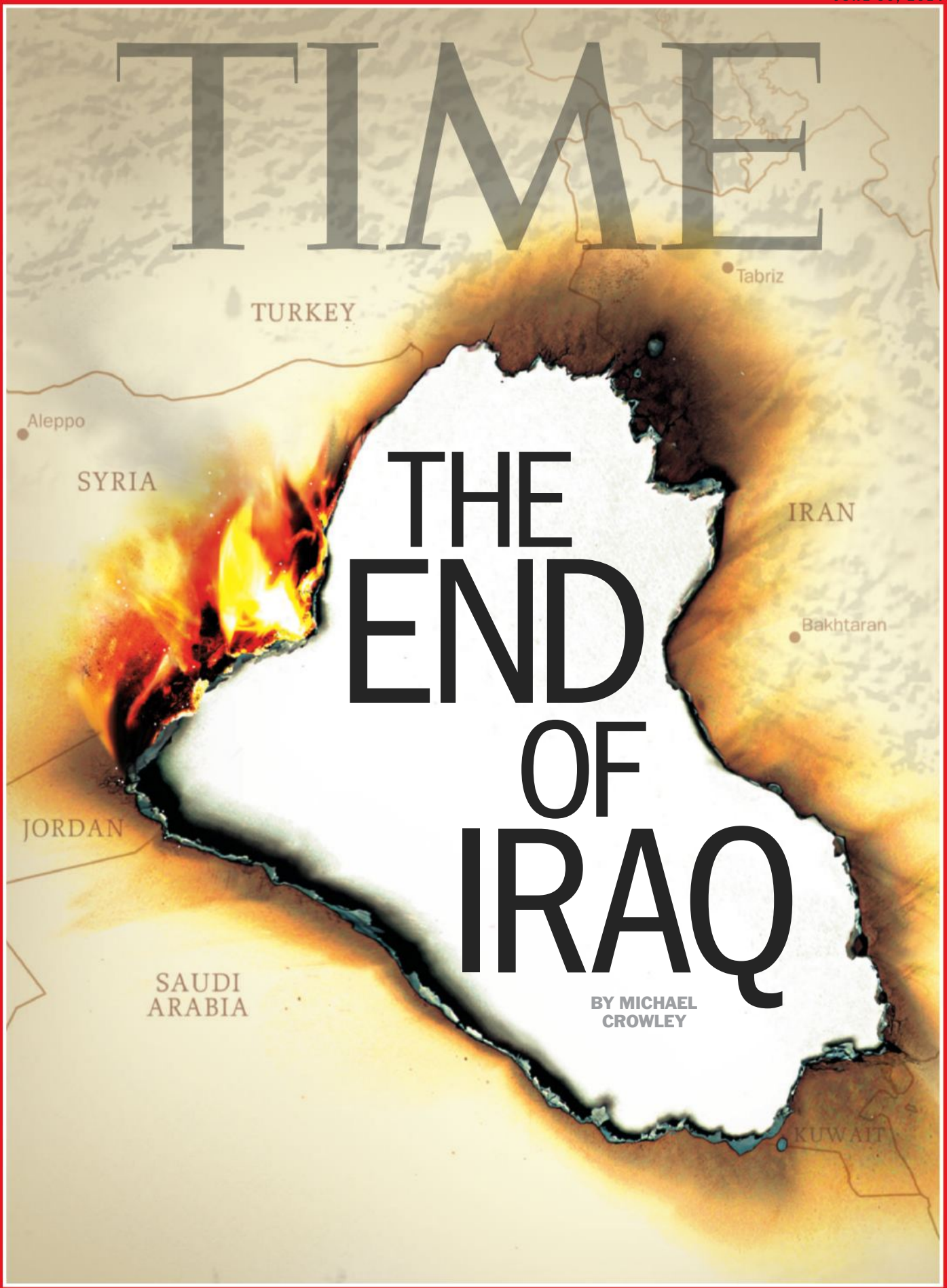
JUNE 30, 2014

TIME



THE END OF IRAQ

BY MICHAEL CROWLEY

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TIME
VOL. 183, NO. 25 | 2014

ON THE COVER:
TIME *photo-illustration. Burned paper: Daniya Melnikova—Getty Images; flame: Coneyl Jay—Getty Images*

Shi'ites volunteering to fight Sunni militants gather in Baghdad on June 16. Photograph by Sabah Arar—AFP/Getty Images

Yves Saint Laurent, page 60

SAINT LAURENT: AP

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What You Said About …

EATING BUTTER Many were exuberant about Bryan Walsh's widely shared June 23 cover story about what science got wrong in the war on fat. "You have no idea how delighted I was," wrote Sue McAbery of Rhododendron, Ore. "I have been insisting butter is better than substitutes for 50 years. How nice to see … experts are saying so too!" "**So @TIME says we should eat more butter? All righty, then. We're on it,**" tweeted *Bon Appétit*. Others, like Hunter College professor emerita Regina Linder, urged caution in interpreting the research. The story, she wrote, "demonstrates that the reduction of dietary fat in the U.S. was substituted (or occurred coincidentally) with an increase in simple carbohydrates … It does not demonstrate the safety of fats." And for Jacqueline Buie of Pacifica, Calif., the takeaway was this: "Moderation in all things. It seems my mother was right after all."

THE BERGDAHL FAMILY Joe Klein's column criticizing widespread attacks on the Bergdahl family, including on Fox News, prompted much commentary in support of the Bergdahls in their ordeal. Dennis Moonier of Portland, Ore., said,"**Thank you for articulating a sane and humane opinion.**" "One thing we are lacking in the U.S. is the ability to put ourselves into someone else's situation," added AlphaJuliette on TIME.com. Others, like Ed Mee of Maui, Hawaii, argued that Klein was too "far to the left" and that "CNN reported the same outrage as Fox. This is a nonpartisan problem for America."

LOVE, DAD Warm kudos dominated the reaction to TIME's Father's Day project with LeanIn, which featured letters from famous dads like Matt Lauer, Terry Crews, Bobby Jindal and Robert Lopez. "**Heart-meltingly adorable,**" said Danielle Webb on Twitter. "Thanks @TIME for letting me write a letter to my girls," tweeted Shaquille O'Neal. Meanwhile, reader Chris Dimino saw an opportunity: "What an incredible idea. Isn't this something all dads should do? Should be its own website."

LIGHTBOX *In 2012 photographer Taylor Baucom began to follow Gena Buza, who was paralyzed from the waist down in a 2003 car accident. In the photo essay "Raising My Head High," Baucom trails Buza, now 16, as she prepares for a high school milestone: prom. In this image, taken near her home in Camilllus, N.Y., Buza's mother cleans her wheels with a toothbrush to help prevent dirt from getting tracked onto her dress. For more on Buza's story, visit lightbox.time.com.*

NOW ON TIME.COM

Recent efforts by House Republicans to relax nutritional standards for school lunches did not sit well with Chez Panisse owner and Edible Schoolyard educator Alice Waters. Read Waters' plan to ensure sustainable and nutritious free lunches, at time.com/lunchtime.

BEHIND THE STORY Five years ago, contributing editor Jon Meacham, left, met Joe Manchin, right, then governor of West Virginia, at a lunch. "Most politicians, even in casual moments, are calculated about what they say," says Meacham, who profiles the now Senator on page 36. "But he was honest about the challenges and joys of being governor." With a new poll putting Congress's approval ratings at a historical low, Manchin's candid view of the Senate, says Meacham, "is sobering."

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

In Pop Chart (June 23), we misstated when Henry Leutwyler photographed Michael Jackson's belongings. The image shown was taken in February 2009, before Jackson's death. In "Cross at Your Own Risk" (June 23), the wrong image appeared with text about Pittsburgh's Liberty Bridge. The picture showed the city's Fort Pitt Bridge.

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Briefing

‘I wouldn’t rule out anything that would be constructive to providing real stability.’

JOHN KERRY, U.S. Secretary of State, on whether the U.S. would cooperate with Iran against the ISIS insurgents gaining ground in Iraq

Los Angeles Kings
Won the Stanley Cup title, their second in three years

GOOD WEEK

BAD WEEK

Burger King
Its “burgers for breakfast” campaign drew the ire of media and consumers

‘MORE THAN HALF OF THE TOWN IS GONE. ABSOLUTELY GONE.’

JERRY WEATHERHOLT, Stanton County commissioner, on the twisters that hit Pilger, Neb., which calls itself “the little town too tough to die”

782,000 sq. mi.
Area (2 million sq km) of the Pacific Ocean proposed for protection by the U.S.

9.27 sec.

The fastest possible 100-m dash by a human, according to a new study

$41 million

Expected funding by Congress to examine an estimated 100,000 untested rape kits across the country

‘I don’t think you’ve lived long enough.’

HILLARY CLINTON, responding to assertions that feminism is old-fashioned or out of date

‘It makes last year O.K.’

TIM DUNCAN, the San Antonio Spurs center, on his team’s winning the 2014 NBA Finals four games to one over the Miami Heat; last year the Heat defeated the Spurs in a dramatic seven-game series

‘It is bad for Israel, bad for the Palestinians and bad for the region.’

BENJAMIN NETANYAHU, Prime Minister of Israel, on Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas’ renewed relations with Hamas; Netanyahu holds the organization responsible for the kidnapping of three Israeli teenagers

KERRY: KINGS; WHOPPER: PILGER: AP; CLINTON: REUTERS; DUNCAN: GETTY IMAGES; ILLUSTRATION BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME (2)

Sources: CNN; BBC; TIME; ESPN; New York *Times*; Washington *Post*

LightBox

Deadly Visitors

A pair of tornadoes barrel toward Pilger, Neb., on June 16. The twisters uprooted trees and flattened houses across the tiny village (pop. 352). Two residents, including a 5-year-old girl, died as a result of the storm.

Photograph by Eric Anderson—AP

FOR PICTURES OF THE WEEK, GO TO **lightbox.time.com**

World

Russia Pressures Ukraine by Cutting Off Gas Supplies

Moscow opened a new economic front in its showdown with Ukraine on June 16, when the Russian energy giant Gazprom cut off natural gas supplies to the country, saying the government in Kiev had failed to make payments for past deliveries. The move came days after Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko alleged that Russia had sent tanks to separatists in eastern Ukraine.

The skirmishing threatens to intensify unrest in the region, where the U.N. says that more than 350 people, including 257 civilians, have been killed since the start of a pro-Russian uprising in April. On June 14, rebels shot down a military plane in the eastern Ukrainian city of Luhansk, killing 49 people.

The Ukrainian leader's claims were backed by U.S. and British officials. Russia, however, insisted that it had not intervened in the fighting, strenuously denying that its tanks had crossed the border. It has criticized Ukrainian forces for cracking down on the pro-Russian rebels.

As the violence continues, Moscow's decision to cut off gas supplies complicates the task for Poroshenko as he tries to contain the conflict in eastern Ukraine, negotiate with Russia and manage relations with his allies in the West. Ukraine's Prime Minister, Arseniy Yatsenyuk, said Russia's move was "not about gas" but "a general plan for the destruction of Ukraine." Hours after halting deliveries to Ukraine, Gazprom said it also saw "not insignificant risks" to the gas it supplies to Europe via pipelines that run through the country.

In a bid to resolve the ongoing crisis, Poroshenko on June 18 proposed a unilateral cease-fire, saying he hoped it would pave the way for a broader peace plan. The proposal followed a phone conversation between Poroshenko and Russian President Vladimir Putin. But it was unclear if the cease-fire would be supported by the rebels inside Ukraine. Putin says he has no control over them, while some separatist leaders have cast doubt on Poroshenko's motives, leaving the door open to yet more violence in the restive region.

Pro-Russian rebels examine the debris of a downed Ukrainian military plane

ARGENTINA

'Argentina has no reason to be submitted to this kind of extortion.'

CRISTINA FERNÁNDEZ DE KIRCHNER, President of Argentina, rejecting a U.S. court ruling directing her country to pay more than $1 billion to creditors in a long-running dispute over its sovereign debts

DATA

GLOBAL WEALTH

The Boston Consulting Group tallied the proportion of millionaire households in countries around the world. Here's a sampling of the figures:

17.5%
Qatar

10%
Singapore

5.9%
U.S.

3%
The Netherlands

2.9%
Canada

THREE CHALLENGES FACING

Colombia's President Juan Manuel Santos

Colombia's centrist President won a second term in office on June 15 after a victory over right-wing challenger Oscar Ivan Zuluaga. The election hinged on Santos' support for peace talks with the Marxist rebel group FARC after half a century of civil war that has left more than 200,000 people dead.

SLIM MANDATE Santos trailed Zuluaga in the first round of voting and scored only a slim victory in the final round, securing 51% of the vote. Four years after winning with 69% of the ballots, he will have to convince lawmakers and the rebels that he still has a mandate to strike a peace deal.

CLOSING THE DEAL A year and a half after peace talks began, Santos still has to overcome key sticking points, like the logistics of disarming roughly 8,000 FARC fighters. He has also opened preliminary talks with ELN, the country's second largest rebel group. It remains unclear if he can coax ELN into more formal negotiations.

LONG-TERM PEACE Critics worry that even if Santos strikes peace deals, he won't be able to stem a lucrative illegal drug trade controlled by the rebels. The U.S. has provided over $9 billion in mostly military aid to combat cocaine production in the country since 2000. Santos—who was visited by U.S. Vice President Joe Biden on June 18—will be under pressure to continue the crackdown while trying to get the rebels to put down their arms.

By Aleksandra Gjorgievska and Noah Rayman

A Prayer for the Missing

ISRAEL Israeli women take part in a mass prayer at Jerusalem's Western Wall, Judaism's holiest site, for the return of three teenagers who were abducted on June 12 in the West Bank. Israel responded with a massive ground operation across the area, arresting more than 200 Palestinians as it searched for the missing boys. Israeli officials blamed the abductions on Hamas, the militant group that recently joined a Palestinian unity government. *Photograph by Ronen Zvulun—Reuters*

THE EXPLAINER

The Enriched 'Super Banana' That Could Save Millions of Lives

Australian researchers are about to begin human trials of a genetically modified banana enriched with vitamin A. The new fruit could revolutionize child health in the developing world.

The Problem
Vitamin A deficiency blinds some 300,000 children annually and is linked to the deaths of nearly 700,000 others. The problem is particularly acute in East Africa, where bananas are a staple but lack essential nutrients.

The Idea
Researchers in Queensland, Australia, developed banana variants with up to five times more vitamin A than usual. They look like regular bananas on the outside—but feature orange flesh inside.

The Pushback
Critics of the project—which is backed by a donation of nearly $10 million from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation—warn that the long-term effects of genetically modified foods remain unknown.

Next Steps
The team behind the project hopes to complete human trials by the end of the year and receive approval to grow the bananas in Uganda by 2020. They say the technology could later be used for other crops around the world.

THAILAND

140 THOUSAND

Estimated number of undocumented Cambodian workers who have fled Thailand amid fears that the ruling military junta might crack down on illegal labor

Trending In

RECOVERY
Former Formula One champion Michael Schumacher, who suffered a near fatal skiing accident in December, came out of a months-long coma

DEMOCRACY
Afghans voted in a runoff election to select President Hamid Karzai's successor. Final results are expected on July 22

RELIGION
The Vatican canceled Pope Francis' weekly public audiences for the month of July, prompting concerns about his health

TERRORISM
Gunmen attacked a Kenyan coastal town, storming hotels, a bank and a police station in an assault that left at least 48 people dead

UKRAINE, SANTOS, RECOVERY, BANANAS: GETTY IMAGES; ARGENTINA: REUTERS; RELIGION: AP; THAILAND: ZUMA PRESS

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Nation

Flight of the Children An exodus from Central America tests the U.S.

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

In custody *Honduran and Guatemalan youths after crossing into Texas*

TODD HEISLER—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

FOR THE SMUGGLERS ON THE southern border of the U.S., children are easier and more profitable cargo than grownups. Unlike adults, kids don't need to evade authorities after they cross the Rio Grande. When they get caught, many are quickly sent to live with relatives already in the U.S. while the courts spend years processing their deportation.

And so in recent weeks the Obama Administration has found itself in a bizarre public relations battle with criminal cartels in Central America, which are enjoying a banner year by charging as much as $8,000 for each child they transport north. Over the past eight months, 34,611 unaccompanied children from Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador have been detained at the U.S. border, more than 10 times the 3,304 figure from those countries in 2009. The White House believes the cartels are selling false tales of citizenship to vulnerable populations, and aides to California Senator Dianne Feinstein claim to have uncovered evidence of deceptive radio ads promising a safe haven in the U.S.

So the State Department has launched its own publicity campaign, and Vice President Joe Biden added a stop in Guatemala after his World Cup tour of Brazil. "We are doing everything we can to make sure that the message is abundantly clear," says Cecilia Muñoz, the domestic-policy adviser at the White House. At every step, U.S. officials note that proposed immigration reform and recent Executive Orders by President Obama will offer no new sanctuary.

But that message may not matter, given the ample evidence that gaining citizenship is far less of a concern for many of the boys and girls than simply finding safety. For years, those three countries have been consumed by increasing violence by organized gangs, which have grown in power on the back of the drug trade as economic conditions worsen. Honduran President Juan Orlando Hernández, whose country has the world's highest murder rate, recently described the fleeing youth as "displaced by war." Tales of kidnapping, murder and extortion fill the local newspapers daily. "I talk to the children, and they say they can trust no one," says Elizabeth Kennedy, an American academic who is researching the children leaving El Salvador. "There is just no country anymore."

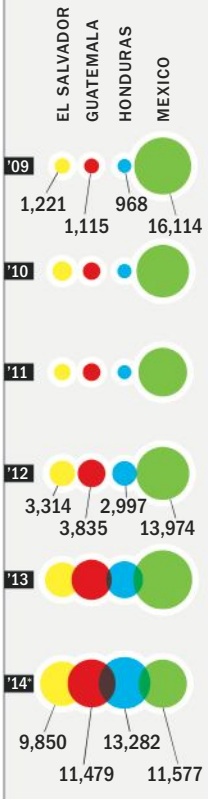
Interviews with those captured in the U.S. confirm these horror stories: in one survey, 66% of Salvadoran children, 44% of Honduran children and 20% of Guatemalan children cited criminal violence as their reason for leaving. Nor is the U.S. their only destination. Preliminary statistics from the U.N. find that requests for asylum from the same three countries to nearby Central American nations like Nicaragua, Mexico and Belize increased roughly sevenfold from 2008 to 2013.

"They're all stating that they have incredible fear," says Representative Matt Salmon, an Arizona Republican who chairs the House Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere. "What we saw with these unaccompanied children from Central America is just the first wave."

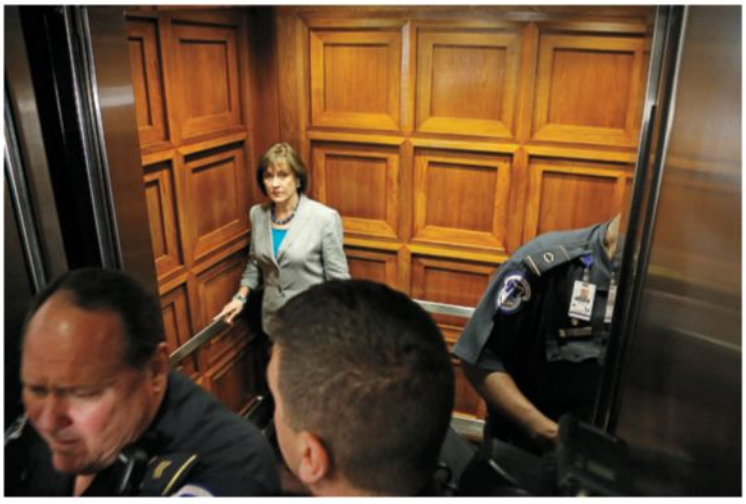
If so, the U.S. is unprepared to receive the next round. Obama has opened three military bases to house the arriving children, taking pressure off the overwhelmed shelters, and the Justice Department is trying to round up pro bono lawyers to represent them. Americans are discovering anew the price of failing states in their own backyard. —WITH REPORTING BY MAYA RHODAN/WASHINGTON

KIDS ON THE RUN

The U.S. has seen a spike in unaccompanied minors from Central America, even as the numbers from Mexico have declined:



*FIRST EIGHT MONTHS OF FISCAL YEAR 2014
SOURCE: DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY



CONTROVERSY

An IRS Computer Glitch Gives New Life to a Fading Scandal

If a friendly auditor from the Internal Revenue Service comes calling and you can't get your hands on all those receipts you're supposed to keep for seven years, try this: tell them you saved electronic copies on your computer's hard drive, but it crashed.

That, after all, is the excuse the IRS gave this month to congressional investigators who suspect the agency of politically motivated scrutiny of right-wing nonprofits. A year ago, House Republicans asked the IRS for emails from early 2009 to mid-2013 by the head of its office of exempt organizations, Lois Lerner. After producing tens of thousands of emails over the past year, the IRS admitted on June 13 that an unknown number were unrecoverable because Lerner's hard drive crashed in June 2011, supposedly vaporizing messages she had sent to people outside the IRS from January 2009 to April 2011. The admission renewed GOP accusations of foul play just as the Tea Party was sifting through mixed results from 2014 primary campaigns and left many wondering where the scandal, which had been fading for weeks, will go next.

▶REPUBLICANS DIG IN

The ranking Republican on the Senate Finance Committee, Orrin Hatch of Utah, called the IRS admission an "outrageous impediment to our investigation," while the House GOP demanded that the White House, the Treasury and others scour their records for any potential emails from Lerner that might have been saved on their servers.

▶DEMOCRATS RESIST

Obama officials called talk of foul play "indicative of the kinds of conspiracy that are propagated around this story" and said the top investigator on the case had found "there was no indication" that the slowdown in processing Tea Party nonprofit applications "was politically motivated."

▶THE IRS AUDITS ITSELF

The IRS said it had spent more than $10 million on GOP-ordered searches and had recovered 24,000 internal Lerner emails from the period of the crashed hard drive. It also said that since the scandal, it had changed its policy of saving digital backup tapes of employee emails for only six months.

