaign I've seen for President," says Democratic adman Steve McMahon. "It's a little like trying to get through a wall of stone. You need something that's pretty tough."

So tens of thousands of flyers from the Republican National Committee arrive in mailboxes in Arkansas and West Virginia, warning that if Kerry becomes President, the Bible will be banned and men will marry each other. In Tennessee a flyer shows Bush as a Special Olympics sprinter and declares, "Voting for Bush is like running in the Special Olympics. Even if you win, you're still retarded." That one was so ugly that Democrats not only denied spreading it but also accused Republicans of spreading it themselves to smear the Democrats. In southeastern Pennsylvania,

ALL HANDS ON DECK With Arizona Senator John McCain on board, Bush and his aides had a rare chat with reporters on Air Force One

TIME POLL

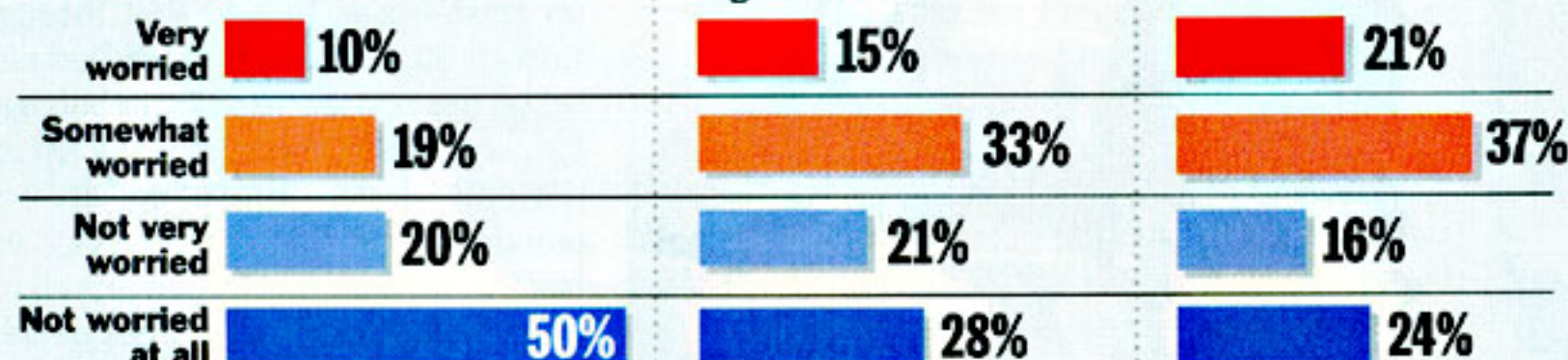
WARY OF ANOTHER ELECTION MESS

■ How worried are you that ...

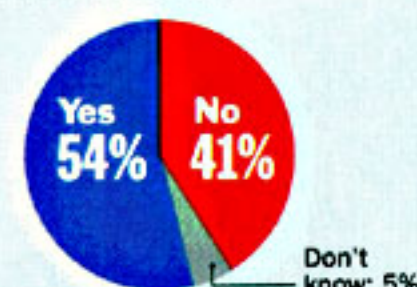
... your own vote will not be counted accurately?

... because of possible voting problems, the President who takes office will not be the legitimate winner?

... that the courts may have to determine who won the presidential election?



■ If the presidential race winds up being determined again by the courts, would you trust the courts to decide the election winner?



■ If the candidate you support loses the election, do you think it will make only some difference in the next four years, or do you think it will have a major negative impact on the country?

Only some difference

22%

Major negative impact

70%

Not much difference

3%

■ Do you think the U.S. should keep the Electoral College or should we amend the Constitution and elect as President whoever gets the most votes in the whole country?

Keep the Electoral College

37%

Amend the Constitution

56%

Don't know

7%

This TIME poll was conducted by telephone Oct. 14 and 15 among 1,200 adult Americans by SRBI Public Affairs. The results in these charts are for registered voters (1,059 respondents). Margin of error is ±3 percentage points.

6,700 precincts to monitor who is voting and under what circumstances. Among them will be Andrew Dill, 21, a University of Georgia student and president of the school's College Republicans. "We'll help to make sure names get checked off right," he says, "but we'll also be looking for things like bribes, busing people in with the promise of a meal." Republicans slammed Florida Democrats and their supporters for filing nine lawsuits around the state challenging the interpretation of various election laws, on everything from where provisional ballots can be cast to kicking Ralph Nader off the ballot. "They're trying to create a scare, where people think, I don't know if my vote's going to count," says Reed Dickens, a spokesman for the Bush-Cheney campaign. "They're trying to create the impression of chaos. That's their strategy."

Or as the Democrats might put it, they are trying not to get caught off guard by assuming a system is fair when it might be stacked against them. Much of the Democrats' anger is focused on local Republican officials, whom they accuse of applying election laws in ways designed to limit Democratic turnout—like Ohio secretary of state Ken Blackwell, who tried to reject tens of thousands of new registrations because they weren't printed on heavy enough paper. Around Scranton, Pennsylvania, the new Republican majority on

the county commission voted in mid-October to move 23 polling places, all of them in heavily Democratic neighborhoods. The stated rationale was that some were in dangerous locations, but other observers wondered why the commission members waited until this late to make that determination. Election officials rejected the moves.

Democrats cried foul in Nevada when a former employee of Sproul & Associates, hired by the Republican Party to gather voter-registration forms, claimed that those filled out by Democrats were being torn up. In Pennsylvania Democrats are so deeply suspicious of Republican tactics that they have kept secret the location of the Election Day staging grounds for a 527 organization called America Coming Together, supposedly because they fear that Republicans would slash their tires if they knew where it was. In Jefferson County, Colorado, someone has been calling voters and warning them that it's too late to fill out their absentee ballots. A 66-page manual put out by the Democratic National Committee doesn't just warn of Republican intimidation tactics; it says "if no signs of intimidation techniques have emerged yet, launch a pre-emptive strike" by planting stories in the press in which minority leadership expresses "concern about the threat of intimidation tactics."

All of which suggests that if the election comes up a tie, the two campaigns will take no prisoners. The Democrats especially—convinced they were outmaneuvered, outlawyered and outthustled last time—say they are not going to let it happen again. There is a certain amount of pre-emptive psychological warfare going on. Large numbers of typically Democratic voters—as many as 63% of blacks, according to one poll—fear their vote won't be counted; the party is signaling that it will fight for their rights. An effort mounted by civil rights and civic organizations, Election Protection 2004, has put together a coalition of more than 100 groups, including People for the American Way, with 52 field offices and 38 legal-command centers ready to be up and running on Nov. 2. There will be 300 phone lines at its nerve center in Washington, given that the group plans to target 3,500 precincts (including more than 550 in Florida) with its 20,000 volunteers, including more than 5,000 lawyers.

The Republicans are more discreet about their plans, but they have \$10 million in the bank for litigation and plenty of resources to bring to bear. "We're ready," says Bush campaign strategist Matthew Dowd. "But we're ready to have Election Day be over on Election Day." Adviser Karl Rove likes to describe the Democrats' prepara-

tions as "signs of defeatism." "They're looking for a legal coup d'état," he says.

If it looks as though the race is deadlocked going into Nov. 2, the Kerry camp has made it clear that it will not repeat what it considers Al Gore's mistakes in 2000. Following the networks' calling Florida for Bush, Gore made a call and was on his way to his concession speech when campaign operative Michael Whouley realized the flaws in the vote counting and frantically called every campaign cell phone he could to stop Gore's motorcade and prevent his delivering a concession speech that night.

This time Whouley will be in charge of tracking the vote count, and no one will concede anything if there are irregularities to be resolved. Around 1 p.m. he will be closely watching turnout in certain key precincts. If it's roughly like last time, the results will be close, but if turnout is high, that would suggest that all those newly registered voters are actually voting. After polls on the East Coast close, if exit polls and the precinct counts show one candidate winning in Ohio, Pennsylvania and Florida by a significant margin, the world will probably know the winner that night, since even contested races in smaller states would not ultimately turn the outcome.

But if Bush wins Florida and Kerry Pennsylvania, as some now predict, this could get long. "Unless one wins decisively, no one is going to concede this thing until you see the results of the absentee voting," a senior Kerry aide says. It could take days to count all the absentee, provisional and military ballots, which will matter if the margin of victory is close in some electoral-rich states. That Kerry aide is laying odds: "By 3 a.m. on Nov. 3, I think there's a 60% chance we will know but a 40% chance we won't." And given their raw memories, "everyone will be cautious" this time, says Kerry adviser Tad Devine, who was one of Gore's consultants in 2000. Aides will make sure Kerry looks as if he is preparing for the presidency, something Gore didn't do but Bush did in 2000. Kerry aides leaked word last week that Jim Johnson, who headed the Democrats' vice-presidential search, would head the transition for Kerry and that transition-planning meetings were taking place.

And then there is the scenario in which every state produces a clear winner but the race is still not over. If Kerry wins the same

O N E L E C T I O N N I G H T . . .

Will the Networks Get It Right?

Most of the time, media professionals wait for news to happen before reporting it. On election night in the States, however, veteran journalists dispense with tradition and race to declare a winner before all the votes are counted, relying mainly on surveys of voters exiting the polls and partial tallies of ballots cast. The system worked pretty well until it blew up in 2000, when the networks called Florida for Al Gore, reversed themselves, and, well, you know the rest. So things will be different this time. Sure,

patterns from three previous elections instead of one. Mitofsky and Edison Media Research will conduct exit polls, and the A.P. will tally votes. The networks are also using more sophisticated statistical models to interpret the data, each with its own special sauce to try to project winners as fast and accurately as possible. Overall, the system held up during the Democratic primary and has been tweaked and stress tested since then.

One area where NEP should be more accurate is in measuring the impact of absentee ballots. In 2000, roughly 16% of the U.S. electorate voted absentee or early, and that figure could hit 22% this year, according to Mitofsky, since many states have loosened restrictions on voting by mail. Because absentee and early voters aren't represented in exit polls, NEP is surveying those voters by phone in 13 states, up from three states in 2000.

Still, states have a hodgepodge of rules for counting absentee ballots. Edison and Mitofsky sent a memo to analysts in September, warning that dealing with the absentee vote "is a very, very tricky business." In Missouri and Ohio, some counties include mail-in votes in their precinct tabulations and some don't. In certain states, the memo concluded, "as much as 15% to 30% of the total vote may not be counted on election night even when nearly 100% of all precincts have reported."

Network executives insist there won't be a repeat of the 2000 debacle. "We're all agreed that the race is to be right, not first," says NBC News vice president Bill Wheatley. NBC will prevent analysts on its "decision desk," who will sift through the NEP data, from knowing the calls made by other networks. ABC News has a new policy of not calling a winner if the margin is less than 1%, even after all precincts have reported. CBS has moved its decision desk into the studio to give viewers a window into the process. "We'll be trying to explain very clearly where our information comes from, that it's not someone standing over a crystal ball and going 'poof,'" says Kathleen Frankovic, director of surveys for CBS News. Viewers should stay tuned for a long night.

—By Daren Fonda



GAFFE TV On election night 2000, ABC's Jumbotron in New York City's Times Square prematurely declares Bush the winner

the TV networks will be competing to declare America's next President. But restraint will prevail, the intense pressure to keep viewers from switching to a more exciting channel be damned.

Well, maybe. As soon as the polls close, the networks will still try to call as many contests as possible, but they will be relying on a new system. The old organization that conducted exit polls and counted votes for the networks, Voter News Service (VNS), has been dissolved and replaced by the National Election Pool (NEP), a consortium of six news outlets: ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, Fox News and the Associated Press. Veteran pollster Warren Mitofsky led a group that overhauled VNS's computer models, factoring in, for instance, voting

states Gore won and manages to turn Nevada and New Hampshire Democratic, the electoral count will tie at 269 each. If Kerry wins Ohio and New Hampshire, which Bush won last time, but loses Wisconsin and New Mexico, which Gore won by only 366 votes, it's also a 269 tie. In that case, the election will head to the House of Representatives, where Republicans hold a majority big enough to hang on to the White House for four more years.

NO MATTER HOW NOV. 2 UNFOLDS, it is clear that a certain portion of the American public is not prepared to go quietly. Particularly on the left, there is an assumption that the only way Bush can win is by cheating, so the calls have gone out for a Day of Outrage on Nov. 3 for No Stolen Elections events around the country. Groups like BeyondVoting.org have called for "widespread noncooperation if Bush is elected, if the elections are canceled or if there is overt election fraud again." Seattle resident Nancie Kosnoff thinks a Bush victory is grounds for a mass boycott to shut down the economy and has been stocking her pantry in anticipation.

But you can also find folks like Laura Maychruk, owner of the Buzz Cafe in Oak Park, Illinois, who is inviting patrons to an election-night gathering complete with food, music, a television set ... and a couple of therapists. "People are completely obsessed in Oak Park," she says. "I have two friends who are clinical therapists, and I asked them to come, just in case people are depressed. It's kind of a joke. But they can try and say something like 'Life will go on' or 'Get a grip.'" Joy Gardner, a self-described vibrational healer in Hawaii, has created a meditation that she plans to use in her weekly group sessions to relieve the stress from election anxiety. Randy Wheelock, who co-chairs the Clear Creek County Democratic Committee in Colorado, is thinking that whatever the outcome, maybe he should have a party. "I'll talk to the Republican chair and see what he thinks. I just think, Let's try to treat each other with a little respect after the election, shake hands and laugh it off."

That impulse reflects the widely shared sense that especially in a time of war, you want your home to be at peace, so it is natural to want this campaign to just go away.

AD WARS: WILD KINGDOM



ATTACK PACK A new Bush ad uses prowling wolves to say the U.S. will be vulnerable to terrorism under Kerry



SEE NO EVIL In a new Kerry ad, President Bush is likened to an ostrich burying its head in the sand

Because both sides focused heavily on their core supporters, the political divide widened rather than narrowed as the race went on. "You can win an election without the center," notes Republican political consultant Dan Schnur of California, "but it's impossible to govern that way. I don't know how any President, the day after the election, then reaches out to the 49% of the people he's been ignoring for the past six months."

It would be easy to have watched this race and conclude that no such center exists, but just about every survey shows otherwise. "This idea that people are going to warring camps—that's not happening," says Carroll Doherty, editor at the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press. There's a centrist position that large percentages of Americans hold on many issues: they want to attack the terrorists aggressively but also keep strong relations with other countries, oppose gay marriage but support equal rights for gays, want abortion legal but restricted and limited.

While the electorate is polarized on the Iraq war, there is plenty of terrain on which to come together around issues that voters can do something about. "Locally, Democrats and Republicans have a lot in common," says Hank Mahoney, the Republican president of the local board of commissioners in Radnor Township, Pennsylvania. "We all want to keep taxes low, protect open space, pay the police and have the trash picked up."

So, with that in mind, here's one idea that sounds one campfire short of singing *Kumbayah*: a group called Let's Talk America, which trains people to hold bipartisan meetings in which they can exchange ideas in a benevolent environment, has decided to focus on cleaning up after this election. It plans to place Op-Ed pieces and radio commentaries encouraging citizens with diverse views to hold monthly Let's Talk America days in their living rooms and town halls. The move may come off as earnest now, but it may simply look sensible if Americans end up feeling bruised by an election turned legal train wreck. "For our system to work," argues Leon Panetta, a former Clinton White House chief of staff and now head of a nonpartisan public-policy think tank in California, "the right

to vote is the fundamental power we have in a democratic society, and if people feel that, for whatever reason, their vote is not being counted, that's going to produce a helluva lot of anger, particularly if they don't like the result of an election."

Americans searching for a reason for hope should consider the wee hours of last Thursday morning in the Bronx after baseball's most bitter rivalry had finally played itself out. The riot police were at the ready as partisans of each side descended in red and blue waves on the venerable Yankee Tavern to carouse or console. And against all odds, the spirit was genial. Defeated Yankee fans bought Red Sox fans a drink—no gloating, no fighting, no riots, just a moment to capture the memory before they moved on.

—Reported by Perry Bacon Jr. with Kerry, Matthew Cooper, Viveca Novak and Eric Roston/Washington, Rita Healy/Denver, Elizabeth Kauffman/Nashville, Laura A. Locke/San Francisco, Nathan Thornburgh/Philadelphia, Leslie Whitaker/Chicago and Stacy J. Willis/Las Vegas

*Time is the lens through
which dreams are captured.*

Francis Ford Coppola
Francis Ford Coppola.
Director

The world's thinnest
and only self-winding Tourbillon
with one week power reserve.
Water-resistant to 100 meters.



WHAT COULD GO WRONG THIS TIME?

Plenty. Technical glitches, lawsuits and counting difficulties could gum up the works again

By **BILL SAPORITO**



AFTER ALL THAT AMERICA went through in the election of 2000, what would it take, what kind of monumental ineptitude, to create a situation that risks a repeat of that anxious, ugly time?

An act of Congress, it turns out. Creating another U.S. election ripe for dispute was hardly the intent when elected legislators passed the Help America Vote Act (HAVA) in 2002, earmarking some \$4 billion to streamline voting standards and allow states to modernize their voting systems. Although they passed the act, Congress and the White House were slow, perhaps recklessly so, in setting up the Election Assistance Commission (EAC) to

implement it. So while states helped themselves to funding for new voting machines, the EAC developed no national standards for using them. Likewise, HAVA mandated provisional voting so that nobody would be refused a ballot for the wrong reason. But the law was ambiguous in some key areas, opening the door for states to create different rules and inviting lawsuits. Democrats and Republicans may well continue legal dueling over the fine points of election law even as the votes are being counted and beyond. Here is a guide to the issues that may arise on Election Day and after:

WILL THE MACHINERY WORK? Electronic voting machines were supposed to have provided a seamless voting process this time, but they have only fed concerns about snafus on Election Day. The touch-



DRY RUN Steve Lurya, a software engineer,

screen machines, which will be used by about 30% of voters, have been shown to be vulnerable to tampering, to break down and to lose votes or record none at all. Worse, in every state where they are used except Nevada, the machines produce no paper trail of votes. And e-voting machines can't do recounts. On a second go-round, they simply repeat the outcome they offered the first time.

Diebold, the leading manufacturer of e-voting machines, suffered the indignity of having its home state of Ohio disqualify its machines because of suspect technolo-

ANDREW KAUFMAN—CONTACT FOR TIME



EARLY BIRDS At the Stephen P. Clark Center in Miami, early voters cast their ballots last week, avoiding possible Election Day snafus



MARK RICHARDS FOR TIME

lawyer and activist, prepares to audit a pre-election test of e-voting machines in San Jose, California

gy. A December 2003 report by Compuware Corp., a widely respected software and computer-services firm, found at least four security weaknesses in Diebold's AccuVote-TS. Most distressing: anyone who lays his hands on a voting supervisor's card could access the system and tamper with results. A 2003 Johns Hopkins University study found that hackers could devise their own smart cards and vote multiple times or alter voting results. A Diebold spokesman insists that the company has addressed the problems of AccuVote-TS, but neither Ohio nor California is buying it. California decertified 14,000 Diebold machines earlier this year.

Any voting system is vulnerable to imperfection, abuse and human error. And it should not be forgotten that 12% of voters in the States (and more than 70% in dead-end Ohio) will be using the punch-card ballots that caused such havoc in Florida in 2000. But the lack of transparency in electronic voting may be particularly problematic. "The reason people trust elections is that they can see what's going on," says David Dill, a computer-science professor at Stanford University and founder of the Verified Voting Foundation. "With electronic voting, the handling of the ballots, putting ballots in the ballot box and counting of votes—all of that is hidden inside computers where nobody

can see what's happening. [That] leaves you really at the mercy of the machine."

