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**TIME**

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# 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.

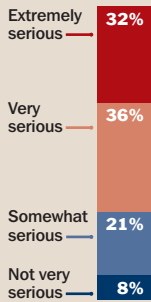
It's easy to understand why the idea of amnesty would spark such a negative reaction. The country tried that with the 1986 law. Nearly 3 million people took advantage of it, and the amnesty was followed by an explosion in illegal immigration. But not to offer some process by which illegal immigrants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

### TIME POLL

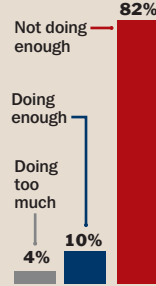
## LET THEM STAY, BUT GET TOUGH

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

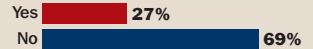
How serious a problem is illegal immigration into the U.S.?



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



Should illegal immigrants be allowed to ... obtain driver's licenses?



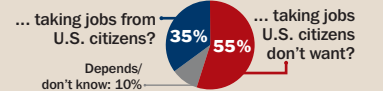
... attend public schools?



... obtain government services such as health care or food stamps?



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

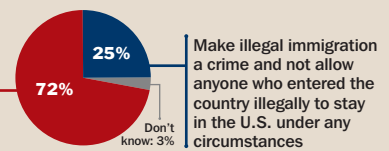


What if the U.S. deported all illegal immigrants and toughened security to stop them from entering the country? Do you think the U.S. would be better off?



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



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.

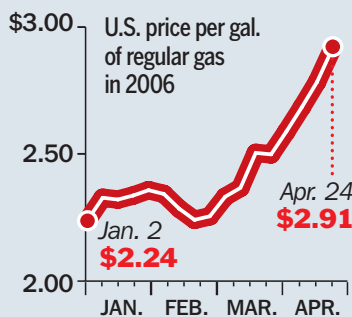
When oil traders in New York City's Mercantile Exchange hear Iran threaten to stop pumping in a market that is already tight, they immediately bid up the price of contracts for future oil delivery. Nor do the fundamentals of global oil offer much hope for lower prices over the long run. The growth in 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.

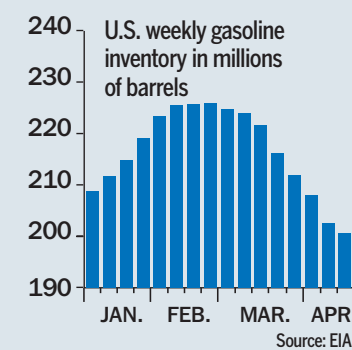
Conversely, many analysts argue that the best way to create new energy sources and encourage conservation is to raise gasoline prices, not lower them. Fadel Gheit, senior energy analyst with

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?

# An Eye for an Eye

As the violence in Iraq grows more shocking and brutal, TIME explores the roots of the murderous rage—and why the United States may be powerless to put a stop to it

By APARISIM GHOSH

CIVIL WARS, AS A GENERAL rule, don't announce themselves when they arrive. But how else to label what Iraqis are witnessing in their streets these days? What other term could describe the sight of armed and angry Shi'ite mobs rampaging through Baghdad and other cities, dragging Sunnis into the streets and executing them, looting their homes and burning down their mosques? The immediate cause of this wave of violence was the bombing on February 22 of al-Askari, the sacred Shi'ite shrine in Samarra, but that attack could only partially account for the hatreds unleashed. Ordinary citizens guided assassins to the homes of their neighbors. After three days of violence, more than 200 people were killed, and Sunni groups claimed at least 100 mosques were damaged. The extent of the carnage left many with the uneasy sense that the long-simmering hostility between the country's two main sects has at last boiled over—and that Iraq's fragile institutions of authority have no means of holding the anger back.

Caught off guard by the mayhem and powerless to stop it, U.S. officials could only offer general expressions of optimism. President George W. Bush spent an hour on seven phone calls to Iraqi leaders, expressing condolences, thanking them for their appeals for calm and urging them to continue working to form a new government. In private, U.S. officials sounded guarded. "This is plainly a test for the Iraqi government," says a well-placed national-security official. "What the outcome will be is not entirely clear."



Some leaders of Iraq's warring sects are urging their followers to step back from the brink, but not everybody is listening. The violence that racked the country in the hours after the Samarra explosion subsided briefly after the imposition of a daytime curfew but soon flared up again. A statement released by Grand Ayatullah Ali Husaini Sistani, Iraq's most revered cleric, called for nationwide demonstrations and seven days of mourning.

However shocking in scale and ferocity, this eruption of sectarian violence was not totally unexpected. For months, hundreds of dead bodies have been turning up in streets, ditches and sewers in and around Baghdad—most of them bearing unmistakable signs of military-style execution. Almost all the dead are Sunni males, many of whom had been arrested by men wearing police uniforms. Sunni politicians have long blamed those deaths on Shi'ite death squads operating within Iraqi police and security forces. U.S. officials now privately concede that the death squads may indeed exist.

Although the violence that followed the Samarra bombing may have been sparked by a single act of provocation, it came in the context of a history of Shi'ite-Sunni enmity. The roots of the sectarian divide lie in a schism that arose shortly after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in the 7th century. Although Shi'ites make up the majority in Iraq, the country was long ruled by a Sunni elite, often under the patronage of a foreign power, like the Ottoman and British empires. Sunnis historically had a monopoly on the best

education and jobs, especially in government and the military. As a result, many Sunnis see themselves as Iraq's natural ruling class, and the Shi'ites as poor, superstitious rabble. The U.S. invasion upended the "natural" order: in the past two elections, the Shi'ites have finally made their numerical superiority translate into political power, leaving many Sunnis bitter and resentful over their diminished status.

In turn, fanatical Shi'ites regard Sunnis as descendants and followers of the murderers of their most revered heroes. That resentment culminated in the rule of Saddam, who outlawed important Shi'ite observances, had many top Shi'ite clerics murdered and finally, after the first Gulf War, ordered a massive campaign of murder and repression of Shi'ites. Now politically ascendant, some Shi'ites want reckoning for those and other historical wrongs. They regard the assassination of Sunnis by death squads as eye-for-an-eye justice. Even some moderate Shi'ites, who condemn extrajudicial killings, view Sunnis as deluded losers who are supporting terrorist groups in a futile bid to regain their monopoly on power.

Yet the two sides have more in common than they openly admit. Iraq's Arab Shi'ites

and Sunnis come from the same ethnic stock (the Kurds, a different ethnic group, tend to be Sunni) and share the same language and diet. Indeed, what makes the rise of sectarian violence

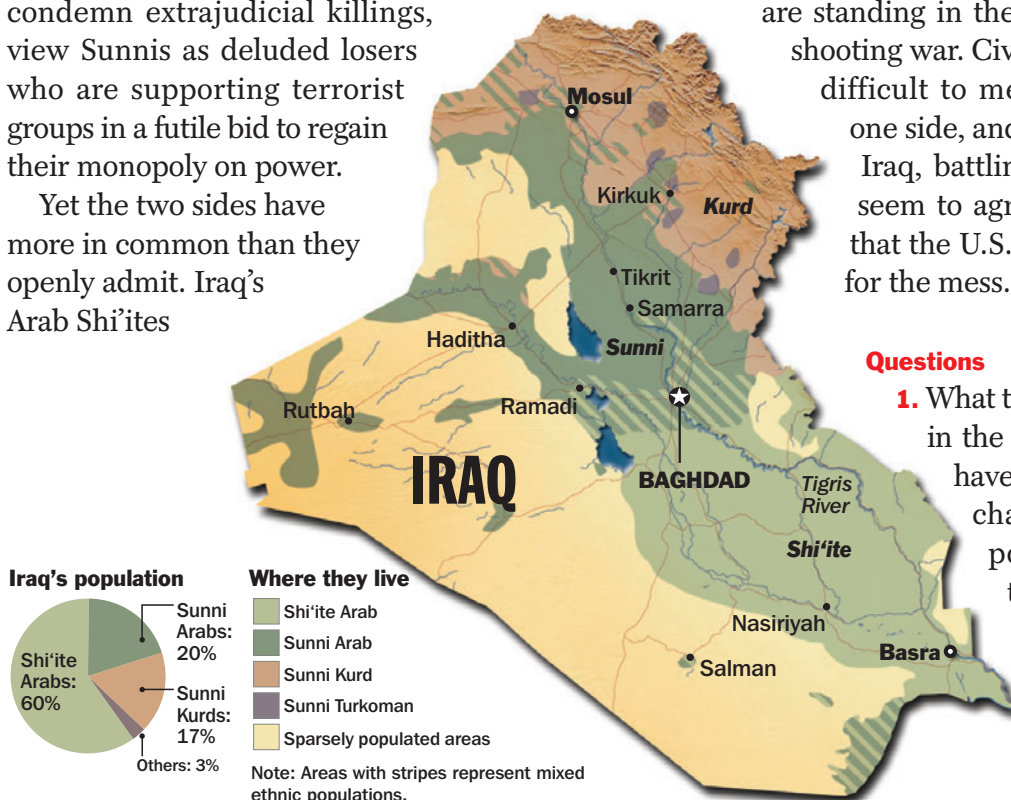
so chilling is precisely the difficulty involved in carrying it out. Some Shi'ite mobs stopped people in the street and demanded to see their ID cards, looking for Sunni names. In the end, as is often the case in sectarian wars, many of the victims of the violence were simply fingered by their neighbors.

Given the failure to head off this eruption of violence, U.S. hopes of averting a shameful defeat in Iraq now hinge on whether it can bring the fighting to an end. The biggest fear is that the breakdown of order could draw neighboring countries

into the conflict, with Iran intervening on behalf of the Shi'ites and Arab states supporting the Sunnis.