REPUBLICANS

3 THINGS TO KNOW ABOUT KEVIN MCCARTHY

Meet the affable House Republican whip from California, who is ready to follow Eric Cantor as majority leader

1

After winning the lottery at 19, he invested the $5,000 haul in a deli, Kevin O's. The profits helped pay for business school.

2

As GOP leader of the California state assembly, McCarthy worked closely with then governor Arnold Schwarzenegger. The two remain tight.

3

Kevin Spacey shadowed him to prepare for the role of Francis Underwood in the Netflix hit *House of Cards*. Aides make a point of noting that the murderous Underwood is not based on their boss, though Spacey did use a McCarthy line on the show.

The Rundown

PATRONAGE A federal judge ruled June 16 that **Chicago** can finally be trusted not to use jobs as political favors, ending a 42-year-old court order that placed city hall hiring under federal supervision. The lifting of the Shakman Decree closes a chapter in a city where political bosses were once known to tell cloutless job seekers, "We don't want nobody nobody sent."

RECALLS

20 million

The number of cars recalled so far this year by General Motors, after the **Detroit**-based auto giant recalled 3.36 million vehicles June 16 because of ignition-key glitches. GM says it knows of eight accidents but no deaths tied to the latest problem.

FOOTBALL The U.S. Patent Office ruled June 18 that the **Washington** Redskins' name is "disparaging to Native Americans" and canceled its trademarks. If the decision is upheld on appeal, others will be free to use the NFL team's name and logo on merchandise.

FOLLOW-UP
LGBT RIGHTS
After years of pressure from gay-rights groups, President Obama said he will sign an Executive Order barring federal contractors from discriminating against employees on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity. The order mirrors protections in the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, which is stalled in Congress. TIME highlighted the legal challenges facing transgender people in the June 9 cover story, "The Transgender Tipping Point."

LERNER: JONATHAN ERNST—REUTERS; MCCARTHY: GETTY IMAGES

By Massimo Calabresi, Jay Newton-Small and Denver Nicks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Health

The Changing Lives of Teens Kids have cut some risky behaviors—and picked up others

BY ALICE PARK AND ALEXANDRA SIFFERLIN

LET'S START WITH THE GOOD NEWS. WHEN IT COMES TO TIME-HONORED FORMS OF teen rebellion—sex, cigarettes, fistfights—American adolescents appear to have heeded some important health warnings. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's latest survey of 13,000 high school students found that the numbers for all three were down compared with recent years. But the report also shows that teens seem to have traded in those unhealthy behaviors for new ones. Here's the lowdown.

The Ups, Downs and In-Betweens of Teens

SMOKING

CIGARETTE SMOKING dropped to **15.7%,** the lowest in 22 years and below the 2020 goal of having no more than 16% of teens smoking.

DOWN

STEADY

Use of **SMOKELESS TOBACCO** remains unchanged, and vaping with **E-CIGARETTES,** whose health effects are unknown, is growing.

SEX

About **34%** of teens reported **HAVING SEX** in the past three months, representing a continued decline since 1991.

DOWN

UP

The percentage of sexually active teens who **DID NOT USE A CONDOM** during intercourse is up since 2003, to **41%.**

SCREEN TIME

Daily leisure use of **COMPUTERS, TABLETS AND SMARTPHONES** for more than three hours **doubled** since 2003.

UP

DOWN

Since 1991, **TV WATCHING** dropped. Just **32%** of teens viewed more than three hours of television a day.

HEALTH

Fewer teens are **DRINKING SUGARY SODAS; 27%** said they had one in the past week, compared with 34% in 2007.

DOWN

STEADY

OBESITY remains high, with **14%** of teens obese and **17%** overweight, although rates have been leveling off since 2011.

DRIVING

Distracted driving is up, with **41%** of teens admitting to **TEXTING OR EMAILING WHILE BEHIND THE WHEEL.**

UP

DOWN

While teen **CAR ACCIDENTS** are down from 1970, they still account for **23%** of deaths among 10-to-24-year-olds.

BULLYING

A quarter of students were **PART OF A PHYSICAL FIGHT** in the past year. In 1991, it was twice that.

DOWN

NOT ENOUGH DATA

Violence is moving online; the survey now asks about **CYBER-BULLYING,** but there isn't enough data to assess trends yet.

The Checkup

HEALTH NEWS EXAMINED

Headline says: Red Meat Raises Breast-Cancer Risk

Science says: Researchers analyzed data from 88,000 women and found that those who reported eating a lot of red meat when they were young were more likely to develop breast cancer later in life. But before you panic, it's important to note that the researchers did not find a causal relationship between the two.

Headline says: Pregnant Women Should Eat More Fish

Science says: Mercury can be toxic to the brain; previous recommendations said pregnant and nursing women should limit fish in their diet. Now the FDA proposes that such women eat two to three servings of low-mercury fish like salmon or cod weekly.

Headline says: Your Cell Phone Is Killing Your Sperm

Science says: A review of studies shows radiation from cell phones may lower sperm motility by 8% and viability by 9%. The findings are preliminary, but petri-dish studies also show radiation can harm sperm. More research is needed, but caution is warranted.

ILLUSTRATION BY PETER ARKLE FOR TIME (6); SALMON: GETTY IMAGES

Source: CDC MMWR Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance—United States, 2013; Insurance Institute for Highway Safety

SAVE THE BACKBONE

GO YOU Cigna

You know. It's the long, flexible column of vertebrae that keeps you upright and lets you move around. But you have another backbone. A part that won't show up on an x-ray. This one helps you stand up, too — but for the things you believe in. It enables you to speak your mind. Take a chance. Do your own thing.

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Sports

The Net Flicks

Goal scoring booms in Brazil

BY BILL SAPORITO

MAYBE THE SAMBA SPREAD to their feet. In a pulsating first week at the World Cup, the goals piled up in a barrage of offense that hadn't been seen in nearly 50 years.

The early games are often turgid defensive battles, but the first 18 matches of this World Cup averaged 3 goals per game—a big jump from the 2.27 average for all the 2010 Cup's games. The tone was set early, when local boys Brazil routed Croatia 3-1. It was quickly bested by Robin van Persie's luscious lob of a header, which sparked Holland's 5-1 overpowering of Spain. (Five days later, the defending champs were eliminated after losing to Chile.) Germany's 4-0 demolition of Portugal completed the Iberian implosion.

Then there were the dramatic comebacks: the entire 2010 Cup had four, while this one had seven in the first 18 matches, with Ivorian legend Didier Drogba entering late against Japan to key a 2-1 victory.

What's driving the increase in scoring? For one, the use of innovative offensive formations has opened up play, allowing teams like Germany and Argentina to send their wingmen and even back lines blazing down the flanks to create opportunities. That makes room for lethal strikers like Lionel Messi to finish and score.

INTERNATIONAL INFUSION John Brooks (No. 6) went from unknown to hero when the sub's 86th-minute header gave the Americans a gotta-have 2-1 win over Ghana in their first game. Brooks is one of five German-grown players—all sons of U.S. service members—recruited to provide some European flair to the American team in coach Jürgen Klinsmann's new up-tempo style. At 21, Brooks has never lived in the U.S., though he does have a tattoo honoring his father's hometown of Chicago.

FEVER PITCH

'It's absurd to play a World Cup game in Manaus.'

RIVELINO, Brazilian soccer legend, on the stifling heat and humidity in the Amazon city Manaus, where locals claim just two seasons—summer and hell. The pace of the Italy-England game, played in 61% humidity at a temperature of 84°F (29°C), slowed to a crawl at times as players struggled with the jungle conditions. One player said he felt as if he was "hallucinating."

THE SLIM FIT

What's with the skintight jerseys worn by Italy, **Uruguay** and six other teams? It looks as if they were swiped from a ballet company. Jersey maker Puma claims the leotard-like tops have benefits like boosting energy to muscles. Of course, the team with the best strikers, not the best uniforms, tends to win the Cup.

15.9 million

The number of people who watched the U.S. play Ghana June 16 on ESPN and Univision, a record for a U.S. match. Viewership topped the final Stanley Cup game and neared that of the last NBA Finals game.

NIL-NIL THRILL Even the dreaded scoreless draw proved to be one of the tourney's dazzling games, thanks to Mexican goalkeeper Guillermo Ochoa, who batted away what seemed like certain goals by Brazil's Neymar and Thiago Silva. Ochoa, a last-minute pick for the team, put Mexico in a solid position to advance.

3 TRENDS TO WATCH

As the Cup heads into the knockout phase, some giants are teetering. Can Portugal regroup? Will England stop its long slide? Does crowd favorite Brazil really have championship chops?

EUROPE'S NEW OLD ORDER

Germany, France, Holland and Italy remain dominant, with Belgium looming. Germany's flowing style of play is a preview of the game's future.

IT'S MESSI

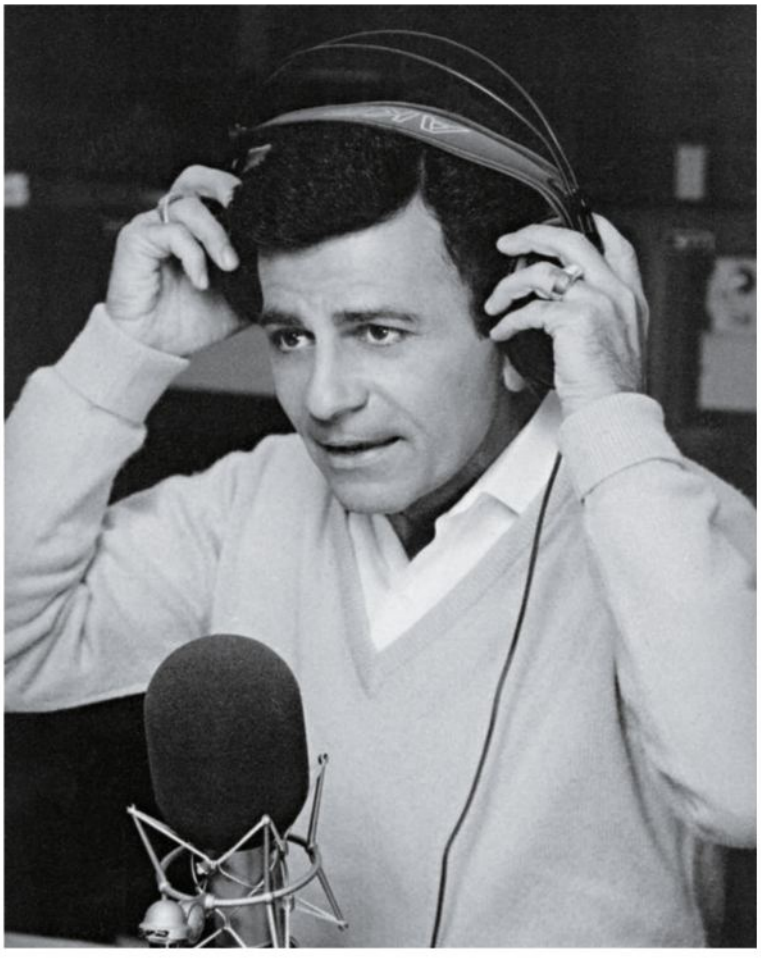
This was supposed to be Brazil's year, but its offense has appeared listless, while Argentina, powered by **Lionel Messi,** looks like the stronger South American squad.

CONTINENTAL DIVIDE

Early matches are a reminder that teams from Asia and Africa still lack the skill and experience to contend. **South Korea** should be ticketed for loitering, while Nigeria and Cameroon seem like perpetual next-time teams.

DREAM NIGHT: LANDOV; OCHOA: POLARIS; SLIM FIT: SIPA PRESS; NEW ORDER: AP; MESSI: GETTY IMAGES; DIVIDE: REUTERS

Milestones



KASEM: WENN; DEE: JOHN D. KISCH—SEPARATE CINEMA ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES; GWYNN: MLB PHOTOS/GETTY IMAGES

DIED

Casey Kasem

King of the *Countdown*

By Rick Dees

At 17, I fell in love so deep it lasted a lifetime. The love of my life? Radio. It was then, on the way to my first "on-air" audition, that I turned on the car radio and heard a fascinating voice. He sounded like a cartoon character. He was counting down the hits from No. 40 to No. 1. When he said, "This is Casey Kasem," I was hooked. I knew at that moment that if I could learn to count backward, I might have my own show someday. Thanks to Casey's inspiration, there hasn't been a day that I did not love being in front of the microphone (in my case, the Neumann U47).

Even though we competed for the same audience at times, I enjoyed a unique friendship with Casey, who died on June 15 at 82. We even shared the same recording studio in Hollywood. Like our friend Dick Clark, Casey was an original. We dedicated this week's *Rick Dees Weekly Top 40 Countdown* to Casey Kasem and reminded all artists who strive to be No. 1 to remember Casey's closing words: "Keep your feet on the ground, and keep reaching for the stars."

Dees is the host of the internationally syndicated Rick Dees Weekly Top 40 Countdown

CAPTURED
Libyan militia leader **Ahmed Abu Khatallah,** suspected of orchestrating the 2012 attack on the U.S. diplomatic compound in Benghazi, by American commandos. He will be tried in the U.S.

FREED
Al-Jazeera journalist **Abdullah Elshamy,** after nearly a year of imprisonment in Egypt, for health reasons. He had been on a hunger strike for more than four months.

DIED
Actress **Ruby Dee,** at 91. Dee, a strong voice for civil rights, was the 1963 March on Washington mistress of ceremonies and helped break down racial barriers onstage and onscreen.

HONORED
Actress **Angelina Jolie,** named by the Queen of England as an honorary Dame Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, in recognition of her humanitarian work.

OPENED UP
Hall of Fame WWE wrestler—and current WWE executive—**Pat Patterson,** 73, who announced he was gay during the season finale of a WWE-centric reality show.

RELEASED
Fictional sleuth **Sherlock Holmes,** from some constraints of copyright, by a ruling that all but 10 of Arthur Conan Doyle's stories about him are in the public domain.

DIED

Tony Gwynn

Batter Up

By Ozzie Smith

I first got to know Tony Gwynn, who died on June 16 at 54, when we were National League teammates in All-Star Games in the 1980s. We got to spend more time with each other over the years. When San Diego was in town to play St. Louis, or vice versa, we'd have nice long conversations, and our friendship grew closer when we'd see each other at the Hall of Fame induction ceremonies. He was just a guy who loved being around people. His laugh was infectious.

Tony studied not only the mechanics of the opposing pitchers but also their patterns: when they were going to throw breaking balls, when they were going to throw fastballs. At the end of the day, that didn't matter all that much, given how well Tony saw the ball. Guys who hit like Tony see the ball coming right out of the pitcher's hands.

It's sad to lose somebody who loved life. I'm honored and blessed that I got a chance to play against him and got a chance to get to know him. And I know one thing: up there in heaven, he's going to crack that starting lineup.
—AS TOLD TO SEAN GREGORY

Smith was inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 2002

Michael Grunwald

Obama's Carbon Rules

Why the numbers in the President's Clean Power Plan don't add up

President Obama's Clean Power Plan—his Administration's historic proposal to regulate carbon emissions from power plants, hyped by supporters and detractors alike as a revolution in climate-change action—just doesn't add up.

I say this with some hesitation, even some embarrassment. During Obama's first term, while environmentalists kept complaining that he wasn't talking enough about global warming, I kept writing that he was doing more about global warming than anyone who ever lived. His stimulus bill was launching a clean-energy boom, his fuel-efficiency rules were ratcheting down greenhouse-gas emissions from cars and trucks, and his new regulations on soot, mercury and other stuff coming out of power plants were accelerating a shift away from carbon. Coal produces three-fourths of our emissions from electricity, though it generates just over a third of our electricity, and I recently predicted that Obama's carbon rules would take his well-justified (though often denied) war on coal to the next level.

But while the enviros who spent years trashing Obama's "climate silence" are now hailing his Clean Power Plan as his crowning climate legacy, I'm underwhelmed. The EPA says that by 2030, it will reduce emissions from power plants 30% from their 2005 levels, but that's just a forecast—and U.S. power plants are already nearly halfway to that goal. Some of the other forecasts in the 645-page draft are even less ambitious. For example, coal-generated electricity is also expected to drop about 30% from 2005 levels by 2030; it's already down 20%, and another 10% of the coal fleet is already scheduled for retirement. The plan predicts an absurdly low 21 gigawatts of new renewable-power capacity by 2030, about as much as the U.S. has added in the past two years.

In general, the forecasts in the plan would, if anything, undershoot the current pace of decarbonization in electricity. And to the extent that they do have teeth, they won't bite anytime soon. States will have until 2018 to submit compliance plans and until 2030 to complete them. So if climate hawks don't win the next several presidential elections, the rules probably won't matter much.

I discussed my doubts with EPA Administrator Gina McCarthy, a certified climate hawk, who offered several explanations for her plan's apparent squishiness. The goal, she suggested, was to fashion a plan that could withstand legal and political challenges and to require "what's doable, reasonable and practical," not what's ideal. The EPA was sensitive to the degree of difficulty: the emission cuts required for coal-heavy Kentucky, West Virginia and Wyoming will be less than 20%. The plan also gives states the flexibility to meet their targets by reducing electricity demand, extending the life of zero-carbon nuclear plants and even improving efficiency at coal plants as well as switching to natural gas and renewables. And overall, despite predictably apocalyptic rhetoric from coal interests, opposition has been surprisingly muted.

"I don't want to scare any state away. I don't want to spend years negotiating about what's achievable," McCarthy told me. "I want to get this off the ground."

This helps explain the green movement's enthusiasm. Enacting carbon rules, any carbon rules, will send a powerful signal to the market about dirty power, especially as the Administration cracks down on coal ash, ozone and other pollutants. It will add uncertainty to the electricity industry's investment decisions, making utilities increasingly reluctant to pour billions of dollars into the pollution controls required to keep their coal plants online. And it will encourage the rest of the world to follow the U.S.'s lead in international climate negotiations. "This will set expectations, and things will just take off," McCarthy said.

My question was: If this plan is so disruptive, why does it predict that in 2030, we'll still get over 30% of our power from coal? Why does it suggest that wind-rich Iowa could get even less of its power from renewables than it does today? McCarthy's answer was, in effect: It's wrong. I offered to bet her that the U.S. would add more than 21 gigawatts of renewables by 2030; she said she'd take the over too. "Our model might predict one thing, but my understanding of the world tells me something else," she said. "These numbers represent the minimum. I think we'll end up with a much more aggressive impact."

If we're still getting over 30% of our power from coal in 2030, the EPA's plan will be a huge disappointment. It will represent defeat in the Obama Administration's crucial (though undeclared) war on coal. So it's encouraging that the plan's architect doesn't seem to think it adds up either. ■

BAD ARITHMETIC

75%

The share of the U.S. electricity sector's carbon emissions that comes from coal-fueled plants. But the plants produce only 39% of our electricity.

30%

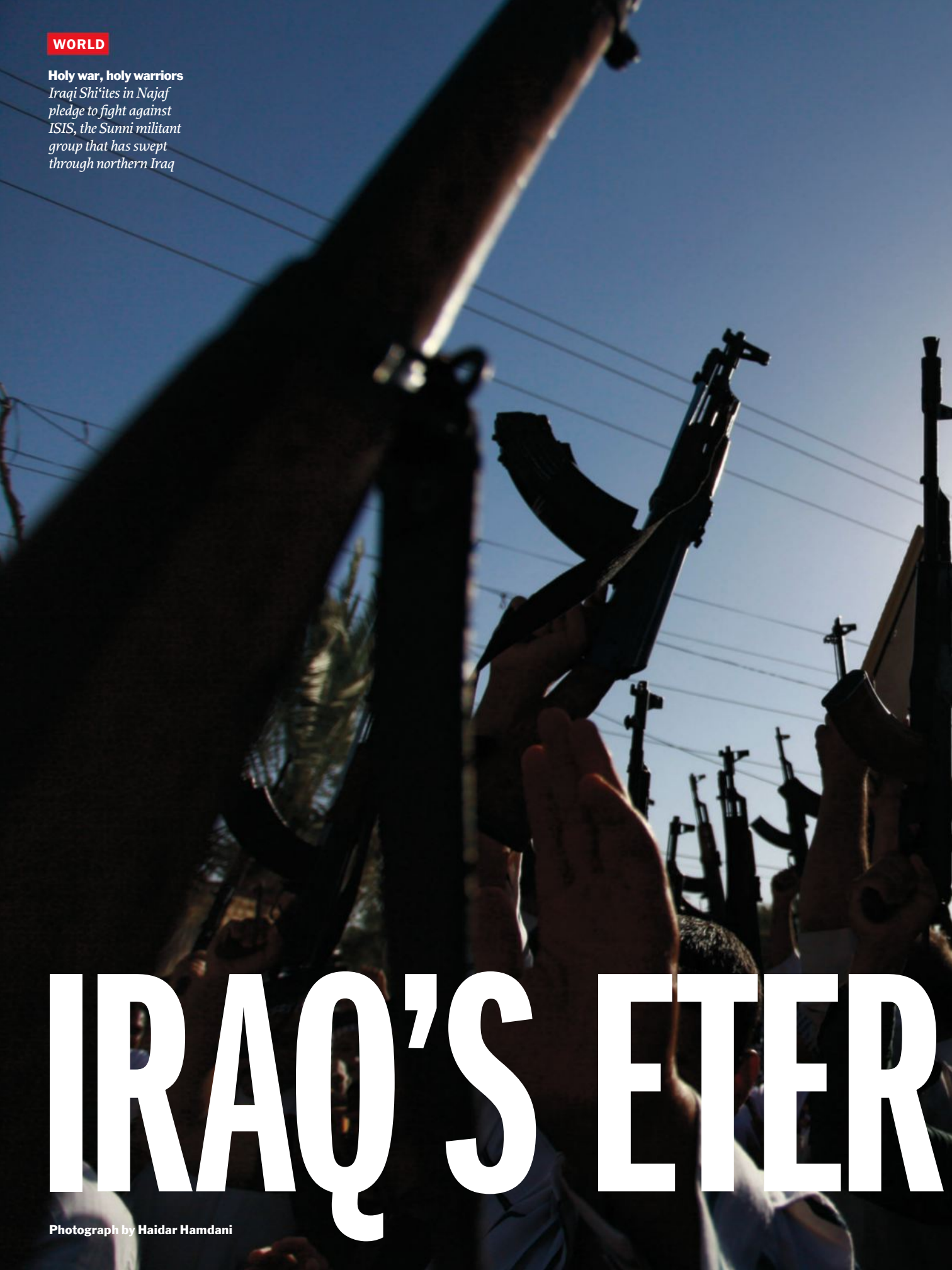
The amount by which the new EPA plan aims to reduce carbon emissions by 2030—not from current levels but from 2005 levels. We're already nearly halfway there.

