

# Should They Stay Or Should They Go?

As the intense national debate on immigration heats up—with security, identity and wealth all at issue—every side can agree on at least one thing: the system is broken

By **KAREN TUMULTY**

**Y**OU WOULDN'T THINK THE man whose name is rarely written without the word *maverick* attached would ever meet a cause he deemed hopeless. But that was pretty much where Republican Senator John McCain of Arizona was in the spring of 2006. McCain had embarked on a quest to transform the nation's immigration laws and set on the path to becoming citizens the estimated 11 million people who are here illegally. When the proposition had been tested, as recently as December 2005 in the House of Representatives, the result was a bill that went just about as far as possible in the other direction, one that would build two layers of reinforced fence along much of the 2,000-mile border with Mexico and declare everyone a felon who is illegally on this side of it.

But then, as the implications of that bill started to sink in, protesters began pouring into the streets of cities from Los Angeles to Philadelphia to vent their outrage. Among the protesters were illegal immigrants, and their American-citizen children emerging from behind their shield of invisibility, plus legions of voters who count the newcomers as family, friends and neighbors, in numbers "bigger than the Vietnam War demonstrations," McCain says. Something almost as remarkable started to happen inside the Capitol. One by one, Senate colleagues started coming to him privately whom McCain had written off as "rock-ribbed"



opponents to the legalization that he and Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts had been working on for a year. There were maybe 10 of them, McCain says, all asking the same questions: "Isn't there a compromise on this? Isn't there some way to come together on this?"

For nearly as long as the U.S. has been a country, the question of who gets to be an American has stirred our passions and conflicted our values as few others have. In

1886, the same year that the Statue of Liberty was dedicated in New York harbor to the ideal of taking in the tired, the poor and the huddled masses yearning to breathe free, racist mobs rioted in Seattle and forced more than half the city's 350 Chinese onto a ship bound for San Francisco.

The immigration overhaul in 1986 was supposed to have fixed the root problem of an uncontrolled influx by making it illegal for U.S. employers to hire undocumented workers and offering an amnesty to illegal immigrants who had been here for five years at that point. Instead, the best estimates suggest that since then, the number of illegal immigrants has more than tripled. Local governments are staggering under the costs of dealing with the inflow, and since 9/11, controlling who comes into the country has become a security issue, as well.

In the end, drafting a law acceptable to both the House and the Senate would mean finding common ground in three areas:

**■ TIGHTENING THE BORDER**

THERE IS ONLY ONE THING ON WHICH all sides of this debate agree: America needs to get tougher about controlling its borders. Every proposal before Congress calls for more border-patrol agents, more jail cells and detention centers for captured illegal immigrants, and new technology to enable employers to screen employees to ensure that they are lawfully in the country.

**■ ASSURING A LABOR SUPPLY**

THE COUNTRY HAS WELCOMED SO-called guest workers into the U.S. since World War I, during which tens of thousands of Mexican workers were allowed in temporarily to help on the nation's farms. The idea is that when harvest time is over, they return home. Except that often they don't, which is why the House rejected President Bush's proposed guest-worker plan when it passed its immigration bill in 2005.

**■ THE A WORD**

AND WHAT OF THE 11 MILLION ILLEGAL immigrants who are in the U.S.? Will they get a chance at the biggest prize—citizenship? No word in the immigration debate is more controversial than *amnesty*. Everyone who wants to legitimize a significant portion of those who are here illegally is quick to insist that what they are talking about is “earned citizenship.” A bill that passed the Senate Judiciary Committee created a path to citizenship that would take 11 years and require that immigrants hold jobs, demonstrate proficiency in English, and pay fines and back taxes.

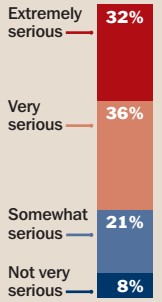
It's easy to understand why the idea of amnesty would spark such a negative reaction. The country tried that with the 1986 law. Nearly 3 million people took advantage of it, and the amnesty was followed by an explosion in illegal immigration. But not to offer some process by which illegal immigrants gain legitimacy is to keep them underground forever.