But the U.S. has few good options left. Public patience with the mission in Iraq is likely to keep eroding as long as it appears that U.S. troops are standing in the middle of a religious shooting war. Civil wars are notoriously difficult to mediate without taking one side, and it doesn't help that in Iraq, battling Shi'ites and Sunnis seem to agree on only one thing: that the U.S. is ultimately to blame for the mess. ■

**The Shi'ites have finally made their numerical superiority translate into political power, leaving many Sunnis bitter and resentful over their diminished status.**



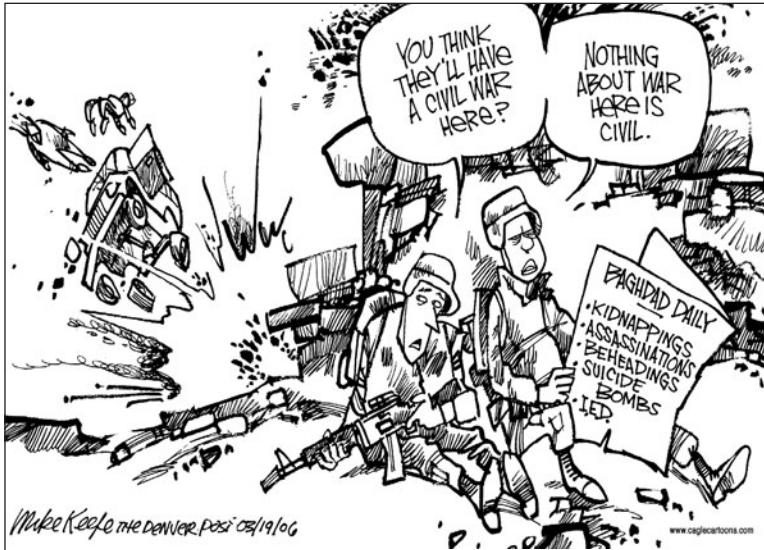
### Questions

1. What two groups are involved in the violence in Iraq? How have the last two elections changed the balance of power between these two groups?
2. What is the U.S.'s biggest fear in response to the breakdown of order in Iraq?

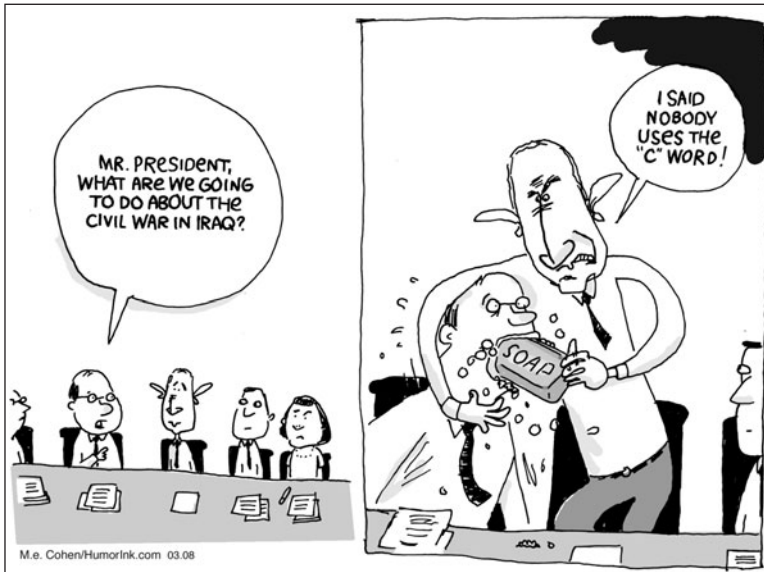


# Is Iraq Facing a Civil War?

## A GALLERY OF VIEWS



More than three years after the U.S. invasion, Iraq continues to be wracked by violence, as the articles **Crossing the Lines** on pages 7-8 and **An Eye for an Eye** on pages 9-10 describe. Some experts are suggesting that what we are witnessing in Iraq is a civil war. But the Bush Administration has been reluctant to mention that phrase and hopes that the coming months will bring enough progress to enable American troops to begin coming home. In response to the question of whether a civil war is under way in Iraq, commentators have offered a variety of perspectives. Study the three cartoons at left. Then answer the questions below.



1. Describe the action taking place in each image. What figures are shown? What symbols do you see?
2. What two adjectives would you use to characterize the demeanor of the soldiers in the top cartoon? Why do you think the cartoonist drew them this way? Do you believe there is such a thing as a "civilized war"?
3. How does the creator of the middle cartoon depict President Bush? Why do you think Bush does not want the words *civil war* spoken regarding Iraq?



4. How does the creator of the third cartoon view events in Iraq? Do you agree with him?
5. Of the three images, which suggests most strongly that a civil war is under way in Iraq? Explain.
6. **Following Up.** Using library resources or the Internet, conduct research and determine your own opinion as to whether civil war is occurring in Iraq. Write a letter to the editor of *TIME* expressing your ideas on this subject.

# Hate Thy Neighbor

Understanding the new and lethal logic of violence in the Middle East—and what the world can do to find peace

By LISA BEYER

**T**HE CONFLICT INVOLVING Israel and its neighbors has erupted once more—and no one knows how bad and destabilizing it may get. Israel's ferocious response to Hizballah's kidnapping of two Israeli soldiers, which came a little more than two weeks after Palestinian militants from Hamas seized an Israeli corporal and smuggled him into the Gaza Strip, has produced the worst Arab-Israeli cross-border conflict since Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982. The great bulk of the pain in mid-July was felt in Lebanon, as Israel bombarded the country, including sites in Beirut, killing more than 100 Lebanese, almost all civilians. Hizballah, an Islamist Shi'ite group that operates freely in southern Lebanon, killed eight Israeli soldiers in its initial raid on July 12 and has since flung hundreds of rockets into Israel, killing four civilians.

What's driving the violence, and why does it seem so difficult to tamp down? What we're seeing today is not simply a replay of age-old hatreds between Israel and its Arab enemies. With new governments in place in the three key centers of the crisis—Israel, Lebanon and the Palestinian Authority—and fighters within the radical Islamist groups Hamas and Hizballah eager to assert their agendas, the region is going through a period of dramatic and in some ways radical change. The volatility has added new fuel to the motivations and ambitions that have defined why they fight. And that poses a challenge for the international community, including a U.S. Administration already waging two wars in the Islamic world.



## ■ WHY THE ARABS FIGHT

TO UNDERSTAND WHY THE ARAB militants of Hamas and Hizballah are picking a fight with Israel now, you might start with an election. In January, Hamas, which is sworn to Israel's destruction, won the Palestinian general vote. The Hamas political leader in Gaza, Ismail Haniya, a relative moderate, became Prime Minister, and hammered out an agreement with Palestinian Authority President

Mahmoud Abbas on a platform that would implicitly recognize Israel if it would withdraw to its 1967 borders. Hamas' hard-liners strongly resist recognizing Israel, though, because they believe that God gave all the lands of the Middle East to Muslims and that the Jewish state should be destroyed. On June 25, Hamas militants decided to try a new, daring tactic: they emerged from a tunnel dug under the Gaza fence to kill two Israeli soldiers and nab Corporal Gilad Shalit. Instead of talking about a peace deal, the Palestinian Authority found itself dealing with a rain of Israeli bombardments and border incursions.

Meanwhile, Hizballah, which was created in 1982 to resist Israel's invasion of southern Lebanon, has internal political incentives to act against Israel. In the new Lebanon, genuine independence is trying to take root after popular unrest forced the Syrians to lift their yoke on the country last spring. As a result, whether Hizballah should be allowed to remain armed six years after the Israelis left Lebanon is the most divisive political issue in the country today. Critics argue that only government forces should bear arms. Hizballah counters that given the weakness of



Provoked by the hostage taking, Olmert's government is also trying to settle other scores. Palestinian militants have been regularly firing homemade Qassam rockets, a Hamas specialty, into Israel from Gaza. Hizballah has occasionally also lobbed rockets across the border since the Israeli pullout. And Israel has watched in dismay as Hizballah has built border fortifications, sometimes 30 feet from Israeli outposts and stockpiled with what Israel estimates to be 13,000 rockets.

So where might this lead? Is anything remotely approaching quiet, if not quite peace, possible in a place where all the actors see gain in continuing to fight?

As bleak as it now looks, it's not entirely out of the question. The chances are greater in Lebanon, where there are actors with a clear interest in taming Hizballah. As in past flare-ups on the border, coming to terms will almost surely require a third-party mediator.

Dealing with Hamas won't be as easy. In Gaza, the main force that has tended to moderate the behavior of the militants has been public opinion, which has sometimes swung against the radicals when their actions prompted Israeli reprisals that punished the population. Now, though, Gazans place the blame for scores of deaths and deteriorating conditions squarely on Israel.

What should the U.S. do? British Prime Minister Tony Blair and other allies would like Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice to take a more active role in bringing first calm and then a return to peace talks between the Israelis and Palestinians. At this point, though, U.S. intervention can't undo the reasons Israel and its enemies fight. But doing nothing is an even bigger risk. ■

## ■ WHY ISRAEL FIGHTS

THE ISRAELIS ARE DETERMINED TO SHOW THEIR adversaries that they aren't intimidated. That has become clear in Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert's announcements that Israel will not negotiate for the return of its soldiers. Israeli officials have long talked of "changing the rules of the game," and Olmert unleashed the military to do just that, setting the price for aggression against Israel so high that its enemies would be deterred from acting up in the future.

### Questions

1. What internal political incentives does Hizballah have to act against Israel now?
2. What is the primary factor that has moderated the behavior of members of Hamas?