FOR MORE ON NEW ENERGY, GO TO **time.com/newenergy**

LET'S KEEP THE LIGHTS ON WHEN SHE'S YOUR AGE.

What sort of world will this little girl grow up in? Many experts agree that it will be a considerably more energy-hungry one. There are already seven billion people on our planet. And the forecast is that there will be around two billion more by 2050. So if we're going to keep the lights on for her, we will need to look at every possible energy source. At Shell we're exploring a broad mix of energies. We're making our fuels and lubricants more advanced and more efficient than before. With our partner in Brazil, we're also producing ethanol, a biofuel made from renewable sugar cane. And we're delivering natural gas to more than 40 countries around the world. When used to generate electricity, natural gas emits around half the CO_2 of coal. Let's broaden the world's energy mix. **www.youtube.com/shellletsgo**

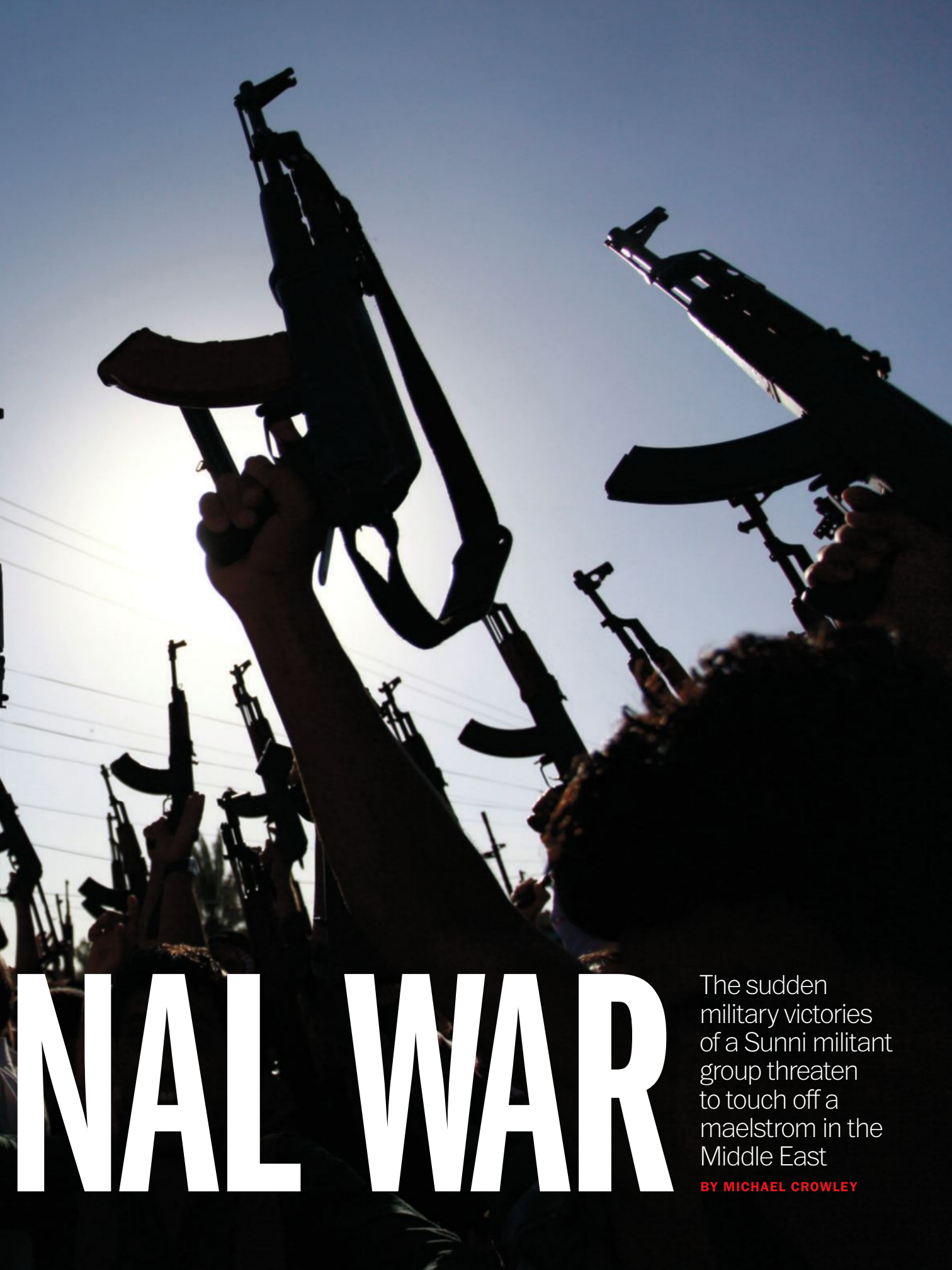
LET'S GO.



Holy war, holy warriors
Iraqi Shi'ites in Najaf pledge to fight against ISIS, the Sunni militant group that has swept through northern Iraq

IRAQ'S ETER

Photograph by Haidar Hamdani



NAL WAR

The sudden military victories of a Sunni militant group threaten to touch off a maelstrom in the Middle East

BY MICHAEL CROWLEY

As the brutal fighters of the Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria (ISIS) rampaged through northern Iraq in mid-June, a spokesman for the group issued a statement taunting its shaken enemies. Ridiculing Iraq's Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki as an "underwear merchant," he warned that his fighters, who follow a radical strain of Sunni Islam, would take revenge against al-Maliki's regime, which is dominated by Shi'ites. But this vengeance would not come through the capture of Baghdad, the spokesman vowed. It would come through the subjugation of Najaf and Karbala, cities that are home to some of the most sacred Shi'ite shrines. The Sunni fighters of ISIS would cheerfully kill and die, if necessary, to erase their blasphemous existence.

What army would rather raze a few shrines than seize a capital city? The answer says a lot about the disaster now unfolding in Iraq and rippling throughout the Middle East. The rapid march by ISIS from Syria into Iraq is only partly about the troubled land where the U.S. lost almost 4,500 lives and spent nearly $1 trillion in increasingly vain hopes of establishing a stable, friendly democracy. ISIS is but one front in a holy war that stretches from Pakistan across the Middle East and into northern Africa. A few days before ISIS captured the northern Iraqi city of Mosul, Pakistani militants driven by similar Sunni radicalism killed 36 in an assault on their country's busiest airport. Holy war inspires the al-Shabab radicals who took credit for massacring at least 48 Kenyans in a coastal town on June 15 and explains why suspected al-Qaeda fighters in Yemen riddled a bus full of military-hospital staff the same day. It's the reason Boko Haram has kidnapped hundreds of Nigerian schoolgirls and why Taliban fighters sliced off the ink-stained fingers of elderly voters who had cast ballots in Afghanistan's June 14 presidential election. Osama bin Laden is dead, but his fundamentalist ideology—and its cold logic of murder in God's name—arguably has broader reach than ever.

For now, the ISIS front is the most dangerous. The chilling prospect of holy warriors with dueling nuclear capabilities—Sunnis in Islamabad and Shi'ites in Tehran—remains a worst-case scenario, but the breakup of Iraq as a nation-state appears to be all but an accomplished fact. Two and a half years after the U.S. withdrew its last combat forces and more than a decade since the beginning of America's war in Iraq, ancient hatreds are grinding the country to bits. Washington has reacted with shock—no one saw it coming—and the usual finger pointing, but today's Washington is a place where history is measured in hourly news cycles and 140-character riffs. What's happening in Iraq is the work of centuries, the latest chapter in the story of a religious schism between Sunni and Shi'ite that was already old news a thousand years ago.

The Sunni radicals' dream of establishing an Islamic caliphate—modeled on the first reign of the Prophet Mohammed in the 7th century—has no place for Shi'ites. That's why Iraq's leading Shi'ite cleric responded to ISIS's advance by summoning men of his faith to battle. So begins another Iraqi civil war, this one wretchedly entangled with the sectarian conflict that has already claimed more than 160,000 lives in Syria. Poised to join the fighting is Iran, whose nearly eight-year war with Iraq in the 1980s cost more than a million lives.

To Americans weary of the Middle East, the urge is strong to close our eyes and, as Sarah Palin once put it so coarsely, "let Allah sort it out." President Obama has kept a wary distance from Syria's civil war and the turmoil of postwar Iraq. But now that the two have become one rapidly metastasizing cancer, that may no longer be possible. As long as the global economy still runs on Middle Eastern oil, Sunni radicals plot terrorist attacks against the West and Iran's leaders pursue nuclear technology, the U.S. cannot turn its back.

"There is always the danger of passing the buck," says Vali Nasr, a former Obama State Department official and an expert on Islam. "Not to say the region doesn't have problems or bad leadership. It does. But these things won't go away. They are going to bite us at some point." What Leon Trotsky supposedly said about war is also true of this war-torn region: Americans may not be interested in the Middle East. But the Middle East is interested in us.

ANCIENT ENMITY

As he helped draw the post–World War I map of the Middle East, Winston Churchill asked an aide about the "religious character" of an Arab tribal leader he intended to place in charge of Britain's client state in Iraq. "Is he a Sunni with Shaih sympathies or a Shaih with Sunni sympathies?" Churchill wrote, in now antiquated spelling. "I always get mixed up between these two."

ANCIENT HATRED: Sunnis vs. Shi'ites

Initial split

In the year 632 Muslims disagreed over who should succeed the Prophet Muhammad, who had died that year. One group believed that leadership should stay within the family of the Prophet and go to his son-in-law Ali. They became the Shiat Ali (followers of Ali), or Shi'ites. The other group, the Sunnis, believed the Muslim community should determine the new leadership by consensus. Ali eventually became the fourth caliph, or leader. Upon his assassination in 661, war broke out between the two groups.

Struggle for dominance

Around 1500 Safavid established the area of modern-day Iran as Shi'ite. Shi'ites gradually united the Persian Empire and distinguished it from the Ottoman Empire (based in modern-day Turkey) to the west, which was Sunni. Today the majority of the world's Muslims are Sunni, but Sunnis have long been a minority in Iraq. Nonetheless, this Sunni minority controlled Iraqi politics in the decades following World War I and under Saddam Hussein.

Modern-day rift

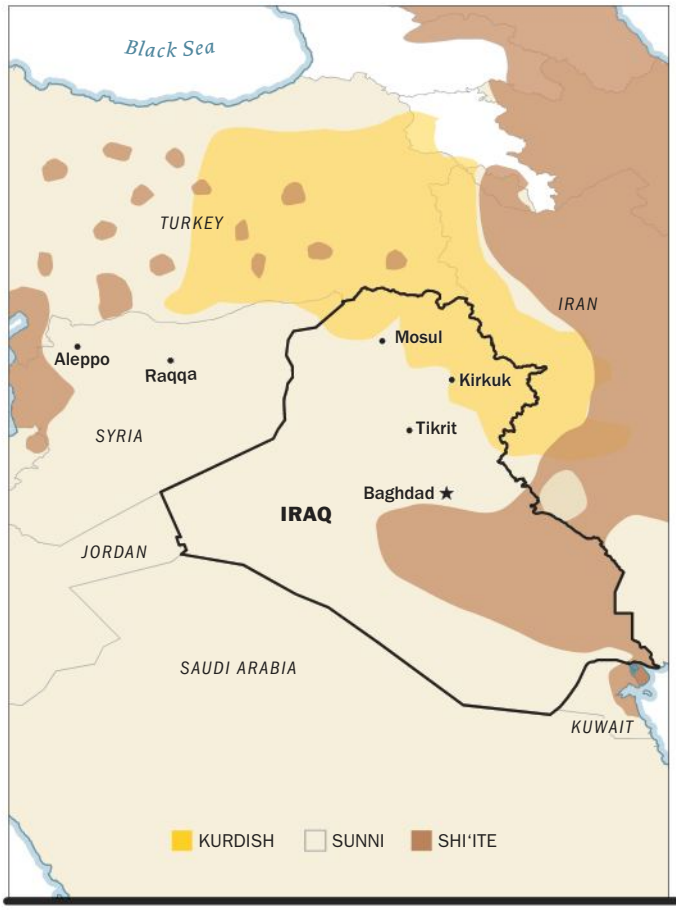
In 2003 the U.S. invaded Iraq and overthrew Saddam, allowing a Shi'ite-led government to come to power. But sectarian divides continued to trouble the country, almost leading to civil war in 2006–07. A surge of U.S. troops brought what now seems to have been a temporary peace.

The Westerners who have sought to control the Middle East for more than a century have always struggled to understand the religion that defines the region. But how could the secular West hope to understand cultures in which religion is government, scripture is law and the past defines the future? Islam has been divided between Sunni and Shi'ite since the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 and a bitter dispute that followed over who should lead Islam. (Sunnis called for an elected caliph. Shi'ites followed Muhammad's descendants.) Over the centuries, the two sects have developed distinct cultural, geographic and political identities that go well beyond the theological origins of that schism. Today, Sunnis make up about 90% of the world's 1.6 billion Muslims. But Shi'ites have disproportionate power, with their control of Iran and their concentration around oil-rich areas.

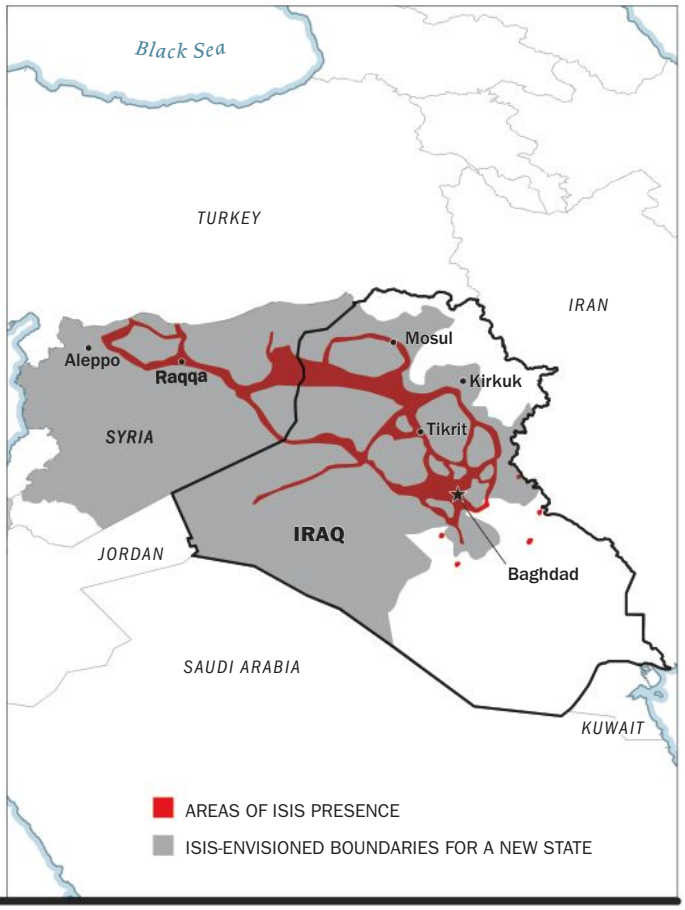
The seat of Shi'ite power is Iran, whose

PREVIOUS PAGES: AFP/GETTY IMAGES

BATTLE LINES ISIS is sweeping from Syria into Iraq



MILITANT DREAMS ISIS wants to build a cross-border caliphate



1979 Islamic revolution cracked open the bottle in which the region's sectarian tensions had been sealed for many years—first by the nearly 500-year rule of the Ottoman Empire and then by Western colonizers. Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini's overthrow of the pro-American Shah of Iran fired the ambitions of jihadists elsewhere and instituted the region's first modern theocratic regime. The ensuing American hostage crisis established Iran's new leadership as a mortal enemy of the West. In 1983, when the Shi'ite militant group Hizballah bombed a U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut, killing 241 Americans, and began kidnapping Westerners in the region, Islamic terrorism seemed to wear a Shi'ite face. Iran's long war with Sunni-dominated Iraq—sparked in part by Khomeini's call for a Shi'ite uprising in Iraq—put the U.S. on the side of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein.

Indeed, America's leaders were so blithe about Sunni radicalism that the CIA eagerly supported the training and arming of young jihadists—among them a rich young Saudi named Osama bin Laden—to fight the Soviets in Afghanistan. That victory was short-lived as bin Laden and other Sunni warriors, lit by the conviction that Allah had empowered them, founded al-Qaeda and declared the goal of establishing a new caliphate. Targeting the U.S. and other Western powers, which bin Laden called "the far enemy," was just a step toward the nearer yet ultimate aim: to drive the U.S. and its allies out of the region, ending their support for repressive infidel rulers in places like Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

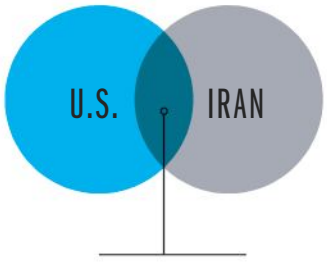
The national boundaries plotted on Western maps have little place in the radical vision of the restored caliphate. The ambition is absolute Sunni authority and Shari'a—Islamic law—over the entire Muslim world. To achieve this, the West need only be banished, while the Shi'ites must be eradicated. "There are all kinds of al-Qaeda documents in which its operatives say things along the lines of 'the Americans are evil, the secular tyrants are evil, the Israelis are evil—and the Shi'ites are worse than all of them,'" says Daniel Benjamin, the former counterterrorism coordinator at the State Department who is now at Dartmouth College. Some Saudi textbooks depict Shi'ism as more deviant than Christianity or even Judaism. A common bit of folklore among Lebanese Sunnis, Nasr writes in his book *The Shia Revival*, is that Shi'ites have tails.

For decades, the dictators of the Middle East have warned their democratic patrons in the West that only their repressive measures could stifle the Shi'ite-Sunni rivalry. But in the aftermath of 9/11, U.S. leaders concluded that repression was part of the problem. Touting a new "freedom agenda," President George W. Bush pressed for an invasion of Iraq to topple Saddam and—this was the expressed goal, anyway—establish

GRAPHIC AND MAP SOURCES: ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA; NPR; WORLD FACTBOOK; CRS; INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF WAR

SHIFTING SANDS

ISIS'S SUCCESS HAS LED TO UNLIKELY ALLIANCES BETWEEN SOME FORMER FOES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HERE'S THE BREAKDOWN OF WHO SIDES WITH WHOM ON WHAT

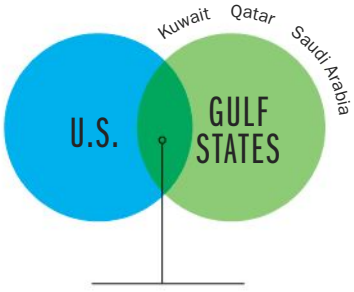


SUPPORTING IRAQ

Despite decades of hostility, the U.S. and Iran are in talks over a joint strategy to combat the growing power of ISIS in Iraq. They remain at odds over the Syrian crisis—with Iran continuing to prop up Assad's regime—and over Tehran's nuclear program.

SUPPORTING ASSAD

In order to preserve the Shi'ite sphere of influence, Iran and Hizballah, and to a lesser degree Iraq, have helped President Assad in his bloody war against the Syrian rebels—who include ISIS.



CONTAINING IRAN

Longtime allies, the U.S. and the Gulf states have worked to curb Iran's influence in the region and prevent it from developing a nuclear weapon. But the U.S. is unhappy that some of the Gulf states have provided funding for Sunni militants operating in Syria.

democracy in his place. Instead, Bush let loose the sectarian furies. The eventual replacement of Saddam with the pro-Iranian Shi'ite ruler al-Maliki, who assumed power in 2006, set off alarms across the Sunni world, especially in oil-rich monarchies of the Persian Gulf like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates. Shi'ite Iran's march toward a nuclear weapon turned alarm into existential panic.

With the 2011 Arab Spring, many in the West grew hopeful that the spirit of democracy was finally taking root. Instead, as in Iraq, the toppling of dictators unleashed the religious radicals almost everywhere. In Syria, strongman Bashar Assad's struggle to survive has evolved into a cauldron of Sunni-Shi'ite bloodletting. Sunni warriors from across the world have gathered to fight the forces of Assad, a member of the Alawite sect, an offshoot of Shi'ism and a close ally of Iran, which has poured men and money into the fight. "All the jihadists in the world are coming to Syria. It's the new Afghanistan," says one Arab diplomat. A June report by the New York–based Soufan Group estimates that more than 12,000 foreign fighters have traveled to Syria to join the fray.

As the fight against Assad, now in its fourth year, grinds on, the Sunni goal of forcing him from power endures. But the older goal of breaking down borders to establish the new caliphate has come to dominate the conflict, and the killing has bled easily from Syria into Iraq. "No one's talking about fighting Bashar anymore," says the diplomat.