TIME POLL

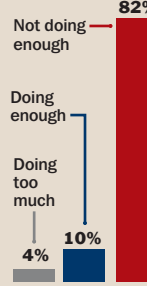
**LET THEM STAY, BUT GET TOUGH**

**While a majority of Americans want to crack down on illegal immigration, they also strongly favor guest-worker programs and temporary visas**

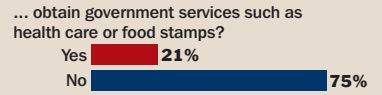
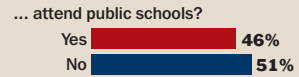
How serious a problem is illegal immigration into the U.S.?



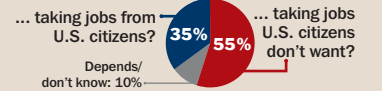
Is the U.S. doing enough along its borders to keep illegal immigrants out?



Should illegal immigrants be allowed to ...



Do you think people who are here illegally are...

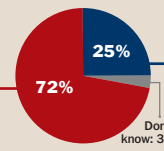


What if the U.S. deported all illegal immigrants and toughened security to stop them from entering the country? Do you think the U.S. would be better off?



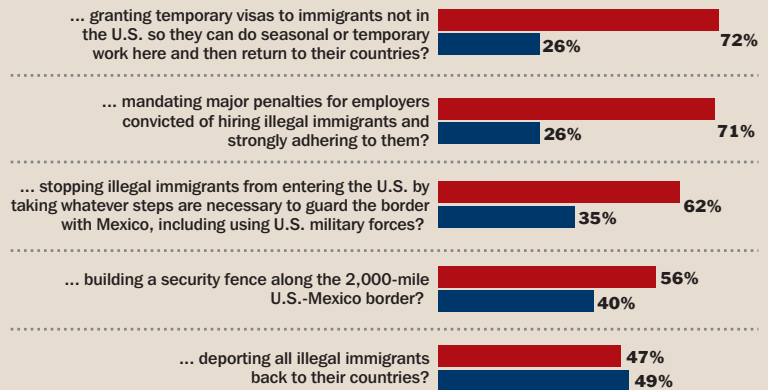
Which comes closest to your view?

Allow illegal immigrants to get temporary work visas so the government can track them, and allow them to earn permanent residence after six years if they learn English, pay a fine, pay any back taxes and have no criminal record



Make illegal immigration a crime and not allow anyone who entered the country illegally to stay in the U.S. under any circumstances

Would you favor or oppose ...



This TIME poll was conducted March 29-30 among 1,004 adult Americans by SRBI Public Affairs. The margin of error for the entire sample is ±3 percentage points. "Don't know" responses omitted for some questions.

So which way is really in the American tradition? “Immigrants don't come to America to change America,” says Florida Senator Mel Martinez, who arrived from Cuba when he was 15. “Immigrants come to America to be changed by America.” But either way, they come. ■

**Questions**

1. What were some provisions of the immigration bill that the House passed in December 2005?
2. What three issues must be addressed to get a consensus from Congress on an immigration bill?

# Who Wins and Loses When Gas Prices Skyrocket?

The G.O.P. faces voter wrath, consumers suffer, and Big Oil hits a gusher. A guide to the pain and gain

By **BILL SAPORITO**

**I**T'S NOT EVERY DAY THAT KARL ROVE GETS A lesson in politics. But the President's ace strategist was brought up sharply at a recent White House meeting with a group of Republican congressional-staff chiefs when he suggested that the best approach to soaring gasoline prices was this: wait. There's no immediate fix available, so let the market work its magic, Rove said. The sky-high pricing will reduce demand soon enough, and \$3-per-gallon gas will soon be a memory. It's basic economics.