# Inside the Pitchfork Rebellion

Across China's heartland, anger at local authorities is growing violent as protests spread. Is this the birth of a revolution?

By HANNAH BEECH

**T**HE MAN IS ALMOST TOO SCARED TO TALK. "I am just a farmer," he whispers, shortly after the police had descended on his village of Panlong in China's southern Guangdong province. "I know I don't matter." But what he has witnessed does. In mid-January, the man joined a remarkable protest against the local government's decision to seize communal farmland and lease it to a foreign investor. For several days, more than 1,000 villagers gathered near the disputed land, brandishing pitchforks and blocking a highway.

But the brief exercise in free expression ended in tragedy. As dusk fell on January 14, men armed with electric batons poured out of police vans and attacked the farmers. Villagers say a 13-year-old girl who tried to hide behind a woodpile was beaten to death, and they estimate that 20 or so others were seriously injured. (A spokesperson from nearby Zhongshan City claims the girl died of a heart attack.) The clash was barely reported within China, but few locals believe it will be the last. Says the witness, who doesn't want his name used for fear of official retribution: "The local government has lost the hearts of the people."

China's leaders had better try to win them back. Violent local protests are convulsing the Chinese countryside with ever greater frequency—and Beijing has proved unable to quell the unrest. By the central government's own count, there were 87,000 "public-order disturbances" in 2005, up from 10,000 in 1994. Many of China's 900 million rural inhabitants are farmers, who have little legal or political leverage. They have borne a disproportionate share of the side effects of China's growth, from environmental degradation to misrule by local party officials more eager to line their pockets than provide basic services. Income disparity between the urban rich and the rural poor is at its widest since the People's Republic was founded in 1949. "What China has now is the worst of a planned economy and the worst of capitalism," says Christine Wong, a University of Washington professor who studies local governance in China. "The farmers are the ones who are losing out the most."

Their anger could have seismic consequences. Revolutions in China have a history of springing from rural discontent. The Communist Party rose to power on the strength of its pledge to protect the rights of farmers who joined its fight to overthrow the landlord class. The current crop of Communist leaders is aware that rural unrest could spark



political mayhem, especially when cell phones and the Internet can connect citizens with the click of a button. In some cases, such as in Panlong, local officials have resorted to violence to suppress the uprisings, which has only incited more rage. In response, President Hu Jintao announced plans to give billions of dollars in central-government aid to farmers. "If farmers are rich, then the country will be prosperous," he said. "If villages are stable, then the society will also be stable."

But promises from Beijing alone won't stem the discontent. Today, China is one of

the only countries that puts the responsibility for health care, social security and education in local governments' hands—but the focus on generating foreign investment rather than supplying basic services has left much of rural China, where 70% of the population lives, in a dire condition. Millions live on the edge of destitution, without access to sustainable jobs or medical care. Although Beijing regularly pumps out well-meaning initiatives, most are unfunded mandates that are ignored by local officials. “We talk to the central government, and it’s clear they want to reverse these huge inequalities,” says the University of Washington’s Wong, who also works for the World Bank as a consultant on China. “But fixing the problem is like pushing a piece of string through five levels of government.”

Peasants might not be so upset if cash from confiscated fields were used to build new schools or clean water projects. Instead, they complain, the money is often diverted by local officials. And few corruption investigations lead to sentencing. Farmers who once trusted the central government’s ability to fix problems find their faith in the system dimming and their anger rising. “They had been told that reform was coming, so they were patient,” says Philip Brown, an economist who studies rural China. “But now they see that the reforms don’t go far enough, and they think, *This is what we’ve been waiting for?*” The official Chinese media, which has tried to educate farmers on their basic rights, only heightens that disenchantment. “The media can’t report on the bad things that happen to you, and so it overreports on the good things,” says Mary Gallagher, a political scientist at the University of Michigan. “And that causes unrealistic expectations.”

The question is whether Beijing can address rural discontent before it hardens into a wider, more violent agrarian revolt. The central government

has experimented with programs that channel money more directly to the people meant to receive it—one project involves wiring teachers’ salaries to post-office accounts instead of leaving pay at the discretion of local officials. But the authorities’ main tactic for stopping the spread of rural protests remains preventing word about them from getting out. Since the January 14 protest, the uncensored satellite feed from Hong Kong to Panlong has been cut. And journalists who try to get close to the village have been detained.

China may not be able to stifle the voices of protest much longer. About 30 miles from Panlong, in the village of Lishan, a farmer named Liang Beidai is one of the growing number who are ready to fight back. Three Lishan residents were injured in February after protests of land seizures turned bloody. “We are prepared to die for [our rights],” says Liang. If angry farmers truly lose their sense of fear, it may ultimately be Beijing that is running scared. ■

### Questions

1. What sparked the recent protest in Panlong?
2. What is Chinese authorities’ main strategy for preventing the spread of rural protests?



# India Awakens

Fueled by high-octane growth, the world's largest democracy is becoming a global power. Why the world will never be the same

By MICHAEL ELLIOTT

**E**VEN IF YOU HAVE NEVER gone to India—never wrapped your food in a piping-hot naan or had your eyeballs singed by a Bollywood spectacular—there is a good chance you encounter some piece of it every day of your life. It might be the place you call (though you don't know it) if your luggage is lost on a connecting flight, or the guys to whom your company has outsourced its data processing. Every night, young radiologists in Bangalore read CT scans e-mailed to them by emergency-room doctors in the U.S. Few modern Americans are surprised to find that their dentist or lawyer is of Indian origin, or are shocked to hear how vital Indians have been to California's high-tech industry. In ways big and small, Indians are changing the world.

That's possible because India—the second most populous nation in the world, and projected to be by 2015 the most populous—is itself being transformed. Writers like to attach catchy tags to nations, which is why you have read plenty about the rise of Asian tigers and the Chinese dragon. Now here comes the elephant. India's economy is growing more than 8% a year, and the country is modernizing so fast that old friends are bewildered by the changes that occurred between visits. The economic boom is taking place at a time when the U.S. and India are forging new ties. During the cold war, relations between New Delhi and Washington were frosty at best, as India cozied up to the Soviet Union and successive U.S. Administrations armed and supported India's regional rival, Pakistan. But in a breathtaking shift, the Bush Administration



in 2004 declared India a strategic partner and proposed a bilateral deal (currently stalled in Congress) to share nuclear know-how. After decades when it hardly registered in the political or public consciousness, India is on the U.S. mental map.

Among policymakers in Washington, the new approach can be explained simply: India is the un-China. One Asian giant is run by a Communist Party that increasingly appeals to nationalism as a way of legitimating its power.

The other is the largest democracy the world has ever seen. The U.S. will always have to deal with China, but it has learned that doing so is never easy: China bristles too much with old resentments at the hands of the West. India is no pushover either (try suggesting in New Delhi that outsiders might usefully broker a deal with Pakistan about Kashmir, the disputed territory over which the two countries have fought three wars), but democrats are easier to talk to than communist officials. Making friends with India is a good way for the U.S. to hedge its Asia bet.

Democracy aside, there is a second way in which India is the un-China—and it's not to India's credit. In most measures of modernization, China is way ahead. Last year per capita income in India was \$3,300; in China it was \$6,800. Prosperity and progress haven't touched many of the nearly 650,000 villages where more than two-thirds of India's population lives. Backbreaking, empty-stomach poverty, which China has been tackling successfully for decades, is still all too common in India. Education for women—the key driver of China's rise to become the workshop of the world—lags terribly in India. The nation has more



do so. It deserves the new notice it has got in the U.S. We're all about to discover: this elephant can dance. ■

## Questions

1. How have relations between the U.S. and India changed in recent years?
2. What are some of the areas in which India lags behind China?

## 10 WAYS INDIA IS CHANGING THE WORLD

**1 GROWING UP** India's GDP topped \$800 billion in 2005. The economy has grown an average of 8% over the past three years, the second fastest rate in the world.

**2 FARMING IT IN** India's Internet-technology industry, which includes other outsourcing services, generated revenues of \$36 billion in 2005, up 28% from 2004.

**3 STRIKING IT RICH** A surging stock market has boosted the number of Indian billionaires to 23—10 of whom are new this year compared with eight in China. India's billionaires boast a combined net worth of \$99 billion, an increase of 60% from the year before.

**4 CONSUMING CONSPICUOUSLY** Since 1996, the number of Indian passengers on airlines has risen sixfold, to about 50 million travelers a year, and sales of motorcycles and passenger cars have doubled.

**5 PACKING THEM IN** India's \$1.5 billion film industry is the largest in the world, both in number of movies produced and in number of tickets sold. India makes close to 1,000 movies a year, five times Hollywood's output.

**6 ATTRACTING ATTENTION** Tourism to India has risen about 20% over the past two years. Some 618,000 Americans flocked to India last year, making up nearly 16% of India's total visitors.

**7 EXPORTING TALENT** About 2 million people of Indian descent live in the U.S. The average household income of Indian immigrants in the U.S. is the highest of any ethnic group.

**8 PEOPLEING THE PLANET** Home to more than 1 billion people, India accounts for one-sixth of the world's population. In less than 50 years, it is expected to be the world's most populous nation.

**9 BREWING CRISIS** India has more people living with HIV—an estimated 5.7 million—than any other country.

**10 CHALLENGING CHINA** India lags behind China in GDP and foreign direct investment. But India is freer and growing faster—which may well give it the edge over the long haul.

Sources: World Bank; U.N.; McKinsey & Co.; PriceWaterhouseCoopers report; Forbes; Government of India

people with HIV/AIDS than any other in the world, but until recently the Indian government was in a disgraceful state of denial about the epidemic. Transportation networks and electrical grids, which are crucial to industrial development and job creation, are so dilapidated that it will take many years to modernize them.