THE REIGN OF ISIS

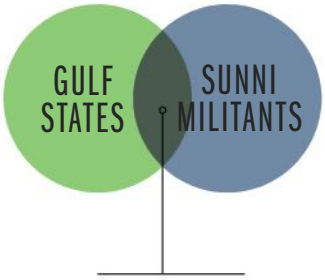
THE ISLAMIC STATE OF IRAQ AND GREATER Syria is at once highly modern and wholly medieval. Its fighters eagerly post propaganda videos on YouTube and photos of executed prisoners on Facebook. Credit ISIS with one of the most demented mashups of our time: a tweeted crucifixion. Ruling by a radical interpretation of Shari'a—with its puritanical mores and bloody punishments—ISIS now controls a swath of land that stretches from eastern Syria to central Iraq. Not since the Taliban ruled Afghanistan have men with a literal interpretation of Islamic texts and the determination to kill Westerners occupied so much territory.

And they are more fearsome than the militants who came before them. When what became ISIS first gathered in Iraq to attack Americans after the U.S. invasion, they called themselves al-Qaeda in Iraq. But their violence against fellow Muslims appalled the senior al-Qaeda leadership. Ayman al-Zawahiri, bin Laden's most senior comrade, chastised the group for killing Shi'ites too wantonly. (Al-Zawahiri remains wary of ISIS and has dueled with the group's charismatic leader, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, for primacy in the global jihad movement.) Eventually, American troops forged or bought alliances with moderate Iraqi Sunnis repelled by endless beheadings and joyless social restrictions. The 2007 U.S. troop surge and the Sunni awakening had decimated the group by the time George W. Bush left office.

Two factors gave ISIS new life. One was Syria's civil war. Largely funded by wealthy Gulf Arabs and driven by suicidal fanaticism, the fighters of ISIS moved across the porous border with viciousness unmatched even by al-Nusra Front, a rival Sunni extremist faction whose soldiers ultimately report to al-Qaeda's Pakistan-based leadership. The group's rampage through Iraq included a boast of executing 1,700 captured Iraqi soldiers—a slaughter conveniently documented online for propaganda purposes. ("This is the destiny of al-Maliki's Shi'ites," read one caption online.)

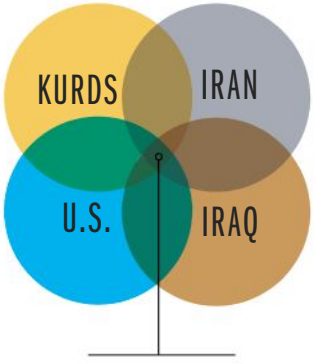
The second factor was the Iraqi Prime Minister. Insecure in his power and shrugging off demands from Washington to be more inclusive, al-Maliki has trampled the Sunnis who once ruled Iraq. Sunnis have been forced out of government and military posts, and al-Maliki's security forces have attacked peaceful Sunni protests. Many Sunnis now see al-Maliki as nothing more than a Shi'ite version of Saddam.

This may explain how as few as 1,000 ISIS fighters, originally equipped with small arms and pickup trucks, managed to overrun some 30,000 Iraqi troops to capture Iraq's second largest city, Mosul, before they and their allies took Kirkuk, Tikrit and Tal Afar. They were, if you will, welcomed as liberators. Indeed, many Sunnis in the Iraqi army literally stripped off their uniforms rather than fight for al-Maliki. "ISIS is the spearhead in a Sunni coalition," says Kenneth Pollack, a former CIA analyst and Iraq expert now at the Brookings Institution.



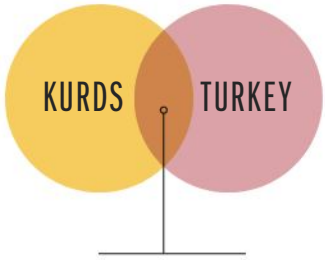
DEFEATING ASSAD

The Gulf states have allied with the U.S. in trying to bring an end to Assad's rule. But they have also sent money and arms to some extreme Sunni militant groups in Syria that are opposed to the U.S.



DEFEATING ISIS

The U.S., Iraq, Iran and the Kurds are committed to turning back ISIS. But the Kurds have benefited from some of the chaos created by ISIS, which has allowed them to gain control of land in northern Iraq they have long coveted.



COOPERATION IN SYRIA

The Kurds and Turkey have historically been hostile toward each other, but they have recently developed a working relationship on economic concerns like oil and have agreed to support each other against Assad's forces in Syria. Also, Turkey now says it is considering supporting a Kurdish state.

That coalition now features everyone from disgruntled tribal leaders to former Saddam loyalists. "What happened is a rebellion," a 49-year-old Mosul man tells TIME, asking that his name be withheld for his safety. "People here have been feeling frustrated with the government for a long time."

U.S. officials grasping at strands of hope are clinging to the idea that ISIS will be stopped short of Baghdad and the Shi'ite holy cities, blocked by a hostile Shi'ite population. But even the hopeful view is bleak: "If that's what you're dealing with, I think we're headed for a grinding guerrilla war that'll last a long time, with extremely high death rates, that could end up sucking in more of the neighbors," says Stephen Biddle of the Council on Foreign Relations, who has advised the Pentagon on Iraq.

That would suit ISIS just fine. A climactic war with the Shi'ites is exactly what the group wants. And as its territory grows, so does ISIS's readiness for such a war. As they conquered major Iraqi cities, ISIS fighters looted military bases for guns, ammunition and U.S.-made Humvees—along with at least two helicopters. They have also plundered gold and vast sums of cash from banks. One unconfirmed estimate by local officials pegged the haul at a staggering $425 million.

Even if that figure is inflated, ISIS—estimated at about 10,000 men strong in Iraq and Syria combined—has begun collecting taxes, levying fines and running lucrative mafia-like operations in its zone of control, giving it the resources to administer a quasi-state. The group already pumps oil and even sells electricity to the very Assad government it is warring to overthrow. "As long as the support of these Sunni elements holds, ISIS looks well positioned right now to keep the territory it has captured, absent a major counteroffensive," says one U.S. official. Fear of alienating moderate Sunnis may explain why ISIS hasn't imposed severe Shari'a law in most of its newly captured Iraqi population centers.

If ISIS's gains prove durable, the de facto Sunnistan they have created will pose a severe threat to the U.S. and its Western allies. According to intelligence officials, thousands of European passport holders have joined the fight in Syria, and no doubt a number of them are now in Iraq. Their next stop could be anywhere. U.S. officials say Moner Mohammad Abusalha, an American from Florida, recently triggered a suicide truck bomb in Syria after posting a jihadist recruiting video online—in English. A French Islamist who killed three people at the Jewish Museum in Brussels on May 24 is believed to be a veteran of ISIS in Syria. Attacks on the far enemy may not be the endgame for ISIS, but they could bring stature and propaganda benefits. On June 15, the group's leader, al-Baghdadi, issued a message for the U.S.: "Soon we will face you, and we are waiting for this day."

'WE'VE SAID ALL ALONG THAT WE WON'T BREAK AWAY FROM IRAQ BUT IRAQ MAY BREAK AWAY FROM US. AND IT SEEMS THAT IT IS.'

—QUBAD TALABANI, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, KURDISH REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

BOUNDARIES OF SAND

AS HAUNTING AS THE THREAT OF A TERRORist haven may be, the significance of the ISIS victories goes far beyond the threat it poses to Baghdad or the West. With lightning speed, ISIS has begun to erase the Middle East map drawn by Europeans a century ago. In 1916, Mark Sykes, a young British politician, and François Georges-Picot, France's former counsel in Beirut, agreed to divide the region to suit Western goals. With an eye to the death of the Ottoman Empire—on the losing side of WW I—the two diplomats slashed a diagonal line across a map of the region, from the southwest to the northeast, and divided the empire between their countries. "What do you mean to give them, exactly?" British Foreign Secretary Lord Balfour asked Sykes during a meeting at 10 Downing Street, according to James Barr's 2012 book, *A Line in the Sand*. "I should like to draw a line," Sykes said, as he ran his finger along the map of the Middle East, "from the 'e' in Acre to the last 'k' in Kirkuk."

After crossing the line between Syria and Iraq, ISIS fighters took a bulldozer to the berm that marked that border.

Once shattered, the pieces may never be reassembled. Al-Maliki shows no sign of the tremendous political skills needed to earn the cooperation of spurned Sunnis. Iraq's Shi'ites, with their reservoirs of oil in the south, may be content to slough off the comparatively barren Sunni lands to the north and west. The country's long-beleaguered Kurds, meanwhile, may seize this moment to finally claim their independence. When ISIS soldiers drove al-Maliki's forces from the oil-production center of Kirkuk, the formidable Kurdish militia known as the *peshmerga* stepped in to grab the city. Neighboring Turkey has lately begun to reconsider its long-held opposition to a Kurdish state. Perhaps an oil-rich, peaceful buffer between the Turks and the anarchy of Iraq wouldn't be so bad. "We've said all along that we won't break away from Iraq but Iraq may break away from us," Qubad Talabani, Deputy Prime Minister of the Kurdish Regional Government, tells TIME. "And it seems that it is."

Other borders could also be in danger. Western Iraq abuts the kingdom of Jordan, a vital U.S. ally and oasis of regional moderation. Though he is a Sunni, Jordan's Western-educated King Abdullah is precisely the sort of ruler ISIS would hope to topple, and Abdullah's kingdom sits inside the sprawling caliphate sometimes depicted on ISIS maps. So does Lebanon, a sectarian tinderbox. Syria, meanwhile, may be melting into unofficial quasi-states.

The region's heavyweights, Sunni King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia and Shi'ite Ayatullah Ali Khamenei of Iran, watch with wariness and few good options. For Abdullah, al-Maliki's pain is a welcome development, for the Saudis have always felt threatened by his ties with Iran. On the other hand, since the earliest days of al-Qaeda, the Sunni radicals have cherished the dream of deposing Abdullah's family and taking possession of the Arabian holy cities of Mecca and Medina. The Saudis look to Iraq and see nothing but enemies. The same goes for Israel, ever a prime target for both Sunni and Shi'ite militants.

In Iran, the growing momentum of Sunni radicalism has set alarms clanging. As the movement obliterates borders, the sheer number of Sunnis—nine of them for every Shi'ite—compels Iran to act. The pressure is such that Tehran is contemplating one of the strangest partnerships in its 35-year revolutionary history, wading into tentative talks on the crisis with the Great Satan himself: Uncle Sam.

RAW IMAGES Photos of an alleged massacre stoke sectarian rage

The photographs are disturbing. Members of ISIS stand with their automatic rifles pointing at rows of men wearing civilian clothes, some handcuffed. Other photographs appear to show the militants shooting. Others show trenches filled with what seem to be bodies.

Posted to social-media sites affiliated with ISIS on June 14, the images were accompanied by a sobering message: the extremist group claimed to have killed 1,700 Iraqi soldiers, including those in the photos, in the preceding week. The online messages claimed that Shi'ites among the troops had been singled out.

The killings have not been verified, but if the militants did execute that many captives, the slaughter would represent the biggest mass killing in a bloody multiyear war that now spans Syria and Iraq. Even if the claims are exaggerated, the images could be intended to terrify ISIS's opponents as the group consolidates control of Iraq's Sunni-dominated regions.

ISIS may have another reason to release the photographs, real or not—to provoke the country's Shi'ite militias, potentially igniting a sectarian war. ISIS's ultimate goal in such a conflict: the creation of a fundamentalist Sunni state. **—ARYN BAKER**

MILITANT WEBSITE/AP (3)

THE FOREVER WAR

BARACK OBAMA FIRST RAN FOR PRESIDENT, in large measure, to end the Iraq War, and he takes pride in having done so. It surely wasn't easy, then, to announce that some 170 combat-ready soldiers were headed to Baghdad to secure the U.S. embassy. The White House insists that Obama won't re-enter a ground war, though military planners are exploring possible air strikes. (For now, limited intelligence and ill-defined targets have put bombing on hold.) The likelier option is a small contingent of special forces to advise Iraq's military. But Obama wants to leverage any possible U.S. help to force al-Maliki into major political reforms. A new governing coalition giving Sunnis real power could offer the country's only hope for long-term survival. Whether something the U.S. couldn't accomplish when its troops were still in Iraq is feasible now is another question.

Clearly, Obama was mistaken in declaring, after the last U.S. troops departed in 2011, that "we're leaving behind a sovereign, stable and self-reliant Iraq." But while Washington plunged into the blame game, fair-minded observers could see that the U.S.'s road through the region is littered with what-ifs and miscalculations. What if we had never invaded Iraq? What if we had stayed longer? What if Obama had acted early in the Syrian civil war to put arms in the hands of nonradical rebels? "We would have less of an extremism problem in Syria now, had there been more assistance provided to the moderate forces," Obama's former ambassador to Damascus, Robert Ford, told CNN on June 3.

Yet on a deeper level, the blame belongs to history itself. At this ancient crossroads of the human drama, the U.S.'s failure echoes earlier failures by the European powers, by the Ottoman pashas, by the Crusaders, by Alexander the Great. The civil war of Muslim against Muslim, brother against brother, plays out in the same region that gave us Cain vs. Abel. George W. Bush spoke of the spirit of liberty, and Obama often invokes the spirit of cooperation. Both speak to something powerful in the modern heart. But neither man—nor America itself—fully appreciated until now the continuing reign of much older spirits: hatred, greed and tribalism. Those spirits are loosed again, and the whole world will pay a price. —REPORTED BY ARYN BAKER AND HANIA MOURTADA/BEIRUT, MASSIMO CALABRESI, JAY NEWTON-SMALL AND MARK THOMPSON/WASHINGTON AND KARL VICK/JERUSALEM ■

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THINGS ARE BEST, HE FIGURES, THE FARTHER AWAY he can get. As the junior Senator from West Virginia, Democrat Joe Manchin III—charming, plainspoken, moderate—believes his most productive hours as a lawmaker are spent not on the Senate floor or in the cloakroom or committee rooms but on the waters of the Potomac River aboard his houseboat, which, in an act of parochial pride, he plans to christen *Almost Heaven.*

Anchored 8 miles south of the Capitol, the boat is Manchin's home when he spends the night in Washington three nights or so a week during session. ("I wasn't crazy on buying any real estate in Washington, not at all," Manchin says.) The houseboat and its predecessor, the *Black Tie,* serve as a kind of floating incubator of that tenderest of Washington flowers in the first decades of the 21st century: bipartisanship. "Nobody knows anybody up here," Manchin, 66, says of the Senate. "It's amazing. There just aren't enough real relationships."

That's where the boat comes in. With pizza and beer (and the occasional bottle of merlot, a shared favorite with Republican Saxby Chambliss of Georgia), Manchin routinely invites Senators from both parties out for evening cruises. "Like a Tom Harkin and a Ted Cruz—when would you ever get them together in a room, O.K.?" Manchin said to TIME. "And you'd be surprised how much people have in common." Charles Schumer of New York is a particularly enthusiastic guest. "Schumer loves it so much, the whole ambience of it," says

Up and down *Frustrated by gridlock and a lack of comity in Congress, Manchin says he just "wants the place to work"*

Photographs by Thomas Prior for TIME

NATION

The Outlier
Joe Manchin went to D.C. to get stuff done. Oh well

By Jon Meacham

Manchin. "Schumer thinks it's his boat."

And so Manchin is trying, but by his own account, the task of restoring some measure of comity to the halls of Washington is likely to take more merlot than his boat can safely carry. Moderates like Manchin are an endangered species on Capitol Hill. A conservative Democrat with a bias toward action rather than rhetoric, he represents an older style of politics, and the story of his frustrations with life in the Senate—a story he tells with characteristic candor—puts a face on the largely abstract national angst about Washington. Put another way, if Joe Manchin can't make headway on the Hill, could anyone?

For now, the answer is probably no. The moment is hardly congenial for centrist dealmaking, which is the skill set that former governors like Manchin often bring to Washington. With the Tea Party defeat of House majority leader Eric Cantor and the troubled re-election bid of Mississippi Senator Thad Cochran, who also faces a challenger from the right, congressional politics is now more often about playing to the base than building alliances between parties. "I know dysfunctional families that function better than the Senate does," says Manchin. "It's just crazy." Given that the dysfunction seems impervious to therapy, a Senator like Manchin has to make a decision: stay and fight, or go? And if he goes—in his case, most likely to return to West Virginia to seek to reclaim the governorship in 2016—then what's left once the *Almost Heaven* has sailed away?

MANCHIN'S JOURNEY TO THE SENATE BEGAN in the small coal-mining town of Farmington, W.Va. He was raised in his grandfather's grocery store, watching his grandmother take care of the needy in the neighborhood and absorbing the family's homespun wisdom. "Son, if you can say no with a tear in your eye, you'll be O.K.," Manchin's father, a former mayor of Farmington, would say, urging his son to empathy—or at least the appearance of it, which amounts to much the same thing in politics. It was a working-class world, but the Manchin family was important enough in the state that young Joe remembers Teddy Kennedy eating his grandmother's spaghetti during the pivotal 1960 West Virginia presidential primary.

Manchin has always had a knack for knowing the right moves. Growing up in the 1950s, his older sister forced him to learn to dance so that she could practice with him—which meant that by the time Joe was old enough for the sock hops, he had something going for him that a lot of other guys didn't: how to move around the floor. That was how he met and wooed his wife Gayle at a fraternity party at West Virginia University.

A childhood spent in his grandparents' store tending to customers—listening to them, figuring out what they needed and how to get paid for it—prepared him for the folkways of state politics. After a career in the family businesses, Manchin served in both chambers of the West Virginia legislature, then became secretary of state before winning the governorship in 2004. In Charleston, he was a strong fiscal steward and was a predictably strong defender of the coal industry. In 2010, when he sought the Senate seat vacated by the death of Robert Byrd, he ran a campaign ad in which he took a rifle to a copy of cap-and-trade legislation—anathema to West Virginia's coal producers.

Hardly subtle, but it was Manchin who, in the wake of the massacre of schoolchildren in Newtown, Conn., in late 2012, joined Pennsylvania Republican Pat Toomey to propose and push legislation to strengthen and expand background checks on gun sales in the U.S. (Pictures of the slain children now hang in the front hallway of Manchin's D.C. office.) The bill failed, but the effort positioned Manchin as a man willing to take political risks back home for the greater good—and prompted the Washington *Post* to publish a front-page piece that described Manchin's Potomac hospitality.

There have been some brighter moments. Last summer, after congressional leaders failed to pass a student-loan fix in part because it lacked the moderates' support, Manchin and Angus King of Maine met and concocted a new proposal. Bringing along six influential, bipartisan members, Manchin and King beat the dispiriting odds and passed the new bill 81 to 18 in the Senate. It passed overwhelmingly in the House and became law. In the days after the bill's passage, Manchin's staff invited King's staff to come to their office to celebrate and drink moonshine. The two staffs continue to exchange West Virginia pepperoni rolls and Sea Dog beers.

The problem has been that such hours of cooperation are few and far between. Manchin himself is willing to vote outside the party box: his record of voting with the Senate Democratic caucus, at 72.8%, is the lowest for any sitting Democrat. "I'm a West Virginia Democrat—I'm not a Washington Democrat," Manchin says. "I'm fiscally responsible and socially compassionate." In practice it's turned out to be a lonely place on the spectrum.

Hence the frustration. "I think that when he went to Washington, he figured he was in the sweet spot as a dealmaker because he was one of the most conservative members of the Democratic caucus—probably one of the three most conservative members," says Neil Berch, a professor at West Virginia University. "He figured, Well, I'm just about the median vote in the U.S. Senate; people are going to come to me and make deals." The reality, Manchin discovered, was that few lawmakers are interested in deals. The culture now favors the sharpening, not the smoothing, of differences. "My worst day as governor," he often says, "was better than my best day as a Senator."

ON A RECENT DAY ON CAPITOL HILL, Manchin met with representatives of both the Chamber of Commerce and the AFL-CIO in his hideaway office near the Senate floor to discuss how to reauthorize the Export-Import Bank, which helps finance the

Southern comfort
Manchin, right, and Senator Saxby Chambliss wait for a table in the Senate dining room

THOMAS PRIOR FOR TIME

purchase of U.S.-made goods overseas and is a target of conservatives in the House. Both business and labor are in agreement. ("And that doesn't happen much," Manchin says.) It was the sort of issue that drives Manchin slightly crazy. "Here is a clear-cut issue, and we're having a fight about it," he says. He shakes his head. "We don't live in a perfect world, so how do you make it better? You make it better by getting the best deal you can to make some progress for right now, and then you keep working at it. You can never put your opponent in an impossible position, and that happens way too often up here."

He has to fight for even small victories. Recently, the President nominated Sylvia Burwell, a West Virginia native, to be Secretary of Health and Human Services, the department that runs Obamacare. On the day of the voting, Manchin grabbed a couple of Republican colleagues on the floor. "She's a good woman," Manchin told the other Senators. "She's not going to change your mind on the thing, but it's there, and don't you want somebody who knows the numbers to actually run it?" Some of the Senators he'd lobbied voted no, but Burwell was confirmed, 78-18. Manchin said that had all his colleagues acceded to his request, that vote would have been "my big win for the week. Isn't that something? Isn't that kind of sad? But that's where we are—the bar for getting something done is pretty low. Too low."

MANCHIN FINDS THE LISTLESS WILL OF Congress baffling. "Why wouldn't you want to get something done?" Manchin asks. "That's why I liked being governor—you were measured every day by what you'd done that day." The premium was on action, and action required an open channel between the governor and the legislature. "I wore that governor's mansion out," says Manchin. "I went through more booze and food than you can imagine." If he couldn't find the state legislators he wanted to see, he'd send the state police out to find them. "You've got to work at this, you've got to talk to people, you've got to build some relationships, even if they're not perfect," says Manchin. "Bill Clinton was a master at this. And you know why? He was a former governor." Manchin and Obama have little contact. The Senator says he usually sees the President once a year at a Democratic retreat for lawmakers, and there was a meeting on student-loan reform. "But he never calls me to come over and talk."

Manchin gets asked a good bit about changing parties—Mitt Romney carried West Virginia by 27 points—but he waves off the possibility. "I just don't see that," he says. "I can't see turning on a whole lifetime of beliefs."