And, if you're a Republican politician facing a re-election challenge in November, it's basic insanity. Rove should be the last person in America to have to be told that textbook economics isn't taking the campaign trip this summer with political reality. Not in a country where many people feel that they have a right to drive 70 miles per hour in a 55-miles per hour zone while getting 15 miles per gallon. The voters are getting incensed every time they drop \$75 to fill their SUVs and pickups while oil companies tote up record earnings. "What upsets me more than anything is the Democrats and Republicans keep pointing fingers," says insurance salesman Bob Morris, 59, of Palestine, Texas, whose weekly gas bill for his Camry has risen to \$75. "Now I'm at the point, whoever's in office, I'm ready to vote 'em out."

That's what horrifies the staff chiefs. Until now, Republicans consoled themselves in this

worsening political environment with the belief that congressional elections are local popularity contests. Now that the monthly price of driving to work rivals the mortgage payment, gasoline, more than any other issue, could turn this election into

**Gasoline, more than any other issue, could turn the midterm elections of 2006 into a national referendum.**

a national referendum. With the G.O.P.'s popularity gauge already down a couple of quarts, Rove was told that if the White House didn't do something, anything, about energy costs, Congress could put the President in the position of using his first veto to kill a windfall-profits tax on oil-company earnings. Says a G.O.P. strategist: "People just want the oil companies whacked."

So the Republicans turned on Big Oil, an industry they normally treat like a good neighbor—or an ATM. In a particularly delicious bit of irony, the party led by two oil guys that is pro-business, antitax and antigovernment meddling was talking loudly about greedy petro-executives, IRS audits of oil-company tax returns and withdrawing \$2 billion in industry-specific tax breaks over 10 years. That's about a month's worth of profits for ExxonMobil, which announced quarterly earnings of \$8.4 billion. "Listen, we've got people like this that are working for a living, who are paying higher prices for their gasoline—it's like a tax," said President George Bush, standing next to local resident Michael Wade at Fayard's service station in Biloxi, Mississippi, where a gallon of regular sold for \$2.96. "The first thing is to make sure that nobody is getting cheated."

The President visited the service station to discuss a number of largely ineffectual remedies

for pulling down prices, some of which Rove had previously discussed in the staff chiefs' meeting. Bush suspended additional deliveries to the Strategic Petroleum Reserve to divert that crude to the market. He called for more tax incentives for hybrid cars, fewer environmental hurdles for refinery builders, drilling wells in the Arctic and congressional authority to raise mileage requirements on cars. Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist, who earlier in the week had advised voters to drive slower and get a tune-up, was fronting a Republican proposal to send a \$100 rebate to most taxpayers—which they could return to the oil companies next time they filled up.

### ■ THE POLITICS OF PETROLEUM

HANDED THE ISSUE THAT COULD WIN BACK THE House, congressional Democrats steered en masse to service stations. Following a carefully strategized plan of photo opportunities organized by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, they staged press conferences in filling stations around the U.S. to denounce the Republicans and promote their equally ineffectual solutions. Said John Cranley, who posed near a price sign at a service station in Cincinnati, Ohio: "These gas prices represent the failure of my opponent, Steve Chabot, and George Bush to fight for the middle class. The Republicans and Steve Chabot are giving [Big Oil] \$14 billion in your money." The Democratic handout proposal was even more generous. The Democrats want to rescind the gasoline tax for a while—which would stimulate demand.

The high price of oil has been a great opportunity for hardworking guys who run countries that are on less than chummy terms with the U.S. Hugo Chávez and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, the Presidents of Venezuela and Iran, respectively, have benefited from the rhetoric of U.S. foreign policy. The Administration's confrontational response to

Iran's nuclear policy and Venezuela's anticapitalism are actually making those countries richer and their rulers more popular by driving up the price of oil, a commodity they possess in large amounts.