Yet the litany of India's comparative shortcomings omits a fundamental truth: China started first. China's key economic reforms took shape in the late 1970s, India's not until the early 1990s. But India is younger and freer than China. Many of its companies are already innovative world beaters. India is playing catch-up, for sure, but it has the skills, the people and the sort of hustle and dynamism that Americans respect, to

# Inside the Life of the Migrants Next Door

Thirty years of migration—mostly illegal—connect a small town in Mexico to New York's wealthy Hamptons. An inside look at how both sides have benefited, and paid a price

By **NATHAN THORNBURGH**

**T**HE HAMPTONS, A THIN necklace of ultra-wealthy hamlets at the tip of New York's Long Island, are best known as a summer playground for Manhattan millionaires. But this night, the people who service the lavish Hamptons lifestyle were throwing their own party. The hundred or so guests had gathered for a *quinceañera*—a souped-up Latino version of a sweet-16 party, thrown for a girl's 15th birthday. Nearly all the attendees come from a town called Tuxpan in the green hills of the central-Mexican state of Michoacán, which has seen several generations of young workers move to this far, affluent corner of the U.S. They came with nothing, and many have managed to build a solid facsimile of middle-class American life. Still, most of them are—in the hard talk of the immigration debate—illegal aliens, part of an emerging presence that was once seen as a blessing but has turned into one of the Hamptons' biggest controversies.

The story of Tuxpan's large presence in the Hamptons begins with a single wanderer. Mario Coria, 55, grew up so poor in Tuxpan that at age 11 he left for Mexico City to work in construction. In January 1977, when he was 26, Coria had a chance encounter with a vacationing restaurateur from Bridgehampton, New York. The men struck up a halting conversation in Spanish, and within two years, Coria had accepted the American's invitation



to work as a gardener in the Hamptons. His blend of industry and attention to detail made him a hit with the wealthy Hamptonsites. One family liked him so much that they had their personal attorney help him apply for legal residency. Coria started out making just \$3.25 an hour, but today he is a U.S. citizen and owns a house in the Hamptons town of Wainscott. He bought it for \$125,000 in 1996, but similar homes are selling for more than half a million dollars today.

Early on, friends and relatives asked how they could make their way to the Hamptons. In 1985 he brought over his half-brother Fernando. Fernando invited two friends, who started bringing their relatives. A handful became dozens. Dozens become hundreds. There are no reliable estimates, but workers in the Hamptons say there are as many as 500 Tuxpeños living full-time in the area, and scores more show up during the work-filled summer months.

The Hamptons have long cultivated a climate of easygoing tolerance, and for years town leaders dealt with illegal immigration by simply looking the other way. But that too is changing, as the numbers grow larger and the complaints grow louder. The tensions are most evident in the complex relationship between the Hispanic immigrants and the German, Italian and Irish families that for a century formed the area's working-class backbone. Those locals were the ones who did the gardening, cleaning and cooking in the Hamptons before

Latinos started showing up and working longer for less. And it's the working-class residents who end up not only competing for work with but also living next door to the newcomers.

As crossing the border has become more difficult and expensive, workers are staying longer and bringing their children to live with them in the U.S. Julio, 18, and Carlos, 15, moved to the Hamptons from Tuxpan almost a decade ago with their parents Julio Sr. and Yadira. The boys grew up on PlayStations, sledding in the winter and pool parties in the summer. They speak accentless English and for most of their childhood were average happy-go-lucky small-town kids. But because the brothers were born in Mexico, they have no legal American papers. And that means they are not able to apply for federal college loans or even prove that they meet

the residency requirements of the local community college. So just before Julio was about to enter the 10th grade, the boys went back to Tuxpan with their mother to finish high school, which would make them eligible to attend a Mexican university. Their father would keep working in New York alone.

Back at the *quinceañera* in Bridgehampton, the festivities continued, yet the price and the promises of immigration were never far out of mind. Julio Sr. was there—but his wife and sons were 2,000 miles away in Tuxpan. ■

### Questions

1. How did so many Mexicans from Tuxpan end up in the Hamptons?
2. Why have new immigrants from Mexico clashed with working-class locals in the Hamptons?

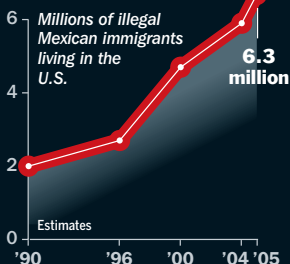
## HOW THE INFLUX IS CHANGING THE U.S.

### Illegal immigrants in the U.S. are largely from Mexico ...

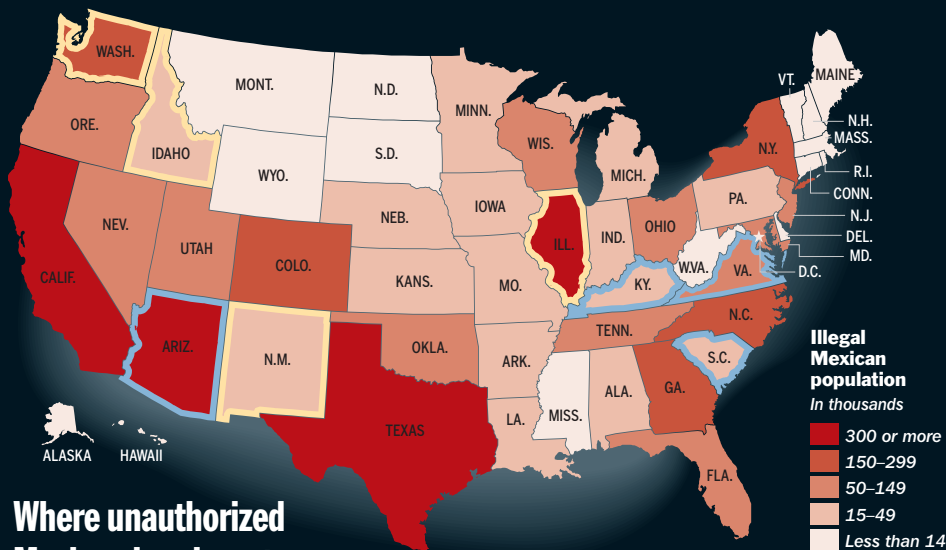
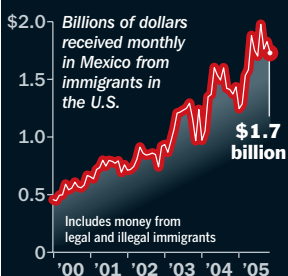
Country or region of birth of illegal immigrants in the U.S., March 2004



### ... Their numbers are growing ...



### ... and they are sending more and more money back home



### Where unauthorized Mexican immigrants go

About 6.3 million illegal immigrants from Mexico live in the U.S., according to the Pew Hispanic Center, and an average of 485,000 more arrive every year. In response, state legislatures considered nearly 300 bills on immigration policy in the first half of 2005 alone, but passed just 47. While some states address the challenges facing migrant workers with families, others are trying to crack down on illegal immigration

#### SUPPORTIVE LEGISLATION

**Washington State** Reversed a 2002 measure and restored health-care coverage to children regardless of their immigration status

**Idaho** Rejected a bill that would have required counties to pay for transportation of undocumented workers back to their home countries

**Illinois** In November Governor Rod Blagojevich set up an office to study immigrants' contributions and needs; a new law allows illegal immigrant children to obtain health insurance

**New Mexico** Became the ninth state to extend in-state tuition benefits to undocumented immigrant students

#### CRACKING DOWN

**Virginia** A recent bill would make it the first state to prohibit illegal immigrants from attending state colleges; a new law restricts other benefits

**Kentucky** Enacted a law requiring anyone seeking licenses for various professions to show proof of immigration status

**South Carolina** A bill passed the state house and senate requiring Medicaid applicants to present proof of legal residency if asked

**Arizona** Passed a law prohibiting cities from maintaining public day-laborer centers, where migrant workers congregate to seek employment

# Trying to Make a Decent Living

While some janitors struggle to get by, others are climbing into the middle class. Behind the new battle over low-wage workers

By JEREMY CAPLAN

**I**T'S 9 P.M., AND CRAIG JONES has just finished dumping 400 trash cans' worth of garbage into the Cincinnati Textile Building's basement compactor. The weighty refuse he carries each night hardly fazes Jones after five years on the job, but the grime he has to scrub off dirty wastebaskets still gets to him a little.

"Wiping spit is a tough thing to get used to," he says. Jones, 27, earns \$6.50 an hour without benefits, vacation time or sick days. His employer, Professional Maintenance, a cleaning contractor, usually schedules him for just four hours a night, five nights a week, so Jones' biweekly paycheck amounts to about \$260, before taxes. The monthly rent for his spartan ground-level apartment in a once-industrial part of town is \$215, so there's little left after phone and utility bills and food. He hasn't bought a new piece of clothing in years.

Less than 300 miles away, Robyn Gray is in the midst of cleaning 48 kitchenettes, dusting 90 conference rooms and scrubbing 40 glass doors at One Mellon Center, a financial building in downtown Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Although her work is equally grueling, Gray, 44, is paid well, compared with Cincinnati, Ohio, janitors like Jones. For working a 9:30 P.M.-to-6 A.M., 40-hour-a-week schedule, she earns \$12.52 an hour and gets health insurance, three weeks' vacation and three personal days a year. Her \$26,000 annual salary has helped Gray and her husband—who

**The living-wage movement aims to convince the public that all Americans who work hard deserve to earn a wage they can live on.**

works for a company that erects cell-phone towers—buy their own home, send their two daughters to college and even go on the occasional family vacation. In May, they took their first trip to Honolulu, Hawaii.