Changing jobs, though, is a different matter. The West Virginia governorship is open again in 2016: Will he pack up the boat and head home to reclaim his old post? "I'm going to wait until the 2014 election is over, and then I'm going to see what I should do," says Manchin. He will be 67 this year, and he worries that "I've never been in a less productive time in my life than I am right now, in the United States Senate."

In Charleston, Manchin got results, which was, in his view, the point of government. That is not, however, the point of Washington at the moment. All of which drives him out to his boat and may soon drive him back to that governor's mansion in Charleston. The merlot there is less expensive and, if history is any guide, goes further. —WITH REPORTING BY ALEX ROGERS/WASHINGTON ■

'My worst day as governor was better than my best day as a Senator.'
—WEST VIRGINIA'S JOE MANCHIN

2030

PUBLIC PENSIONS ARE UNDERFUNDED. FEWER THAN HALF OF ALL PRIVATE-SECTOR WORKERS ENROLL IN A FORMAL SAVINGS PLAN. AND **SOCIAL SECURITY MAY NOT EXIST** IN ITS CURRENT FORM WHEN IT'S TIME FOR YOU TO STOP WORKING. THE **REAL DEBT-AND-DEFICIT CRISIS** FACING OUR COUNTRY ISN'T NATIONAL—IT'S PERSONAL. A LOOK AT THE COMING **RETIREMENT APOCALYPSE** AND WHAT WE HAVE TO DO TO AVOID IT

BY RANA FOROOHAR

THE YEAR RETIREMENT ENDS

WHY WE NEED TO START FIXING IT NOW

THE RETIREMENT SCENARIO EVERYONE WANTS TO AVOID ARRIVES in 2030. That's when the largest demographic group in U.S. history, the baby boomers, will have nearly depleted the Social Security trust fund. It's also when older Generation X-ers will begin moving out of work and into their golden years.

But these won't be the years of leisure that recent generations have known. Consider a typical 2030 retiree—an educated Gen X woman, around 65, who has worked all her life at small and midsize companies. Those firms have created most of the new jobs in the economy for the past 50 years, but only 15% of them offer formal retirement plans. Our retiree has put away savings here and there, but she's also part of the middle class, which took the biggest wealth hit during the financial crisis of 2008. That—along with the fact that average real wages have been virtually flat for three decades, even as living costs have risen—means she has minimal savings, even less than the $42,000 that today's average retiree leaves work with.

More than half her retirement income comes from Social Security. When you factor in health care spending, she'll be living on only about 41% of the average national wage. Despite her best efforts to work and save, our Gen X retiree will have trouble maintaining her standard of living. She won't be alone: the Center for Retirement Research at Boston College estimates that 50% of American retirees will be in the same boat.

In all likelihood, then, she won't actually be retired. Like many of her peers, our Gen X-er finds herself needing a part-time job; she shares her home and many living expenses with her son, a millennial who isn't doing so well himself. More

members of his generation live with Mom and Dad than any generation before, according to the Pew Research Center, in part because they came of age in the post-financial-crisis era, when wages were stagnant and unemployment high. (If you enter the workplace during such cycles, your income never catches up.) As he struggles to pay down student loans and save enough money to move out, there's very little left over—which means he's on course for an even less secure retirement than his mother.

Boomers scrambling to get by on a minimal income. Gen X-ers who can't afford to stop working. Millennials staring at a bleak financial future. This is the retirement apocalypse coming at us fast—unless we do something about it now. As with other big, slow-moving crises (climate change, health care, the quality of education), it's difficult to create a sense of urgency over retirement security. But in the past few years, the financial meltdown and its aftermath have thrown the problem into sharper relief. Now, in a retirement landscape that has witnessed few big innovations since the Reagan Administration and the rise of the 401(k) account, we're suddenly seeing a range of new ideas.

Controversially, many of the new approaches call for a greater role for government after three decades of pushing responsibility for retirement onto individuals. They include everything from President Obama's MyRA plan, which would let some individuals save in a fund administered by the U.S. Treasury, to a spate of state-run programs. The most intriguing—and hotly debated—approach is taking shape in California, where state senator Kevin de León has pushed through a bill that aims to guarantee every Californian working in the private sector a living wage in retirement, a plan some experts say could become a new model for the nation.

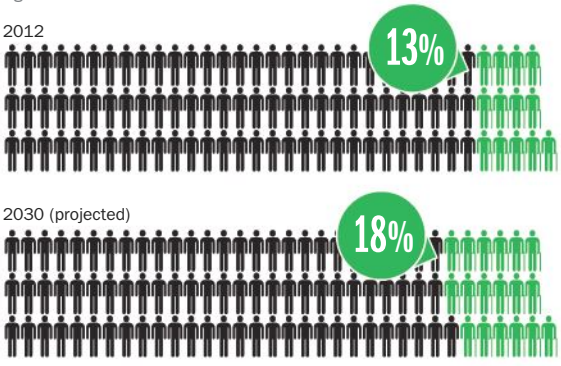
Advocates say the government role will help recruit more people to save and can keep costs low with efficiencies of scale derived from all those participants—much as some big public-employee plans do. But the reforms are being challenged by everyone from small-government conservatives, alarmed by a growing public role, to financial-services companies, which fear that government-run plans will put money into simple index funds rather than the managed funds that generate more lucrative fees for the industry.

Regardless of the eventual solution, few dispute that we're on a dire course at present. Experts estimate that half of Americans are at risk of becoming economically insecure in retirement. Our system is in desperate need of a fix. "We're facing a tsunami," says Senator Tom Harkin, a Democrat from Iowa who has proposed his own program. "And we've got to deal with it—now."

WHY RETIREES ARE IN TROUBLE

BOOMERS ARE PILING INTO RETIREMENT

Percentage of U.S. population age 65 or older in …



THE GOVERNMENT CAN'T KEEP UP

Year trust funds are projected to reach zero

2026
MEDICARE

2033
SOCIAL SECURITY

Sources: Census Bureau; Pew; Social Security Administration; St. Louis Fed; AARP; Economic Policy Institute

HOW YOU CAN BETTER PREPARE

1 WORK LONGER
Savings and benefits can rise substantially for each year you delay retirement.

2 LIVE TOGETHER
Pooling resources with family and friends can help you maintain your standard of living.

GROUND ZERO

IF THERE'S ONE PLACE IN AMERICA THAT best captures the complex mix of economic, social and demographic trends that play into the looming retirement crisis, it's California. Like many other national stories, this one bubbled up early in the Golden State. Long before Detroit went bust, the state was in the news for its public-pension troubles, including massive bankruptcies in Stockton, Vallejo and San Bernardino. California is also emblematic of all the worrisome trends: it has more retirees, young people without benefits, poor people, immigrants and small and midsize businesses than most states. In other words, it checks all the boxes of groups most at risk of an insecure retirement.

Yet the Golden State is also coming up with some of the most forward-thinking ideas. De León's approach, called the California Secure Choice Retirement Savings Program (CSC), was signed into law in 2012 by Governor Jerry Brown. It aims to combine the best of old-style defined-benefit plans (traditional pensions that guarantee workers a set level of yearly income in retirement) with the flexibility and mobility of a 401(k). CSC will cover workers in California who don't currently have access to formal retirement savings via their work. "I'm a big fan," says Monique Morrissey, an economist with the liberal Economic Policy Institute who recently testified before Congress on retirement security. "It's probably the farthest along of all the retirement-reform ideas in terms of practical implementation."

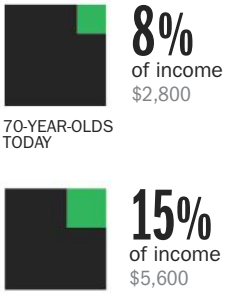
Details of the plan, which will launch in early 2016, are now being hashed out

PEOPLE AREN'T SAVING ENOUGH

Individual annual rate of disposable income saved

MEDICAL EXPENSES CONTINUE TO RISE

Medical out-of-pocket costs per year



WAGES AREN'T CLOSING THE GAP

Median hourly wage in 2011 dollars

3

AUTO-DEDUCT

Automatically putting aside even a few dollars a month adds up over several years.

4

CONSIDER INDEX FUNDS

They're cheaper, and studies show they often outperform actively managed funds.

5

TAP INTO EQUITY

Most of our wealth is in our homes. Cash in by selling and downsizing or consider a reverse mortgage.

in consultation with a variety of industry and academic experts. It's likely that CSC will use behavioral nudges to get as many eligible people as possible to participate—for instance, by making enrollment automatic unless a worker opts out, rather than requiring a sign-up to opt in.

Participants in CSC would sock away at least 3% of their income, most likely in a conservative index fund, in which money is invested in all the stocks listed in a specified index. For instance, in an S&P 500 fund, the pooled money is invested in all 500 stocks in that index. Index funds are considered a simple way to ensure that investors see the same return as the overall stock market—and they're cheaper too, since index funds don't employ stock-picking wizards and charge the related fees.

The possibility of more workers putting savings into such low-cost funds may help explain why CSC is getting resistance from the Securities Industry and Financial Markets Association (SIFMA), a trade group for securities firms and asset managers. But a version of this plan has already been enacted for nonprofit workers in Massachusetts, and plans similar to CSC are being discussed by governors and legislatures in states including New York, Illinois, Oregon, Washington, Connecticut, Maryland, Minnesota and Arizona. If successful, CSC and plans like it would put the government deeper in the business of guaranteeing retirement security. They would also underscore the fact that a 100% private, do-it-yourself system isn't working—at least for many Americans.

De León, the force behind CSC, was raised by his Mexican mother, who died of cancer at 54, and his aunt. Both women worked as maids in various affluent California homes. De León says he became focused on retirement security last year when his aunt, who is 74, fell ill and couldn't work.

"She was still cleaning homes in La Jolla when she had a stroke. She had no IRA, no 401(k), nothing. She had been working essentially freelance," says de León. "I became her 401(k). I had to give her money because her Social Security didn't suffice for her basic expenses, like housing, food, medication, a bus pass."

De León's district, in downtown Los Angeles, is home to many people in a similar fix. A melting pot that includes the city's Chinatown, Koreatown, Little Armenia and other ethnic enclaves, it's full of small entrepreneurs, immigrants and freelancers who work not at big blue chips but in the less secure firms and "gig economy" that's increasingly becoming the norm in America.

STILL WORKING

PAULA DROMI IS ONE OF THOSE WORKERS. A 75-year-old social worker, Dromi lives in a small three-bedroom bungalow near de León's office in downtown L.A. with one of her two grown sons (who moved back to save money after a period of unemployment) as well as a friend. Both housemates help Dromi pay major living expenses. Her Social Security plus the money she makes working as a part-time freelance therapist amounts to about $1,700 a month. But her home insurance, property taxes and mortgage alone are nearly $1,500. Both she and her journalist husband (who died in 2000) saved for retirement, but years of co-payments on medical bills for his brain illness depleted both his $35,000 IRA and their $30,000 in savings.

Dromi was left with her $60,000 IRA—lower than it might have been because she changed jobs often and, like many other women, took time off to raise children—and her home, which is valued at $442,000. She could always sell the house. But if she did, she says, she'd have to move out of L.A. because of its lack of cheaper housing. Instead she has pieced together a multigenerational home and a freelance work life that she hopes she can maintain indefinitely. "I'll be working another 20 years, assuming I can," says Dromi.

In a way, Dromi is lucky. She has a home that she can share and is healthy enough to work, at least for the time being. But the fact that an educated professional who saved and had health insurance can end up scraping to get by in retirement underscores how fragile the system is.

That fragility is in large part due to the massive shifts in the American retirement system since 1980. That's when the 401(k) plan was invented, by a benefits consultant working on a cash-bonus scheme for bankers, who had the idea to take advantage of an obscure provision in the tax code passed two years earlier, allowing for

deferred compensation of individuals to be matched by their company.

The result was the 401(k), a savings account that lets employees contribute pretax income from their paycheck (sometimes with employers matching some or all of the amount) but, unlike the traditional pension, does not promise a specific regular payment upon retirement. Holders of 401(k)s amass a hopefully growing fund from which they can draw money when they retire.

This system is largely based on accident and anomaly—401(k)s were never meant to replace traditional pensions as a primary retirement vehicle, but they have. We've ended up with a bifurcated system that has the upper third of society doing better and everyone else doing worse. Statistics show that people retiring now who have been invested in 401(k)s rather than traditional defined-benefit pensions are less well off than those who came before them. That's because 401(k)s typically work best for people who work for big companies, with salaries that allow them to put away double-digit percentages of their income, and who have either the sophistication to choose their own asset allocations well or a benefits department that offers up smart options and auto-enrolls them in the plan.

The problem is, most Americans don't fall within that group. Only 64% of private-sector workers have any kind of formal retirement plan, and fewer than half sign up for one. What's more, the number of people with access to plans is declining; part-time and freelance workers usually don't qualify. With the situation becoming increasingly dire, there is a drumbeat to reform the 401(k) system. Options include making enrollment mandatory, providing state-sponsored IRAs (or even national ones like Obama's MyRA, which is based on the highly successful, low-fee Thrift Savings Plan offered to federal workers) and cutting red tape and costs so that more small businesses could offer employees 401(k) plans.

But the efforts have been piecemeal and ineffectual. Some critics blame the financial-industry lobby. In a letter to the California treasurer late last year arguing against the CSC plan, SIFMA contended that such programs would "directly compete for business with a wide range of California financial-services firms" and that state money should be put not into creating universal retirement plans but into educating individuals "about the benefits of early and regular savings for retirement."

De León responds that it's asking a lot of many workers to navigate the complex investment choices in many private plans. Indeed, over time, passive index funds typically beat all but a handful of actively managed funds, and many individual workers don't have access to the highest-performing vehicles.

SYSTEM REBOOT

THAT'S WHY MANY RETIREMENT SCHOLARS would like to see the entire system changed, starting with 401(k) plans themselves. Harkin's bill, the USA Retirement Funds Act, aims to make it more difficult for people to borrow from 401(k)s. This "leakage," when savers tap their retirement funds prematurely, is a big reason people come up short in retirement. Harkin's proposal would also shift the standard payout from a lump sum to a steady income stream in retirement.

Some experts would also like to see the government force more workers to save. For those who have access to 401(k)s, "Congress should make automatic enrollment mandatory, and plans should invest people in low- or no-fee index funds," says Alicia Munnell, director of Boston College's Center for Retirement Research. She and others also suggest establishing third-party administrators that would run the programs for groups of companies—bringing together more workers, creating better economies of scale, lowering fees and raising returns.

Governments are, of course, a possible candidate to run such programs—that's essentially what de León is proposing to do for workers who are currently not covered by any other plan. Critics say government has a poor track record when it comes to protecting retiree savings, citing public-employee pensions in cities like Stockton, Calif. De León counters that unlike public-pension plans that promised 8% returns a year and cushy retirements, the CSC model has more modest aspirations—around 3% returns and a "livable yearly wage in retirement."

Unfortunately, truly fixing American retirement will likely take more than even mandatory 401(k) plans and diminished expectations. Social Security reform is a subject that must be debated soon, in a real way, if we want to avoid having a generation of elderly poor. The fact that fewer than 10% of America's elderly are currently poor largely reflects the contribution of Social Security to their income. Without it, says Pew's Paul Taylor, author of the book *The Next America*, about half of people over 65 would be poor.

Beyond that, it's probably inevitable that we'll all be working longer. Munnell of the Center for Retirement Research points out that delaying the start of Social Security benefits from age 62 to 70 could increase monthly payouts by 76%. "Most of us are healthier and have less physically demanding jobs than our parents and grandparents," Munnell says. "Stretching out our work lives is a sensible option."

Changing our households to return to a once common multifamily structure, as Paula Dromi and her son have done, may be another. Taylor is hopeful that such forced communal living may actually help spark the tough political debate needed to reform entitlements and enhance retirement security while continuing to invest in our economy for the sake of the young. The portion of the population most worried about retirement are the 20- and 30-somethings who see an uncertain future as they struggle to pay off student loans and establish themselves in the work world, and perhaps lean on their parents for support. "There's a growing sense, for all the generations, that no one has been spared and everyone is suffering to some extent," says Taylor. "There's also a sense that we're all in this together—and maybe that has the potential to change this zero-sum debate." If we're lucky, that may help us find the way to a system in which people of all generations can retire with security and dignity. ■

ONLY 64% OF PRIVATE-SECTOR WORKERS HAVE ANY KIND OF **FORMAL RETIREMENT PLAN,** AND FEWER THAN HALF SIGN UP FOR ONE

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SECOND ACTS LIFE IS LONG. YOURS MAY BE OVERDUE FOR AN OVERHAUL

BY JANE PAULEY

MY FRIEND MEG WAS SUCCESSFULLY treated for thyroid cancer in her 30s, but at every annual checkup afterward she braced for bad news. At lunch after a recent visit with her doctor, she was wearing such a worried expression that we were prepared for the worst. Here's what her doctor had said: "Meg, I think you've dodged a bullet. I don't think that cancer is coming back."

Good news! And yet the look on her face was not joy or even relief. Meg had been living year to year. Now, facing the prospect that she might go on living a long time, she felt completely unprepared. As she said, "What am I going to do for 40 years?"

IT'S THE QUESTION OF THE AGE—AND the question of our age. My generation is the first to get a heads-up that many of us will be living longer than we ever imagined, many of us working into our 70s and living into our 90s. But what are we going to do? As Laura Carstensen, director of the Stanford Center on Longevity, notes, "The culture hasn't had time to catch up. The enormity of this hasn't hit people."

Our midlives are lasting longer. What does midlife mean now? It used to be the beginning of a long glide into retirement, which many of us still look forward to. Unlike previous generations, who retired *from* something, my generation hopes to retire *to* something. *Retirement* is a word with new meanings—no longer a door marked EXIT. Think instead of a door that swings on a hinge, moving us forward to something new—though many if not most of us lack a ready answer for what that something is. Still, research has shown that people 50 and older are more active and vital in their outlook than 50-somethings were only 10 years ago! We share an inchoate feeling that there is something *more*.

Marc Freedman of Encore.org, which helps people pursue second acts for the greater good, says we've been blessed with a "bonus decade or two or three." We still have options. And the Gen X-ers are not far behind—they started turning 50 in 2014.

The timing isn't bad. A few years ago researchers discovered that, around the age of 40, people begin to experience a diminished sense of well-being. They were surprised to find this in men and women, rich and poor, all over the world. But the bigger surprise was what came next: around the age of 50, feelings of well-being begin to rise again—and keep on rising, well into the 70s. In the 21st century, 50 is the beginning of a new and aspirational time of life.

ERIK TANNER FOR TIME

A REINVENTION OF HER OWN

Broadcast journalist Jane Pauley, who co-hosted the *Today* show at age 25 and is now a contributor on CBS's *Sunday Morning,* has fashioned her own second chapter, as an author.

In her best-selling 2004 memoir, *Skywriting: A Life Out of the Blue,* she chronicled her youth, her TV career and, in hopes of helping others touched by the condition, her struggle with bipolar disorder.

We have all known inspiring individuals who have defied the stereotypes of aging to lead long, creative and productive lives, but until now that was perceived as the exception. You may be surprised to know that people over 55 represent the largest group of owners of new business startups. At a time when our own parents and grandparents expected to wind things down, 50 is now the era of the second wind.

That doesn't mean it is going to be easy. Stanford's Carstensen notes that with our new vitality come some pretty big questions. "Those of us living today have been handed a remarkable gift with no strings attached—an extra 30 years of life for the average person," she says. "Now that gift is forcing us to answer a uniquely 21st century question: What are we going to do with our supersized lives?"

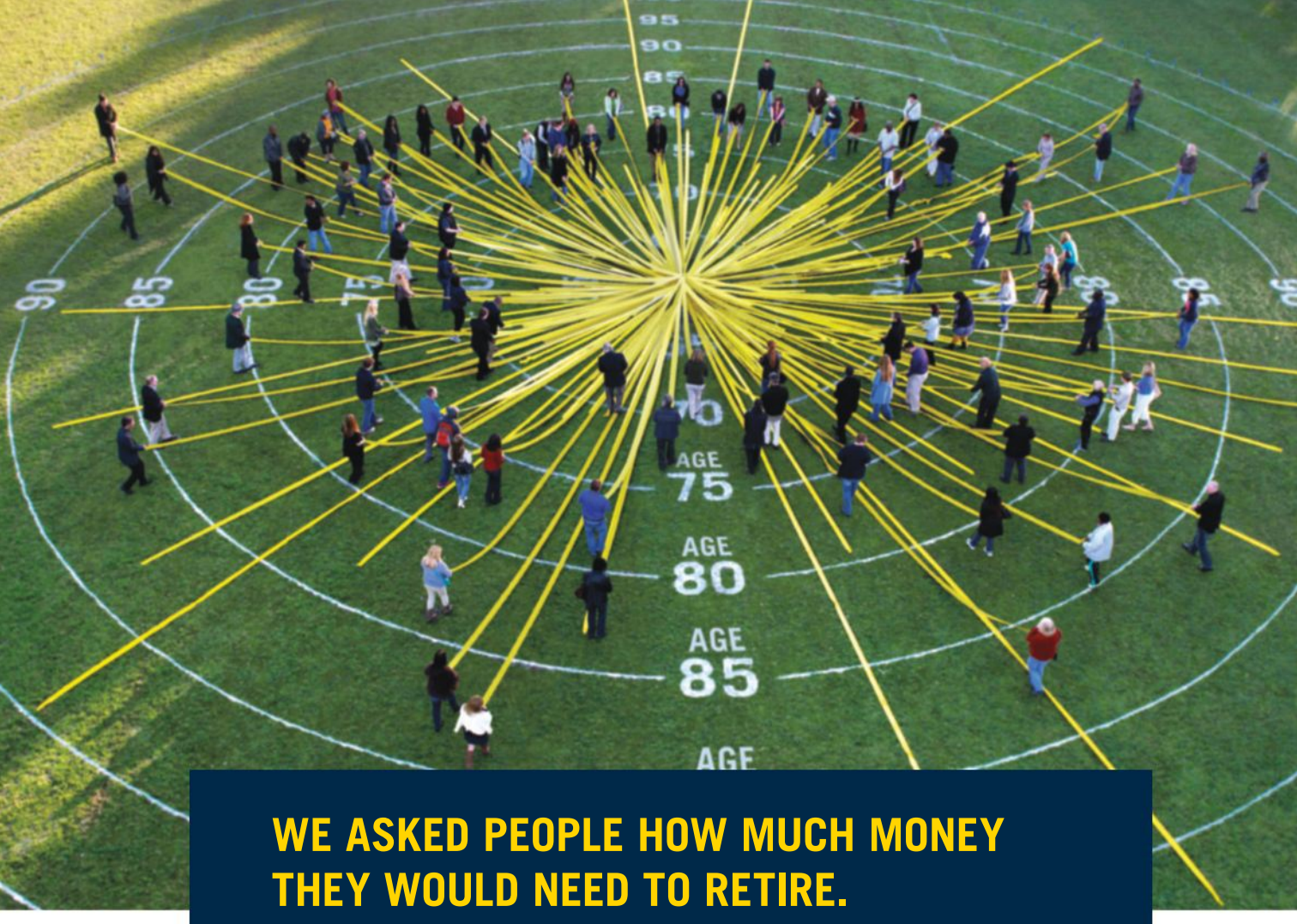
I DON'T FASHION MYSELF AN AUTHORITY, but I have spent the past few years of my life traveling the nation talking to people who have reinvented themselves. Here are some common misconceptions you may have about reinvention: that you have to get it right the first time; that there is some more authentic "you" waiting to be revealed; that reinvention is a total makeover. Or that everyone has a passion to follow.