WHICH VOTES COUNT? Because clerical errors and other problems disenfranchised at least 1.5 million voters in 2000, Congress voted to require that all states provide provisional ballots to people who turn up to vote but are not listed on the rolls. With registration drives this year yielding record numbers of new voters, more Americans than ever could wind up in that situation. The paper ballots are validated and counted only after election officials confirm that the person is a properly registered voter.

A brawl is brewing over where provisional votes must be cast—either in the voter's own precinct or within a broader area, like the voter's home county. Twenty-eight states have adopted the first position, 17 the second; five allow Election Day registration, and in North Dakota you can just show up. Generally, Republicans take the more restrictive view, Democrats the more inclusive one. Reason: poor voters, who tend to vote Democratic, move more often than wealthier ones and are thus less apt to know their appropriate precinct. Lawsuits over provisional ballots have already sprung up in five states. In Michigan, a federal judge ruled for the more inclusive interpretation. The Florida Supreme Court took the narrower home-precinct position, as did a fed-

eral appeals court in Ohio. Missouri tried to split the difference. The court ruled that ballots cast in the wrong precinct don't have to be counted—unless the voter wasn't directed to the correct place. Colorado has taken a little off the bottom: a district judge ruled that ballots filed in the wrong precinct should be counted but only in the presidential race, not in any other contest. Several appeals are under way, and the issue could even reach the Supreme Court, but it may not all be sorted out until after the election. Predicts Ralph Neas, head of the liberal group People for the American Way: "Provisional ballots will be to 2004 what chads were in 2000."

WHEN WILL WE HAVE A PRESIDENT-ELECT?

Even without legal disputes, it will take time to validate and count all the provisional ballots. Two years ago in Colorado, a tightly contested congressional race was settled only after 2,400 provisional votes were evaluated. The process took more than a month (even though Colorado law requires that it be done in 10 days). The number of provisional ballots cast in this year's presidential election could reach several million.

The same is true for absentee ballots, which are expected to arrive in record levels this year. Florida counties such as Miami-Dade have reported dramatic increases in absentee-ballot requests (up 55%). Special counsel for California's secretary of state Tony Miller expects absentee voting to approach 40% of the state's electorate, up from 25% in 2000. Votes sent from overseas will be accepted in some states even after Election Day and as late as Nov. 17 in Alaska. Warns Colorado election attorney Sean Gallagher: "The days of being able to call the election on election night are probably over."

Jan Baran, an election lawyer and former general counsel to the Republican National Committee, takes a more sanguine view. "Based on more than 200 years of history, the likelihood of a disputed result is 1 in 25," he says. Presidential elections are usually not that close, he notes, and even in states where the outcome is razor-thin, changing the result there may not alter the outcome of the overall election. Baran posits that this election has less potential for mayhem than some Americans are expecting. "With all these lawyers and all this public attention and Florida fresh in their minds, everyone will be much more careful this time than four years ago," he says. But just in case he's wrong, lawyers are standing by. Lots of them. —**Reported by Rita Healy/Denver, Laura A. Locke/San Francisco, Siobhan Morrissey and Tim Padgett/Miami, Viveca Novak/Washington and David Thigpen/Chicago**



Election Day Guide

YEMG ydy electronic Magazine group

ELECTORAL MATH

Conventional wisdom holds that if most states go just as they did in 2000, the 2004 winner must take Ohio. But Bush could take one and win by snagging Wisconsin, Minnesota and Iowa; Kerry could prevail

270

electoral votes needed to win

Solid for BUSH Texas N.C. Ga. Va. Tenn. Ind.

Solid for KERRY Calif. N.Y. Ill.

Too CLOSE to call Fla. Pa. Ohio Mich. Mo. Wash.

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

WISCONSIN

Gore won in 2000 by 0.22%

Wisconsin has long been known as liberal, but it almost went to Bush four years ago. Bush needs a big turnout in the conservative Milwaukee suburbs and eastern cities like Oshkosh and Green Bay. Kerry hopes for big numbers in Milwaukee, Madison and the western farm towns. One X factor: congressional Republicans have opposed extending a subsidy for dairy farmers.

IOWA

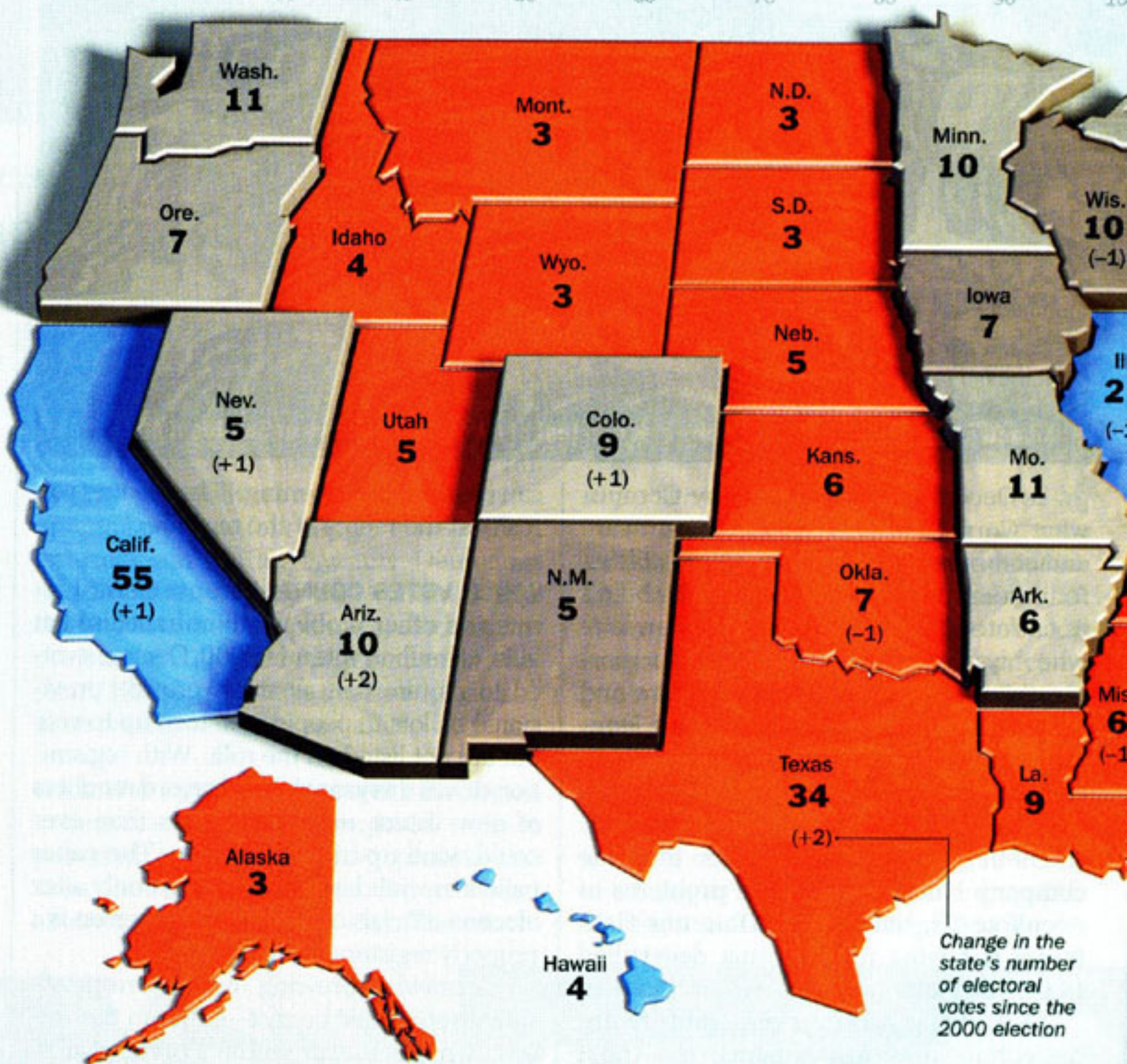
Gore won in 2000 by 0.31%

Iowans know Kerry well; he spent much of last winter there resurrecting his campaign. But Bush is betting a Massachusetts Senator can't appeal to Iowa farmers. Kerry needs to win big in the Des Moines area and eastern cities like Davenport and Cedar Rapids. Bush will almost surely win the western third of the state. State officials estimate that 25% of voters will cast early or absentee ballots.

NEW MEXICO

Gore won in 2000 by 0.06%

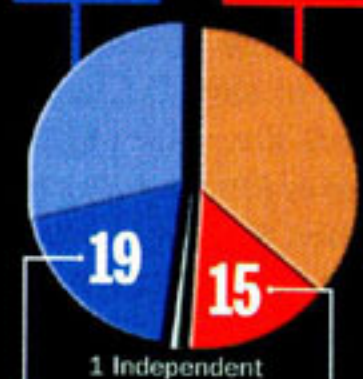
Viva Bush! Unidos con Kerry! More than 42% of New Mexicans are Hispanic, and both candidates are furiously courting them. Bush won 32% of the Hispanic vote last time and is aiming to get to 40%. But Governor Bill Richardson is a strong Kerry ally. Kerry will win the northern third of the state, while Bush will take the southeastern third, known as "Little Texas." Both will try to take Albuquerque.



Who Will Control the U.S. Senate?

Current party breakdown:

48 Dem. 51 G.O.P.



1 Independent
Seats up for election

With more seats up for election—five of which belong to retiring Southern Senators—the **DEMOCRATS** are fighting an uphill battle to win a majority. But they've recruited stronger-than-expected candidates

FLORIDA

Betty Castor (D) vs. former HUD Secretary Mel Martinez (R)

■ Castor is former state education superintendent and a moderate. Martinez has the backing of the White House. The race quickly developed a negative tone

LOUISIANA

Rep. Chris John (D) vs. Rep. David Vitter (R) vs. John Kennedy (D) vs. Arthur Morrell (D)

■ The Democrats' main goal is to keep Vitter from winning 50% or more in the Nov. 2 open primary. If they do, John will probably face Vitter in a December runoff

NORTH CAROLINA

Erskine Bowles (D) vs. Rep. Richard Burr (R)

■ Bowles learned from his failed campaign in 2002. But Burr has narrowed the race by reminding conservatives that Bowles was Bill Clinton's chief of staff

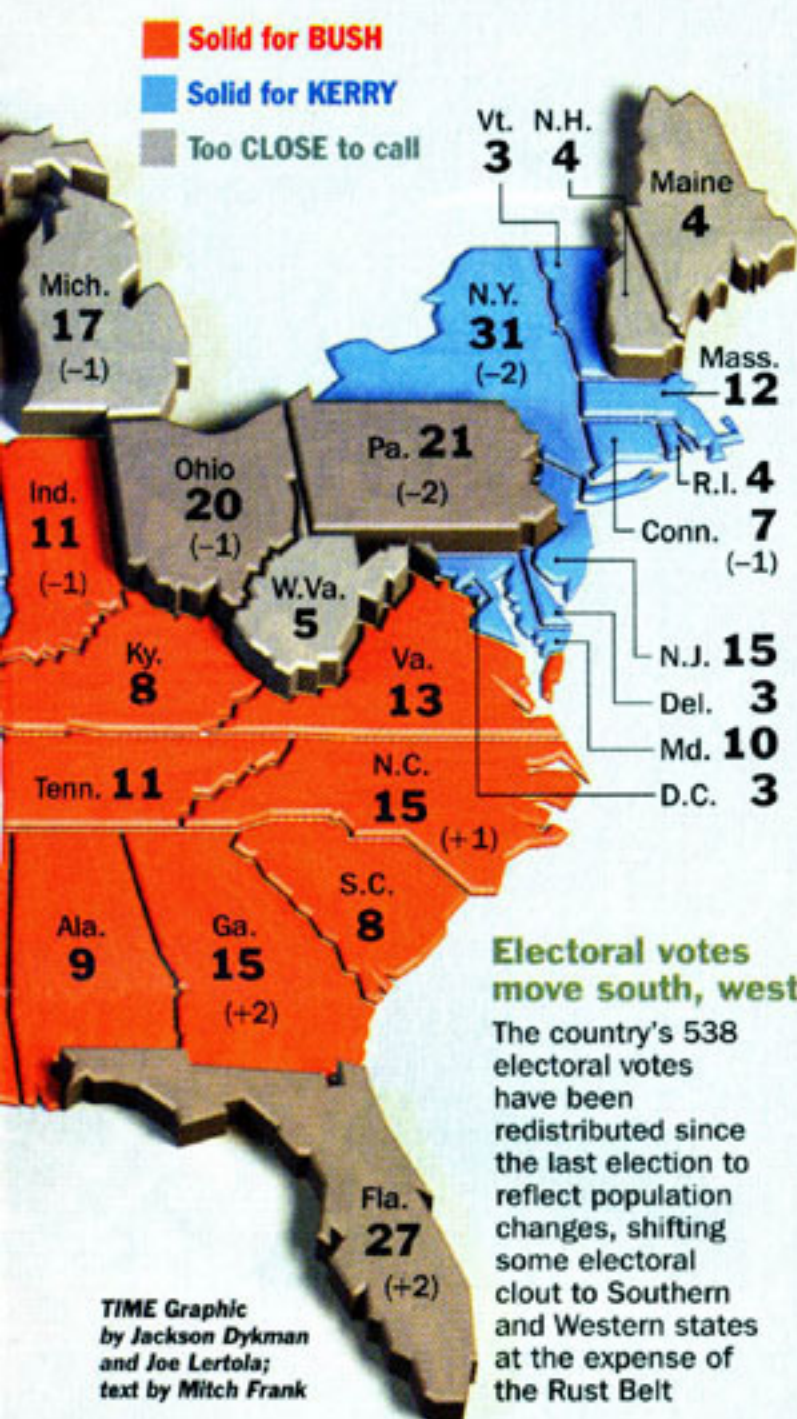
SOUTH CAROLINA

Inez Tenenbaum (D) vs. Rep. Jim DeMint (R)

■ DeMint fought a bruising primary, then raised a ruckus by proposing a 23% national sales tax. Still, Tenenbaum may be a moderate, but this is a conservative state

Control of the White House will come down to a handful of swing states. Here's a cheat sheet on what to watch for as the votes are cast

two of these three: Florida, Pennsylvania and by taking one plus Colorado and New Hampshire



PENNSYLVANIA

Gore won in 2000 by 4.17%

Pennsylvania is really three states. Philadelphia is part of the liberal Northeast, Pittsburgh is Midwestern, and the center of the state is rural and conservative. Philly could be the key: Kerry needs to win by a big margin by turning out 35,000 newly registered voters. He will also try to win the Pittsburgh area. Bush will try to prevail in the Philly suburbs. He's even courting the Amish.

OHIO

Bush won in 2000 by 3.51%

Al Gore gave up on Ohio in October 2000. Kerry's not walking away. And with the state economy weak, Bush's approval rating sank to 43% in a recent poll. Both sides will try to win in Columbus, Dayton and Canton. Kerry needs a big turnout in Cleveland and Toledo; Bush needs it in the northwestern Farm Belt and the Cincinnati suburbs. Legal fights are already erupting over election procedures.

FLORIDA

Bush won in 2000 by 0.00009%

People can't even agree who won the state last time; Democrats have already filed nine lawsuits this year challenging election rules. Kerry needs a big turnout in Miami, Fort Lauderdale and Palm Beach. Bush needs big numbers in the Panhandle and the southern Gulf Coast. Both sides want to win the area stretching from Tampa to Orlando to Daytona Beach—the fastest-growing area in the state.

State Questions On the Ballot

Voters will also decide the fate of 163 ballot initiatives, sponsored by voters or state legislatures, covering everything from gambling to medical malpractice to gay marriage. One of these could even affect the presidential race

Same-sex marriage

Bans on same-sex marriage are on the ballot in 11 states, including battlegrounds Ohio, Oregon and Michigan. Some measures would also forbid civil unions or granting rights of married couples to domestic partners



Stem-cell research

Arnold Schwarzenegger just endorsed a measure to allocate \$3 billion in state funding to stem-cell research in the hope of making California a leader in the field



Liquor sales

South Carolina's constitution forces bars to serve alcohol from mini-bottles (like those seen on airplanes). An amendment would repeal the measure, which is a pain for bars and leads to stronger drinks

Electoral-vote reform Colorado voters will decide whether to allocate their 9 Electoral College votes on a proportional basis rather than winner-take-all. It would take effect with this election

Bear baiting

Alaska's voters will decide whether to bar hunters from laying out food to entice black bears. Supporters say baiting is cruel; opponents accuse them of wanting to outlaw hunting



All four of these states lean conservative, but the **REPUBLICANS** are facing tougher fights than they expected. Still, the odds are in their favor to pick up enough new seats to offset any losses

SOUTH DAKOTA

Sen. Tom Daschle (D) vs. former Rep. John Thune (R)

■ Daschle says that as Democratic leader he's a powerful advocate for his state. Thune and Bush counter that Daschle is a powerful advocate for Ted Kennedy

ALASKA

Sen. Lisa Murkowski (R) vs. former Gov. Tony Knowles (D)

■ Knowles, a former oil-rig worker, is popular. Murkowski has been taking fire for how she won her job—Governor Frank Murkowski, her dad, appointed her

COLORADO

Pete Coors (R) vs. state atty. gen. Ken Salazar (D)

■ Coors has a well-known name and brings big money to the race, but he's a political novice. Salazar is a moderate Hispanic from a rural part of the state

KENTUCKY

Sen. Jim Bunning (R) vs. state sen. Daniel Mongiardo (D)

■ Bunning should have easily won re-election. But his odd behavior—skipping one debate and using a TelePrompTer during another—has given Mongiardo a shot

OKLAHOMA

Rep. Tom Coburn (R) vs. Rep. Brad Carson (D)

■ Carson is a conservative Democrat. Coburn, a former obstetrician, has grappled with controversy: a former patient says he sterilized her without consent. He denies that



TRAPPINGS
A presidential
seal is affixed
during a Bush
campaign stop in
Davenport, Iowa

Photographs
for **TIME** by
Christopher
Morris—VII

UNITED STATES

A QUESTION THAT WEIGHS ON GLOBAL SECURITY:

WHO WILL MAKE THE U.S. SAFER?

The answer depends on how voters see the enemy and how they define America's role in shaping the world



Forwa



MAN OF FAITH
Bush, speaking last week to supporters in Florida, contends that freedom is spreading

DAVID BURNETT—
CONTACT FOR TIME



The Bush-Kerry clash over Iraq, terrorism and

By **ROMESH RATNESAR**

TO APPRECIATE HOW GEORGE W. BUSH AND JOHN KERRY EACH LOOK AT the world, it helps to start with Sept. 11, 2001. Minutes after American Airlines Flight 77 crashed into the Pentagon that morning, President Bush, who had been reading to schoolchildren in Sarasota, Florida, phoned Vice President Dick Cheney from his cabin in Air Force One. "We're at war," he said. As the President's plane was taking off over Florida, Kerry strode down the steps of the Capitol in Washington, having received orders to evacuate. In an interview with the *New York Times*, Kerry recalled scanning the skies for incoming aircraft as he left the building. He turned to someone near him. "This is war," Kerry remembers saying. "This is an act of war."