The major difference between Gray and Jones, say advocates for low-wage workers, is that she lives in a city where janitors are unionized and have collectively negotiated what they call a *living wage*—that is, salaries

considerably above the minimum wage. The living-wage movement may have got a new burst of energy when the Change to Win Federation, made up of seven labor unions that split from the AFL-CIO last year to focus more directly on the lives of low-wage Americans, officially launched its first national initiative on April 24. Dubbed Make Work Pay!, the campaign aims to convince the public in 35 U.S. cities that all Americans who work hard deserve to earn a wage they can live on.

The new campaign's supporters include former North Carolina Senator and likely presidential contender John Edwards. "The perception exists that [a living wage] is not a politically popular subject, and that people in general aren't interested in it," Edwards says. "But my feelings now on the subject are stronger than they've ever been. You can't live on \$6, \$7 or \$8 an hour and have anything to fall back on. Instead of getting ahead, which most families want to focus on, they're focused on survival."

The model Edwards and others want to replicate is the Service Employees International Union's (SEIU) Justice for Janitors campaign,

which over the past 20 years has helped to raise wages for workers in 27 cities, including Boston, Houston and Pittsburgh. SEIU organized Justice for Janitors Day, with public protests in cities around the country. One of the key battlegrounds of the new offensive is Cincinnati, which gained 8,400 service jobs in 2004 alone. SEIU's primary strategy is to show how higher wages and job benefits have improved not only the finances of workers like Gray but also the lives of their families and the economic and social welfare of the cities in which they live.

Pittsburgh is its Exhibit A. Once hailed as America's Iron City, Pittsburgh has gone from a manufacturing stronghold to a service-dominated economy, a shift that is evident in its abundance of converted mills. The first Justice for Janitors initiative began there in 1985. The campaign sparked an 18-month standoff in which employers locked out unionized workers and brought in replacements willing to work for lower wages. The janitors eventually triumphed, and in the years since they have bargained their way to health-care coverage, personal days and vacation time.

The city appears to have benefited too. In Pittsburgh neighborhoods with high concentrations of janitors and other service workers, high school graduation rates and home ownership rates have risen steadily over the past two decades, according to Census data. Among janitors surveyed by SEIU, the rate of home ownership had grown to

57% by 2005, an increase of nearly 20% since 1990. Meanwhile, the number of families below the poverty line has fallen. Over the past three years, the median household income in the city has grown nearly 3%, from \$39,643 to \$40,699, adjusted for inflation. And annual janitorial-job turnover, as high as 300% in Cincinnati, is just one-tenth that rate in Pittsburgh. As a result, contractors' costs for recruitment and training are significantly lower.

Cincinnati shares many attributes with Pittsburgh. Both are Rust Belt cities with midsize populations—314,000 for Cincinnati and 322,000 for Pittsburgh—and workforces similar in size and composition. But they diverge in their treatment of janitors and other low-wage service workers, and living-wage advocates say the results are telling. In Cincinnati neighborhoods like Over-the-Rhine and the West End, where Jones lives, poor wages coupled with high rates of drug use, street violence and truancy have created a cycle of interdependent problems. More than half the adult black males in the two neighborhoods are without full-time work. In the West End alone, 76.5% of the children under 5 are living in poverty, and per capita income is \$9,759 a year.

It is 10 P.M., and Craig Jones is back home after another four-hour janitorial shift. He microwaves a Stouffer's dinner and grabs a Coke from his cabinet, which is mainly stocked with canned corn and some pumpkin filling that Jones got from a food

pantry around Thanksgiving. He has been looking for a better-paying job during his off-hours but hasn't found one, so he is pinning his hopes on the Justice for Janitors campaign. "I'm not looking for a handout," he says. "But I feel like I'm stuck." ■



### Questions

1. What is the difference between the salaries and benefits that Craig Jones and Robyn Gray receive for doing the same job? Why is there a difference?
2. What is the primary goal of the living-wage movement?

# The Multitasking Generation

Today's teens are e-mailing, IMing and downloading while writing the history essay. What is all that digital juggling doing to kids' brains and to their family life?

By **CLAUDIA WALLIS**

IT'S 9:30 P.M., AND STEPHEN AND Georgina Cox know exactly where their children are. Well, their bodies, at least. Piers, 14, is holed up in his bedroom—eyes fixed on his computer screen—where he has been logged onto a MySpace chat room and AOL Instant Messenger (IM) for the past three hours. His twin sister Bronte is planted in the living room, having commandeered her dad's iMac—as usual. She, too, is busily IMing, while chatting on her cell phone and chipping away at homework.

The Coxes are one of 32 families in the Los Angeles area participating in an intensive, four-year study of modern family life, led by anthropologist Elinor Ochs, director of UCLA's Center on Everyday Lives of Families. While the impact of multitasking gadgets was not her original focus, Ochs found it to be one of the most dramatic areas of change since she conducted a similar study 20 years ago. "I'm not certain how the children can monitor all those things at the same time, but I think it is pretty consequential for the structure of the family relationship," says Ochs.

The big finding of a 2005 survey of Americans ages 8 to 18 by the Kaiser Family Foundation is not that kids were spending a larger chunk of time using electronic media—that was holding steady at 6.5 hours a day (could it possibly get any bigger?)—but that they were packing more media exposure into that time: 8.5 hours' worth, thanks to



“media multitasking.” Increasingly, the media-hungry members of Generation M, as Kaiser dubbed them, don’t just sit down to watch a TV show with their friends or family. Between a quarter and a third of them, according to the survey, say they simultaneously absorb some other medium “most of the time” while watching TV, listening to music, using the computer or even while reading.

Although many aspects of the networked life remain scientifically uncharted, there’s substantial literature on how the brain handles multitasking. And basically, it doesn’t. It may seem that a teenage girl is writing an instant message, burning a CD and telling her mother that she’s doing homework—all at the same time—but what’s really going on is a rapid toggling among tasks rather than simultaneous processing. “You’re doing more than one thing, but you’re ordering them and deciding which one to do at any one time,” explains neuroscientist Jordan Grafman, chief of the cognitive neuroscience section at the National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Stroke (NINDS).

Then why can we so easily walk down the street while engrossed in a deep conversation? Why can we chop onions while watching *Jeopardy*? It turns out that very automatic actions or what researchers call “highly practiced skills,” like walking or chopping an onion, can be easily done while thinking about other things, although

the decision to add an extra onion to a recipe or change the direction in which you're walking is another matter.

When people try to perform two or more related tasks either at the same time or alternating rapidly between them, errors go way up, and it takes far longer—often double the time or more—to get the jobs done than if they were done sequentially, says David E. Meyer, director of the Brain, Cognition and Action Laboratory at the University of Michigan. “The toll in terms of slowdown is extremely large—amazingly so,” Meyer says. He frequently tests Gen M students in his lab, and he sees no exception for them, despite their “mystique” as master multitaskers. “The bottom line is that you can’t simultaneously be thinking about your tax return and reading an essay, just as you can’t talk to yourself about two things at once,” he says. “If a teenager is trying to have a conversation on an e-mail chat line while doing algebra, she’ll suffer a decrease in efficiency, compared to if she just thought about algebra until she was done. People may think otherwise, but it’s a myth. With such complicated tasks [you] will never, ever be able to overcome the inherent limitations in the brain for processing information during multitasking. It just can’t be, any more than the best of all humans will ever be able to run a one-minute mile.”

Other research shows the relationship between stimulation and performance forms a bell curve: a little stimulation—whether it’s coffee or a blaring

soundtrack—can boost performance, but too much is stressful and causes a fall-off. In addition, the brain needs rest and recovery time to consolidate thoughts and memories. Teenagers who fill every quiet moment with a phone call or some kind of e-stimulation may not be getting that needed reprieve. Habitual multitasking may condition their brain to an overexcited state, making it difficult to focus even when they want to. “People lose the skill and the will to maintain concentration, and they get mental antsiness,” says Meyer.

But turning down the noise isn’t easy. By the time many kids get to college, their devices have become extensions of themselves, indispensable social accessories. “The minute the bell rings at most big public high schools, the first thing most kids do is reach into their bag and pick up their cell phone,” observes Denise Clark Pope, lecturer at the Stanford School of Education, “never mind that the person [they’re contacting] could be right down the hall.”

Many educators and psychologists encourage teenagers to break free of compulsive engagement with screens and spend time in the physical company of human beings—a growing challenge not just because technology offers such a handy alternative but because so many kids lead highly scheduled lives that leave little time for old-fashioned socializing and family meals. Indeed, many teenagers and college students say overcommitted schedules drive much of their multitasking.

In the end, Generation M has a lot to teach parents and teachers about what new technology can do. But it’s also important to remember what technology can’t do—and that there’s life beyond the screen. ■

## How the Brain Toggles

*Imaging studies have begun to reveal the anatomy of multitasking. Young adults have some advantages*

### THE MEDIAL PARIETAL LOBES

These areas are active when you are not focused on a task; they are considered default regions. When turning to a task, young adults do better than older adults in quieting the activity of the default regions. That may explain why older adults are more distracted by background thoughts (“Did I return that call?”).

### BRODMANN’S AREA 10

This section of the anterior prefrontal cortex acts as the switching station for multitasking. fMRI studies show increased blood flow to that region when one turns from one task to another and when one resumes the first task. The prefrontal cortex is much more highly developed in humans than in lower primates. It is one of the last to mature in adolescence and one of the first to decline with aging. Young children and people over 60 tend to be less adept at multitasking than young adults.



### Questions

1. What was the surprise finding in a 2005 Kaiser Family Foundation study of Americans ages 8 to 18?
2. What are the drawbacks of multitasking?