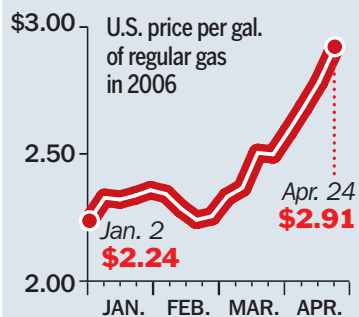
When oil traders in New York City's Mercantile Exchange hear Iran threaten to stop pumping in a market that is already tight, they immediately bid up the price of contracts for future oil delivery. Nor do the fundamentals of global oil offer much hope for lower prices over the long run. The growth in demand is exceeding the growth of supply by 400,000 barrels a day, fed by the rapidly expanding Chinese and Indian economies.

Americans, however, are the original gas hogs. The U.S. uses more oil per day than any other country—4.5% of the world's population guzzling 25% of the planet's petroleum output. But voters viscerally blame their petrodependency on the man and the party in charge. In a recent CNN/Gallup poll, 75% of those surveyed said a President could control oil prices; 71% said this President wasn't doing enough to bring them down.

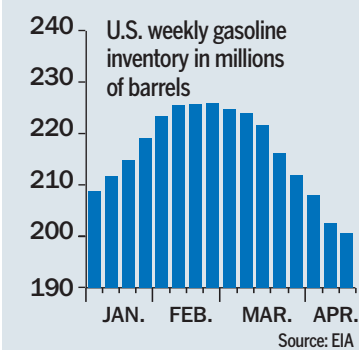
Conversely, many analysts argue that the best way to create new energy sources and encourage conservation is to raise gasoline prices, not lower them. Fadel Gheit, senior energy analyst with

Oppenheimer & Co., defends Exxon Mobil while blasting politicians and consumers. "We're a bunch of crybabies. They pay the equivalent of \$6 a gallon for gas in Germany," he says. But with elections looming and consumers fuming, the Republicans can't ignore what every TV news show is headlining: the Pain at the Pump. The cost of gas may be high now, but for the Republicans by November, it could be a lot higher. ■

#### COST OF GAS RISES ...



#### ... AS SUPPLY FALLS



#### Questions

1. How have Republicans responded to demands that they do something about energy costs?
2. What solution have Democrats offered to counter the high price of gasoline?

# How Bill Put the Fizz in the Fight Against Fat

Slimmed down and scared straight after his bypass surgery, Clinton brokers a deal to get sugary drinks out of schools. And that's only the beginning

By **JEFFREY KLUGER**

**I**F YOU HAD GROWN UP TAKING YOUR SUNDAY lunches at Bill Clinton's great-uncle's house, you would have developed a weight problem too. The former President's beloved Uncle Buddy knew how to put out a spread that included a ham or a roast, corn bread, sweet potatoes, peas, lima beans, fruit pies and unlimited iced tea.

A big-boned Southern boy couldn't help plumping up on such fare, eventually growing into a teen who, by his own description, was "fat, uncool and hardly popular with the girls." Although the 42nd President remedied the coolness problems, the matter of the fat dogged him ever after. From his yearnings for fast food to the quadruple-bypass surgery that eventually laid him low, Clinton has long been a one-man case study of the U.S.'s food crisis—the compulsiveness, the consequences, even the shame.

And now he might be the face of recovery. The Clinton Foundation, the American Heart Association

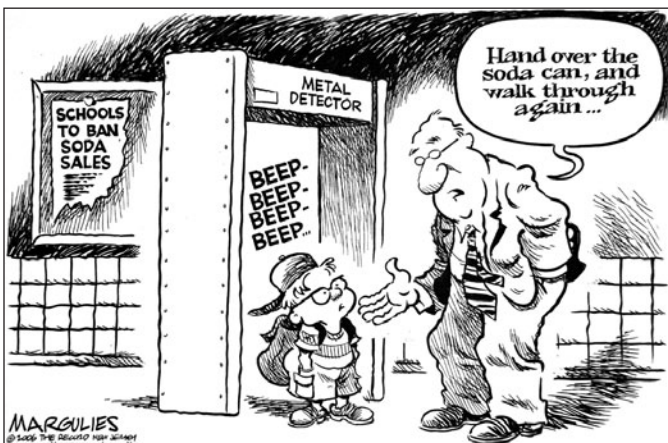
and the nation's three biggest beverage manufacturers—Coke, Pepsi and Cadbury Schweppes—have announced an agreement to begin rolling back America's growing obesity epidemic in the place they can do the most good: the schools. Beginning now and progressing through the 2009-10 school year, the manufacturers will kick high-calorie, sugary drinks out of school vending machines and replace them with bottled water, unsweetened fruit juices, low-fat milk and sugar-free sodas—all served in smaller portions. And that's only the first move in Clinton's campaign to fight fat. His foundation is planning to turn its attention next to vending-machine snack foods and cafeteria lunches and is even in negotiations with fast-food companies to reduce the fat in their restaurant fare.