It says something about the similarities between Bush and Kerry that both seemed to recognize—far sooner than most—that the 9/11 attacks had thrust the U.S. into a struggle of historic magnitude. But as this U.S. presidential campaign careers toward a photo finish, the result has come to hinge on the ways the two men have diverged since that fateful day. For Bush, the attacks were the catalyst for war not just against Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaeda network but also

against any state that harbored, sponsored or supported terrorists. Even more ambitiously, as U.S. National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice told *TIME*, Bush soon concluded that a "permanent peace is only going to come when you've dealt with the conditions that produced terrorists, and that means a different kind of Middle East." That, in part, led to the most fateful decision by an American President in a generation: the invasion of Iraq. Kerry has since galvanized his candidacy by condemning the war as a mistake and blasting Bush for "taking his eye off the terrorists."

When voters choose their President on Nov. 2, they will be the first in 30 years to do so under the shadow of war. So it's unsurprising that the clash between Bush and Kerry over Iraq, terrorism and national security has become a defining fault line. On the hustings last week, each candidate issued extraordinary indictments of his opponent's fitness to be Commander in Chief. "The

THE REALIST
Kerry, speaking in Wisconsin, is wary of pursuing ideological goals in foreign policy

DAVID BURNETT—
CONTACT FOR TIME



national security has become a defining fault line

President says he's a leader," Kerry told an audience in Waterloo, Iowa. "Well, Mr. President, look behind you. There's hardly anyone there." Less than 150 kilometers away, Bush questioned Kerry's steadfastness against the threat of terrorism: "You can't win a war when you don't believe you're fighting one." The sniping was more than rhetorical. In exchanges like those and during their three head-to-head debates, the candidates have revealed sharp differences in how they view the world. Bush sees Iraq as central to the campaign against al-Qaeda; Kerry calls Iraq a diversion from it. Kerry stresses the need to work within alliances; Bush has shown a propensity to act alone. The President speaks openly of using force to promote democracy in the Muslim world; Kerry's belief in power is tempered by a recognition of its limits. Kerry is cautious; Bush courts risk. "The only thing in common between these guys is Skull and Bones," says Kerry adviser Richard Hol-

brooke, referring to the secret society that Bush and Kerry belonged to at Yale.

But despite the obvious contrasts in style and temperament, it's less clear that the two men would pursue dramatically divergent foreign policies. "The nature of the world creates constraints," says Harvard political scientist and former Bill Clinton aide Joseph Nye. "The differences in philosophy may turn out to be somewhat less stark when put into practice." The most immediate challenge that will face either man as President—how to buttress a credibly elected Iraqi government in the face of a ruthless insurgency—won't bend to a quick fix. Both Kerry and Bush argue that a rapid turnover of combat duties to Iraqis would provide relief to U.S. troops, but that objective may take years to achieve. Though Kerry hopes to pull U.S. forces out by the end of his first term, the danger that Iraq could descend into terrorism-torn anarchy and sectarian strife means that the U.S. will

maintain its current presence of 138,000 troops for the foreseeable future.

The dilemmas don't end there. With such a sizable force tied down in Iraq, whoever is President will have fewer military options for curtailing, for example, the nuclear ambitions of Iran and North Korea. He will confront a seething Muslim world unsettled by the war in Iraq and the plight of the Palestinians. And he may well see bin Laden-inspired extremists try to overthrow the government in Pakistan or Saudi Arabia, procure weapons of mass destruction (WMD) or stage another attack on U.S. soil—or all of the above.

Which candidate is better equipped to deal with such threats? In attempting to draw a contrast with Kerry, Bush likes to say, "If America shows uncertainty or weakness in this decade, the world will drift toward tragedy." Yet both candidates have shifted course on many major foreign policy issues, ultimately arriving at positions that resem-

ble each other's more than either man likes to admit. But if both have shown a capacity to alter their policies, both cling to disparate world views. The problem is that neither man's philosophy on its own is entirely satisfying in the wake of Sept. 11. Fashioning a strategy that can keep the nation safe while advancing U.S. values over the next four years will require either man to reconsider some of his deepest convictions about how America should act in the world. The choice, in some respects, comes down to deciding which one would be more flexible in his beliefs.

DEFINING THE ENEMY

FEW PRESIDENTS HAVE SOUGHT TO DEFINE themselves by their role as Commander in Chief as much as George W. Bush. Even before he assumed office, Bush declared his willingness to use the U.S.'s military supremacy to deter enemies. "Armies and missiles are not stopped by stiff notes of condemnation," he said in 1999. "They are held in check by strength and purpose and the promise of swift punishment." Bush's faith in military force became the guiding tenet of his presidency after 9/11. "He determined on that day that you could not fight this war just on defense," Rice says. "It's an unfair fight when they have to be right once and you have to be right 100% of the time." Despite the strain on U.S. forces and the rising death toll in Iraq, Bush has refused to revise that basic premise. "We will fight the terrorists around the world so we do not have to face them here at home," he said in the first presidential debate.

Intelligence and counterterrorism experts say the U.S. offensive in Afghanistan, coupled with a more aggressive manhunt for al-Qaeda operatives around the world, damaged bin Laden's operation in the months after 9/11. Of the 30 high-value al-Qaeda targets identified by the CIA in 2001, nearly half have been killed or are in custody. Yet since their rumored flight from the mountains of Tora Bora in December 2001, bin Laden and his deputy, Ayman al-Zawahiri, have eluded the 16,000 U.S. forces hunting them in Afghanistan, probably slipping into Pakistan. Only one high-value target has been captured in the past year. The International Institute of Strategic Studies estimates that as many as 90% of the 20,000 militants trained in al-Qaeda camps are still at large.

Western intelligence officials and leaders in the Muslim world say the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq has, at the least, given bin Laden and his allies a potent recruiting tool. That forms the heart of

Kerry's case against Bush. Kerry told an audience in Iowa last week that in Iraq, "the President's miscalculations have created a terrorist haven that wasn't there before."

Kerry's argument that Iraq is a diversion from the war against al-Qaeda reflects a view of global terrorism that he began to formulate a decade ago. Bush's advisers have argued that terrorist organizations cannot function effectively without the support of rogue states like Iraq. But in the Senate, Kerry investigated money-laundering and drug cartels, delving deep into the world of lawless, stateless groups that exploit technology to escape justice. In 1997 he wrote *The New War*, a book in which he argued for a global law-enforcement and intelligence-

sharing apparatus that could shut down international criminal networks. Since 9/11, Kerry has used that framework to explain the threat posed by al-Qaeda, which he sees as a network of like-minded groups beyond the control or influence of any single state. Kerry adviser Jonathan Winer says Kerry's approach to fighting terrorism would focus on strengthening international efforts to crack down on terrorist financing and monitor "wiretaps, regulation of transborder issues, the Internet, telecommunications, all of this common mass infrastructure."

So would Kerry make a clean break from Bush's war on terrorism? It's doubtful. The Bush campaign has tried to cast Kerry's emphasis on policing and financial regulation

This election is the first in 30



as a relic of the pre-9/11 age, when the U.S. treated terrorism as a law-enforcement problem rather than a military threat. But Bush has pursued many of the same ideas. In 2002 Bush's national-security strategy argued that to defeat terrorism, "we must make use of every tool in our arsenal—military power, better homeland defenses, law enforcement, intelligence and vigorous efforts to cut off terrorist financing." Like Bush, Kerry "would also view countries that are terrorist havens as bearing responsibility and something we would have to deal with directly," says Rand Beers, Kerry's top national-security aide. Kerry has repeatedly signaled his intention to continue to employ the military to hunt down al-

Qaeda and its sympathizers. "I have no doubt John would be willing to use military force against terrorists," says former Nebraska Senator Bob Kerrey. "He's willing to be ruthless in the pursuit of those who say killing Americans is a good idea."

Just as Kerry would be likely to adopt the basic principles of Bush's military strategy against al-Qaeda, a re-elected Bush might have little choice but to embrace many of his opponent's prescriptions for Iraq. Bush and his advisers routinely dismiss Kerry's calls to internationalize the occupation, but the U.S.'s failure to pacify Iraq has forced the White House to seek help it rejected last April. It enlisted the U.N. to select an interim government and oversee January's na-

tional elections and secured NATO's participation in training Iraqi security forces.

Bush was openly derisive of international institutions for much of this term, but the crisis in Iraq has forced him to try to reach out. In June, when he called former Missouri Senator John Danforth to offer him the post of U.S. ambassador to the U.N., Danforth hesitated. "I told him, 'Mr. President, the book on you is that you're a unilateralist and the U.N. isn't important,'" Danforth says. "And his response to me was, 'No, that's not right. It's very important to use the U.N. to establish better relations with the rest of the world.'"

The question is whether anyone is listening. Whoever is elected President will be inaugurated amid howling skepticism about U.S. motives in the world. "It's significantly worse than at any time I can remember," says former Indiana Congressman Lee Hamilton, vice chairman of the independent 9/11 commission. "I talk to a lot of people from many countries, and the common refrain I hear is how low our standing is. That's going to be a major challenge to the next President." The failure to find WMD in Iraq dealt a devastating blow to the credibility of U.S. intelligence, compromising the U.S.'s ability to rally allies to confront Iran and North Korea over their nuclear programs. Kerry's natural attachment to Europe—he spent part of his youth there and speaks fluent French, passable Italian and Spanish, and a little German—could help mend relations with European allies that have recoiled from the Administration's policies, such as France and Germany.

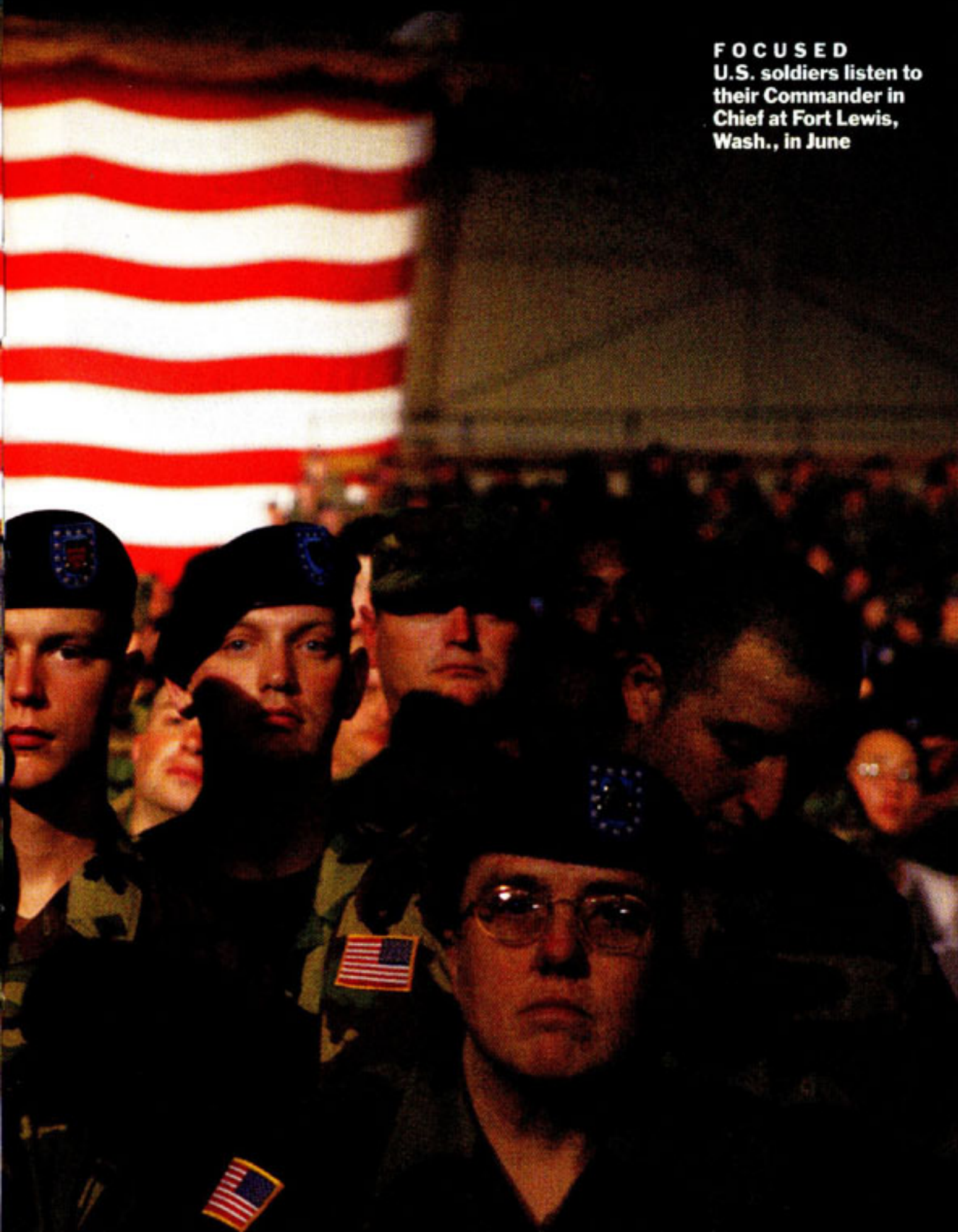
The U.S. still faces a plummeting image in the Muslim world that is unlikely to improve so long as U.S. forces are embroiled in combat in Iraq and Palestinian aspirations for statehood are unfulfilled. Here too the candidates' positions differ only in degree: Kerry says, if elected, he would appoint an envoy to the Middle East to restart the peace process, but like Bush, he backs Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's refusal to negotiate a permanent settlement while Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat remains in power.

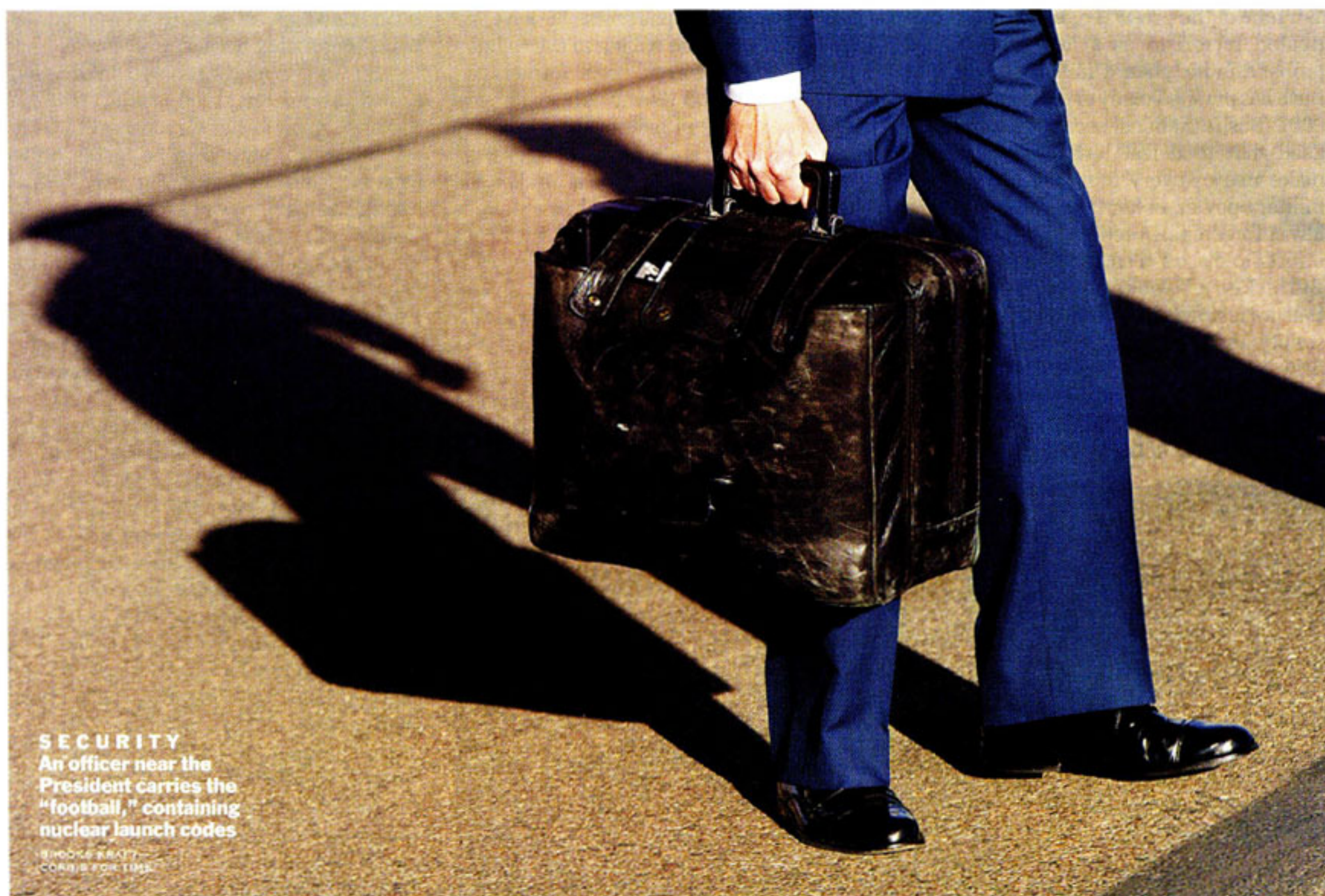
FAITH AND FACTS

THE CHOICE ON NOV. 2 WILL BE DEFINED less by the policies the two candidates have set out than by whether they have proved their capacity to lead. Bush leads through a certainty in the rightness of his cause that is unshaken by the absence of WMD or by more than 1,000 combat deaths in Iraq. "He has a single-minded determination to

years under the shadow of war

FOCUSED
U.S. soldiers listen to
their Commander in
Chief at Fort Lewis,
Wash., in June





SECURITY
An officer near the President carries the "football," containing nuclear launch codes

PHOTOGRAPH BY
CORBIS OUTLINE

While Bush courts risk, Kerry is cautious

protect the U.S. from being destroyed by terrorists," says Danforth. "And he believes that spreading freedom is an essential part of protecting America."

Bush's faith in democracy as a salve for extremism and violence can startle even his closest advisers. Rice says that during a meeting on Iraq with his top national-security aides last November, he demanded to know why the Administration was resisting Iraqis' clamor for elections. "How did we get on the wrong side of this issue?" Rice recalls Bush saying. "How could it be that the United States of America is standing on the side against elections?" It was a very stark statement that kind of pulled everybody back." Bush's stump speech in the campaign's final days reminds voters of the conviction on which he has staked his presidency: "Freedom is on the march."

Kerry has never been comfortable with such soaring slogans. During his early years in the Senate, his service in Vietnam made him a reluctant interventionist. He voted

against the first Gulf War, accusing the elder Bush of "impatience with sanctions and diplomacy" and warning that the country "is not yet ready for what it will witness and bear" if it goes to war. In the 1990s Kerry backed the use of force in the Balkans but criticized President Clinton as "arrogant" for referring to the U.S. as "the indispensable nation." Kerry's biographer, historian Douglas Brinkley, says, "Kerry is not a Wilsonian. He does not believe we have a moral mission to remake the world in our image." Whereas Bush talks about the "transformational power of liberty," Kerry is a gradualist. He pledged last week to take measures to support "modernizers" within nondemocratic countries rather than wage "reckless campaigns to impose democracy by force from the outside."

Given the current strains on U.S. resources and manpower, Kerry's hardheaded realism seems sensible for the times. His advisers say he would insist on policies grounded in facts rather than ideological goals. In

Kerry's view, Bush's belief in the inevitability of freedom's triumph has become a hazard, blinding him to the harsh reality of the country's predicament in Iraq. "This is the critical issue that goes back to his experiences in Vietnam," says Winer. "Respect for the facts is critical. Kerry's approach is fact based. President Bush's is faith based."