Based on my own experience, I'd endorse a couple of counterintuitive ideas instead: Trial and error are keys to growth and self-knowledge. Reinvention may require being reintroduced to yourself. Self-discovery may not be a requirement for reinvention, but it may be the payoff.

It's been my personal observation that if there's a secret to reinvention, it's that there isn't one, or rather, there isn't only one. There are as many ways to do it as there are experts eager to guide us. As Bertolt Brecht put it, "The shortest line between two points can be a crooked line."

For the lucky few, here's a chance to reach toward a long-nurtured dream. For many, the way forward may feel like groping in the dark, as it did for me. Frankly, we are all making it up as we go along. But how reassuring to know we're all in this together. ■

Pauley's latest book, from which this article is adapted, is Your Life Calling: Reimagining the Rest of Your Life *(Simon & Schuster)*



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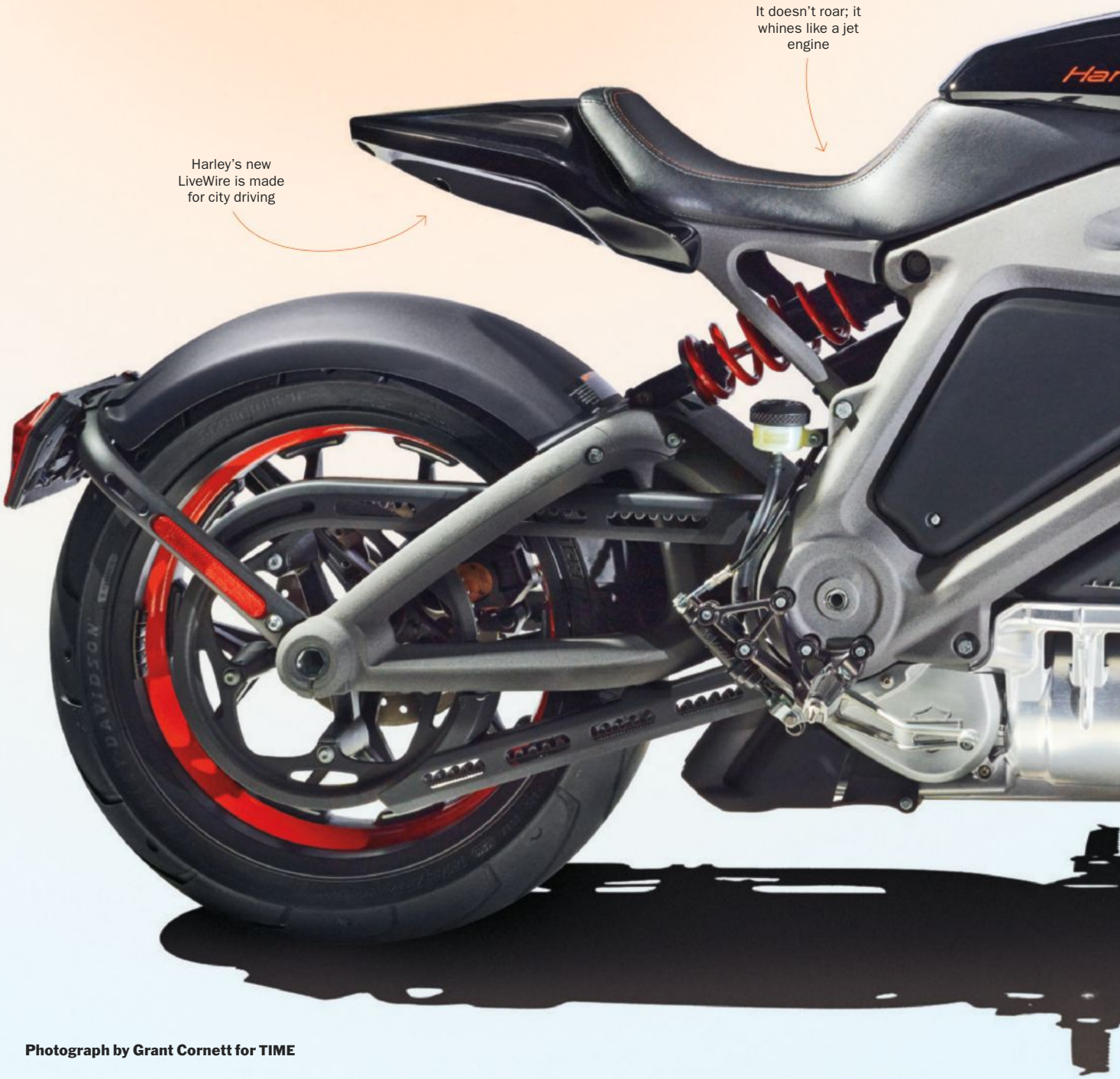
MANUFACTURING

This Harley

WILL THIS BATTERY-POWERED HOG HELP THE FAMED CYCLEMAKER GROW BEYOND AGING BOOMERS?

By Bill Saporito/Milwaukee



Photograph by Grant Cornett for TIME

Is Electric.


The electric battery can go for 100 miles and recharges in about three hours

▲ 1903 HARLEY
Ads for early models touted how quietly the motor runs

▲ 1925 JDCB
The teardrop gas tank was introduced

▲ 1936 EL 61
The stylish bike became known as the Knucklehead

FLIP BOOK
FOR A VIDEO HISTORY, GO TO **time.com/harley**

▲ 1968 ELECTRA GLIDE
It became a legendary bike. Dig that fender

▲ 1971 SUPER GLIDE
The cruiser known as the Boattail

It's bike night at the Harley-Davidson Museum near downtown Milwaukee. Outside this Modernist cathedral of chrome, hundreds of riders have parked their Harleys to admire one another's bikes, swap stories and enjoy a perfect May evening. Anyone from a corporate marketing department happening on this scene might have been horrified, because it would not suggest a growing market. Bike Night in Milwaukee sure looks like Old White Guys' Night. The only diversity among this group of aging boomers is in the beer brands in the cozies they carry. But Mark-Hans Richer, who is indeed Harley's marketing boss, isn't bothered. "We love old white guys," says Richer, who is not quite one. "Our old white guys are great customers, we love them, and we never want to walk away from them."

That said, Harley is in the midst of a complete reimagining as it increasingly tries to appeal to African Americans, Hispanics and women, not to mention riders in China and India, all of whom have become target customers. Global demographics—more young people with less money to spend—are forging big changes at the iconic firm. Harley still sells the rebellious, hell-raising, American free-spirit ideal that it rode to fame in the 1950s and '60s. But that isn't a strategy for running a company in 2014.

The Great Recession drove Ford to the wall and Chrysler and GM into bankruptcy, forcing drastic operational and cultural changes that made them more efficient, higher-quality operators. Harley was in better shape than the auto companies going into the recession but fared worse after the downturn: motorcycles are typically a second or third ride for Americans. Harley's sales plunged from $5.8 billion in 2006 to $3.1 billion in 2010, even as autos were recovering. Its U.S. market share fell from 51% in 2006 to 43% in 2008, according to the Trefis research firm. The average age of its customers increased to 49 from 44.

Worse, perhaps, is that when sales turned up again, Harley reverted to form. And form wasn't particularly good. Harley's product line was full of retreads, and it had little to offer consumers in emerging markets like India and China. "There was a recognition that it was a great company, 108 years old," says CEO Keith Wandell, a former auto-parts executive who took over in 2009 and began to force Harley to behave. "A lot of great things had happened, but I think what was apparent was that we'd become stuck in time. We had become sort of resistant to change and doing things differently."

This year Harley's sales should increase 9.7%, to $6.5 billion, and it will move perhaps 283,000 motorcycles. It's introducing new lower-powered, lower-priced models for young riders and taking its biggest technology risk ever: the LiveWire, an electric-powered, urban globocycle whose high-pitched, jetlike whine sounds nothing like the Harley roar—that hurricane of sound that tells you a V-twin gas-engine hog is approaching even before you check your rearview. "We have a powerful brand and a powerful product—that's why we are doing this. It isn't the better-mousetrap strategy," says Wandell. If the bike sells, it will punctuate the turnaround of a uniquely American corporation.

The electric Harley sitting on a small test track behind the company's development center in Wauwatosa, outside Milwaukee, isn't going to be confused with some of the putt-putt electrics on the market today. The design of LiveWire is gnarly enough to be Harley: it's angular and agile, with a cast-aluminum exoskeleton sitting on a short wheelbase with 18-in. tires. The tires are a little bigger than normal and the seat a little higher, so the cycle can more easily jump curbs and handle the potholes of New Delhi or New York City. The turn signals and rear lamp are glowing LEDs, like those found on high-end Audis. What's missing is the steroidal engine sitting under the rider—replaced by a lithium-ion-battery-powered motor.

In electric cars, the compartment for the battery that powers the vehicle takes up a disproportionate amount of space and produces a lot of heat that has to be dissipated. That's a lot harder to do on a bike. Engineers jammed as much battery into the bike as they could to deliver sufficient acceleration.

▲ **1942 WLA**
Like Jeeps, Harleys went to war. Note the front gun rack

▲ **1957 XL SPORTSTER**
In the postwar era, Harley started its rebellious phase

▲ **1984 FXST SOFTAIL**
The 1,340-cc Evolution engine took seven years to develop

▲ **1990 FLSTF FAT BOY**
The name was controversial; the bike became a legend

▲ **2015 STREET 750**
The global Harley, designed for a younger rider

LiveWire generates 75 horsepower and goes from zero to 60 m.p.h. in four seconds.

Sound was another challenge because Harleys rumble even at low r.p.m.—a sound referenced, onomatopoeically, as *potato, potato, potato*. The LiveWire's gearbox-and-motor combo produced a new and somewhat unexpected sound, which the engineers tuned. "We knew immediately we had something cool," says Jeff Richlen, the chief engineer.

What's it like to ride? The beauty of all electric motors is that you get torque—the force that turns the wheels—on command. You don't have to go through the gears. Twist the throttle and LiveWire responds like an impatient New Yorker, even if the engine growl lags. (The pedal-to-engine-noise disconnect is familiar to owners of electric cars like the Chevrolet Volt, Toyota Prius and Nissan Leaf.) LiveWire's speed tops out at 92 m.p.h, by which time it sounds like a big Fourth of July rocket whizzing by. "We wanted to make this a real Harley," says Richlen. Right now, the bike has a range of 100 miles—fine for city riding—and recharges in about three hours.

Harley isn't releasing LiveWire for sale until customers and dealers have a chance to weigh in. The company began offering test rides to select customers this month. Can they accept any battery-powered bike as a true Harley? Yes, says Gail Worth, who owns Gail's Harley-Davidson, located outside Kansas City, Mo. "The world is ready for a Harley-Davidson e-bike," she says. "Electric bikes are going to be on the street. That is the one element left that will allow Harley to just take over the motorcycle market." Harley hasn't priced its rocket yet, but as with electric automobiles, consumers will typically pay a 10% to 20% premium for electric bikes, which suggests something north of $20,000. Worth expects LiveWire to debut in a year.

The electric-motorcycle market is generating a lot of interest these days. BMW already sells a $22,500 C Evolution e-Scooter in Europe. Although the market for e-cycles is still small, the consultancy Navigant Research predicts that domestic sales will grow tenfold and reach 36,000 units by 2018. A couple of specialty manufacturers, such as Brammo and Zero, are already in the market. Harley says it isn't worried about being late to market. "If it's green, it's badass green. It has character," says Richer. "We don't see our competitor understanding that."

LIVEWIRE ISN'T JUST A FLASHY NEW CONcept for Harley; it's also the product of a painful corporate revolution long in the making. In the depths of the downturn, the company produced print ads that proclaimed, "We don't do fear … Screw it, let's ride." The bravado was a misdirected rallying cry. "We were heading downhill—not spiraling but walking down this hill pretty fast," says Worth, who also heads Harley's dealer council. Sales of the company's best-selling heavy bikes fell 50%.

When Wandell arrived in 2009, sales had begun to pick up, but the company had no new products in the pipeline to meet the increasing demand. Harley's 1,500 dealers vented, but Harley's product-development cycle was so sluggish that the company needed far more time to get new products to market than the competition: some five to six years. New cars are created in half that time.

Global regard for the Harley brand had long insulated it from bad management. In 1969 a conglomerate named AMF, which you might know from its bowling pins, bought Harley. The motorcycle company suffered from corporate inattention, and in 1981 a management-led investor group bought it back. But it remained a boom-bust outfit that relied on periodic economic upticks to bail it out.

Wandell spent most of his career at Johnson Controls, an auto-components maker. So his being chosen to become Harley's boss attracted some criticism—he wasn't a Harley guy. But Wandell quickly drew up a "short list of big things" that had to change: how the company designed products, how it made them and how it interacted with customers. Everything, in other words. He replaced all but one of the top bosses, mostly with talent he found being squandered in middle management.

One of those talented people was

Where's Brando? *Harley exports the bad-boy image along with the bikes, as at this rally in China*

Michelle Kumbier, whom Wandell tapped to reshape Harley's product development. Though not an engineer, Kumbier took an engineer's approach, benchmarking the company against other manufacturers like Ford. Then she shared the not-so-pretty results: by any measure, Harley was a laggard in both product-development cycles and manufacturing efficiency. "Engineers were able to accept the truth if you showed them the data and the evidence. We showed them the road map. This is how we are going to get to world class." Since then Harley has cut its time to market in half.

In another big shift, Harley says it has become customer- and dealer-led. Worth says the listening is real. "It used to be lip service," she says. "'Let's sit down and have a beer.' They'd fix onesie-twosie things. Now they handle it as business. We don't sit around drinking beer with each other anymore." Oddly enough, for an outfit with such a devoted following, Harley used to build products based on its managers' gut feelings, which was fine when the customers were mostly white boomers. But now the customers could be newly wealthy Chinese looking for style, city-dwelling millennials who need utility and affordability or retirees who want a trike that doesn't embarrass them.

That shift led to a company initiative code-named Rushmore, whose mission was to produce new products for this multiculti world. Harley took a fresh look at every aspect of motorcycling—the issue of the rider's head being buffeted by wind, the position of the saddlebags, the passenger's viewpoint—and integrated new technology like GPS. How, for instance, could a rider use a touchscreen while going 80 m.p.h. and wearing leather riding gloves? The research led to more than 106 changes in the way that its touring bikes are built.

Harley-Davidson's plunge into advanced technology—a third of its engineering is now focused on innovation—led it to LiveWire. A small group of developers was freed to work on the project. "It's a symbol of what we can be," says Matt Levatich, Harley's president, "not what we shouldn't do. Why not us?"

More immediately, Rushmore yielded something that wouldn't have been contemplated before: smaller bikes for younger riders, especially women. This year Harley introduced its lower-end Street series, high-riding bikes with 500-cc and 750-cc engines that still provide a Harley feel for less than $7,500. "Street is about access over engine displacement," says Richer. "It is designed with a global customer in mind. You can grow up in Beijing and Chicago, and you might have a cultural connection that your parents didn't have 25 years ago."

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With Street, the company now has models that can compete in developing nations such as Brazil, South Africa and India, where price matters. Harley is a latecomer to India, but it is now assembling bikes in Bawal and sponsoring group rides in places like Goa that can attract 5,000 cyclists who want to taste the American ideal. Harley is feeding that hunger: overseas cycle sales now account for 36% of the company's total. Indeed, there are now group-ride events in China, Africa and India.

The smaller bikes are also a better fit for Europe, where consumers prefer sport and utility cycles like Street over Softail cruisers. In China, Harley doesn't have the opportunity that American automakers have. Motorcycles are banned from many highways and urban areas. But just as they prefer big Buicks, Chinese riders are hog lovers, as are riders in Japan, home to giants such as Yamaha and Kawasaki.

So far, the strategy appears to be working. Harley has picked up two market-share points in Europe on BMW. And while Street models are now heading to U.S. dealers, the company is living you-know-where on the hog with its traditional cruiser bikes. It owns 56% of the market, up from 41.5% in 2008, according to Wells Fargo Securities. Even better, the supply of white guys over age 35 figures to be about 50 million strong in the U.S. for the next 25 years. "We're not dying a slow death," says Levatich. "We're creating a new future." ■

CARLOS BARRIA—REUTERS

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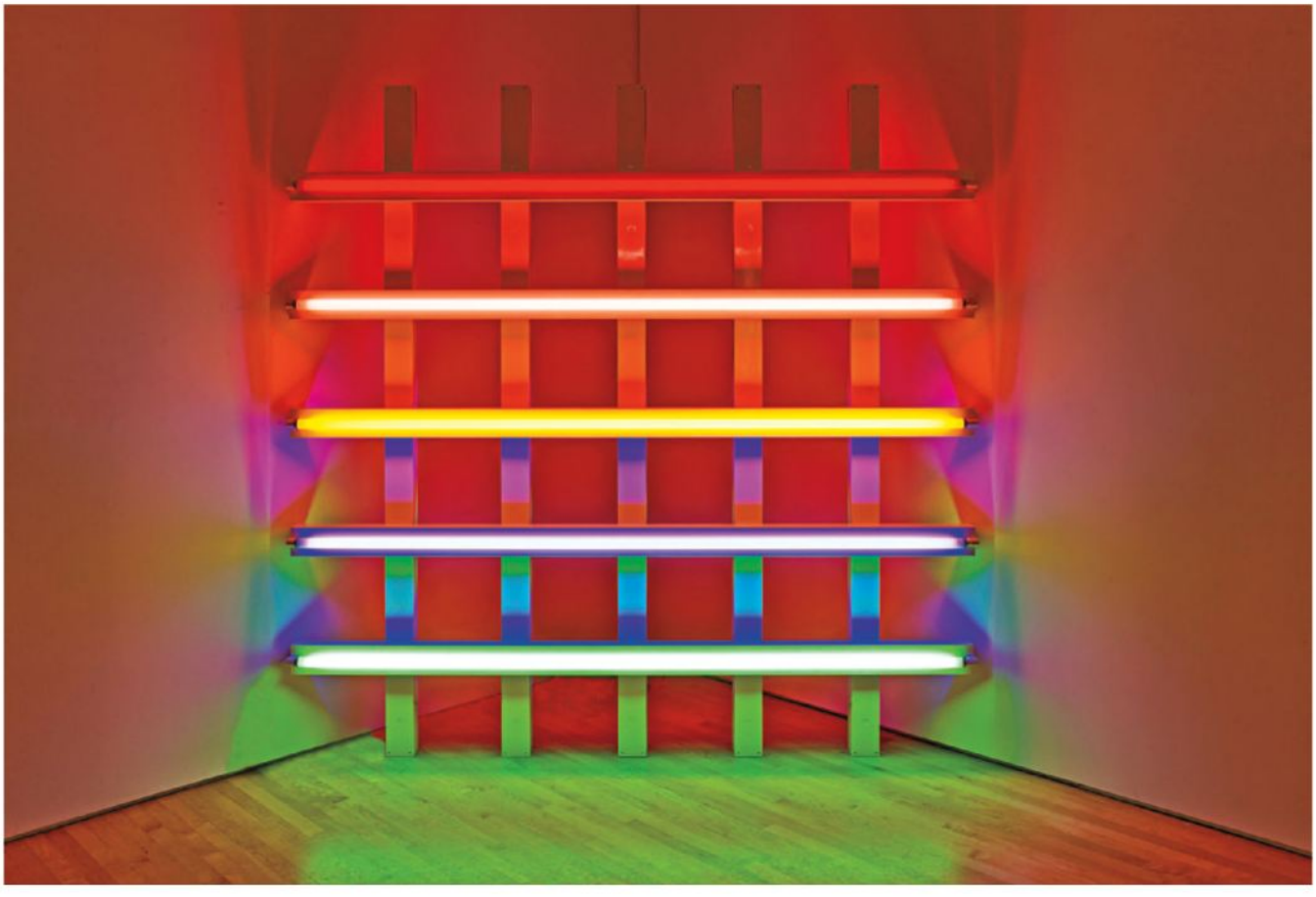
'I HAD NO INTEREST IN TAILORING SONGS FOR TOP 40 RADIO, FOR 14-YEAR-OLD GIRLS OR BOYS.' **PAGE 56**

THE WEEK
TRANSFORMERS GO TO HONG KONG

The Culture



EXHIBITS

Sitting Pretty

Visual art has always had the power to inspire both adulation and outrage. **"Gorgeous,"** a new exhibit at the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, explores the line between the exquisite and the grotesque. A collaboration with the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, the show runs from late June to mid-September and spans 2,200 years. The 72 objects on display range from 18th century Chinese sculpture to Sally Mann's controversial black-and-white images of her young children. Visitors aren't expected to find every work alluring; the museum warns that its mission is to provoke the eye, not just please it.