The soda deal, in the meantime, will affect at least 35 million school-age children, and by any measure it comes none too soon. Two-thirds of U.S. adults are overweight or obese, and so are a shocking 17% of kids, with another 15% at risk. Children who start life fat often stay that way, with all the attendant health consequences. Kids as young as 10 are turning up with obesity-related Type 2 diabetes, which used to be known as the adult-onset form of the disease. The Clinton-backed plan would cut off a significant part of the sugar stream that's causing those problems.

Next, work should get started on cafeteria food, which, since 1946, has been subsidized by the National School Lunch Program. The law imposes general nutritional guidelines, but they are broad enough to let plenty of fried, fatty and starchy foods slide through. The Clintonites plan to bypass the government and negotiate directly with catering companies, purchasers and school nutritionists. Negotiations with fast-food restaurants are focusing less on adding healthy menu items that kids don't often eat and more on cutting back the fat and calories in pizzas, fries and other favorites. ■

## Questions

1. Why do you think Bill Clinton is committed to reducing children's intake of fat?
2. What organizations are collaborating on Clinton's new initiative to help cut kids' intake of fat, and how will this initiative affect schools?



# Crossing the Lines

Though barred from combat, female troops who have been deployed to Iraq often find themselves in full-fledged battle. An intimate look at the lives of the real G.I. Janes

By **TIM MCGIRK**

**F**OR CAPTAIN SHONNEL MAKWAKWA, IT WAS a rare assignment “outside the wire”: a chance to break the monotony of life on the base and get out onto the streets of Baghdad. But it didn’t take long to realize

that this was no routine mission. Minutes after Makwakwa’s hum-vee pulled out of Camp Liberty last December, bad news crackled over the radio: a supply convoy of six 18-wheel trucks was ambushed at Checkpoint 50, a freeway cloverleaf that is a notorious shooting alley for insurgents. Makwakwa, a bright, fit native of New Orleans, handles medical logistics for the U.S. 10th Mountain Division—the kind of deskbound job often assigned to women G.I.s. Now she found herself wearing a first-aid kit on her belt, gripping an M-4 rifle and crawling on her stomach as enemy fire rained down. “I could hear the rounds pinging all around me,” she says. “It was surreal.” The scene was horrific. Flies were everywhere, and so was blood. “I’d dealt with people dying in the hospital, but it was nothing like this,” she says. Makwakwa and another soldier kicked in the bullet-shattered windshield of the lead vehicle, but the driver was already dead. The driver of the second vehicle was screaming in agony from his wounds; he later died. Makwakwa and the patrol were able to save three other wounded drivers, but the memories of Checkpoint 50 are hard to erase—a constant reminder that while the military officially bars women from combat, the insurgency makes no such distinctions. “In Iraq, female soldiers are in combat,” she says. “We’re out there.”

**Given the strains on the military, the need for women to take on expanded roles is likely to grow.**

American women have served in every U.S. military conflict since the Revolution, usually as nurses or spies, but the country has never been comfortable with sending them into harm’s way. Congress bars women from engaging in offensive warfare with the enemy. In response to dwindling military-recruiting numbers and demands by

women’s groups for more equality between the sexes, the Pentagon in 1994 loosened the ban and allowed women to take on “supporting” combat roles. In Iraq, that can involve anything from piloting combat helicopters to accompanying infantrymen and Marines on house-to-house raids and searching Iraqi women suspects for pistols and suicide belts. As the insurgency has grown more diffuse, increasing numbers of women are finding themselves in the teeth of combat.