But in times of crisis, Americans gravitate toward leaders whose convictions point toward a grand project that others don't yet perceive. After 9/11 Bush benefited from the public's willingness to suspend its skepticism and go along with his audacious vision for transforming the Middle East. Some of that trust, however, was squandered with the invasion of Iraq—and so the challenger finds the presidency within his grasp. Kerry may yet win as a result of the collapse of Bush's vision. But if he does, the scale of the challenges facing the new Commander in Chief will demand that he find one of his own. —**With reporting by Massimo Calabresi/Washington**



Ever wished you could be in two places at once? With our new P910i you can. It has everything you need to work efficiently; a full QWERTY keyboard. Email. Brilliant colour TFT touch-screen. Bluetooth®. 64Mb memory. Up to 1Gb external memory. 5 way jog-dial for easy navigation. MP3 player. MPEG4 video player. Stereo ear plugs. Built-in still and video camera. And of course, an internet browser. Handy for checking if it will be a nice day to go out.



Sony Ericsson

The new P910i with *QuickShare*

Business Banking in a word

**“The whole process was very
straightforward.”**

Martin Waller, Director of Pelham Associates

**Are you happy with your business bank?
If not, have a few words with us.**

Would you sing the praises of your business bank? If you're in doubt, consider moving to HSBC. With no fewer than 250,000 businesses joining us in the last two years, we're confident that you will also find plenty of reasons to move to us. And we're equally confident our customers will confirm it.

Talk to us about moving to HSBC today:

- ▶ Telephone: 08000 321 322
- ▶ Textphone: 08457 125 563
- ▶ www.ukbusiness.hsbc.com/movetohsbc

HSBC 
The world's local bank

Lines are open from 8am to 10pm every day (except Christmas Day, Boxing Day and New Year's Day). To help us continually improve our service and in the interests of security, we may monitor and/or record your telephone calls with us.

Andrew Sullivan

Why the Old Labels Don't Stick

Left, right, center? With Bush and Kerry, there's a lot to be confused about

WHY IS THIS ELECTION SO HARD FOR SO MANY AMERICANS? Here's one theory. It's not so easy to tell who's the liberal and who's the conservative anymore. Voters looking for a candidate who pumps unprecedented amounts of money into agricultural subsidies, uses tariffs to protect some American industries and adds a whole new entitlement to Medicare ... that would be the, er, Republican, George W. Bush.

Voters who want a future President who will be hard nosed about committing U.S. troops abroad, wants to balance every new spending item with a tax hike or a spending cut elsewhere and backs states' rights on social issues ... they should go ahead and vote for the, er, Democrat, John Kerry.

Voters who think there's too little federal control over education should go for Bush. Voters who want to expand health-care coverage primarily through the private sector? They should go for Kerry.

Confusing? Sure. For conservatives there's plenty to worry about in Bush's record. The U.S. government is bigger, more powerful and more intrusive than when he found it. Domestic spending has gone up at a greater rate than under any other U.S. President since Lyndon Johnson. The President hasn't found a single spending bill he wanted to veto. And he cannot even blame Congress. His own party controls all of it. In foreign policy, conservatives have long tended to be realists, acting only in response to hard-faced national interest, exercising prudence and caution, only reluctantly intervening in other countries' affairs. That's the kind of conservative Bush campaigned as in 2000, lambasting "nation building" in the debates and calling for fewer troops than Al Gore did.

In office, however, spurred by 9/11, Bush has become a Kennedy-style Democrat, trying to turn two violence-wracked countries, Iraq and Afghanistan, into democracies by military force. He has reversed decades of U.S. policy by launching two pre-emptive wars, backing democracy at the risk of making the Middle East even more unstable and ignoring the U.N. and other allies when he believed they were wrong. He backed a new military theory that argued that you could fight and win wars with relatively few troops. The old, more cautious doctrine—inherited from the first President Bush and Colin Powell—was always to use overwhelming force for very narrow ends. Bush junked this military conservatism in favor of something far bolder and riskier.

It's clear why these shifts occurred. Sept. 11 changed everything, including Bush. And you can see how a recession prompted Bush to spend more money while he was lowering taxes at the same time. But the postwar reality in Iraq has also proved some conservative instincts right: it is indeed hard to export democracy where none has existed. And it is hard to keep order in a huge, unstable country with dangerously low troop levels. As for Bush's spree of spending and borrowing, as baby boomers face retirement and Medicare and Social Security begin to bust the budget, his lack of discipline looks like recklessness.

Liberals have a few worries of their own when it comes to Kerry. He vows to continue a war in Iraq that many of them opposed. He's against gay marriage and says he will cut any new

spending programs if necessary to balance the budget. He reminds voters he was an altar boy, shoots defenseless geese in Ohio and is very close to Bill Clinton's economic adviser, Robert Rubin, a man Wall Street loves. In foreign policy Kerry also strikes a traditionalist tone that is not out of place among old-school, Powell-style Republicans. He says he will go back to America's old alliances and increase U.S. troop levels worldwide by 40,000.

There are times when Kerry seems as if he's promising a return to the foreign policy of the first President Bush rather than that of the radical son. He's less radical than his

opponent on Social Security (he says he'll leave it alone, while Bush wants to reform it). He will leave in place the U.S. Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion, and he will undo Bush's fusion of government money with religious charitable groups. Whatever else Kerry is running as, it's not as a radical. In fact, Kerry seems the more conservative figure. In the debates, he was calmer, cooler and less prone to rapid personality shifts. It was Bush who seemed like the fidgety usurper. But style reflects substance. It's Bush who has radically recast the Republican Party as a Big Government, religiously motivated tool for transforming the world. Kerry has merely campaigned on a return to Clinton-era centrism in domestic policy and old-Republican realism in foreign policy.

The question Americans face in this election is therefore a truly befuddling one: In a world in crisis, is there a greater risk in Bush's radicalism or Kerry's conservatism? And what do right and left mean anymore, anyway?



THE FIGHT OVER GAY RIGHTS

Moves to give gay couples the same status as heterosexual ones have reopened the fault lines between Europe's religious and secular institutions ■ **By James Graff**

ROCCO BUTTIGLIONE COULD HARDLY HAVE ANTICIPATED

the firestorm he was about to unleash. Appearing earlier this month at what should have been a routine hearing before a European Parliament committee, the E.U. Commissioner-designate for Justice, Freedom and Security was asked about discrimination against homosexuals. In response Buttiglione, a close friend and a biographer of Pope John Paul II, cited his Roman Catholic faith and said he considered homosexuality a "sin" and marriage an institution intended to give women "the right to have children and the protection of a man." What happened next was anything but routine. Many committee members were furious at what they considered such blatantly discriminatory views from a man who

would be tasked with defending sexual equality, and demanded that the Commission's President-designate, José Manuel Durão Barroso, either sack Buttiglione or move him to another post. Barroso didn't budge. Unless a compromise can be found—or one side backs down—the dispute could scuttle the entire 25-member European Commission before it even takes office, as scheduled, on Nov. 1 (*see box*). The episode is a reminder of how, despite the secular values professed by many Europeans,

church and state can still clash—with powerful and unpredictable results.

Cultural and religious fault lines have opened up around issues like stem-cell research, therapeutic cloning, assisted reproduction and euthanasia, but gay rights is perhaps the most divisive. In Spain, whose kings and queens were once the most fervent defenders of the Christian faith, the Socialist government has launched a radical reform of family law that will grant gays and lesbians full legal status as parents and allow

them to marry. In Ireland, another former Roman Catholic bastion, politicians from all parties meet this week to discuss whether the constitution should be changed to give homosexual couples the same rights as heterosexual ones. In England, the leaders of the worldwide Anglican Communion last week issued a report saying that if its pro- and anti-gay factions couldn't reconcile their differences then "we shall have to begin to learn to walk apart." And in Sweden, evangelical pastor Ake Green is appealing a one-month prison sentence for preaching that homosexuality represents "a deep cancerous tumor in society."

Although Europe has a long tradition of protecting gay rights—Denmark was the first to introduce registered partnerships for gay couples in 1989, while the Dutch legalized same-sex marriage in 2001—the issue still has the power to polarize. What's remarkable in this battle is how deeply each side feels itself a victim of the other's intolerance. The Green group in Parliament claimed that Buttiglione's "personal beliefs make it unlikely that he will take any positive initiative on gender equality." Martin





CELEBRATION Gay men in Madrid party after a draft law allowing same-sex marriages is introduced

PIERRE-PHILIPPE MARCOU—AFP

Schulz, head of the Socialist group, bluntly accused Buttiglione of espousing "19th century values." But Carlo Giovanardi, Italy's Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and a Buttiglione ally, says a "Taliban" mentality has consumed his opponents: "We haven't seen an attack against religious freedom like this since the end of World War II. It's a new witch hunt." One of the Vatican's most outspoken Cardinals, former U.N. emissary Renato Raffaele Martino, lashed out at what he called a "new Holy Inquisition" led by a

"powerful cultural, economic and political lobby ... against all that is Christian."

Spain, for the moment, is where the battle rages fiercest. The Socialist-led government will allow homosexuals to marry and adopt children; the Church has called on Spanish Catholics to fight the legislation. Javier Garcia, 40, who wants to marry his Brazilian partner, Mario Almeida, thinks the Church's opposition is wrongheaded. Both men are Roman Catholic. "Most Christians think homosexuals should be able to get

married," he says. Indeed, polls show that some 60% of Spaniards support legalizing gay marriage, and around 250,000 couples are awaiting the new law, which will be debated in parliament in the next few weeks and is almost certain to pass. "We've waited a long time for this," says Beatriz Gimeno, president of the National Federation of Lesbians, Gays and Transsexuals and one of the people behind the current legislation.

Pedro Almodóvar, the Oscar-winning Spanish director whose latest film, *Bad Education*, deals with homosexuality and the Roman Catholic Church, finds the clerics' opposition self-defeating. "What the Church is doing—really badly—is fighting against citizens," Almodóvar told TIME. "As secularism grows stronger and stronger every day, the role of the Church is growing smaller and smaller."

But in Italy, the Vatican's political influence remains strong enough to keep gay rights off the official agenda. In March the Italian parliament passed one of the most stringent assisted-fertility laws in Europe—it bans donor sperm, donor eggs and surrogate motherhood, which same-sex couples could use to have children, and limits assisted-fertility treatments to "stable" heterosexual couples.

It's not just Roman Catholics who struggle with gay rights, though. Bitter rows over homosexuality have ruptured the 70-million-strong Anglican Communion. Last week a panel set up by Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams published its recommendations on how to defuse a crisis that boiled over last year when American Episcopalians consecrated an openly homosexual bishop and a Canadian diocese authorized church blessings for same-sex unions. Those positions may reflect popular secular opinion in some parts of North America, but they have infuriated conservative Anglicans all over the world. Josiah Iduwo-Fearon, an archbishop in the fast-growing, 17.5-million-strong Nigerian

“In politics, the only relevant issue is: Are you in favor of or against discrimination? ... I am against any kind of discrimination.”

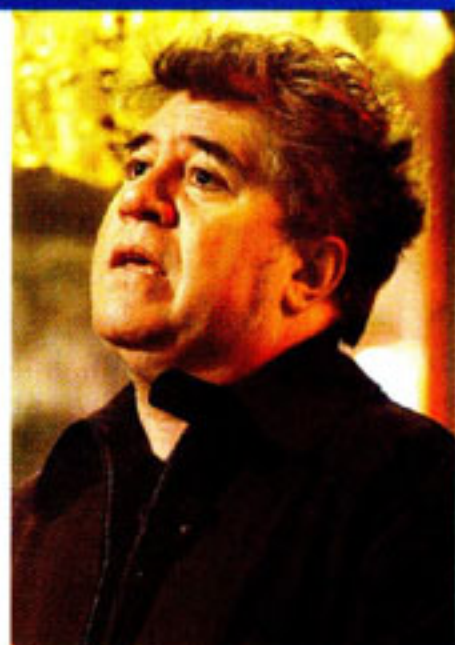
—ROCCO BUTTIGLIONE, E.U. Commissioner-designate for Justice, Freedom and Security



GEERT VANDEN WILNOAERT—AP

“What the [Roman Catholic] Church is doing ... is fighting against citizens. As secularism grows stronger every day, the role of the Church is growing smaller.”

—PEDRO ALMODOVAR, Spanish film director



AFP

Church—the second largest Anglican community after Britain's—spoke for many conservatives when he said, "The Bible is very clear. We see [homosexuality] as a sin."

Even fiercely secular France is embroiled in the gay cultural wars. An appeals court in Bordeaux ruled this summer that "a difference of sex is a condition of marriage," nullifying the first same-sex ceremony celebrated in France. Last week scores of prominent French homosexuals—including Paris' openly gay mayor Bertrand Delanoë, designer Jean Paul Gaultier and tennis star Amélie

Green's case in January, and he hopes he'll get a reversal. "I cannot see that we shouldn't have a right to preach the faith we have—particularly when it's based on the word of God," he says. The word of God has nothing to do with it, counters Christine Gilljam, who works with the Swedish ombudsman responsible for combating sexual discrimination. "If others had made the same kind of speech about ethnic minorities," she says, "they would have gone to prison, too."

Of course, it's entirely possible for politicians to privately oppose for religious reasons behavior they publicly uphold the

right of others to practice. This is exactly what U.S. presidential candidate John Kerry has promised to do on abortion. He is personally against the practice, but has vowed to uphold a woman's right to choose. Buttiglione himself has made a similar distinction. In a letter of "regret" sent to Barroso last week, he wrote: "In politics, the only relevant issue is: Are you in favor of or against discrimination?"

... I am against any kind of discrimination, [which means] defending those who hold views different from your own." Buttiglione says he can erect a firewall between his personal religious convictions and his duties as a public servant. But with both sides holding such passionate and diametrically opposed views, the fight over gay rights seems destined to burn brightly for a while yet.

—With reporting by Helen Gibson/London, Jeff Israely/Rome, Joe Kirwin/Brussels, Samuel Loewenberg/Madrid and Ulla Plon/Copenhagen



TIE THE KNOT Garcia, left, and Almeida, both Roman Catholics, will wed when the Spanish government legalizes gay marriage

Mauresmo—signed a public manifesto demanding a law that allows homosexuals the right to parenthood and adoption. "We are parents, dream to become them, in some cases regret never having been," the manifesto states. "We simply want to be parents like everyone else."

The anti-gay contingent can claim its martyrs, too. In the picturesque town of Borgholm on the Swedish island of Oland, only a small crowd was present in July, 2003 to hear Pentecostal preacher Ake Green deliver a sermon titled: "Is Homosexuality Genetic or an Evil Force Playing Mind Games With People?" Green denounced "sexual abnormalities" such as homosexuality and warned that Sweden was "facing a disaster of great proportions" because of its registered partnerships for gay couples. When he passed the text on to the local paper, Green got perhaps a little more attention than he wanted. Citing a law prohibiting hate speech against a minority, a district court sentenced him to a month in prison.

An appeals court will hear



VICTORY Socialist party official Pedro Zerolo, right, and activist Gimeno with Spain's draft marriage law

FIGHT: Will Barroso or Parliament prevail?



THE COMMISSION

Barroso's Blues

When Rocco Buttiglione shared his views on homosexuals and women with a committee of the European Parliament earlier this month, he sparked a potential showdown between the Parliament and the European Commission. Outraged M.E.P.s demanded that incoming Commission President José Manuel Durão Barroso either replace Buttiglione or shuffle him out of the Justice, Freedom and Security post. Barroso declined, instead promising to spread responsibility for antidiscrimination enforcement among several new Commissioners.

Not good enough, say Buttiglione's opponents. The Parliament can't turn down individual Commissioners, but it can reject the Commission as a whole. And that's exactly what some groups are threatening this week. "The Socialist Group cannot vote in favor of this Commission," says its leader, Martin Schulz of Germany. "We do not have confidence in it." Only the center-right European People's Party supports Barroso's team. Group chairman Hans-Gert Pöttering warned that rejecting the Commission "would trigger a crisis with serious political consequences." But Pöttering's support might not be enough to swing the vote. "If Barroso doesn't make any further concessions, it will be very close," says one parliamentary official.

The dispute holds dangers for both sides. If Barroso gives in, "the Parliament will have set an important precedent," denting the President's authority, says Alasdair Murray of the London-based Centre for European Reform. But tossing out the entire Commission could backfire, too. Murray believes Parliament would have to prove that the group was so bad it should be thrown out before it's done anything. "I'm not sure they can do that," he says. "Both sides could end up playing a game of brinkmanship that doesn't serve the E.U.'s interests."

—By Andrea Gerlin. Reported by James Graff/Paris and Joe Kirwin/Brussels

“INNOVATIVE THINKING? WE DON'T EVEN HAVE TIME FOR BAD THINKING.”



Innovation. It's top priority, but between e-mail, meetings and crises, you never get to it. You need help identifying and fixing what has you running around in circles. It's costing you every day. Do that and uncover a leaner, more flexible you.

“YEAH. BUT TRY SELLING THAT IDEA THROUGH.” Try this pitch: nothing delivers more value than innovation. Clear its path and everyone wins. A good idea creates unforeseen opportunities. **“HOW WOULD I EVEN START?”**

IBM's On Demand Innovation Services. Think of it as an elite task force. Pulling from the deepest collection of business and technology talent in the world, IBM will assemble teams of experts to partner with you and create one-of-a-kind solutions.

“THAT'S A WHOPPER OF AN IDEA.” It's no theory. Thousands of companies have trusted IBM's depth of expertise to make it happen. Intrigued? Skip a meeting. Give innovation some thought. And for more ideas visit ibm.com/ondemand/uk

INSIGHT, SERVICES AND SOLUTIONS FOR AN ON DEMAND WORLD

ON DEMAND BUSINESS

BUSINESS

Invasion of the Movie Snatchers

MORE AND MORE MOVIE
FANS ARE SHARING
FILMS ONLINE, AND
HOLLYWOOD DOESN'T
LIKE IT. SHOULD THE
STUDIOS FIGHT OR FIND
A WAY TO ADAPT?



BY CHRIS TAYLOR
SAN FRANCISCO



Jack Valenti, the firebrand longtime head

of the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA), was never one to mince words. As the movie industry's chief lobbyist, he knew how to portray his business's challenges in dramatic terms. Back in the 1980s, faced with new technology that supposedly threatened the studios' bottom line, Valenti once famously compared the VCR to the Boston Strangler.

Rhetoric like that took the battle against Betamax all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled against the movie industry and helped establish the right of fair-use copying. We all know what happened to the VCR: not long after that defeat, the studios discovered that tape rentals were even more of a cash cow than movie tickets.

Fast-forward a generation. This time the supposedly disrupt-

tive technology facing the film industry is peer-to-peer networking. Whereas the original Napster offered free music only and was easy to shut down, its successors—Kazaa, Grokster, Morpheus et al.—trade movies too and have proved more resilient. The music labels fought all instances of unfettered file sharing until Apple CEO Steve Jobs helped broker a cease-fire in the form of the iTunes Music Store, which won praise from consumers and a route to profits for the labels. The film industry, however, is still in the trenches, trying to stall what it sees as an onslaught of movie theft. Already as many as half a million movies are swapped online every day, according to the MPAA.