This glowing sculpture from minimalist Dan Flavin is on display from June 20 to Sept. 14

MUSIC

Heartthrob

When he's not working on a Ph.D. in philosophy at Chicago's DePaul University, Tom Krell creates ambient, emotional R&B under the name How to Dress Well. He follows up two critically acclaimed albums with ***"What Is This Heart?"*** on June 24.

MOVIES

Ice Queen

You might not recognize Tilda Swinton in ***Snowpiercer,*** a South Korean–American sci-fi film about what happens after a failed attempt to solve global warming plunges earth into an ice age. The cooldown begins June 27.

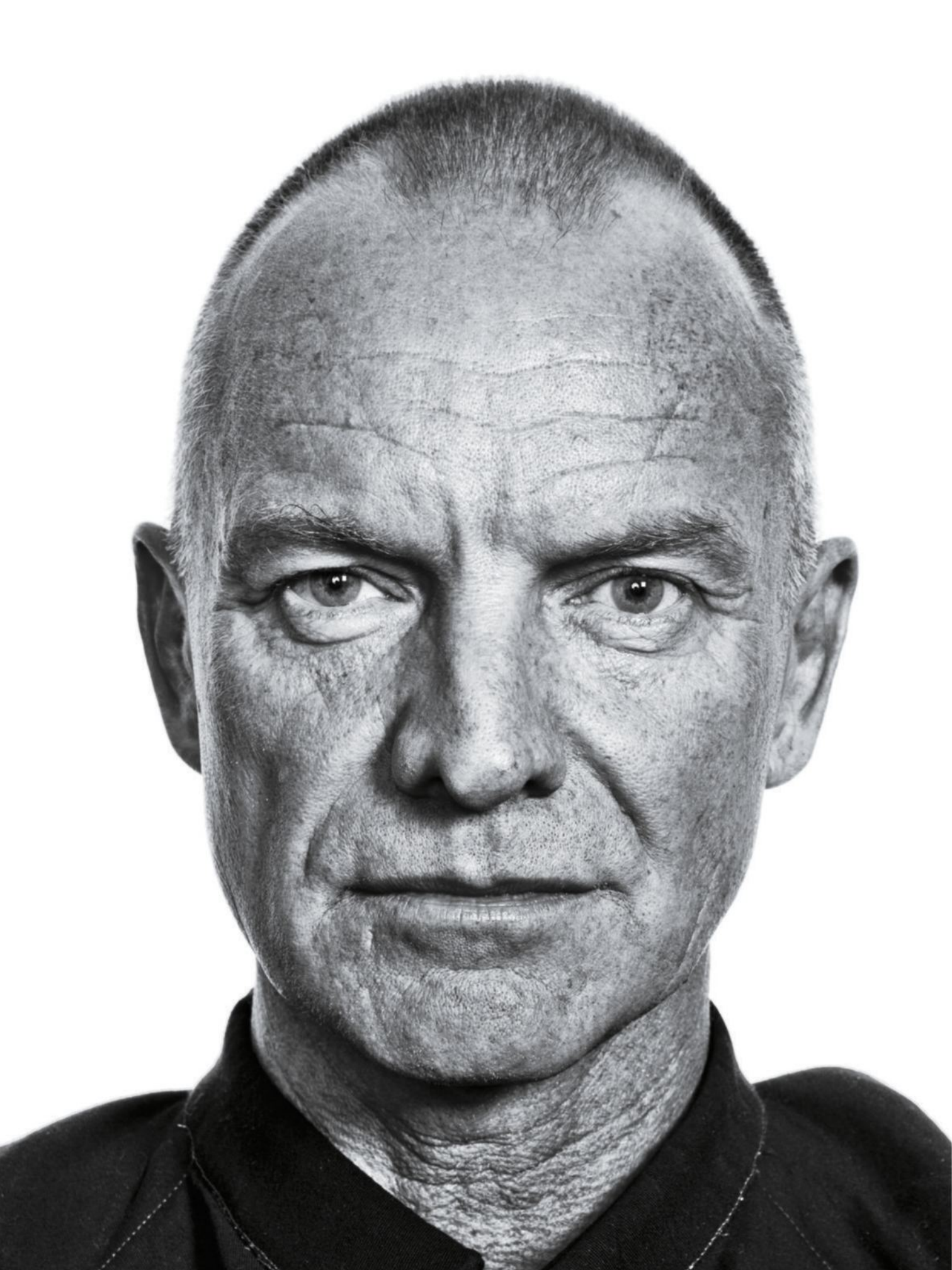
TELEVISION

One for All

France's 170-year-old story of three royal bodyguards has been adapted countless times, but BBC America's ***The Musketeers,*** premiering June 22, promises to do what others haven't: dive deeper into the trio's emotional baggage.

By Nolan Feeney

HOW TO DRESS WELL: DOMINO; SNOWPIERCER: REX; THE MUSKETEERS: BBC; UNTITLED (IN HONOR OF LEO AT THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS GALLERY), 1987: DAN FLAVIN. COLLECTION SFMOMA. PHYLLIS C. WATTIS FUND FOR MAJOR ACCESSIONS. 2012.204. © 2014 STEPHEN FLAVIN/ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY, NEW YORK



Shipyard Serenade

After a decade devoid of new songs, Sting writes a musical about his youth

By Stuart Miller

AS THE SUPERSTAR FRONT MAN OF THE Police, Sting wrote nearly every song on the band's five hit albums from 1978 to 1983. For the next two decades, as a solo artist, he issued seven more albums, scored 11 hit singles and won 10 Grammys. Then the songs stopped.

So many years had passed since he'd written his last notes that Sting began to wonder if his muse was gone for good. But rather than hang up his pen, he took on a new challenge in the face of writer's block: creating a Broadway musical. "I had no interest in tailoring songs for Top 40 radio, for 14-year-old girls or boys," he tells TIME. "I'm a 62-year-old man. Where is the arena to present my work? It's not radio anymore."

The show he wrote, *The Last Ship,* debuted at Chicago's Bank of America Theatre on June 10, a precursor to a Broadway engagement this fall. Sting summoned the tale from a childhood that took place literally in the shadows of enormous freighters being built at the end of his now demolished street in Wallsend, a port town near Newcastle in northeastern England. His grandfather was a shipwright, and others in the family worked in the yards or on the ships. Growing up as Gordon Sumner, he says, "I feared that world was my destiny," until a "battered old guitar" became his "accomplice, a co-conspirator to escape."

Sting returned to this world with eyes made sharp and clear by the passage of time and distance. "I'm not romanticizing the shipyards. These were tough and dangerous jobs, and the toxic chemicals those guys worked with were appalling," he says. "But the men could point to something and say, 'I built that.' And they had a sense of common purpose amidst the hardship. That's a loss."

In *The Last Ship*, a self-exiled man returns home and finds his community about to vanish. They will build one last ship to show the world what they do and who they are. "It's about a ridiculous, quixotic, Homeric gesture," Sting says. "In a way, so is creating a musical."

"A Theatrical Assassin"

IN 2009, WITH HIS CONCEPT IN MIND, Sting met with producer Jeffrey Seller, who had won Tonys for shows that seemed unlikely ever to reach Broadway, let alone become hits: *Rent*, *Avenue Q* and *In the Heights*. Seller was excited by Sting's "unlikely and beautiful notion" but wanted to make sure the pop star understood what he was getting into. "I said, 'Creating a musical is very frustrating and has many roadblocks and will take longer than you think,'" Seller recalls. "He said, 'That

ANCHORED IN ANOTHER ERA
The Last Ship, *which debuted in Chicago, captures the final days of the docks in Wallsend, where Sting grew up. The shipyard closed in 2007*

Photograph by David Johnson for TIME

sounds just like being in a rock band.'"

Their meeting reawakened Sting's voice. "It opened the floodgates, and 40 or 45 songs just poured out of me almost fully formed," he says, "as though they'd been bottled up inside."

Songs like "The Last Ship" tell the story of the tight-knit community; others have a strong autobiographical flavor. In "Dead Man's Boots" the father sings, "It's time for a man to put down roots and walk to the river in his old man's boots." But the son eventually responds, "Why in the hell would I do that? And why would I agree?," evoking the showdown between Sting, who wanted to attend a school where he could study Latin and literature and art, and his milkman father, who thought the lad should go to technical school, as he had.

Thanks to his mother, young Gordon won. She was also key in providing musical inspiration: she kept albums by Elvis Presley and Little Richard around the house, not to mention the cast recordings from productions of *Oklahoma!* and *West Side Story* that gave the future composer his first taste of Broadway musicals.

With a rock legend telling a personal story, Seller knew he'd need to assemble a creative team who could collaborate with Sting as peers—"people who would not be in awe, who could say, 'That song's not good enough' or 'That's not the right moment for it.'" So Seller brought in director Joe Mantello, who has won two Tony Awards and a Drama Desk Award for *Wicked* and *Take Me Out*, among other shows. John Logan, who won a Tony for *Red* and earned Oscar nods for screenplays such as *Gladiator* and *Hugo*, was tapped to shape the book.

Sting, who admits he was used to being "more of a dictator in a band," says the musical is the most collaborative thing he has ever attempted. And his creative partners found him open to their suggestions. "He liked being challenged," Mantello says. "I said to him, 'Every line has to argue for its existence,' and he became a theatrical assassin."

The only time the rocker faltered was when he was told to jettison one of his favorite tunes, "Practical Arrangement," about an older man falling for a younger woman. To enhance dramatic tension in the show's love triangle, the male character had to be rewritten, says Sting, "to be as viable and virile as his rival." Having identified with the aging lover, Sting initially resented this young replacement, but eventually he acquiesced and wrote a new song, "What Say You, Meg?" "Practical Arrangement" joined a handful of other songs excised from the original score. "I'm half-seriously thinking of putting on a show of me singing all the songs that didn't make it into the musical," says Sting.

IN THE SHADOW OF SHIPS
A 1975 view of Gerald Street, where Sting grew up adjacent to the Swan Hunter docks. His grandfather was a shipwright there

Handing off his songs to other performers was easier than expected, and Sting was delighted by the depths a full theatrical cast added. The title song sounds haunting and elegiac in his solo rendition, but in the production it fills out with a grandeur worthy of the community's quest. The chorus' backing vocals convey the majestic rolling and crashing of waves out at sea.

In rehearsal, Sting sits quietly, leaning back, arms folded, observing all the details. He offers tips on how best to sing his songs, but "with the proviso that they can say, 'F-ck off, Sting, I'm doing this my own way.'" He can't help singing along, though he also passes on a note to urge the actors to hit the *t* in the word *last*, so it doesn't blur into the word *ship*. Logan praises Sting's enthusiasm, noting that he even shows up for choreography rehearsals, though the rocker acknowledges that it's probably more out of obsession that he focuses on *The Last Ship* with, you might say, every breath he takes. "I go to sleep with this show. I dream about it. I wake up with it," he says. "I make at least three points a day, even if it's just a change of tense or of a pronoun."

He had braced himself for a bigger overhaul during rehearsals. "I was fully expecting to perform major surgery, an amputation here, a transplant there," he says. "Touch wood again I haven't had to do that." (So cool and calm, Sting doesn't appear to be the superstitious type, but the first time he said *touch wood* during the interview, he actually reached below the glass table to tap on its wooden leg.)

He hopes mainstream Broadway theatergoers will be willing to listen to this unusual saga, especially those who might have expected a jukebox musical of his greatest hits. "This isn't *A Chorus Line*, but I think it's a story worth telling," he says. "I've never pandered to the lowest common denominator. I have a good audience, and I'm supposed to challenge them. I always expect the audience to make the journey with me." ■

PREVIOUS PAGES, STING: CORBIS OUTLINE; THE LAST SHIP: SHAWNA M. HAMIC; THIS PAGE: PETER LOUD

Television

The Artiagas of *Famous in 12* want to be stars—but talent's not likely to be enough

Fame Overdrive. A new show takes on the art of fast-tracking celebrity

By Lily Rothman

WARNING: YOU ARE NOW PARTICIPATING in a social experiment, whether you like it or not. Fortunately, this study asks you merely one question: Have you ever heard of the Artiaga family of Beaumont, Calif.?

Chances are you haven't. But the Artiagas, the CW network and the gossip site TMZ hope to change that with the new reality show *Famous in 12*—as in, 12 weeks. That's how long the 11-strong Artiaga clan has to gain renown, as measured by a social-media-tracking "star power meter." The Artiagas have TMZ's eye, a place to live in Hollywood and the instant notoriety that comes with cameras following them around. When the summer ends, that's over. If they're famous, we're stuck with them; if they've failed, it's back to Beaumont. The test began June 3 with the series premiere and continues in real time, with each episode covering a week's events in the quest for fame.

So far, that quest has mostly involved hustling and scheming. "We'll take the horse to water," explains executive producer David Garfinkle. "Then they're on their own." Among the family's tactics: wearing bikinis while giving away cupcakes, telling paparazzi (falsely) that "Donald Sterling is at our house right now," and showing up nearly naked at a local PETA office in hopes of being tapped for an ad campaign.

The show positions itself as an illustration of the heights to which fame for fame's sake has climbed—or the depths to which it's sunk. The Kardashians are invoked frequently. "We were always just the biggest TMZ fans," would-be entertainment icon and Artiaga daughter Jameelah tells TIME. Which Kardashian is she? "A mashup of all of them," she says. "My life will be amazing once I become famous. I'm going to be busy every day." She says fame means being talked about, but she and her family didn't guess that some talk would be from "haters." Unsurprisingly, that's been much of the talk so far.

"As the guy who runs TMZ, I know the game," TMZ's Harvey Levin says in the show's intro, "and usually it has very little to do with raw talent." Talent is particularly irrelevant here, as the family members learn that a summer isn't long enough to earn attention for their actual skills: deejaying for dad Mike; erotica writing for mom Angie; dancing, modeling and singing for daughters Taliah, Jameelah and Maariyah. Scandal, they suspect, is quicker. In Episode 1, Jameelah meets Ray J, the other player in Kim Kardashian's sex tape, and asks him whether a sex tape is a good idea.

It's easy to see the Artiagas as exemplars of a new kind of shamelessness, but what's really new here is the access and speed with which, if all goes well, notoriety can erupt. And *Famous in 12* isn't the only insta-fame production around. On June 11, VH1 held a 24-hour live-stream battle of the bands called, bluntly, *Make a Band Famous*. One difference between a normal music competition and this, says VH1 president Tom Calderone, is the acknowledgment that what happens offstage breeds fame as much as, if not more than, what happens onstage.

When the powerful ran the publicity machine, to be famous was an official seal of approval, says Leo Braudy, author of *The Frenzy of Renown: Fame and Its History*. The easier it is to get ink, whether via the printing press or online, the more accessible fame is to those whom others deem unworthy. Braudy cites Alexander Pope's 1743 epic *The Dunciad*—a saga of dunces—as an example. Pope "talked about all the dopey people around who were becoming famous. He called it 'fame's posterior trumpet,'" Braudy says. "The old image of fame was a goddess with a trumpet blasting your name out through the centuries. This was just like a fart."

Grumps like Pope have a point: the flip side of fast fame is its ephemerality. When you've been celebrated in sculpture, it lasts. On a gossip site? Not so much. Not that that affects this experiment. After all, the CW and TMZ aren't really invested in helping the Artiagas achieve fame, Garfinkle says. They care more about the success of the show. "Either way," he says, "it's going to be entertaining." ■

ILLUSTRATION BY PAUL WINDLE FOR TIME; FAMILY: THE CW (11)

Movies

All About Yves. Two biopics of the great French designer approach the runway

By Lisa Schwarzbaum

A THOUSAND VIDEO CLIPS FROM RED-carpet interviews have brought us to this moment: "Who are you wearing?" sounds like a normal question. Translated from anatomically impossible shorthand, the query—typically from a journalist who is prepped with the answer, posed to a movie star coached to respond—means, What is the name of the famous designer whose label is stitched into the rarefied, camera-ready, impossibly expensive garment on loan to you? Whose product have you, upon consultation with your style team, agreed to model, benefiting not only the famous designer in question but your own brand?

These days, no translation is necessary. We instinctively understand the answers: Chanel. Dior. Armani. Valentino. We understand because we watch *Project Runway*. We gorge on fashion blogs. We have strong opinions about who wore it best. (Besides, Joan Rivers has never been shy about telling us who wore it worst.) And we are experts, in turn, because fashion is now entertainment.

No wonder movies about fashion continue to be chic. Consider the many recent documentaries that have prowled behind the scenes observing influential style arbiters, including a revered New York *Times* photographer in *Bill Cunningham New York*, legendary magazine editor Anna Wintour in *The September Issue* and a sui generis tastemaker in *Diana Vreeland: The Eye Has to Travel*. Thanks to *Valentino: The Last Emperor*, we are delighted to now know that the mono-monikered Italian designer likes to drape his pampered dogs in diamonds. Watching *Ultrasuede: In Search of Halston*, we are tickled to relive, from a safe distance, the naughty days of Studio 54.

So no explanation is necessary for the unspooling of not one but two dramatized, biographical French movies about another great 20th century designer. *Yves Saint Laurent*, which premiered in the U.K. this spring, opens in the U.S. on June 25; *Saint Laurent*, which premiered at Cannes in May, opens sometime next year in the U.S. Both depict the life of the Algerian-born French master, who died in 2008 at the age of 71, draped in glory despite having shuttered his business and retreated into illness in 2002. Both are dishy dramas served up in a piquant, drugs-and-sex-and-infidelity-and-depression version of what it takes to be a visionary.

"Like Chanel, Yves Saint Laurent has name recognition," says fashion historian Valerie Steele, director of the Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology, of the dueling YSL dramas. "And he has a more dramatic life story than most designers have—a life story that fits into the stereotype about the suffering genius." (A similar fashion-zeitgeist traffic jam resulted in the 2009 biopics *Coco Before Chanel* and *Coco Chanel & Igor Stravinsky*.) Also, says Steele, "Saint Laurent was so good-looking!" That never hurts.

In fact, two admiring documentaries were released while the designer was still alive, followed by 2010's *L'Amour Fou*, which focused on the 2009 Christie's auction of the fabulous art collection amassed over half a century by Saint Laurent and his longtime business partner and onetime life partner Pierre Bergé, now 83. The fiercely protective Bergé may have once famously said that Saint Laurent "was born with a nervous breakdown," but *L'Amour Fou* offered up the men's shared devotion to visual beauty as a metaphor for their shared lives.

Yves Saint Laurent, a very 21st century biodrama, is held together by the intensity and extraordinary look-alike presence of young star Pierre Niney in the title role, in fine sync with Guillaume Gallienne as Bergé. The project appears to hide little of the sex-and-drugs-and-nervous-breakdown aspects of the subject's life. Nor does it shrink from showing each man at his far from nicest. Of the two, this is the YSL movie made with Bergé's cooperation; hence the spectacular garments on the runway are actual specimens from the designer's

Dueling Designers Two dishy dramas bring chic to the big screen

A MODE MODE WORLD
Saint Laurent fits a costume for dancer Tessa Beaumont at Christian Dior's Paris atelier in 1959. Saint Laurent was named head designer of the label in late 1957.

archives. In contrast, *Saint Laurent*, starring Gaspard Ulliel in the title role and Jérémie Renier as Bergé, was made over Bergé's objections. Such independence may have its benefits, but most American critics haven't yet had a chance to assess them; the film showed in Cannes, where international coverage admired the story's darker, druggier, more sexually explicit nature, but no U.S. screenings have been available.

Anyhow, Bergé approved of a lot of unbeautiful stuff in *Yves Saint Laurent.* The movie pivots incrementally from the agonizingly shy, talented man-child born Yves Henri Donat Mathieu-Saint-Laurent to YSL the ailing, reclusive, prematurely old man. It begins with the designer being promoted at the gosling age of 21 to run the venerable House of Dior after Christian Dior's death. Then it's on to his romance with Bergé and some lovely smooching down by the Seine. It coolly observes YSL's first nervous breakdown (after he was drafted for military service). We're introduced to enabling muses Betty Catroux and Loulou de la Falaise. We're around to watch his destructive hedonism, bouts of fury and mounting reclusiveness.

Meanwhile, the professional competition between Saint Laurent and Karl Lagerfeld boils over into something darker when YSL falls for Lagerfeld's lover, the seductive dandy about town Jacques de Bascher, who died of AIDS in 1989 at the age of 38. Steele puts it succinctly: "There's much greater acceptance about gay love and sexuality. These are not films that could have been made 20 years ago—even if Saint Laurent had been deceased."

On the eve of the U.S. premiere of *Yves Saint Laurent*, Bergé, reached by email, assured me that "the truth doesn't really matter. There will always be inaccuracies in a movie made about someone who you spent 50 years of your life with. The filmmaker's point of view is what really matters and it is what makes a good movie." I did not ask Bergé who he was wearing. ■

SAINT LAURENT
Ulliel's film was opposed by Bergé but covers much of the same ground as *YSL*, showing ego, hedonism, genius, torment and betrayal. Out in 2015 in the U.S.

YVES SAINT LAURENT
Niney is a dead ringer for the young designer. Bergé's approval of *YSL* granted the film use of real vintage gowns. Out June 25 in the U.S.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: BORIS LIPNITZKI—ROGER VIOLLET/GETTY IMAGES; WEINSTEIN CO.; EUROPACORP

Tuned In

The Hit Parade. When everything in pop culture can claim to be a smash, is anything?

By James Poniewozik

Meet the Nielsens *Once, the business of measuring a TV hit was much simpler*

ORANGE IS THE NEW BLACK IS A HIT, A smash. At least that's what Netflix says and how media outlets—CNN, the Washington *Post* and this magazine included—have labeled it. But is it actually a hit? And how much did it smash?