# Are We Losing Our Edge?

The U.S. still leads the world in scientific innovation.  
But years of declining investment and fresh competition  
from foreign countries threaten to end our supremacy

By **MICHAEL D. LEMONICK**

**E**DISON LIU IS A HONG KONG native who studied in the U.S. and eventually rose to become director of the division of clinical sciences at the National Cancer Institute. But in 2001 the government of Singapore made him an offer he couldn't refuse: the directorship of the brand new Genome Institute along with a \$25 million starting budget—part of a \$288 million integrated network of life-science research centers and biotech start-ups called Biopolis. Says Liu: "I came because I saw that the entire leadership of the country, the fabric of the country was thirsting for biology."

If this was just an isolated case, it would be easy to dismiss. Such stories, though, have become disturbingly common. After more than a half-century of unchallenged superiority in virtually every field of science and technology, from basic research to product development, America is starting to lose ground to other nations. It's still on top for now; the U.S. continues to lead the world in economic performance, business and government efficiency and in the strength of its infrastructure. As recently as 2001, the U.S., with just 6% of the world's population, churned out 41% of its Ph.D.s. And its labs regularly achieve technological feats, as the recent rollout of a new, superpowerful Macintosh computer and the launch of a space probe to Pluto make clear.

But by almost any measure—academic prizes, patents granted to U.S. companies, the trade deficit in high-technology products—we're losing



ground while countries like China, South Korea and India are catching up fast. Unless things change, they will overtake us, and the breathtaking burst of discovery that has been driving our economy for the past half-century will be over.

Some critics have tried to put the blame for the U.S.'s scientific decline on President George W. Bush, citing his hostility to stem-cell research, his downplaying of global warming, his statements in support of "intelligent design" as an alternative to evolution, and his Administration's appointment of nonscientists to scientific panels as well as its alleged quashing of dissenting scientists. But experts have been warning for decades that U.S. science was heading for trouble for three simple reasons. The Federal Government, beset by deficits for most of the past three decades, has steadily been cutting back on investment in research and development. Corporations, under increasing pressure from their stockholders for quick profits, have been doing the same and focusing on short-term products. And the quality of education in math and science in elementary and high schools has plummeted, leading to a drop in the number of students majoring in technical fields.

Responding to an increasingly insistent drumbeat of lobbying over the past few months from industry leaders, scientists and legislators, Bush announced in his 2006 State of the Union address the launch of what he called the American Competitiveness Initiative. The plan: double federal funding of research in basic areas like nanotechnology, supercomputing and alternative energy; make permanent the R&D tax credit;

and train 70,000 additional high school science and math teachers.

Back in the 19th and early 20th centuries, people like Thomas Edison, Samuel Morse and the Wright brothers proved that Americans were pretty good at creating useful technology. But all of it was based on fundamental science done in places like Britain, Germany and France, where the true intellectual action was. If not for Adolf Hitler, it might still be, but his aggression drove scientists out of Europe, and the desperate need to defeat him galvanized the U.S. and Britain into pouring money into defense research, creating powerful new technologies—radar, sonar, the atom bomb. U.S. leaders learned that pure research like atomic and electromagnetic physics, combined with massive government funding, could lead to dramatic breakthroughs in military technology.

In absolute terms, of course, the U.S. is still the world leader in scientific research. Yet, says Shirley Tilghman, president of Princeton University and a molecular biologist, “there’s still reason to feel some urgency. The world is not standing still while we take a pause.”

For the first time in decades, however, there’s hope that the pause may be ending. Given its bipartisan appeal, the Bush Competitiveness Initiative is likely to pass. Funding won’t be easy, given the soaring deficit, but the people who dole out the money are enthusiastic. “I am very, very supportive,” Representative Frank Wolf, the House Republican in charge of science funding, told TIME, “and I think the President is going to get what he requested.” Sometimes, marvels Alexander, “these things sit for years and then suddenly come together in a big way.” ■

## Questions

1. Why has America had an edge over other nations in scientific development?
2. Why has the U.S. begun to lose this edge?

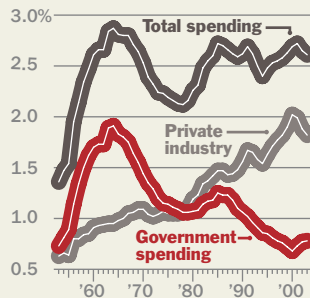
# Slowing Down While Others Speed Up

The U.S. dominates the world in science and technology, but if current trends continue, that won’t be true much longer



**SPENDING ON RESEARCH** The U.S. pours more money into science than does any other country, but federal funding—vital for basic research to develop new technologies—has been shriveling. Six countries now devote a larger share of their economy to science

U.S. spending on research and development as a percentage of GDP



Top 10 countries in research spending as a percentage of GDP\*

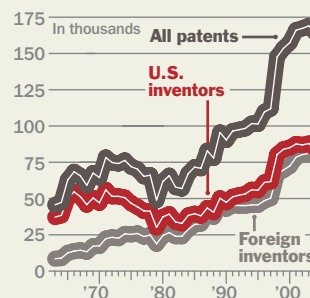
Israel	4.43%
Sweden	3.98%
Finland	3.49%
Japan	3.15%
Iceland	3.04%
South Korea	2.64%
<b>U.S.</b>	<b>2.61%</b>
Switzerland	2.57%
Germany	2.55%
Denmark	2.53%

\*2003 data, except Israel (2001), Switzerland (2000), and Denmark (2002)

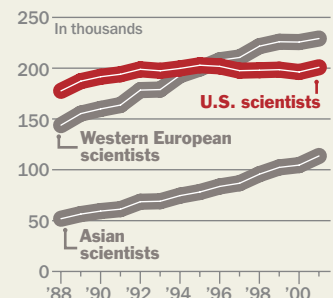


**SHOWING THE RESULTS** A key measure of innovation is the arrival of new products; another is the publication of articles in scholarly journals. Foreign inventors have nearly caught up in patent grants, and U.S. science publishing has fallen behind Europe’s as Asia’s surges

U.S. patents granted, by nationality of inventor

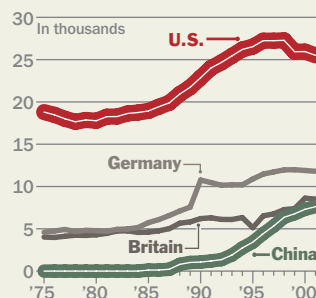


Articles published in science and engineering journals



**TRAINING THE NEXT WAVE** The U.S. still awards far more science Ph.D.s than any other country, but that number is tapering off as China’s is jumping. The U.S. also has the most science majors in the world but ranks 25th when that number is adjusted for population

Doctorates earned in science and engineering fields, by country



Countries with the highest percentage of 24-year-olds with science degrees\*

Finland	13.2%
Hungary	11.9%
France	11.2%
South Korea	11.1%
Singapore	10.9%
Britain	10.7%
Sweden	9.5%
Australia	9.3%
Ireland	8.5%
Russia	8.5%
<b>U.S.</b>	<b>5.7%</b> (25th in the world)

\*2000 data, except Singapore (1995), Britain (2001) and Russia (1999)

Sources: National Science Foundation; O.E.C.D.; European Commission; National Academy of Sciences; U.S. Patent and Trademark Office



# Analyzing Complex Graphics

The visual aid **Coming to America** on **pages 28 and 29** is packed with information on how human beings populated the Americas. But what does it all mean? Use the questions below to sharpen your skills in reading and interpreting complex graphics.

**1.** According to the map, there have been human remains found at how many sites in the New World? Consult the map key above South America. Then name the sites:

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.....

.....

.....

.....

**2.** What is the southernmost site where human remains have been found? The northernmost?

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.....

**3.** Of the sites whose dates are not in dispute, name the site whose date is most recent. Which is oldest site whose date is not in dispute?

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.....

**4.** What does B.P. stand for?

.....

.....

**5.** Of all the sites on the map, which is the oldest? Give its name and date.

.....

**6.** The last ice age in North America began in the year \_\_\_\_\_ B.P. and ended in the year \_\_\_\_\_ B.P.

**7.** True or false: There is indisputable proof that early migrants arrived from Europe on the East Coast of the U.S..

.....

**8.** Recent archeological finds suggest that bands of people might have migrated down what coastal routes up to 30,000 years ago?

.....

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**9.** Why is it unlikely that scientists will find archeological artifacts along coastal migration routes?

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**10.** True or false: Most of the migratory patterns run south to north.

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**11.** In North America, there was an inland, passable, ice-free corridor approximately \_\_\_\_\_ years ago.

.....

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.....

**12.** How can scientists discover when populations diverged from each other, which can then suggest a date for possible migration patterns?

.....

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# Who Were the First Americans?

They may have been a lot like Kennewick Man, whose hotly disputed bones are helping rewrite our earliest history. An exclusive inside look

By **MICHAEL D. LEMONICK** and **ANDREW DORFMAN**

**J**IM CHATTERS, A FORENSIC ANTHROPOLOGIST, had been called in by the coroner of Benton County, Washington, to consult on some bones found by two college students on the banks of the Columbia River, near the town of Kennewick. The bones were obviously old, and when the coroner asked for an opinion, Chatters' off-the-cuff guess was that they probably belonged to a settler from the late 1800s. Then a CT scan revealed a stone spear point embedded in the skeleton's pelvis, so Chatters sent a bit of finger bone off to the University of California at Riverside for radiocarbon dating. When the results came back, it was clear that his estimate was dramatically off the mark. The bones weren't 100 or even 1,000 years old. They belonged to a man who had walked the banks of the Columbia more than 9,000 years ago.