This isn't just an American issue. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (O.E.C.D.) recently pre-

Illustration for TIME by Viktor Koen



released part of its Information Technology Outlook 2004, due out next month, showing that although Americans still download the most movies, the number of video files as a percentage of total downloads is growing fastest in Europe. During September and October of last year, video files—including legitimate trailers and feature films as well as pirated movies—made up over 35% of total downloads in Germany, 33% in Italy and 26% in France. In the U.S., only 23% of downloaded content was video. Sacha Wunsch-Vincent of the O.E.C.D. Information, Computer and Communications Policy division says the numbers are due to better technology—most Europeans use eDonkey software, which is particularly good at handling files of 600 MB and more—and the fact that Europeans may be eager to get hold of American films and TV shows before



“[FILE-SHARING NETWORKS] HIDE BEHIND A CURTAIN OF DENIABILITY.”

—DAN GLICKMAN, head of the MPAA

they officially hit Europe's screens.

Given such global demand, a chorus of critics says that Hollywood is on the wrong track and that file sharing may well hold as much potential profit as the VCR did. The industry's legal efforts to block the new technology aren't going well. In August, a U.S. Federal Court of Appeals declared Grokster and Morpheus as legal as a VCR or a photocopy machine, whose legitimate copying uses outweigh illegitimate ones. The movie industry is furious, and has petitioned to overturn the decision. “These are folks who hide behind a curtain of plausible deniability, like they don't know what's being traded on their networks,” says Dan Glickman, a Clinton Cabinet member and former Democratic Congressman who took over the helm of the MPAA after Valenti retired.

Now Hollywood is pinning its hopes on a new tactic: federal legislation that would essentially target file-sharing technology. If passed, the so-called Induce Act would close the legitimate-copying loophole and empower the MPAA to sue peer-to-peer file-sharing services like Grokster after all. In Europe, the movie industry hasn't yet mobilized. “We're only beginning to make the inroads we need in terms of generating local industry and government interest to act,” says Dara MacGreevy, regional director of anti-piracy at the MPA, the international arm of the MPAA. “We find that governments turn a blind eye because they want to encourage broadband uptake.”

The legal specifics surrounding file sharing in Europe are fuzzy. Although unauthorized downloading and sharing of films can lead to civil or criminal prosecution almost everywhere, it's proving difficult to come up with a blanket law to cover all 25 E.U. nations. So the MPA is focusing on prevention, screening antipiracy trailers in cinemas and working to ensure that the E.U. directives already in place on copyright are properly implemented. Says MacGreevy: “We're following what happens in the U.S. very closely. Any legislative developments over there will probably influence Europe at a later date.”

Opponents of the proposed MPAA bill include the Electronic Freedom Foundation as well as a surprising number of big businesses. Internet service providers like Verizon and gadget stores like Radio Shack say the act's wording is too draconian and makes them liable if customers use their wares to break copyright law. At the same time, the studios can't exactly argue that file sharing is about to put them out of business. DVD sales and box-office receipts have never

been stronger. So if technological breakthroughs were a boon for the movie industry in the past, why not now?

The answer has to do with the film industry's business model, which is founded on a tightly controlled schedule of when and where the public sees movies. That schedule is broken up into windows. The box-office window is followed by the pay-per-view window, and then the DVD window opens, followed by the premium-cable window. The studios maximize profit by selling licenses for each phase. If peer-to-peer networks can offer movies while films are still in theaters, the whole revenue stream could be undermined. "We have fewer issues with technology overall than the lack of the ability to enact business rules around that technology," says Darcy Antonellis, a senior vice president at Warner Bros. Entertainment (a sister company of TIME) responsible for its worldwide antipiracy operations.

Not everyone in Silicon Valley is unsympathetic. "Studios will not support downloading of new releases for the same reason book publishers don't go direct to paperback," says Reed Hastings, CEO of Netflix, the hugely successful online movie-rental company with over 2 million U.S. customers. Hastings says he has always



MARNI HAM JOHNSON FOR TIME

The Grokster Guy

Von Lohmann defended file-sharing network Grokster in court and won. "The movie industry's agenda is to control the pace of innovation," he says

intended to make the transition to movie downloads. He has been brainstorming the idea with Michael Ramsay, a Netflix board member and the CEO of TiVo, whose time-shifting digital video recorder has also spooked Hollywood. Recently Ramsay won FCC approval for TiVoToGo, a service that would allow people to share TV shows, movies and other TiVo recordings with as many as nine other TiVo boxes and computers via the Internet. (Not surprisingly, the MPAA bitterly opposed TiVoToGo.)

Hastings stresses that any future downloading business would work out a profit-sharing framework with movie studios.

Netflix's British counterpart, Lovefilm, is also planning online movie downloads, but not anytime soon. "We know we've got the audience receptive to it, but technology still needs to make a jump to make it accessible," says CEO Mark Livingstone. In Germany, electronics company TC Unterhaltungselektronik believes it has found a way to make sharing movies easier—and legal. By next

DVDs: Battle Of Blue Lasers

Lasers may be the weapon of choice for sci-fi movie heroes when the fate of the galaxy hangs in the balance. But back here on Planet Earth, lasers are at the center of a movie battle of another kind: the one among Japan's giant electronics manufacturers over the next generation of DVD technology. The winners will set the course of the home-video entertainment industry for perhaps the next decade or longer—and reap billions in licensing royalties in the process.

With the convergence of the TV and the PC finally becoming a reality, the technical specifications of tomorrow's DVDs have the potential to affect the development of not just movies but also console video games like the Xbox and PlayStation, the operating systems of Macintosh and Windows computers and a host of other interactive technologies. And Sony's recent successful bid for MGM Studios (and its rich backlist of classic films) underscored just how crucial DVDs are in the entertainment and electronics businesses. The current scuffle might not be settled before two competing (and incompatible) standards reach stores, potentially blossoming into a confusing standards war like the VHS-vs.-Betamax videotape clash of the late 1970s and early '80s.

At issue are two blue-laser technologies that will drive tomorrow's DVD players. Both formats enable far more information to be packed onto discs the same size as traditional DVDs (which are read by red lasers). The two new varieties also offer strong copyright protection and far greater picture clarity, making them suited to high-definition television as well as to computer screens. Beyond that, there are differences in price, storage capacity and other technical details.

Spearheading one camp is Sony, which is promoting a technology it calls Blu-ray. Sony quickly enlisted Matsushita, Philips and Pioneer, among others, as allies in its cause. All was going well in this spirit of selfless co-operation, Sony claims, until Toshiba decided to ruin the party. "We have had many, many meetings with Toshiba," says project director Kiyoshi Nishitani. But when it came to explaining the benefits of joining the alliance, he adds with a shake of his head, "we could not get them to understand."

Toshiba's DVD executives cheerfully avow that they spurned the Blu-ray consortium's advances, deciding to develop their own HD-DVD technology instead. The proud

victor over Sony in setting the standards for the first generation of DVDs in the 1990s, Toshiba is in no mood to concede its lead. Toshiba team leader Hisashi Yamada, a key player in the first DVD war, seems to delight in playing the role of the spoiler yet again in the face of what many at Toshiba perceive as Sony's arrogance. "The way of Sony is very simple," says Yamada. "'Our format is best,' they say. 'You should adopt it,' they say. Only that. No compromise." But, he adds with a mischievous grin, "we did not think Sony's is the right technology at the right time. We think ours is better."

Both companies claim they have attracted a critical mass of supporters. Sony has enlisted Hitachi, Samsung, Sharp, LG and Dell, among others.

Toshiba trumpets the fact that Microsoft has pledged that its next Windows operating system will be compatible with HD-DVD.

There is one thing that everyone agrees is essential to victory: Hollywood support. "The vote is in

Hollywood's hands," says

Warren Lieberfarb, a former head of Warner Home Video and currently a consultant for Toshiba. Home rentals and sales can generate as much as 50% of a film's revenue, and in the DVD-format wars, the studios all want to bet on a winner.

—By Jim Frederick/Tokyo



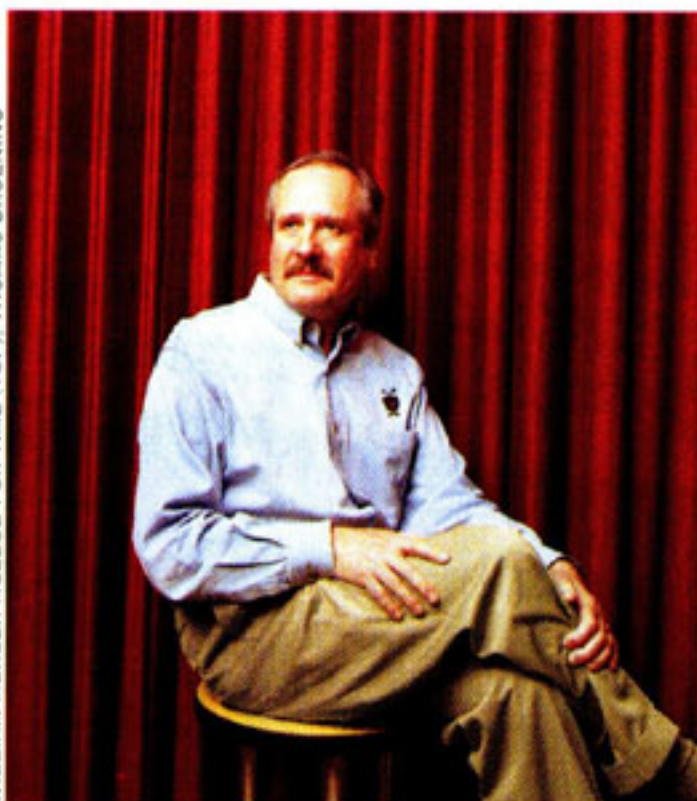
month, the company will release CyberSky, free software that allows users to share TV broadcasts—including films and pay-per-view—over the Internet. When users hook up their TVs to their computers, CyberSky sends the TV feed to a peer-to-peer network, where anyone can tune in—completely anonymously. As long as it only provides the technology, the firm says it isn't breaking any laws. But the German association for commercial and private broadcasters, VPRT, says it opposes the use of TV signals without the broadcaster's consent.

To a degree, digital-rights-management software, which ensures that only legally downloaded films can be viewed, can prevent illicit copying, but the industry still has its window problem. Two years ago, major studios launched a service called Movielink, which offers movies for downloading at about the same time they hit the pay-per-view window. Not only do the movies take hours to download, but they also disappear from Movielink's catalog altogether 90 days later, when they enter the premium-cable window. Because channels like HBO and Starz! offer lucrative licensing deals, Movielink has not been able to compete in the latter window. European services run into the same hurdles. Recently U.S. movie downloading service CinemaNow and Tiscali, the third-largest Internet service provider in Europe, started offering legal flicks to broadband customers in Britain, Germany and Italy for around \$3.50 per movie. But the service carries only niche films. "The industry still hasn't released its grip on its assets," says Richard Ayers of Tiscali U.K., "so we're starting small. Eventually we'll compete with the DVD rental market."

Netflix board member Ramsay says the industry has five years to figure out how to work file sharing into its business; Hastings thinks it's more like 10. The delay has a lot to do with the slow speed of most Internet access. Even with relatively speedy cable and DSL connections, it can take 16 hours to download a movie with just a third of the quality of a DVD.

Download speed is just one reason file sharing may not be an immediate threat to the movie business. "There were very beautiful copies of *Shrek 2* available on the Internet when it was released," says Ted Sarandos, chief content officer for Netflix. "That didn't seem to hurt ticket sales any." When DVDs are packed with special features and available to rent for \$2 or to buy for \$15, who wants to waste a day downloading a movie? "I've frequently suggested they give up on all this copy protection because it doesn't make a bit of difference," says Fred von Lohmann, a lawyer for the Electronic Freedom Foundation who defended Grokster against the movie industry's lawsuit. "It's not all the fancy locks that protect the industry. It's a great product at a great price."

Privately, some movie bosses admit the industry is on the



WILLIAM MERCER MCLEOD FOR TIME (TOP); THOMAS BROENING

The New Guard

Netflix CEO Hastings, above, wants to offer high-quality movie downloads, possibly by using the TiVo service run by his pal Ramsay, left

wrong track. "Studios can only bitch so much before they provide a viable, competitive alternative," says one Walt Disney executive. Intellectual-property experts are trying to come up with new models that will allow the film industry to survive downloading. UCLA law professor Neil Netanel has proposed more product placement in movies and allowing unrestricted file sharing in return for a "noncommercial-use levy" of 4%, regulated by the Copyright Office and imposed on the price of new

computers and other copying devices. Such levy arrangements are common in France and Germany. Netanel's estimate of the resulting profit for the studios: \$2 billion a year. For the moment, though, the movie industry's main thrust is the Induce Act (which won't get a full hearing before Congress this session).

But time and technology are not on the studios' side. The next generation of file-sharing software is already in utero. Last month computer scientists at Caltech set a new data-transmission record: they achieved the equivalent of downloading a full-length feature film in 4 sec. "One thing you can count on in Hollywood is fear of change," says Warren Lieberfarb, the man who launched the DVD. But consumers are still hungry for faster, easier entertainment—and there's always another fortune waiting to be discovered.

—With reporting by Jumana Farouky/London, Jeffrey Ressler/Los Angeles and Eric Roston/Washington

Beyond the Call of Duty

A whistle-blower objected to the U.S. government's Halliburton deals—and says now she's paying for it

By ADAM ZAGORIN and
TIMOTHY J. BURGER

IN FEBRUARY 2003, LESS THAN A MONTH before the U.S. invaded Iraq, Bunna-tine (Bunny) Greenhouse walked into a Pentagon meeting and with a quiet comment started what could be the end of her career. On the agenda was the awarding of an up to \$7 billion deal to a subsidiary of Houston-based conglomerate Halliburton to restore Iraq's oil facilities. On hand were senior officials from the office of U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and aides to retired Lieut. General Jay Garner, who would soon become the first U.S. administrator in Iraq. Then several representatives from Halliburton entered. Greenhouse, a top contracting specialist for the Army Corps of Engineers, grew increasingly concerned that they were privy to internal discussions of the contract's terms, so she whispered to the presiding general, insisting that he ask the Halliburton employees to leave the room.

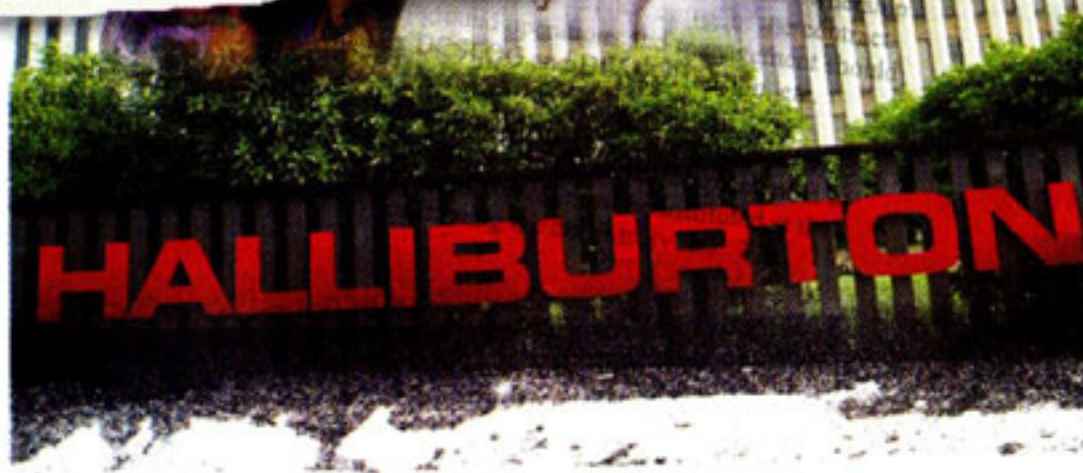
Once they had gone, Greenhouse raised other concerns. She argued that the five-year term for the contract, which had not been put out for competitive bid, was not justified, that it should be for one year only and then be opened to competition. But when the contract-approval document arrived the next day for Greenhouse's signature, the term was five years. With war imminent, she had little choice but to sign. But she added a handwritten reservation that extending a no-bid contract beyond one year could send a message that "there is not strong intent for a limited competition."

Greenhouse's objections, which had not been made public until now, will probably fuel criticism of the U.S. government's allegedly cozy relationship with Halliburton and could be greeted with calls for further investigation. Halliburton's Kellogg, Brown and Root (KBR) subsidiary has been mired in allegations of overcharging and mismanagement in Iraq, and the government in

January replaced the noncompetitive oil-field contract that Greenhouse had objected to and made two competitively bid awards instead. (Halliburton won the larger contract, worth up to \$1.2 billion, for repairing oil installations in southern Iraq, while Parsons Corp. got one for the north, worth up to \$800 million.) Halliburton's Iraq business, which includes another U.S. government contract as well, has been under particular scrutiny because Vice President Dick Cheney was once its CEO. The Pentagon, concerned about potential con-



Principal Assistant Responsible for Contracting
Mrs. Bunna-tine Greenhouse
Signature: *[Handwritten signature]* Date: *27 February 2003*
Head of the Contracting Activity
I caution that extending this no-bid contract beyond a one year term could convey an implied presumption that there is not strong intent for a limited competition.



FIRST STRIKE Army contract specialist Greenhouse handwrote objections on pages of the Halliburton deal

trovsky when it signed the original oil-work contract, gave Cheney's staff a heads-up beforehand. (TIME disclosed that alert in June.)

Greenhouse seems to have got nothing but trouble for questioning the deal. Warned to stop interfering and threatened with a demotion, the career Corps employee decided to act on her conscience, according to her lawyer, Michael Kohn. Kohn, who has repre-

sented other federal whistle-blowers, last week sent a letter—obtained by TIME from congressional sources—on her behalf to the acting U.S. Secretary of the Army. In it Kohn recounts Greenhouse's Pentagon meeting and demands an investigation of alleged violations of Army regulations in the contract's awarding. (The Pentagon justified the contract procedures as necessary in a time of war, saying KBR was the only choice because of security clearances that it had received earlier.) Kohn charges that Greenhouse's superiors have tried to silence her; he says she has agreed to be interviewed, pending approval from her employer, but the Army failed to make her available despite repeated requests from TIME.

"These charges undercut months of assertions by Administration officials that the Halliburton contract was on the level," says Democratic Representative Henry Waxman. As the Corps's top contract specialist, the letter says, Greenhouse had noted reservations on dozens of procurement documents

over seven years. But it was only after she took exception to the Halliburton deal that she was warned not to do so anymore. The letter states that the major general who admonished her, Robert Griffin, later admitted in a sworn statement that her comments on contracts had "caused trouble" for the Army and that, given the controversy surrounding the contract, it was "intolerable" and "had to stop."

The letter says he threatened to downgrade her. (As with Greenhouse, the Army did not make Griffin available.)

When the Pentagon's auditors accused KBR of overcharging the government \$61 million for fuel, the letter says, the Army bypassed Greenhouse. Her deputy waived a requirement that KBR provide pricing data—a move that looked "politically motivated," the letter

says. The Pentagon maintains that it awarded Halliburton's Iraq contracts appropriately, as does a Halliburton spokeswoman. A senior military official says the Army "has referred the matter to the inspector general of the Department of Defense." As for Halliburton, it has faced alleged cost overruns, lost profits and seen at least 54 company contractors killed in Iraq. Greenhouse, meanwhile, has requested protection from retaliation. But her career—and reputation—are on the line. ■

14:07 _ LOG IN AT HOT SPOT
14:11 _ TRANSMIT FILES THROUGH THIN AIR
14:11 _ NETWORK SECURES THIN AIR
14:25 _ UPDATE PURCHASE ORDERS
14:35 _ ORDER ANOTHER ESPRESSO

The more freedom you give employees to work anywhere, the more you can achieve. That's good. But at the same time, the more you increase your exposure to intruders. That's not so good. How far can a network travel to protect your office? Now, the answer is everywhere. The self-defending network, with integrated security defends against the threats of mobile workers who constantly move outside the safety of the company network. So information is secured. No matter where it exists. To learn more visit cisco.com/uk/securitynow or call 00800 9999 0522. SELF-DEFENDING NETWORKS PROTECT AGAINST HUMAN NATURE.