## ■ IN THE LINE OF FIRE

THEY ARE ALSO SUFFERING SUBSTANTIAL CASUALTIES. Women troops make up nearly 15% of active-duty service members. Since 2003, 48 women have died in Iraq—just 2% of the total number of U.S. troops killed but far more than the 8 nurses killed out of 7,500 servicewomen in the Vietnam War. Three hundred have been wounded in Iraq. Few female troops are out of the line of fire. While military police patrol Baghdad with Iraqi cops who skirmish almost daily with insurgents, women clerks and cooks inside U.S. camps are vulnerable to rocket and mortar attacks by militants. Such hazards underscore the threats to life and limb that still confront all U.S. troops in Iraq, even as the military attempts to turn over more combat responsibility to Iraqi forces.

To get an idea of how much the lines dividing male and female roles have blurred—or vanished—TIME joined a unit of U.S. military police from the 10th Mountain's 1st Brigade on patrol along the reedy canals and palm groves outside Baghdad. This is a favorite route for insurgents streaming in from Fallujah. As the troops load into their humvees, Sergeant Lenore Swenson, 25, from Colorado Springs, Colorado, who dreams of leaving the Army someday and buying a horse ranch, tucks her flaxen hair under her helmet. Her friendly grin vanishes beneath a black fire-retardant mask with goggles. She trained as a driver, but her superiors switched her to gunner. “We need maturity behind the gun,” says squad leader Darren Horve. “And she’s got it.”

As the humvee leaves camp, Horve yells out to her, “Hey, Swenson! Keep an eye open for

door open for a female, and a woman is expected to carry as much and to shoot as well as a man. (Swenson’s full gear weighs 115 pounds.) Military officers say that the performance of female soldiers in Iraq offers little evidence to back a common argument against the use of women in combat: that they are more likely than men to panic under fire.

Still, the exposure of women to combat isn’t going entirely unchallenged by those who oppose the military’s drift toward “co-location” of male and female troops. Led by Representative Duncan Hunter, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Republicans won passage of an amendment to last year’s defense-spending bill that requires the Pentagon to issue a report this year showing that the military is following congressional restrictions on women in combat.

**48** Number of women troops who have died in Iraq since 2003

**300** Number who have been wounded

**15%** Proportion of active-duty service members who are women

triggermen hiding along the road.” She nods. In the gunner’s hatch, she is armed with a 240 Bravo machine gun that fires 950 rounds a minute, but she is more vulnerable than the men inside the humvee’s armored shell to sniper bullets and shrapnel from roadside bombs. As the convoy rolls down the back roads, Swenson and the guys in her humvee keep up an easy, comradely banter, joking about the Iraqi kids they see along their patrol: one boy moves like a hip-hop dancer, another like a ninja fighter. Swenson says, “What I’ll remember isn’t threatening Iraqis with my machine gun but seeing the children wave as we go by,” and then adds that “sometimes they do throw rocks.” And so she remains vigilant.

## ■ CLOSING THE GENDER GAP

THE COMMON DANGERS FACING SERVICE MEMBERS in Iraq have helped close the gender gap. In today’s Army, nobody gallantly holds the humvee

But given the strains on the military, the need for women to take on expanded roles is likely to grow. In Iraq’s danger zones, officers say, female MPs, medics and pilots have earned the right to be treated as equals. Major Tim Parker of the 10th Mountain Division says it’s still hard for men to conceive of sharing a foxhole with their women comrades, but he acknowledges that change is inevitable. “There still needs to be a line,” he says. “But in the future, I’m sure we’ll cross that.” Many women in Iraq would say they already have. ■

### Questions

1. Where does Congress stand on allowing women to serve in combat? How does this position differ from that of the Pentagon?
2. According to military personnel, what common argument against using women in combat is being proved false by the war in Iraq?