In short, the remains that came to be known as Kennewick Man were almost twice as old as the celebrated Iceman discovered in 1991 in an Alpine glacier, and among the oldest and most complete skeletons ever found in the Americas. Scientists have found only about 50 skeletons of such antiquity, most of them fragmentary. Any new find can thus add crucial insight into the ongoing mystery of who first colonized the New World—the last corner of the globe to be populated by humans. Kennewick Man could cast some much-needed

light on the murky questions of when that epochal migration took place, where the first Americans originally came from and how they got here.

The scientific team that examined the skeleton was led by forensic anthropologist Douglas Owsley of the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History. Owsley and his team were able to nail down or make strong guesses about Kennewick

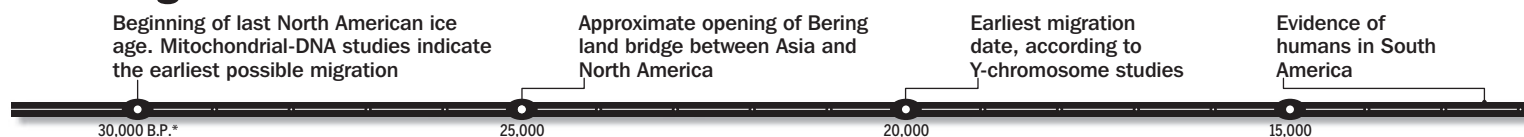
**Kennewick Man  
could cast  
much-needed light  
on the murky questions  
of where the first  
Americans originally  
came from and how  
they got here.**

Man's physical attributes. He stood about 5 feet, 9 inches tall and was fairly muscular. Previous estimates had Kennewick Man's age as 45 to 55 when he died, but Owsley thinks he may have been as young as 38. Nothing in the bones reveals what caused his death. Perhaps the most remarkable discovery: Kennewick Man had been buried deliberately.

The existence of Kennewick Man leads to the question: Who really discovered America? The conventional answer to that question dates to the early 1930s, when stone projectile points that were nearly identical began to turn up at sites across the American Southwest. They suggested a single cultural tradition that was christened Clovis, after an 11,000-year-old-plus site near Clovis, New Mexico. And because no older sites were known to exist in the Americas, scientists assumed that the Clovis people were the first to arrive. They came, according to the theory, no more than 12,000 years B.P. (before the present), walking across the dry land that connected modern Russia and Alaska at the end of the last ice age, when sea level was hundreds of feet lower than it is today.



## Migration milestones



However in 1997, a blue-ribbon panel of researchers took a hard look at evidence presented by Tom Dillehay, then at the University of Kentucky, from a site he had been excavating in Monte Verde, Chile. After years of skepticism, the panel finally affirmed his claim that the site proved humans had lived there 12,500 years ago. If people were living in southern Chile 12,500 years ago, they must have crossed over from Asia considerably earlier, and that means they couldn't have used the ice-free inland corridor; it didn't yet exist. Instead, many scientists now believe, the earliest Americans traveled down the Pacific coast—possibly even using boats. Even if the earliest Americans traveled down the coast,

that doesn't mean they couldn't have come through the interior as well.

Genetics points to an original homeland for the first Americans. "Skeletal remains are very rare, but the genetic evidence suggests they came from the Lake Baikal region" of Russia, says anthropologist Ted Goebel of the University of Nevada at Reno, who has worked extensively in that part of southern Siberia. "There is a rich archaeological record there," he says, "beginning about 40,000 years ago." Based on what he and Russian colleagues have found, Goebel speculates that there were two northward migratory pulses, the first between 28,000 and 20,000 years ago and a second some-

## Tools in the search

### ARCHAEOLOGY

Skeletons like Kennewick Man are rare. More often scientists study and date other indications of human activity—remains of butchered animals, stone tools, spear points or even bits of burned charcoal. Unfortunately, such artifacts may never be found along coastal migration routes—they're now under water



### GENETICS

Scientists use markers in DNA samples from indigenous peoples in North and South America to figure out when populations diverged from each other. DNA comparisons suggest the first Americans may have diverged from groups in the Lake Baikal area of what is now Russia as early as 26,000 years ago



### LINGUISTICS

By studying native words and grammar, scientists can establish links and infer the amount of time required for different languages to evolve from a common origin. As of 1492, there were an estimated 1,000 languages in the Americas that may have developed from the original migrants



# In Search of the Real Google

An inside look at how success has changed Larry Page and Sergey Brin's dream machine. Can they still be the good guys while running a company worth \$100 billion?

By **ADI IGNATIUS**

**I**T'S TIME TO MAKE SOME BIG decisions, so the Google guys are slipping on their white lab coats. After eight years in the spotlight running a company that Wall Street now values at more than \$100 billion, Google co-founders Sergey Brin and Larry Page are still just in their early 30s. Page, a computer geek from Michigan who as a boy idolized inventor Nikola Tesla (you know, the guy who developed AC power), has a Muppet's voice and a rocket scientist's brain. Brin, born in Russia and raised outside Washington, is no less clever but has a mischievous twinkle in his eye.

A team of four engineers enters the meeting room, each clutching an IBM Think Pad. The engineers tell Brin and Page that they can generate extra advertising revenue by adding small sponsored links to image-search results, as Google already does with text searches. "We're not making enough money already?" Page asks. Everyone laughs. The share price has soared as high as \$475, making Google, in market-cap terms, the biggest media company in the world. The engineers press on. Their trials predict the tweak would be worth as much as \$80 million a year in additional revenue. Brin isn't moved. "I don't see how it enhances the experience of our users," he says. It probably wouldn't hurt it much either. But the Google guys reject the proposal—"Let's not do



it," Brin declares, to the engineers' obvious disappointment—leaving the \$80 million on the table.

Whether Google gets it right in sessions like that—balancing business opportunities against consumers' trust—is crucial to the company's future. After eight years of incredible growth, it's fair to ask whether Google is due for a stumble. To put it another way, can Google maintain its success and remain true to the ideals that made it so popular? These are the guys

who adopted as their informal corporate motto "Don't be evil." Its vulnerability was plainly evident early in 2006, when jittery investors cashed out en masse after it reported an 82% increase in its fourth-quarter profit (below the market's expectations) and again after Google said it was launching a heavily censored Chinese-language site.

It's hard to say exactly what "Don't be evil" means, and one could argue that that's the unwritten principle of every respectable corporation. But Brin and Page's ultimate vision—to make nearly all information accessible to everyone all the time—is a tricky thing, given that a lot of us (individuals, corporations, governments) aren't comfortable with a 100% free flow of data. Google was recently slammed for a software feature that results in the company's storing users' personal data for up to a month. At times like these, Google keeps that mantra handy—*Don't be evil, don't be evil, don't be evil*—as a reminder to try to do the right thing in a

complex world. Which means turning down \$80 million windfalls from time to time. Or telling U.S. prosecutors, as Google did early in 2006, that it won't hand over data on people's Internet use.

Google owes much of its success to the brilliance of Brin and Page, but also to a series of fortunate events. It was Page who, at Stanford in 1996, initiated the academic project that eventually became Google's search engine. Brin, who had met Page at student orientation a year earlier, joined the project early on. Their breakthrough, simply put, was that when their search engine crawled the Web, it did more than just look for word matches; it also tallied and ranked a host of other critical factors like how websites link to one another. Brin and Page meant to name their creation Googol (the mathematical term for the number 1 followed by 100 zeroes), but someone misspelled the word and it stuck as *Google*. They raised money from professors and venture capitalists, and moved off campus to turn Google into a business. Perhaps their biggest stroke of luck came early on when they tried to license their technology to other search engines, but no one met their price, and they built it up on their own.

The next breakthrough came in 2000, when Google figured out how to make money with its invention. It had lots of users, but almost no one was paying. The holy grail turned out to be advertising, which is now the source of nearly all its revenue. If you're a company selling sneakers, you can bid to have a link to your website appear in the sponsored area whenever someone does a Google search for, say, tennis or sneakers. How prominently your ad will be displayed depends on how much you bid and how many people click on your ad. That means you can't just buy your way to the top; your link also has to appeal to users. You pay Google for every click you receive.

Google then had another brainstorm: extend the ad-link idea beyond search queries so that any content site could automatically run ads linked to its text. Google's technology, known as AdSense, can instantly analyze the text of any site and deliver relevant ads to it. Brin and Page signed

up thousands and thousands of clients before their competitors knew what was happening.

As Google rushes forward, it's reasonable to ask whether it is making the right bets on the Internet's future. For one thing, Google has tempted Microsoft into battle by developing new Web-based software and exploring partnerships that could challenge the Seattle giant's desktop dominance. But it's Yahoo!—which has a significantly different vision—that could most threaten Google. Yahoo! is focusing instead on “social search,” in which everyday Internet users pool their knowledge to create alternative systems of content that deliver more relevant results—which,

of course, can be monetized. At stake is the future of Web searching. For Google, it is all about harnessing the vast power of the Internet to get results as quickly and accurately as possible.

Ultimately, Google's business proposition is about trust. It retains loads of our data—what we search for, what we say in our Gmails—so we need to know it won't be evil with them. That's why, unlike Yahoo!,

Google doesn't want to create its own content in any significant way. Once you do that, Brin and Page reason, people will start to wonder about the search results, whether they are skewed to help Google's bottom line. And once people wonder about that, the whole model—of this innovative, seemingly trustworthy company—is compromised. Do the Google guys pay attention to what people think? You bet. During our interview, Brin pops out to look for the December copy of *Wired*. In 2004 the magazine had put him and Page on the cover with the adoring line GOOGLEMANIA! The recent cover, by contrast, includes the line GOOGLEPHOBIA: WHO'S AFRAID OF SERGEY? (WHO ISN'T?). Brin picks up the issue and shakes his head in dismay. “I find it surprising,” he says. But that's what happens when you're No. 1, even if you're trying to be the good guy. ■

**As Google rushes forward, it's reasonable to ask whether it is making the right bets on the Internet's future.**

#### Questions

1. How did Google first start making money?
2. What is the strategy of Yahoo!, Google's biggest competitor, for the future of Internet searching?