THIS IS THE POWER OF THE NETWORK. NOW.



DINOSAUR TALES

Did today's birds really evolve from dinosaurs? Two spectacular discoveries make the case even stronger

By MICHAEL D. LEMONICK

IT SEEMS HARD TO BELIEVE, BUT IT wasn't that long ago that the idea of birds evolving directly from dinosaurs seemed just a little flaky. Sure, they shared generally similar body plans—paleontologists have known that for more than a century—but that hardly constituted an airtight case. Over the past couple of decades, however, scientists have uncovered all sorts of detailed characteristics common to birds and dinosaurs: wish-bones, swiveling wrist bones and, most recently, proof that some dinosaurs sported feathers. There's behavioral evidence too. Some dinosaurs made nests and sat on them, and one four-winged, feathered dino evidently glided like a flying squirrel.

A flurry of new finds offers even more evidence that the pigeon you see in the park had an ancestor that ruled the earth. Writing in *Nature* in October, Chinese and American paleontologists announced the discovery of one dinosaur that evidently slept curled up in a posture identical to that of a sleeping duck and another that is the first tyrannosaur ever found with feathers. The discovery of the tyrannosaur is significant because that family of dinosaurs is believed to be among the closest relatives of modern birds.

Another team, meanwhile, recently published an analysis showing that *Tyrannosaurus rex* grew (and thus metabolized) at an impressively fast rate—suggesting that it might have been warm-blooded like birds. “There’s now so much material [linking dinosaurs and birds] that I can’t imagine

anybody being able to ignore it,” says paleontologist Luis Chiappe of the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.

Like many of the most dramatic dinosaur finds of the past few years, the new specimens were unearthed in a geological formation in northeastern China’s Liaoning province that has become one of the world’s most renowned fossil beds. Since the late 1990s, digs in Liaoning have produced an astonishing array of exquisitely preserved plants, insects, primitive mammals, birds and, most famously, feathered and winged dinosaurs.

Luckily for paleontologists, the beds are divided into different layers that yield different sorts of fossils. The sleeping dino, for example, was found in what Mark Norell of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City calls Liaoning’s “Pompeii layer,” a 3-m-thick stratum of ash and sand. It was deposited so quickly that, like the ash from the infamous eruption in Italy,

it buried creatures alive wherever they were standing—or snoozing. This one was tiny: excluding its tail, it’s about the size of a Rock Cornish hen. That some of its bones have not completely fused indicates that this particular specimen was not quite fully grown.

In addition, it’s a new species, which Norell and co-

discoverer Xing Xu of Beijing’s Institute of Vertebrate Paleontology and Paleoanthropology named *Mei long*, from the Chinese for “soundly sleeping dragon.” But the specimen, dating from between 128 million and 139 million years ago, is clearly an early troodontid, an evolutionary cousin of tyrannosaurs.

“Not only are troodontids very closely related to birds,” says Norell, “but this particular one is in a stereotypical resting pose of birds.” The sleeping dragon was found sitting on its hindlimbs, its forelimbs folded at its side, its head tucked under its left elbow and its long tail curled around its body. Experts believe modern birds sleep in a similar position to conserve heat; presumably *Mei long* did too, which suggests that the animal was warm-blooded. If that



LIKE A DUCK
Buried by volcanic ash while asleep, this carnivorous dinosaur, about the size of a Cornish hen, curled up just the way a modern waterfowl does, as a reconstruction, right, clearly shows



Fossil Paradise

The new specimens were found in remarkably rich deposits near the city of Beipiao, in China's Liaoning province



MODEL T. REX
The feathers that festooned this emu-size early relative of the terrible lizard suggest that the king of dinos may have had them too

was the case, says Norell, it also offers an explanation for feathers: "It's likely they first evolved for insulation rather than flight." Birds simply found another use for them.

While the Pompeii layer preserved natural body postures, it was too coarse to take imprints of soft tissues and delicate structures, so there's no way of knowing whether *Mei long* had feathers. But other strata of the Liaoning fossil beds are much finer grained. That's where paleontolo-

gists found the feathered tyrannosaur, which Xu and Norell named *Dilong paradoxus* ("surprising emperor dragon"). It's one of the oldest known tyrannosaurs, and one of the emu-size specimens has unmistakable traces of primitive feathers on its tail and jaw. Those filaments, which are about 2 cm long and branched like modern feathers, are the first direct evidence that tyrannosaurs sported plumage. Because *Dilong paradoxus* is one of the earliest tyrannosaurs, Norell and his colleagues infer that its larger, more advanced relatives, including *T. rex*, must have had feathers for at least part of their life span.

That notion is reinforced, albeit indirectly, by the growth analysis Norell and a group of American and Canadian scientists published in *Nature* in August. By looking at growth lines—skeletal marks, analogous to tree rings, that show how much bigger a dinosaur got from year to year—the scientists were able to estimate that *T. rex* packed on weight at a blistering pace,

sometimes as much as 2.25 kg a day. That also supports the idea of warm-bloodedness, which means baby *T. rex* had to have a way to retain body heat. As the dinosaur shot toward adulthood, however, it would have developed the opposite problem: shedding the excess heat pumped out by an active, 5,000-kg body. Norell and Xu theorize that *T. rex* probably lost its feathers as it matured, just as growing elephants lose their body hair.

Impressive as these new discoveries are, they hardly mean that all the details of the dinosaur-bird link have been worked out. While current thinking favors speedy predators like velociraptors as the direct ancestors of modern birds, both Chiappe and Norell argue that the birds' forebears could just as easily have been troodontids like *Mei long* or even oviraptors, another related type of dinosaur. (Several years ago in Mongolia, Norell and colleagues unearthed a fossil oviraptor sitting on its egg-filled nest.) And then there's also the open question of how flight evolved. *Mei long*, says Chiappe, was clearly sleeping on the ground. But if flight began as flying-squirrel-like glides out of trees, he wonders, "wouldn't it have been safer resting in a tree?"

Those are important points, and they may take years to resolve. But the fact that paleontologists are focusing on such details makes it clear that the dinosaur-bird connection, so bitterly controversial just a few short years ago, is no longer in dispute.

—Reported by Andrea Dorfman/New York

PHOTO: SLOAN—IVPP/AMNH



Reach far
away places
via Vienna.

A STAR ALLIANCE MEMBER 

Earn miles with
Miles & More

Melbourne
Sydney
Tokyo
Osaka
Beijing
Shanghai
Bangkok
Singapore
Kuala Lumpur
Delhi
Kathmandu

50x weekly

Fly Austrian Airlines to Asia and Australia even more often

Asia and Australia are now even closer than you think. Fly Austrian Airlines to a large number of destinations from Singapore and Shanghai all the way to Melbourne via Vienna, Europe's fastest and most comfortable transfer airport. No matter if you are travelling for business or pleasure, you can look forward to gourmet menus and traditional Austrian hospitality in our award-winning Austrian business class. For information and booking please select your local Austrian Airlines website at www.austrianairlines.com, contact our sales office or your travel agency.

 **VIE** Vienna
International
Airport
EUROPE'S BEST ADDRESS

Austrian 



TRAVEL | MONEY | FAMILY | STYLE | LEISURE

CURTAIN RAISER

BURN, BABY, BURN

It's an almost hallucinatory sight: men and women in historical costume rolling barrels of flaming tar down the cobbled streets of a southern English town, lighting up the night as drums beat and crowds roar. Others follow, bearing burning torches and letting off deafening fireworks. The air is dense with the smoke of vast bonfires, ablaze in surrounding fields and on hillsides. No, it's not a re-enactment of Dante's *Inferno*. It's Bonfire Night in the Sussex town of Lewes.

Held every year on Nov. 5, Bonfire Night nominally commemorates the foiling of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605—an attempt by English Catholics to blow up the upper house of Parliament and launch an uprising against King James I's Protestant rule. These days, however, it's simply an excuse (not just in Lewes, but also in less flamboyant displays throughout the country) for a boisterous get-together by pyromaniacs of every stripe. From midafternoon, Lewes' train station, pubs and narrow streets are mobbed with tens of thousands of visitors from all over England. The noisy, incandescent spectacle begins at sunset. Remember to dress warmly: there may be a lot of fires burning, but this is an English autumn. For more information visit lewesbonfirecouncil.org.uk.

—By Liam Fitzpatrick

EDITOR REICHL:
She spent a year
testing recipes



ROMULO VIANES

with valuable tips from *Gourmet*'s eight test kitchens on such matters as how to properly store food (never refrigerate tomatoes, for instance—it makes them mealy and kills flavor), when to use which kind of rice, and how to remove fish skins (a paper towel and a sharp knife work best).

Reichl and her team spent a year sifting through 50,000 recipes, which were retested, updated and sometimes rejected because of health concerns or changing tastes. The apricot soufflé, one of *Gourmet*'s early signature desserts, failed the taste test until someone realized that the original recipe used dried apricots from California, not the Turkish ones that are more common today. And a 1950s recipe for *niu moa ai* (a Hawaiian chicken dish) that began, "Saw the tops off six small, fresh coconuts" was dropped because it was deemed too time consuming for contemporary cooks. Still, the recipes that did make it in will allow you to recreate classics like beef Wellington or more modern dishes like seared salmon with balsamic glaze.

One disappointment: despite coming from a magazine famed for tempting photos that verge on gastroporn, *The Gourmet Cookbook* contains no photographs. Instead, the book is illustrated with detailed drawings that explain everything from proper *siu mai* assembly to the best way to choose and shuck an oyster. It's up to you to provide the mouthwatering visuals. ■

AMUSE-BOUCHE

Recipe for a Classic

A venerable cooking magazine creates a book that is encyclopedic yet enticing

By LISA MCLAUGHLIN



SINCE IT FIRST hit newsstands in 1941, *Gourmet* magazine has been the chronicler of American food trends

and fantasies, providing advice and inspiration for generations of home cooks. Now, after 60 years, the best of that advice and more than 1,200 of the magazine's recipes have been

revamped for modern kitchens in *The Gourmet Cookbook* (Houghton Mifflin).

It's a spicy meatball. Weighing in at a positively caloric 2.3 kg and 1,056 pages, this doorstop of a tome aims, in the words of editor Ruth Reichl, to be "a book that wants to live in your kitchen." For the most part, it succeeds: this is the sort of cookbook you want by your side whether you're attempting cucumber sandwiches or coq au vin.

Each chapter is punctuated

DOSSIER

Presidential Library

With the U.S. presidential race in its final days, here are three great books that capture the campaign spirit:



The Making of the President, 1960 by Theodore H. White (Pocket Books; 481 pages)

The classic election read—a riveting account of one of the closest contests in U.S. history, and a manual for understanding American politics.



Fear and Loathing: On the Campaign Trail '72 by Hunter S. Thompson (Flamingo; 480 pages)

Thompson's gonzo take on Nixon's second campaign set the style for a generation of young



reporters. **The Right Nation: Why America is Different**, by John

Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge (Allen Lane; 450 pages) A deeply reported, dispassionate guide to the U.S.'s distinctively conservative politics. By examining such issues as guns, abortion and religion, it shows why any liberal running for national office has an uphill battle. —By Aatish Taseer and Jim Ledbetter

STYLE WATCH

GET IN COSTUME

Go any faster than a stroll and you might miss the bright pink sign that advertises Sabina Swims. But as Sabina Wong, the charismatic owner of Hong Kong's newest and hippest swimwear boutique, says: "Once you find it, it's yours." Plenty of women have already made themselves at home in the store, which opened a few months ago on a narrow street just a short walk from the city's business district. They're drawn by Wong's plainspoken approach to selling swimming costumes: she'll take you by the hand and give you a

COURTESY OF SABINA SWIMS



frank rundown of what will work for you, one body part at a time. And she doesn't ignore comfort. "Swimwear should be for women," she says, "and not for men to look at."

The 1930s walk-up building that houses Sabina Swims was formerly an art gallery, and it shows: floorboards are stripped, ceilings are high, and jazz and cappuccino are on tap. Apart from Wong's signature line, you can expect to find fashionable international brands like Sexy Little Beach, Siddhartha and Kooshi. "Bikinis are a big deal," enthuses Wong. If Hong Kong women didn't know it before, they will now. tel: (852) 3572 3944 —By Sarah M. Broom

Middleware is Everywhere.

Can you see it?

IBM

3

4

1

5

2

Tivoli

Key

1. Centre forward heads it in on the whistle.
2. Fans call friends to celebrate.
3. 300% more calls flood network.
4. IT systems sense and respond instantly.
5. Telecom scores big with customers.

MIDDLEWARE IS IBM SOFTWARE. It's software that automates your IT systems to align with your unique business goals. Open, flexible, end-to-end solutions that help you keep up with customer demands on your infrastructure. It's how to avoid costly interruptions in service and fulfil your service-level agreements. It's how to stay on top of your game, no matter what size you are.

Middleware for the on demand world. Learn more at ibm.com/middleware/automation/uk **ON DEMAND BUSINESS**

IBM, the IBM logo, Tivoli and the ON DEMAND BUSINESS logo are trademarks of International Business Machines Corporation in the United States and/or other countries. ©2004 IBM Corporation. All rights reserved.



Roger Protz's LETTER *from* BUDWEIS

in association with **Budweiser**
Budvar

ROGER PROTZ is the UK's foremost beer writer. He is an accomplished broadcaster and has written for such publications as The Guardian, The Morning Advertiser and What's Brewing

In the business world, "creative tension" is often a euphemism for a boardroom bust up. At Budweiser Budvar, a disagreement over a new beer has not only been settled amicably but has led to a superb new product being added to the brewery's portfolio.

When Second Brewmaster Ales Dvorak suggested producing a dark lager beer, Brewmaster Josef Tolar disagreed. Such beers are "smoky and roasted", he said. They were not to his taste. He thought a Budweiser Dark would give an old fashioned image to a company that is associated throughout the world with its classic pale beer.

But Ales persisted and eventually some trial brews were made. The new beer has been a success in a quiet way and many bars in the Czech Republic that stock the pale Budvar now also have a tap for Dark.

Ales, a youthful 39 year-old, answered the obvious question: "I'm not related to Dvorak the composer – it's a common Czech name". Like Josef Tolar, Ales studied at the Brewing and Food Institute in Prague where he devoted the final two years of the course to honing his brewing skills. After military service, he joined a small brewery in Ceské Krumlov before moving a few miles down the road to Budvar in Ceské Budejovice.

He worked in technical inspection in the brewery, advised on the use of new technology, was put in charge of fermentation, and was then promoted to the prestigious position of Second Brewmaster.

When he put forward his idea for a dark beer he knew he faced more than opposition from just the revered Josef Tolar. In Britain, dark or mild ales have an old-fashioned, "cloth cap" image. In the Czech Republic, similar beers are considered to be sweet and suitable only for women drinkers.

"Budweiser Dark needed to be more bitter than other dark beers," he said. "And it had to be attractive to all drinkers, young and old as well as men and women."

Ales went to the famous Zatec hop-growing region of the republic to choose the best varieties for his new beer. He studied old recipes for dark beer but developed a beer with an entirely new and modern profile.

Budweiser Dark is 4.8% alcohol and is brewed from four different malts: pale, Munich, caramalt and roast. Munich malt is darker than pale malt and gives an amber colour to beer. Caramalt is a touch darker and adds a delicious nutty flavour, while roasted malt looks like coffee beans and adds chocolate/coffee flavours and bitterness. The specially selected Zatec hops create 22 units of bitterness – a fraction more than the pale version of Budvar – and provide a good underpinning of spicy flavours. In common with the pale beer, Budvar Dark is aged for three months in the lager cellars deep below the brewery.

As well as making trial batches in the brewery, Ales used his skills as a home brewer to make further samples of dark beer at home. In spite of his demanding work at the brewery, Ales finds time to brew a wide range of beers at home, including pale and dark lagers and both Belgian and English style ales.

Budvar Dark is a fascinating and delicious beer. It is a deep ruby red in colour and has rich chocolate, coffee and roasted aromas and flavours underscored by a gentle hop bitterness. As well as finding favour in its home market, the beer caused considerable interest at the Great British Beer Festival in London in August. Only a couple of kegs were made available for the festival and they were quickly drunk dry as word spread round the hall about this tasty addition to the Budvar range.

When I sat down for a convivial beer with Josef Tolar in Ceské Budejovice in September, I was fascinated to see that he called for a glass of Budweiser Dark.

"Smoky and roasted, eh, Josef?" I asked. He smiled enigmatically and took another satisfied sip.

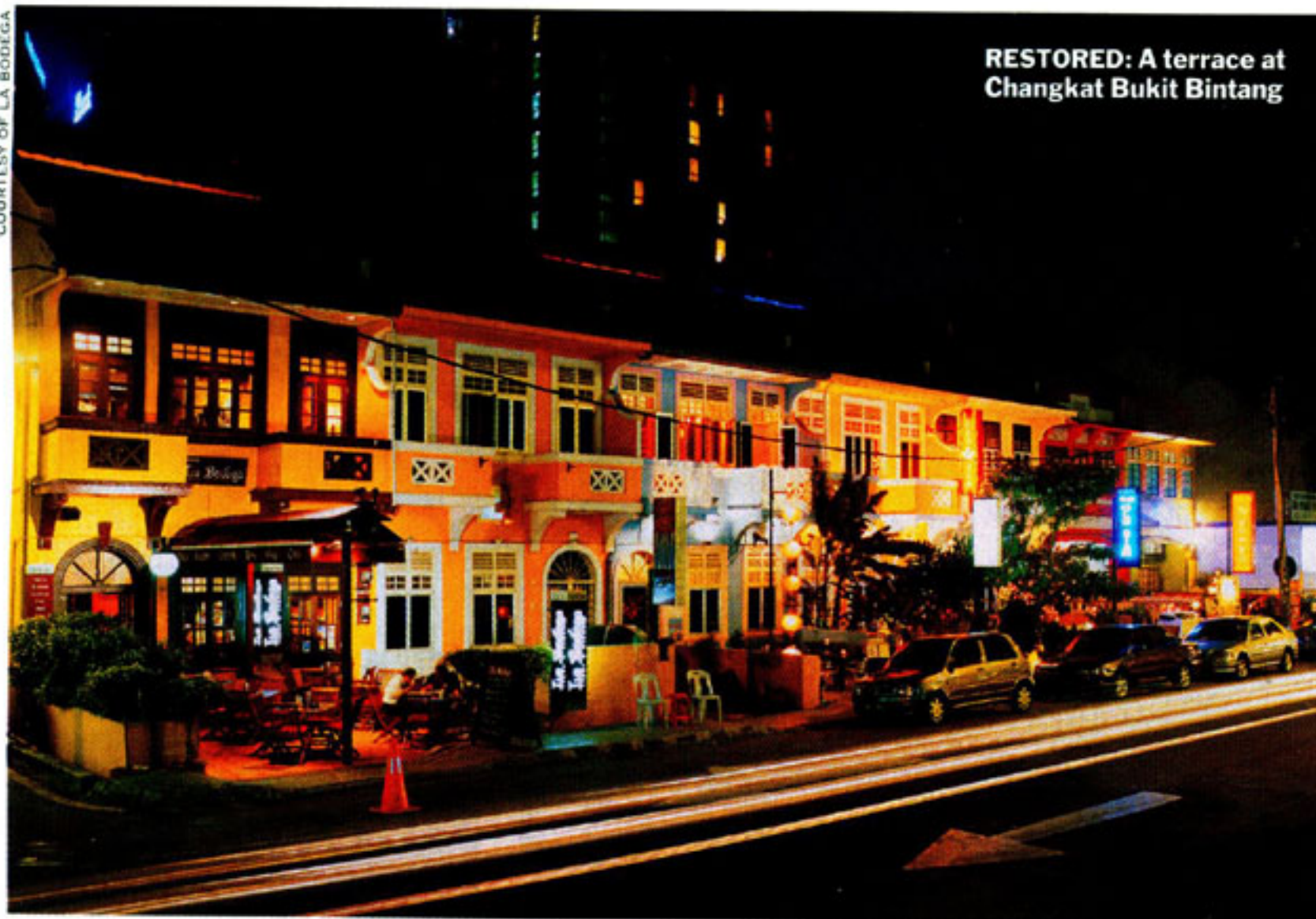
Roger Protz

Roger Protz is Glenfiddich Drink Writer of the Year.

In July, the Speaker of the House of Commons, Michael Martin MP, presented him with the Beer Drinker of the Year award from the All-Parliamentary Beer Group.



COURTESY OF LA BODEGA



RESTORED: A terrace at Changkat Bukit Bintang

GRAPEVINE

COLONIAL COOL

Kuala Lumpur's heritage areas are also home to its hippest nightlife

By LIM LI MIN

BANGSAR, AT ONE TIME Kuala Lumpur's beer- and java-fueled social epicenter, is not quite the buzzing burb it used to be. Blame that on two upstart areas—Changkat Bukit Bintang and Jalan Doraisamy (a.k.a. Asian Heritage Row)—that have become the Malaysian capital's hottest new districts, thanks to a combination of restored colonial architecture and hip nightlife. There's plenty of decadence to boot—Changkat Bukit Bintang doubles up as love-hotel central.

These days, however, signs advertising rooms by the hour are fighting for space with those touting stylish bars, clubs and cosmopolitan restaurants. And the eclectic mix of styles is a surefire draw. Recently given

a welcome face-lift, buildings lining downtown K.L.'s restored heritage rows boast soaring ceilings, wrought-iron balconies and timber balustrades. Some of these 1930s gems—in an Art Deco style adapted for the tropics—also have air wells open to the sky. “People are beginning to realize the past has value,” says Lim Huck Chin, a conservation architect. “Going out now has a more human face.” See for yourself in one of these heritage hangouts.

SARAY: This palate-pleasing Turkish restaurant is decorated with hookahs and Turkey's famed Iznik tiles. The signature “Swooning Imam Beside Eggplant” dish comes with pita bread baked on the premises. An added bonus: in the evenings, erudite owner Fatima Chan holds forth on Ottoman

art. tel: (60-3) 2694 9724

BAR SAVANH: Koi carp ponds, opium beds and mammoth buddha heads combine to make Bar SaVanh the slickest place along Jalan Doraisamy for aperitifs. Soak up the booze with tasty tidbits from CoChine, the Indo-Chinese restaurant upstairs. tel: (60-3) 2697 1180

LA BODEGA: Yearning for tapas and fat Monte Cristo cigars? Then head to this relaxed venue, perhaps the most chilled-out bar in the Changkat Bukit Bintang area. French windows let in a suitably sultry breeze. tel: (60-3) 2142 6368

SAO NAM: One of the most popular restaurants on the Tingkat Tong Shin row, Sao Nam serves up southern Vietnamese cuisine with a contemporary twist. Diners can choose the alfresco area on ground level, or troop to the dining room upstairs, scattered with retro Indo-Chinese furniture. tel: (60-3) 2144 1225 ■

TECH WATCH

A TOUGH NEW ANTISPAM TOOL

Somewhere along the line, your e-mail In box started to look like your real mailbox—full of unwanted ads and “free” offers that somehow aren't. New spam-filtering software may have helped cut back on the lewdness, but those programs sometimes drop good friends in the junk folder. DigiPortal's ChoiceMail (\$40 at digiportal.com; a scaled-down free version is also available) gets around that problem by checking IDs at the door to your In box. If the message is from someone already in your address book, the mail goes through, but if it's from an unknown sender, ChoiceMail sends out a challenge message. Spammers, as a rule, don't respond, but that long-lost friend you caught up with at a recent wedding probably will. You can create a separate mailbox to receive e-mail notices from online stores; if spammers get hold of that mailbox (and they eventually will), you can simply trash it and make a new one. This lets you register for e-commerce sites without broadcasting your personal address. If only you could do that with your real-world mailbox.

—By Wilson Rothman

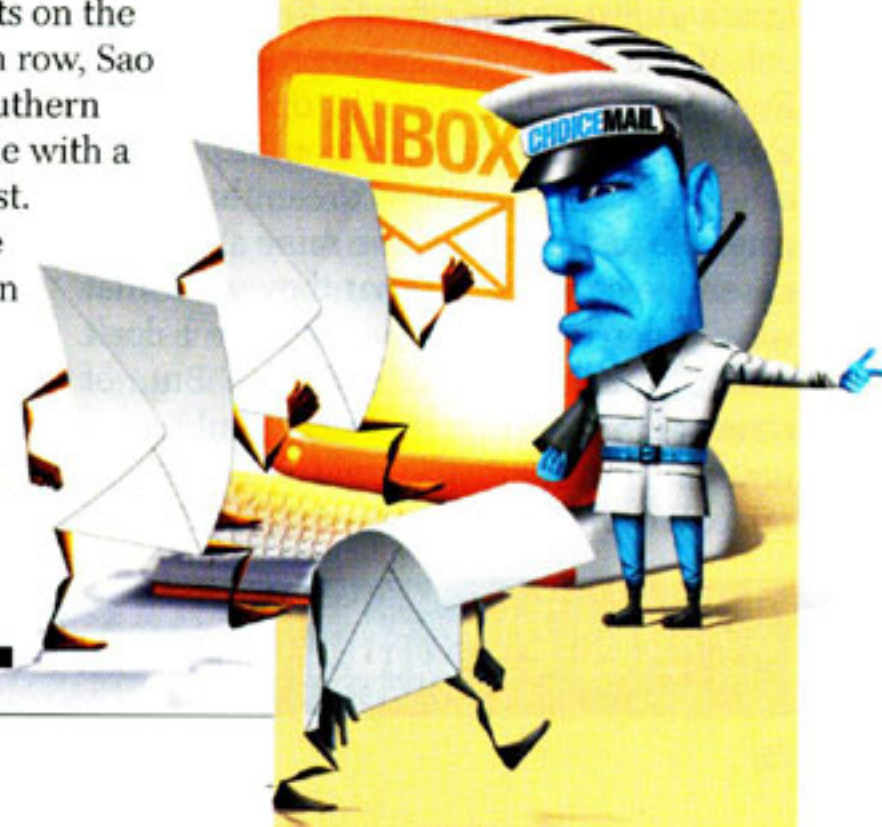


ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY JOHN CORBITT

With endless dialogue and wry humor, Jean-Pierre Bacri and Agnès Jaoui are the masters of ensemble filmmaking

By JUMANA FAROUKY PARIS

AT FIRST GLANCE, THEY MAKE AN UNLIKELY pair. He's intense and weathered—the kind of guy who shows up to interviews untucked and unshaven. She's easygoing and glamorous (as a young girl, she dreamed of being a princess). But when it comes to making movies, Jean-Pierre Bacri and Agnès Jaoui are a perfect match: they act, they produce, and as a screenwriting team, they are French cinema's sharpest critics of the bourgeois elite, people whose relationships they portray as always on the brink of collapse and whose dinner parties combust into uncivil wars.

Bacri and Jaoui have written six films together, but it was 2000's warm comedy *Le Goût des Autres* (The Taste of Others)—in which a disillusioned businessman falls for an actress and her bohemian lifestyle—that proved their breakout hit, winning four César awards and an Academy Award nomination. Their latest (and Jaoui's second turn behind the camera after *The Taste of Others*) is *Comme une Image* (Look at Me), the story of Lolita, an awkward young woman, and her father, Etienne, a self-obsessed celebrity author. As Lolita brings other people into her father's orbit, their efforts to become part of his clique cause marriages to crumble and friendships to implode. Darker and more nuanced than *The Taste of Others*, *Look at Me* picked up the Best Screenplay award at Cannes and knocked Steven Spielberg's *The Terminal* out of the No. 1 spot when it opened in France in September. (It opens across Europe over the next two months.) In other words, Jaoui's girlhood dream has come true: she and Bacri are the *reine* and *roi* of ensemble cinema. Not that they see it that way. "I don't read reviews because I don't want to feel bad," says Bacri. "But, of course, I'm very happy when the public enjoys our films and when we're awarded a prize. We all like to be flattered."



FRENCH CINEMA'S ODD COUPLE

Their approach to filmmaking is collective. Even after 15 years together (they're a couple, but not married), Bacri, 53, and Jaoui, 40, are still most comfortable working in big groups. Bacri puts it down to their background in theater—they both started out acting on and writing for the stage—and their shared sense of egalitarianism, both in life and in the movies. "Society is a group and we want to talk about society," he says. "Agnès and I could not write a film with two stars and have other actors serving their stardom. We all have to work together. Nobody should be left out."

Of course, even democratic films need a lead, and in *Look at Me*, it's Lolita: a fat,

plain, insecure 20-year-old with a beautiful singing voice. The search for an actress to play the part was tough. She didn't need to be able to sing (a professional does that), but she had to look the part. "Even in theater courses with a hundred girls in them, there are maybe two who are heavy," says Jaoui. "And then it was very difficult finding a young girl who was comfortable playing somebody so unattractive."

Their search ended with Marilou Berry, 21; as the real-life daughter of another actress-writer-director, Josiane Balasko, Berry knows what it's like to be pushed aside by people trying to get to her famous parent. And Jaoui drew from her own memories as

“Agnès and I could not write a film with two stars and have other actors serving their stardom.”



IT TAKES TWO: Bacri, left, and Jaoui explore the relationship between father and daughter—Bacri and Berry, inset—in *Look At Me*

tact. Everyone has an excuse for tolerating the author's boorish behavior: Lolita because she's afraid to stand up to him; Sylvia for the sake of her husband, an up-and-coming writer whom Etienne has taken on as his pet project; Vincent because he's paid to. And, because this is a Bacri-Jaoui film, when people are faced with their flaws, they talk—and talk.

"When Agnès and I work together, we each write a few scenes and then we discuss," says Bacri. "And if we disagree, we have a rule about complete intellectual honesty, so we'll debate until one convinces the other. Very much like what ends up in our films." In *Look at Me*, no thought goes unspoken, no comment undissected. The verbal back-and-forth propels each scene—a single sentence can turn a relationship on its head, transform losers into winners, victims into fighters. Speaking to her friend Sébastien about her father, Lolita goes from pushover to pissed off in an instant. "I don't hate him," she says. "I just want him dead." The dialogue is tack-sharp and finely polished, but still so natural it could have floated out of any café on any street corner of Paris.

Like other films Bacri and Jaoui have written together, *Look at Me* uses gentle satire to convey moral lessons: inner beauty trumps physical beauty, creative integrity is more important than success. The biggest lesson is on the fragile balance of power. "If you put eight people together, there will always be a vacancy of power," says Bacri. "And someone will always step into that space. There are a lot of tyrants around and they don't have to change because the people around them accept the way they are."

The film focuses on the literary world, but it could take place in any hierarchy. "It could be a metaphor for what happens in movie circles," says Jaoui. "But it would be a failure if people thought we were being critical of a specific group. It's about human nature." In the hands of Bacri and Jaoui, human nature is sometimes amusing, sometimes devastating, but always familiar. They show us how badly we can sometimes treat each other and offer up simple solutions—a compliment, a debate, a hug. Separately, Bacri and Jaoui have successful acting careers. But when they come together to make movies, they become French cinema's dream team. ■

a chubby child of successful parents to add to Lolita's adolescent angst. "The film is quite autobiographical," she says. "When I was small, I wanted to be beautiful. My mother was a shrink and my father was an intellectual who could be very egocentric, but also quite seductive and charismatic."

Lolita spends most of the film either ignored by her father, Etienne (played by Bacri), besotted with her singing teacher, Sylvia (Jaoui) or chasing after a boy who doesn't want her. But Berry keeps her character optimistic and determined, going from lovable to intolerable and back again while she fights to find a place in her father's world. As Etienne, Bacri is brutal,

callous and beyond redemption. In *The Taste of Others*, Bacri's lovelorn character is cranky but harmless; in *Look at Me*, he's pure bastard. His young wife, Karine, and his put-upon assistant, Vincent, are prime targets for his temper tantrums and cruel sarcasm, but they've got it easy compared to Lolita. Dad invites her to a party and then forgets her outside; he takes her to lunch and spends the whole time on his cell phone; and when he reluctantly agrees to watch her sing in a recital, he walks out in the middle of her solo to write down ideas for his new book.

In the wake of Etienne's raging narcissism, few come out with their dignity in-

DELPHINE WARIN—EDITING: PASCALITO—CORBIS; AFP (INSET)

serving their stardom. We all have to work together." —JEAN-PIERRE BACRI

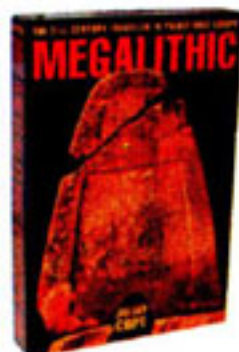


ANCIENT RUNES: The standing stones at Ales Stenar in Sweden

Rocks of Ages

Postpunk rocker turned archaeologist Julian Cope has penned a travel guide to Europe's megalithic marvels

By **MICHAEL BRUNTON WILTSHIRE**



THE MOST FAMOUS CONNECTION between pop music and ancient megaliths is *Stonehenge*, the heavy-metal ode to the Druids by the spoof band Spinal Tap. But in real life, the key connection is Julian Cope, the

rocker turned author and mythographer who makes his home near the 5,000-year-old circle of standing stones at Avebury in Wiltshire, England. "I've been traveling for 13 years just looking at stones," says Cope, once the frontman for postpunk stars the Teardrop Explodes. "To understand them is to understand a way of thinking that goes back at least 6,000 years. They're the antidote to our neuroses."

Cope has cornered the market in travel guidebooks to megalithic monuments. *The Megalithic European* (Element; 496 pages) is his second book of big stones, a companion to *The Modern Antiquarian*, in which he chronicled the remnants of neolithic Britain. Published in 1998, it sold more than 30,000 copies—not bad for a 2.3-kg slab of a book with a \$50 price tag. Like its predecessor, *The Megalithic European* is an immensely practical—as long as it's not in your rucksack—gazetteer of more than 300 sites stretching from northern Denmark to

Malta, from Crete to Portugal. Entries are sprinkled with 800 photographs, copious illustrations and maps, along with local lore and diary entries from his visits. The book opens with a series of essays in which Cope sifts through his fascinations with the culture and religions of the Ancients, in search of "our universal drive to ... start building these monuments to whatever god people believed in."

His answer is settlement: the time when, about 6,000 years ago, mankind turned from a nomadic to an agricultural

way of life. That was the moment, Cope says, when man began to assert some kind of existential control: "When we started putting stones around the campfire, when the hearth became the center of life, when suddenly the heavens started moving around us instead of them changing as we moved across the landscape." What's startling is the sheer variety of workmanship, from the spiral stone carvings of the chambered mounds of County Meath in Ireland, to the huge mortice-and-tenoned pedestals of the island of Menorca. The Scandinavians stood their stones in boat formation; the Portuguese shaped them like eggs. What they had in common is that tribal leaders put them there to prove they'd picked the right spot, says Cope. "They mythologized it for being flood-free, fertile and safe. That's a universal response." Archaeologists might well pick holes in his arguments; they lent an indulgent ear to his lecture on Odin at the British Museum in 2001 (not batting an eyelash at his warrior-god face paint or the orange hairspray that set off the fire alarms). "They don't necessarily agree with me," he says, "but they know I'm not trying to hoodwink people." Cope has been confounding doubters ever since the Teardrop Explodes imploded in a fug of LSD and recrimination in 1983. Critics have found it all too easy to dismiss him as an acid-damaged jester who blew it. In fact, from his idyllic family home above Avebury, Cope has made a fruitful cottage industry of his cosmic obsessions

and scattershot curiosity, recording scores of albums and writing successful and engaging books.

But the old stones are starting to weigh him down. "I'm getting a bit sick of them," Cope says, explaining that he only started writing manuals to underpin his grand work in progress, *Let Me Speak to the Driver*—a less earth-bound exploration of man's neurotic craving for myths—but got carried away. "I'm 47—a good age for keeping your head down and working," says Cope. "But I've told my wife that when I'm 49, I'll probably go into a second period of psychic experimentation. I'm glad I've got the practical books out of the way." ■

“Tribal leaders mythologized the landscape for being flood-free, fertile and safe.” —JULIAN COPE

BIG ROCK STAR: Cope visited hundreds of prehistoric sites for his guidebooks



A Comedy of Errors

Richard Dreyfuss is out, Nathan Lane is in. Will this last-minute switch make *The Producers* a hit?

By JAMES INVERNE LONDON

IT WAS SUPPOSED TO BE THE SAVIOR OF the West End musical. In a lackluster season in which new shows like *Bat Boy* and *The Beautiful and the Damned* posted early closing notices, no show has been more hyped than *The Producers*, the smash American musical comedy that in its three-year Broadway run has raked in \$193 million and won a record 12 Tony awards. With opening night set for Nov. 9 at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, posters and playbills were printed up headlining Richard Dreyfuss, who would be taking the leading role in London as Max Bialystock, a shy showman who puts on a surefire flop so the tax collectors will never spot that it was designed to bilk hordes of investors.

But just days before the American import was set to begin previews last Friday, Dreyfuss seemed to be drawing a little too much inspiration from his determined-to-fail character. First the star of *Mr. Holland's Opus* and *Jaws* admitted to *Metro Life* magazine that he can neither holler nor hoof, and suggested that the show's producers should "take out an ad on the front page of each arts section in town and have it say, 'Please don't think that you're paying to see Richard Dreyfuss sing and dance because you'll only be pissed off.'" Worse, he went on to accuse writer and co-producer Mel Brooks of bullying. "Tell Mel Brooks this," Dreyfuss instructed. "Please don't yell at Richard... Richard thinks of this as fun, not business." Then came a television appearance on Oct. 14 in which he warned viewers of ITV's *Frank Skinner Show* not to come until after Christmas: "If I see a face from this audience [before Christmas], I swear I'll kill you. I'll skin you."

By last Monday, just four days before the first preview, Dreyfuss was out of the show. A press release blamed a recurring shoulder injury, but industry watchers are skeptical as to why Dreyfuss waited until a week before

previews to produce a sick note. Lead producer Rocco Landesman has stuck to the medical story but concedes that Dreyfuss's behavior was irritating: "You don't want your star performer to go on TV and say, 'Don't come and see this show.'" Co-writer Tom Meehan is more blunt. "Musicals aren't fun to rehearse," he says. "These ac-

"You don't want your star performer to go on TV and say, 'Don't come and see this show.'"

—ROCCO LANDESMAN, producer

tors must be like athletes training. They have to build up stamina to do a very physical show eight times a week. I wouldn't call it bullying, but you shape up or ship out."