# Current Events In Review

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

\_\_\_\_ **1.** The company with the unofficial motto “Don’t Be Evil” is:

- a. Apple    b. Microsoft    c. Google    d. Yahoo

\_\_\_\_ **2.** China is one of the only countries that gives local authorities the responsibility for:

- a. the military, police and nuclear weapons  
b. health care, social security and education  
c. the judicial system and collecting taxes  
d. radio, television and newspapers

\_\_\_\_ **3.** The 1986 immigration act was supposed to solve the problem of illegal immigrants by:

- a. making them all felons  
b. putting a huge fence on the border  
c. making it illegal to hire them  
d. paying Mexico to keep them

\_\_\_\_ **4.** Educators and psychologists are encouraging teenagers to break free of compulsive engagement with media by:

- a. unplugging computers at home  
b. exercising more  
c. spending more time in the physical company of other people  
d. restricting the amount of time spent on media to 1 hour per day

\_\_\_\_ **5.** The state where the bones of the Kennewick Man were discovered is:

- a. Washington  
b. Oregon  
c. California  
d. New Mexico

\_\_\_\_ **6.** 76.5% of the children under 5 are living in poverty in the West End neighborhood of:

- a. Pittsburgh                      c. Detroit  
b. Cincinnati                      d. New York

\_\_\_\_ **7.** Nearly 15% of active-duty service members in the U.S. military are:

- a. African-American  
b. wounded  
c. illegal immigrants  
d. women

\_\_\_\_ **8.** The percentage of U.S. children who are overweight or obese is:

- a. 17%              b. 25%              c. 48%              d. 66%

\_\_\_\_ **9.** During the cold war, relations between India and the U.S. were lukewarm because India was a strategic partner of:

- a. China    b. France    c. the U.S.S.R    d. Pakistan

\_\_\_\_ **10.** The U. S. President who launched the American Competitiveness Initiative is:

- a. Bill Clinton  
b. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
c. George H. W. Bush  
d. George W. Bush

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

- A.** Argentina  
**B.** China  
**C.** India  
**D.** Iraq  
**E.** Israel  
**F.** Lebanon  
**G.** Mexico  
**H.** Russia  
**I.** Saudi Arabia  
**J.** Syria  
**K.** United States  
**L.** Venezuela

\_\_\_\_ **11.** The prime minister of this state is Ehud Olmert.

\_\_\_\_ **12.** 70% of this country’s population lives in rural areas.

\_\_\_\_ **13.** The village of Tuxpan is in this nation.

\_\_\_\_ **14.** Country where the city of Fallujah is located.

\_\_\_\_ **15.** The first Americans were probably from a region in this country.

\_\_\_\_ **16.** Nation that uses more oil per day than any other.

\_\_\_\_ **17.** Country that had a yoke on Lebanon until last spring.

\_\_\_\_ **18.** The largest democracy the world has ever seen.

\_\_\_\_ **19.** Hugo Chavez is the president of this nation.

\_\_\_\_ **20.** Hizballah was created in 1982 to resist the invasion by Israel of this nation.

# Answers

## Should They Stay Or Should They Go? (pages 2-3)

1. It 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 in the U.S.
2. The three issues on which Congress must find common ground are tightening the border, a guest worker program and the question of amnesty for illegal aliens already in the U.S.

## Who Wins and Loses When Gas Prices Skyrocket? (pages 4-5)

1. Republicans have turned against Big Oil and have started 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.
2. Democrats want to rescind the gasoline tax for a while.

## How Bill Put the Fizz in the Fight Against Fat (page 6)

1. As a teen, Clinton was overweight and he recently had quadruple-bypass surgery, probably on account of bad eating habits.
2. The Clinton Foundation, the American Heart Association and the nation's three biggest beverage manufacturers—Coke, Pepsi and Cadbury Schweppes—are collaborating on the initiative. The initiative will phase out sugary beverages from vending machines in schools and replace them with healthier alternatives. Clinton also hopes to improve the nutritional value of food served in school cafeterias.

## Crossing the Lines (pages 7-8)

1. Congress bars women from engaging in offensive warfare with the enemy. In 1994, the Pentagon loosened this ban by allowing women to take on "supporting" combat roles.
2. The Iraq war has challenged the traditional argument that women are more likely than men to panic under fire.

## An Eye for an Eye (pages 9-10)

1. The two groups involved in the sectarian violence are Sunnis and Shi'ites. In the past two elections, the Shi'ites have translated their numerical superiority into political power, leaving many Sunnis resentful over their diminished status.
2. The U.S. fears that the breakdown of order could draw neighboring countries into the conflict, including Iran and Arab states.

## Is Iraq Facing a Civil War? A Gallery of Views (page 11)

1. In the top cartoon, U.S. soldiers are reading a Baghdad newspaper while a transport vehicle explodes in the background. The explosion represents the ongoing violence that American troops face, and the headlines in the newspaper suggest the scale of the sectarian violence occurring in Iraq. The second image features President Bush at a meeting and then washing out the mouth of a man who asked what to do about the civil war in Iraq. This represents the Bush Administration's reluctance to describe the violence in Iraq as a civil war. The bottom cartoon shows two Iraqis about to set off an explosion that would affect President Bush, who is dressed as a soldier standing next to the Statue of Liberty. The Iraqis represent the two factions that are fighting in Iraq; the explosives represent civil war, and the soldier and Statue of Liberty represent the American initiative to bring democracy to Iraq.
2. The soldiers are slumped over and looked tired and depressed, reflecting the dangers that surround them. Responses to the last part of the question will vary depending on students' opinions.
3. Bush is shown as a stern disciplinarian who will not tolerate dissent.
4. In the third cartoon, a major explosion (or civil war) is about to happen, as the two most prominent sects unite to blow up the U.S. President and Statue of Liberty.
5. All three cartoons suggest either that there is already a civil war in Iraq or that one is impending. The middle cartoon appears to suggest most strongly that civil war has begun and that the U.S. must decide how to respond to it. The top work suggests that civil war hasn't yet begun but that it may break out soon. The bottom cartoonist also suggests that a civil war is imminent.
6. Letters will vary depending on students' views.

## Hate Thy Neighbor (pages 12-13)

1. Hizballah is trying to prove its relevance to the security of Lebanon so that it does not have to disarm and also possibly to become heroes in the Arab world by demanding that Palestinian prisoners be released.
2. Public opinion has played a key role in moderating the behavior of Hamas.

## Inside the Pitchfork Rebellion (pages 14-15)

1. The Panlong protest was sparked by local government's decision to seize communal farmland and lease it to a foreign investor.
2. The government's main strategy for halting the spread of protests involves preventing word about them from getting out.

## India Awakens (pages 16-17)

1. In a dramatic shift, the Bush Administration in 2004 declared India a strategic partner and proposed to share nuclear know-how.
2. Compared to China, India has serious problems with poverty, large number of AIDS cases, and transportation networks and electrical grids in need of modernizing.

## Inside the Life of the Migrants Next Door (pages 18-19)

1. One man, Mario Coria, from the village of Tuxpan was convinced to move to the Hamptons. Coria brought his half-brother, who then invited friends; as time went on, more and more people came from Tuxpan.
2. Working-class German, Italian and Irish families have seen jobs such as gardening, cleaning and cooking taken away from them because newer immigrants from Mexico are willing to do more work for less money.

## Trying to Make a Decent Living (pages 20-21)

1. Jones earns \$6.50 an hour without benefits, vacation time or sick days, while Gray earns \$12.52 an hour and gets health insurance, three weeks' vacation and three personal days a year. Gray's job is unionized.
2. The living-wage movement aims to convince the public that all Americans who work hard deserve to earn a wage on which they can live.

## The Multitasking Generation (pages 22-23)

1. The Kaiser study found that though the amount of time kids spend on media is holding steady at 6.5 hours per day, young people are packing more media exposure into that time: 8.5 hours' worth, thanks to "media multitasking."
2. When multitasking, people make more errors, and it takes longer to complete tasks than if they were done in sequence.

## Are We Losing Our Edge? (pages 24-25)

1. For nearly 50 years after World War II, the U.S. poured money into pure research.
2. The U.S. has cut back on investment in research, corporations are under increasing pressure for quick profits, and the quality of math and science education has dropped.

## Analyzing Complex Graphics (page 26)

1. The map shows three sites at which human remains were found: On Your Knees Cave, Kennewick and Palli Aike.
2. Palli Aike is the southernmost site; On Your Knees Cave is the northernmost.
3. The most recent site is Palli Aike (8,640 B.P.); the oldest site is Monte Verde (12,500 B.P.).
4. Before the present, a scientific standard meaning before 1950.
5. Pedra Furada is the oldest site on the map; it dates to 47,000 B.P.
6. 30,000; 10,000
7. False
8. The Pacific coasts of North and South America
9. These routes are under water.
10. False
11. 12,000
12. Scientists use DNA samples from indigenous peoples to determine when populations diverged from each other.

## Who Were the First Americans? (pages 27-29)

1. Kennewick Man is among the oldest and most complete skeletons ever found in the Americas; this skeleton can shed new light on our early history.
2. Kennewick Man was 5 feet, 9 inches tall and was fairly muscular; he died around age 38.

## In Search of the Real Google (pages 30-31)

1. The company started making money from targeted advertising.
2. Yahoo! is focusing on "social search," in which Internet users pool their knowledge to create alternative systems of content that deliver more relevant results.

## Current Events in Review (page 32)

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