But the show's loss is also its gain, because rushing to the rescue is the acclaimed Nathan Lane, who originated the role of Max on Broadway, and will replace Dreyfuss for three months. (The good news: based on the first preview, Lane's fabulous-

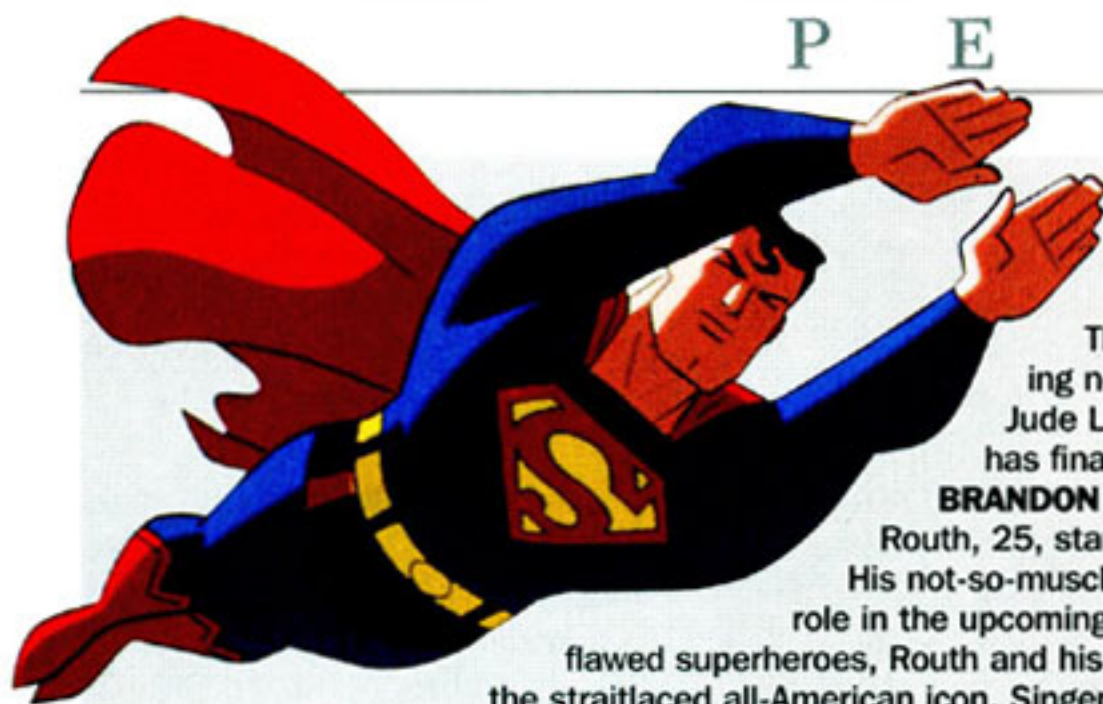
ly manic, archly knowing interpretation is intact.) After his stint, Lane will leave to shoot the movie version of *The Producers*. The cast has already felt the difference. Says leading lady Leigh Zimmerman, "We've all been ready to move up a gear for a couple of weeks but couldn't. Now with the fire Nathan brings to the role, at last we can." So far, no replacement candidates have materialized to play Max after Lane moves on. British actor Henry Goodman, who replaced Lane in New York City before being sacked after just 30 performances, says he loves the show, but the role can crush a star's creativity: "I wasn't allowed to try anything, not one step, that was different. Mel

Brooks said to me, 'Go and see Nathan Lane every day and do what he does.'" Even Landesman acknowledges the enormous energy and patience needed to nail the role. "Casting Max," he says, "is a constant problem."

Bringing *The Producers* to London also raises the question of whether hit musicals can survive the trip across the Atlantic. "Since *Cats* and *Phantom of the Opera*, everyone expects a successful musical to replicate itself around the world," says Meehan. "But those shows don't depend on the star like we do. Nobody knows who's playing the Phantom in New York, but potential audiences care who's playing Max." Case in point: the day the London theater announced that Lane was replacing Dreyfuss, the box office doubled its ticket sales. But after Lane leaves? *The Producers'* London backers may end up with a surefire hit on their hands for three months—and just a handy tax shelter after that. ■



CURTAIN CALLS: Lane, left, took over *The Producers'* key role when Dreyfuss, center, became ill and clashed with producer Brooks, right



IT'S A BIRD! IT'S A PLANE! IT'S ... WHO??

In Hollywood, broody superheroes are easy to find. The kind without neuroses, that's tricky. After considering nearly every square jaw in show biz, including those of Jude Law, Brendan Fraser and Josh Hartnett, Warner Bros. has finally cast its next Superman—an unknown lowan named **BRANDON ROUTH**. Like his predecessor, Christopher Reeve, Routh, 25, started as a soap hunk, in the cast of *One Life to Live*. His not-so-muscly résumé also includes a stint on *Will & Grace* and a role in the upcoming film *Deadly*, opposite Laura Prepon. In an age of flawed superheroes, Routh and his director Bryan Singer face the tough task of updating the straitlaced all-American icon. Singer, himself at least the fourth director associated with the project, says he always intended to fill the part with a fresh face. Routh “is an extremely fine actor,” says the *X-Men* helmer, and as a small-town Midwesterner, “he also embodies the legacy and history of this character.” Plus, we’re pretty sure he’ll look good in tights.



FROM LEFT: EVERETT; MIKE GUASTELLA—WIRE IMAGE

Bette Midler just hit the road on the second leg of her Kiss My Brass tour. The first grossed nearly \$1 million a night last year.

You joke that you paved the way for the Britney Spearses of the world—for mediocre singers with big breasts. But you’ve always been in on the joke. Isn’t there a difference?

I always took a kind of jaundiced view of the whole show-business thing. The idea was to use whatever you could to get as far as you could. I personally was stunned to get as far as I did.

You do a lot of anti-Bush banter on your tour. Do you worry about offending your Republican audiences? No. Everyone’s behaving pretty badly, and I think attention must be paid. My audiences are kind of a humanist group anyway.

Why do you think there’s been such a resurgence of interest in American standards? Those songs offer a window into a life that’s calmer and more beautiful than the one you may be living. It’s like looking

Q&A BETTE MIDLER

through your scrapbook, in a way. The memories acquire a patina, a sheen they didn’t have when we were growing up.

What was it like to hear

from your old accompanist, Barry Manilow, who called you to collaborate on a Rosemary Clooney tribute album? I was very surprised because our relationship had been quite fractious. I never really expected to hear from him again. But once we started working together, it was as if we had never stopped. He always gets the best performances out of me ‘cause he won’t take no for an answer.

Your daughter just left for college. How’s the empty nest? I went right on the road again. I’m not gonna sit around and feel terrible. The dog isn’t doing too well.



Stereo Playah

A rival in a hip-hop battle show on the U.S.’s Black Entertainment Television network told **JIN** to “leave rap alone and keep making fortune cookies.” But last week the Miami-born son of Chinese immigrants became the first Asian-American rapper to release an album on a major label. On *The Rest Is History*, Jin plays off his roots in a way that has sparked controversy among Asian Americans. He calls himself “the original Chinky-eye M.C.” and raps about labor abuses (“The sneakers on your feet cost 100 a pop/ My people get 15¢ a day in sweatshops”) and interracial dating. “I’m not a gimmick,” says Jin, 23. “I’m not the Chinese version of nobody.”

DANIEL HASTINGS—VIRGIN RECORDS

The WALT Disney Company



THE MOUSE’S MISERABLE MIKES

Forget campaign mud-slinging. This week’s juiciest backbiting scenes may come from a Delaware courtroom, where former Disney president and fallen uber-agent **MICHAEL OVITZ**, near left, is expected to testify. Shareholders are suing Disney’s board, claiming the 1995 hiring of Ovitz and his dismissal 14 months later by Disney CEO **MICHAEL EISNER** cost the company up to \$200 million. The plaintiffs allege Disney could have fired Ovitz for lying (a charge his spokesman calls “hearsay and gossip”) and denied him his \$140 million severance. In an internal memo read in court last week, Eisner called Ovitz, once his close friend, “a psychopath” who “doesn’t know right from wrong.” Stay tuned for yet more evidence Disney is the happiest place on earth.



Garrison Keillor

Breaking a Political Fever

A true believer offers everyone advice for life after Nov. 2

POLITICS DOESN'T COME NATURALLY TO ME. I DON'T HAVE THE old savoir faire. I have a chilly demeanor and a long, sad face that comes from growing up among good people who told me I was going straight to hell. I'm not a salesman—cheerful certainty makes me uneasy. Nonetheless, last year, moved by a sense that my beloved America is in peril, I put aside other projects, wrote a political book, knocked on doors and handed out literature (now I know how Jehovah's Witnesses feel), donated a bucket of money and stood up and made stump speeches about the disastrous regime in power, its moral bankruptcy and arrogance. Now, on election eve, I face up to the fact that one man will lose and limp away to join the ranks of noble American losers (Eugene V. Debs, Barry Goldwater, George McGovern) while the other one grins and waves and elementary schools are named after him. So what happens next? The winners smirk and gloat, of course, but what do the losers do?

- 1) Join the winning party
- 2) Curse the darkness
- 3) Move to Vancouver
- 4) Take up the sins of the flesh, all of them, not leaving out a single one
- 5) Brood, connive, conspire

A year of passion has come to a boil. Every morning my e-mailbox is full of forwarded political diatribes and manifestos. I order a sign, 1 m by 2 m—I am actually going to stand by the side of the road and hold it, that's how nuts I am. I take my face to a suburb where Democrats are a sort of alien life-form, and I stand on a bench on a deck in the dark and talk to 80 people shivering in the cold like boat refugees, and I excoriate and extol and exhort in uplifting cadences about this evil war, the miserable economy that is bringing back the 60-hr. workweek and the folks who don't mind this war so long as their kids don't have to fight it. Afterward we hobnob in the kitchen and enjoy a little solidarity around coffee and fudge bars, but as I drive home, the car wants to head west out across the prairie, toward the wilder-

ness, away from newspapers and TV and politics, to a cabin, a lake, a boat, a bed, a fire, a book, where I could get this noise out of my head. There are little towns out there where a person could walk around and get leaf smoke up the nostrils and that could pretty well clear the head.

Some in my family are exchanging fiery e-mails, with hard, jagged sentences IN ALL-CAPITAL LETTERS SO THE POINT IS NOT MISSED, and Scripture is quoted and also Mark Twain, the élitist liberal baby killers vs. the Brownshirt

storm troopers—NONE SO BLIND AS THOSE WHO WILL NOT SEE—and what will come of all this on Nov. 3? Some will pick up the morning paper and save it for a souvenir, and the others will wrap up the garbage in it.

What will reconcile America is what has always restored its sanity, and that is the plain pleasures of the physical world, the common love of coffee, the world of apples, the movements of birds, the lives of dogs, the touch of skin. Music. Dancing to music. Shooting baskets. Shooting conservatively, scoring liberally. Lacing up skates, gliding through the dusk. Having worked itself into a fever over the future of Western civilization, America will now begin enjoying its oatmeal again, with raisins, chopped apricots and honey from bees that grazed in

meadows of clover. The beauty of engagement is disengagement. You simply put on your jacket and walk out the door and find good health. There is no fever that a 10-km hike can't cure.

Twenty years ago, I gave up TV, and now I am going to take a sabbatical from the news and live in the immediate world. The neighbors are expecting a baby girl. My daughter is taking up the cello. My mother is game for more Scrabble. There is wood to be cut in the family woodlot. I've been a prisoner of the *New York Times* and have read enough for a while and want to get loose. Next week I'm out of here. And maybe the President is too. Crawford, Texas, is a fine place. A man could never weary of the wonders to be found there. ■





"Exploring the seas"



EF-S 17-85mm f/4-5.6 IS USM & EF-S 10-22mm f/3.5-4.5 USM



The Eyes of EOS

HIGH OVER A STORMY SEA AT LA TRINITÉ SUR MER, WHAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN A ROUTINE HELICOPTER PHOTO SHOOT VERY NEARLY TURNED TO DISASTER FOR SEASCAPE PHOTOGRAPHER PHILIP PLISSON. A TV CAMERAMAN ACCOMPANYING THE SHOOT PANICKED DURING ALARMING CONDITIONS, PUSHING THE CONTROLS OF THE HELICOPTER AND CAUSING IT TO PLUNGE INTO THE SEA. THE TV CAMERAMAN WAS HOSPITALISED FOR SIX MONTHS, THE PILOT HOSPITALISED FOR THREE WEEKS AND THE HELICOPTER TOTALLED. PLISSON HIMSELF ESCAPED UNSCATHED.

"I've had many accidents and I must admit that sometimes I've been very close to the edge. But it is all part of being able to share some amazing moments - perhaps an exceptional 500th of a second - with the world." "And now that I'm producing most of my work in digital, I have the feeling that I have become a real photographer once again. Now more than ever I'm the author, composer and interpreter of my images."

DIGITAL OPTIONS

Framing his seascapes correctly is critical to Plisson, who often works with wide zoom lenses to capture the drama and grandeur of his subject. To provide EOS 20D and EOS 300D digital photographers with more framing options, Canon has released two new wide angle EF-S lenses: the EF-S 10-22mm f/3.5-4.5 USM and EF-S 17-85mm f/4-5.6 IS USM. Designed to work

exclusively with these two cameras, the lenses have an equivalent focal length range in 35mm film format of approximately 27-136mm and 16-35mm respectively. With superb quality and outstanding optical characteristics, both EF-S lenses also include Canon's ring-type Ultra Sonic Motors (USM) for rapid, accurate, near-silent auto focus.

STEADY AS SHE GOES

Canon's Image Stabilizer lens technology has proven indispensable in taming the movement and vibrations of the Squirrel helicopter and yacht from which most of Plisson's images are taken. The latest Image Stabilizer (IS) technology in the EF-S 17-85mm f/4-5.6 IS USM provides up to 3-stop compensation for image blur caused by camera shake and slow shutter speeds. Tiny gyros detect and measure any movement off the optical axis and a special IS lens group shifts in the direction precisely opposite to the unwanted movement, 'correcting' the light path and eliminating lens shake. This all happens within two thousandths of a second of the detected movement - fast enough to suppress the vibrations of Plisson's helicopter.

WIDE ANGLE

The focal length range of compact and lightweight EF-S 10-22mm f/3.5-4.5 USM is ideal for photographers such as Plisson who like to experiment with pan-focus and dramatic perspective effects. With a near focusing distance of just 24cm, the lens can be taken extremely close to subjects, exaggerating the difference in size between a near object and its background. To ensure high corner-to-corner contrast and sharpness, the lens includes a Super UD (ultra-low dispersion) glass element and two aspherical elements in its 13 element, 10 group construction.

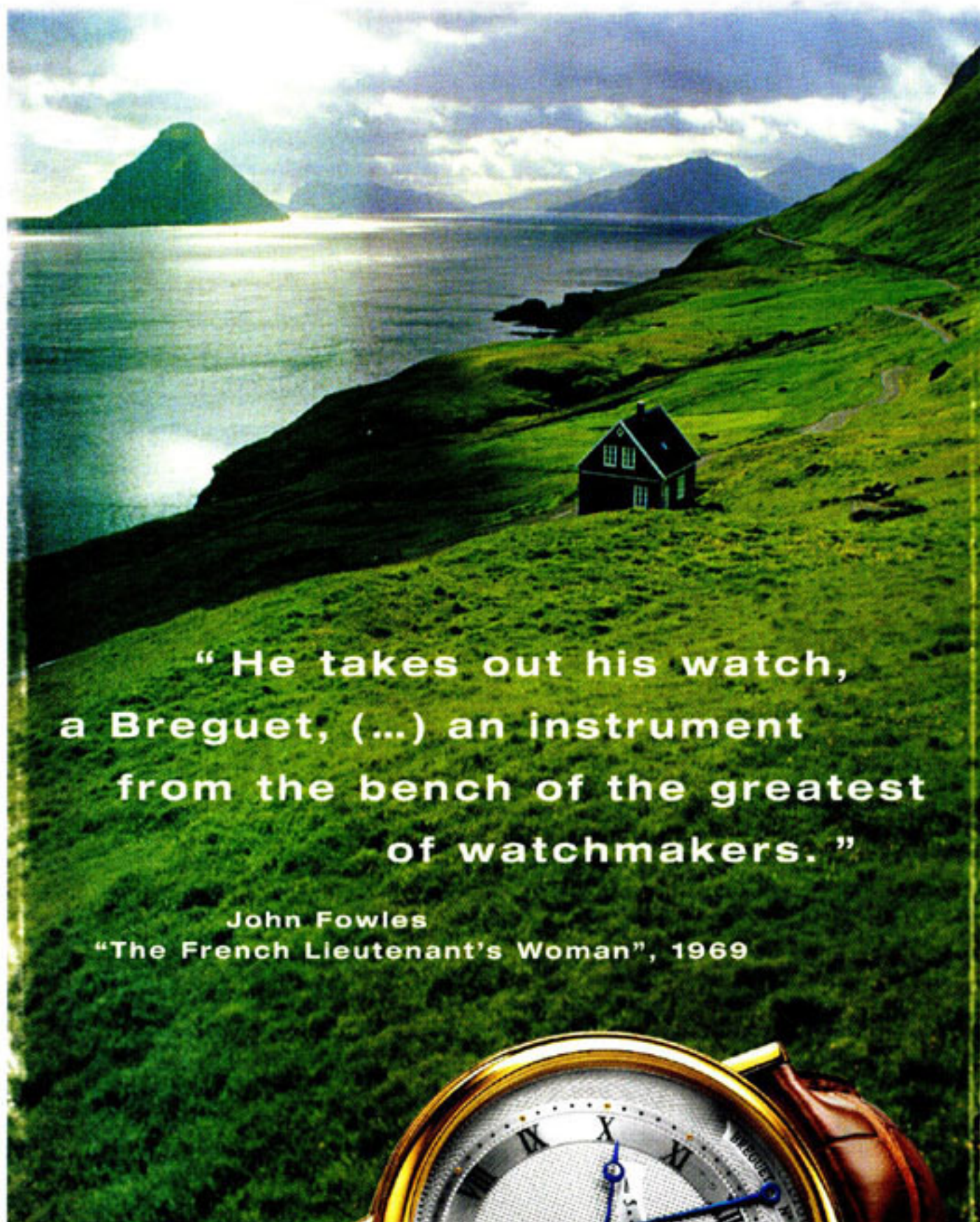
DESIGNED FOR DIGITAL

The APS-C size sensor of the EOS 20D and EOS 300D digital SLRs allow development of the lightweight EF-S range: lenses that throw a smaller image circle than traditional EF lenses. Lens coatings on the new lenses are optimised to allow light reflected off the image sensor to pass harmlessly through the rear and other lens elements. This effectively suppresses flare and ghosting to deliver crisp, undistorted digital images with natural colour balance.



you can
Canon

YEMG YDY Electronic magazine Group



**"He takes out his watch,
a Breguet, (...) an instrument
from the bench of the greatest
of watchmakers."**

**John Fowles
"The French Lieutenant's Woman", 1969**



Breguet. La passion laisse des traces. www.ydy.com

Man's Classique wristwatch in 18-carat yellow gold. Self-winding movement. Retrograde small seconds and power-reserve indicator. Off-centred chapter ring. Silvered gold dial, hand-engraved on a rose-engine. Sapphire caseback. Water-resistant.


Breguet
Depuis 1775

Montres Breguet SA, 1344 L'Abbaye (Vallée de Joux), Switzerland, tel. +41 21 841 90 90 - www.breguet.com
Breguet Boutiques - Paris - Cannes - New York - Vienna - London