The world may never know. *Orange* is streamed online and not rated by Nielsen. No one outside Netflix knows how many people watch it. We can guess by its buzz, but buzz can be misleading (or can be created by the same media coverage that claims to measure it). Outsiders have tried to measure Netflix audiences by studying Internet traffic the day shows debut, like astronomers detecting planets by analyzing the light from distant stars. But though Netflix probably knows more about its viewers than do their mothers and therapists, the company keeps its prison drama's data in lockup.

Netflix is an extreme case, but it's only one example of a phenomenon throughout media now. As the business gets more complicated, almost anything can claim to be a hit—and hardly anyone knows what a hit really is anymore.

Part of the problem, where TV is concerned, is that a "hit" is not what you may think: namely, a show that a lot of people like. No network makes money because you watch a show per se. They make money because somebody pays: an advertiser, a cable company or you directly. Your attention is nice, but it's secondary.

Measuring a TV hit used to be simple. Nielsen counted every viewer (or at least every Nielsen family), and the networks exchanged those eyeballs for dollars from advertisers. Then advertisers began to care about demographics, which made a show with a few young, rich viewers a bigger hit than one with a lot of old, poor ones. The growth of cable allowed shows with even tinier niche audiences to be hits.

With DVRs now in roughly half of all U.S. homes, the number of people who watch a show depends on how long you wait to count them. Shows like FX's *Fargo* can double their audience after a week's playback. On top of which, viewers can watch on demand, on Hulu, on Amazon, on iTunes and on and on ad infinitum. HBO just announced that *Game of Thrones* has a bigger audience than *The Sopranos* did, but is it really comparable? Tony Soprano, debuting in 1999 when a flip phone was cutting-edge technology, did not have the advantage of being watchable on any flat surface short of a pizza.

As TV ratings become less reliable, we have more variants of them. Nielsen measures "Twitter ratings," gauging chatter on social media. Late-night talk shows tout their viral traffic on YouTube almost as much as their TV ratings. Throw all those numbers in a pot, throw in foreign coproduction deals and syndication value and future streaming revenue, stir, and maybe you have something you can call a hit.

All this makes the business of pop culture today more confusing. But it's also significant because hits aren't just about business; they're about identifying which works have emotional reach, which ones linger in people's minds, which ones will come to define the period we're living in.

This isn't just an issue in TV. One reason the death of radio host Casey Kasem spurred so much nostalgia was that he and *American Top 40* represented the last cultural consensus on which music was biggest, if not which music was best. Kasem's countdown used the *Billboard* charts, based on sales and airplay. It offered certainty—a weekly mathematical snapshot of what America's ears were listening to. But by the time Kasem stepped down in 2004, radio and singles were becoming a smaller part of the music experience. *Billboard* adapted to count streaming and downloading, but there are now so many ways for songs to seep into the consciousness—online video, reality singing shows, video games, ads—that no contemporary Kasem can put them into a definitive hierarchy.

So it is, to some extent, in much of pop culture today. This is not entirely bad. The days of the Top 40 and the Big Three networks were simpler but more homogenous, with less room for idiosyncrasy and experiment. But there's a trade-off. As culture becomes more diffuse and digital, we can each find our specific place in it—*House of Cards* for me, *Duck Dynasty* for thee—but we have less sense of where everyone else is. When everything and nothing is a hit, figuring out what really hits us—collectively, where it counts—is more mysterious than ever. ■

GETTY IMAGES

THE FUTURE OF ENERGY STARTS NOW

How are countries around the world tackling the issue of sustainability? Of alternative energies? Of energy dependence? A new global poll from the editors of TIME sheds light on what we're doing today, and how it will shape tomorrow.

Read more at time.com/newenergy

PRESENTED BY

Pop Chart

LOVE IT

Kristen Wiig and *Bridesmaids* co-writer Annie Mumolo will team up for a new movie, which Wiig will direct.

A July update to text-display standard Unicode will enable **250 new emoji icons.** We'd be lying if we said we weren't excited about "Reversed Hand With Middle Finger Extended."

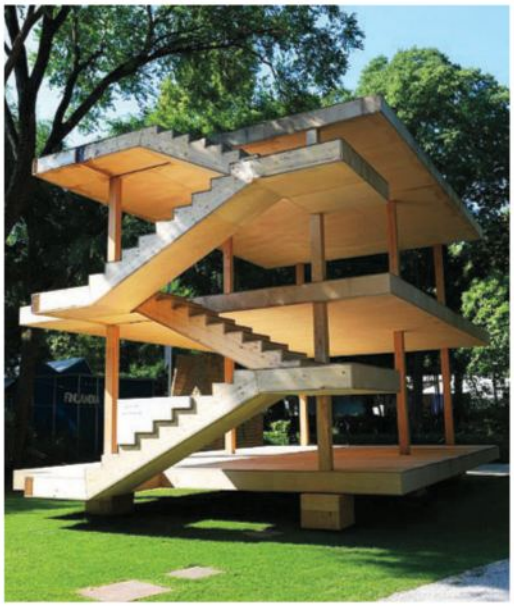
Fox axed ***I Wanna Marry Harry***—a dating show about a fake Prince Harry—after just a few low-rated episodes.

NASA astronaut Reid Wiseman **posted the first Vine from space,** showing a single earth orbit, while aboard the International Space Station.

THE DIGITS

416,569

The number of official *Jeopardy!* questions Alex Trebek asked from 1984 through the 6,829th episode he hosted, a feat that scored him a Guinness World Record for the most game-show episodes hosted by one person



BY DESIGN *In 1914 legendary architect Le Corbusier thought up the Maison Dom-Ino design for mass-produced minimalist housing. It didn't catch on with the masses, but now this full-size model can be seen at the Venice Architecture Biennale through Nov. 23.*

VERBATIM

'Water, barley malt, rice, yeast, hops.'

ANHEUSER-BUSCH, voluntarily revealing the contents of Budweiser and Bud Light, its two top-selling beers, for the first time. The decision came after a food blogger started a petition advocating ingredient transparency

QUICK TALK

Ed Sheeran

English singer-songwriter Sheeran's music can be heard in the movie *The Fault in Our Stars*, and the 23-year-old's latest album, called *x* (pronounced "multiply"), drops June 23. Here, he talks to TIME. —LILY ROTHMAN

Your fans were excited to learn recently that Taylor Swift made you a Drake-lyric needlepoint. Did you make her anything in return? No, but I'm not a very crafty sort of person. She's very crafty. **Obviously.** I know she's 24, but she's a sort of middle-aged woman trapped in a 24-year-old's body. She hangs out with her cat and sews things. **How old are you, at heart?** My soul age differs from day to day. It can be 8 or 80. **How much do you keep up with what people are saying about you?** Every single Google Alert there could be, I read. **That's scary.** At the beginning, definitely. My skin wasn't very thick. But now, I think because of reading all those things, it doesn't affect me at all. I just like to keep aware of where things are. **Your songs are very personal. Do you worry about oversharing?** I think songs are meant to be like that. They're meant to be your personal diary that you share with the world. It's quite nice. You're like, *I'm the only one that thinks this*, and then there are 25,000 kids that are like, *Nope, me too.* **Did you get to keep the puppet version of you from the music video for your single "Sing"?** It's going to be used in some other things as well, so it's currently residing in [my label's] offices. **Will you get to take it home at some point?** I paid for it, so I'm definitely going to. **Are you a good puppeteer?** Not at all. I'm probably going to put it in a box.

"

ON MY RADAR

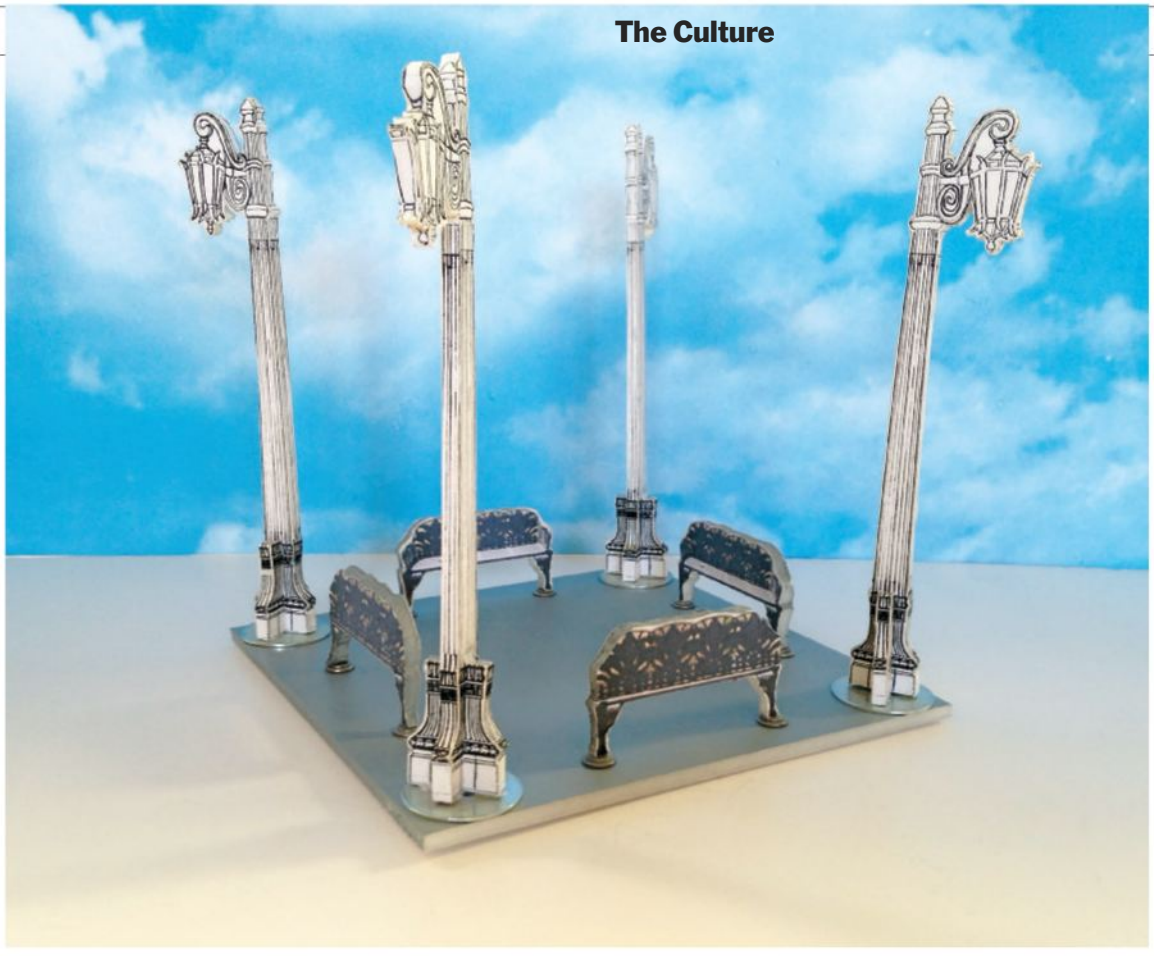
▶ **Sam Smith's *In the Lonely Hour* and Passenger's *Whispers***

"Those two records, for the past couple weeks, have been on repeat. They're all from the heart."

▶ ***Ray Donovan* on Showtime**

"I'm really looking forward to Season 2 of that."

WIIG, PIZZOLATTO, CAT, BEER: GETTY IMAGES; MAISON DOM-INO: GIORGIO ZUCCHIATTI, COURTESY LA BIENNALE DI VENEZIA; HOLMBY HILLS LIGHT FOLLY, 2012: CHRIS BURDEN—COURTESY THE ARTIST AND GAGOSIAN GALLERY; CHARACTERS: EVERETT (5); NEED FOR SPEED: WALT DISNEY; SHEERAN: NEIL P. MOCKFORD—GETTY IMAGES; I WANNA MARRY HARRY: FOX

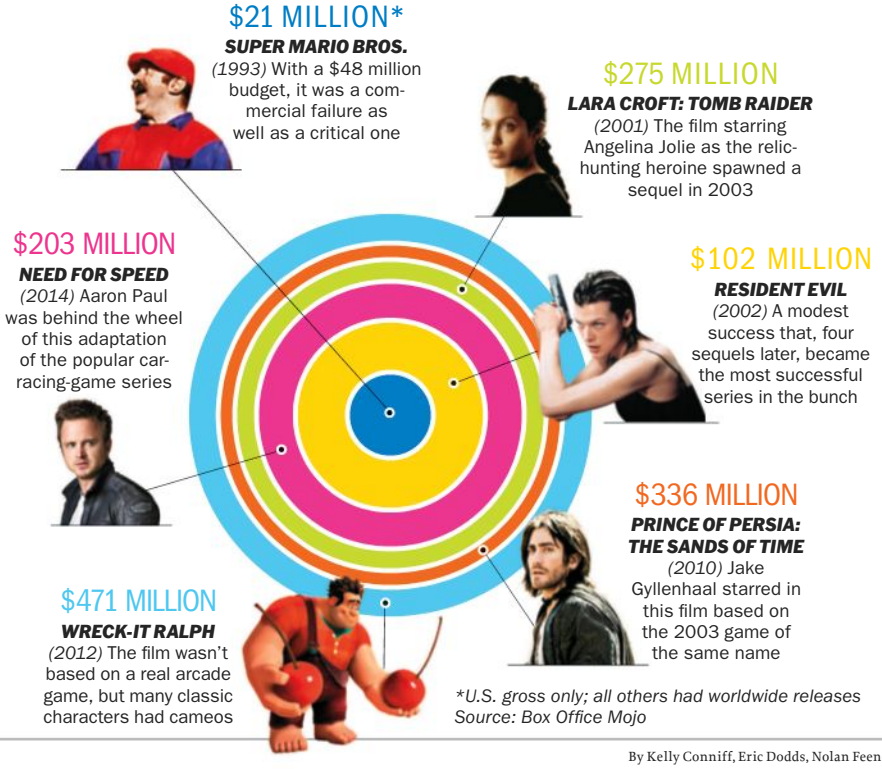


SHINE ON *The streetlights used to make artist Chris Burden's 2012 piece* Holmby Hills Light Folly, *a model of which is shown above, are rare 1920s lamps from Los Angeles. They can now be seen in Basel, Switzerland, at the city's annual global-art extravaganza. The "Parcours" section of the show, of which Burden's work is a part, consists of 15 site-specific works located throughout the city's historical center. Art Basel 2014 runs from June 18 through June 22.*

ROUNDUP

Game On

Watch out, speed demons: the world's fastest spiky critter, otherwise known as Sonic the Hedgehog, is racing into theaters. The recently announced movie, based on a Sega video-game series that has sold more than 140 million copies, is the latest example of a game franchise heading to the big screen. But the jump from home consoles to the box office can be risky for even the most beloved platformers; some find an extra life, while for others it's "game over." Here's how six adaptations fared:



**U.S. gross only; all others had worldwide releases*
Source: Box Office Mojo

By Kelly Conniff, Eric Dodds, Nolan Feeney, Lily Rothman and Laura Stampler

LEAVE IT

Miss Nevada forgot the capital of her home state during an on-air interview.

True Detective creator Nic Pizzolatto "can't imagine" making more than three seasons of the hit HBO series. (But what does that mean, if time is a flat circle?)

Not such a wonderful time of the year: **Grumpy Cat** is booked to star in a Lifetime Christmas movie.

Delta Air Lines apologized for a tweet that showed the U.S.-Ghana World Cup score over images of the Statue of Liberty and … **a giraffe,** an animal not actually found in that African country.

FOR RICHARD CORLISS'S REVIEW OF *JERSEY BOYS* AND TIME'S COMPLETE FILM COVERAGE, VISIT **time.com/movies**

Joel Stein

Not Doing My Business

I found out what actually happens at most hotels' abandoned business centers

IN 2003, WHEN I WAS JUST a 31-year-old staff writer at TIME, deputy managing editor Steve Koepp came into my office and told me that I had the fourth highest expenses at the magazine, just below the Middle East bureau chief, who had to pay for a staff, a house and plane tickets to the Middle East. I, meanwhile, expensed a $400 dinner with Bruce Willis that Bruce Willis was not at. Steve told me he was asking everyone to reduce their corporate AmEx charges by 25%. The lesson was clear: I needed to make sure I spent every cent of my remaining 75% in case he returned with further reductions.

That's also when I learned that the fastest way to spend corporate money is at hotels, thanks to their many taxes, fees and fee taxes. But after spending a lot of time in hotels, I have devised a way for them to cut down on their costs, which they could pass on to me and I could pass on to restaurants: Get rid of the business centers.

I'm sure business centers were once nests of activity, with drunken salespeople Xeroxing their butts and then doing something with the images that I can't figure out since it was before social media. But now the centers have become tiny, dark and empty due to the fact that people carry computers with them in their pockets. I didn't know exactly what was in these rooms, but I suspected that there would be a fax machine, a copier and a time machine to return people to the present.

The only explanation I could think of for their continued existence is that perhaps travel guides require that hotels have them to get the highest rating. This is why hotels have room service, which is a money loser even though the cheeseburgers cost $15. I'm guessing that's because of the cleanup. Think about why you don't eat in your bed, and then think about what you'd do when eating in the bed of a faceless corporation. If the *Dateline* reporters had an ultraviolet light that showed dead cow on hotel comforters, they would be legally blind.

But the editor in chief of the North American Michelin red guide, who can't reveal his or her name for fear of being swarmed by hoteliers, told me that none of the guides requires a business center. He or she does, however, appreciate a good one. "I'm using one today. Our laptop security is very tight, so sometimes I can't get online in the room," the editor said. Unfortunately, hotels will now know who the editor of the Michelin guide is by looking for the one person in their business center.

To find out if anyone else uses these places, I staked out the business center of the Luxe Hotel in Beverly Hills. It's a small, windowless room equipped with a PC, a Mac, a LaserJet printer and a tray filled with pads, pens, Post-it notes, paper clips, rubber bands, a stapler, a tape dispenser and a ruler. It is the perfect place to do business if your business is writing episodes of *MacGyver*.

I expected to be waiting alone on my stakeout for hours until finally someone came in to print out his ticket to return to the old country by sea. Instead, after just three minutes, a person walked in. As I suspected, he was an older man. Mark Posnick, however, put his iPhone 5 on the desk, used AppRiver to connect safely to his email and printed out a document for his son. "It's amazing, the technology we carry around. You can do anything," said Posnick. "Except print." I am going to suggest this as the new slogan for the magazine industry.

It's not just old people and anonymous editors who use these rooms. Barry Pollard, senior vice president of hotel operations for Kimpton Hotels & Restaurants, told me that international travelers use the computers to avoid huge data charges. And conferences demand business centers in case the attendees have trouble printing, scanning, PowerPointing or escaping the horror of conferences for a few minutes.

But the main reason business centers still exist—and in fact are getting bigger—is for socializing. Essentially, they now function as the world's lamest bars. Guests spend so much time in their rooms that they never get to see other people. Which is strange, since seeing other people is one of the top reasons people say they travel. To make working more social, Kimpton is reducing its business centers and converting its lobbies into casual, wi-fi-enabled, outlet-filled, coffee-shop-like spaces. Sheraton has "Link@Sheraton" lobbies, and Holiday Inn has "e-bars," which are bold innovations that look a lot like lobbies with more outlets.

While you stare at your screen at the Mandarin Oriental business centers, you will soon be able to order a glass of champagne, borrow a tablet and perhaps Tinder someone in the very same room. "A combination of business travel and technology creates isolation," says Monika Nerger, Mandarin Oriental's chief information officer. "There's a desire to be in a social environment that is tech-friendly." It sounds like the days of butt Xeroxing are coming back. ■

GETTY IMAGES; ILLUSTRATION BY TOMASZ WALENTA FOR TIME

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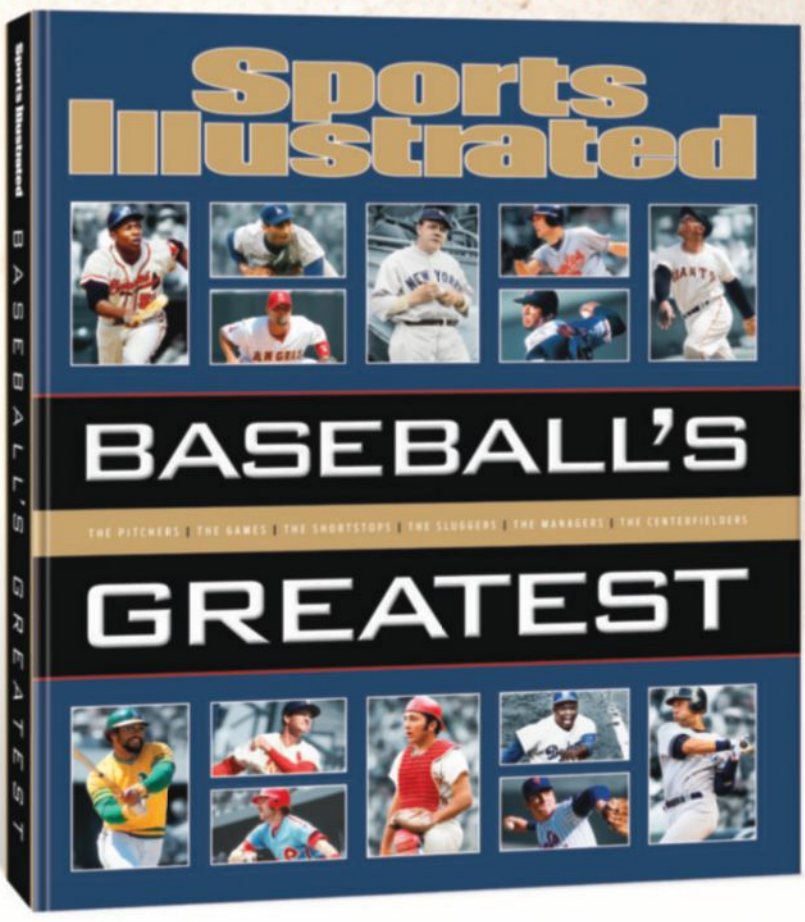
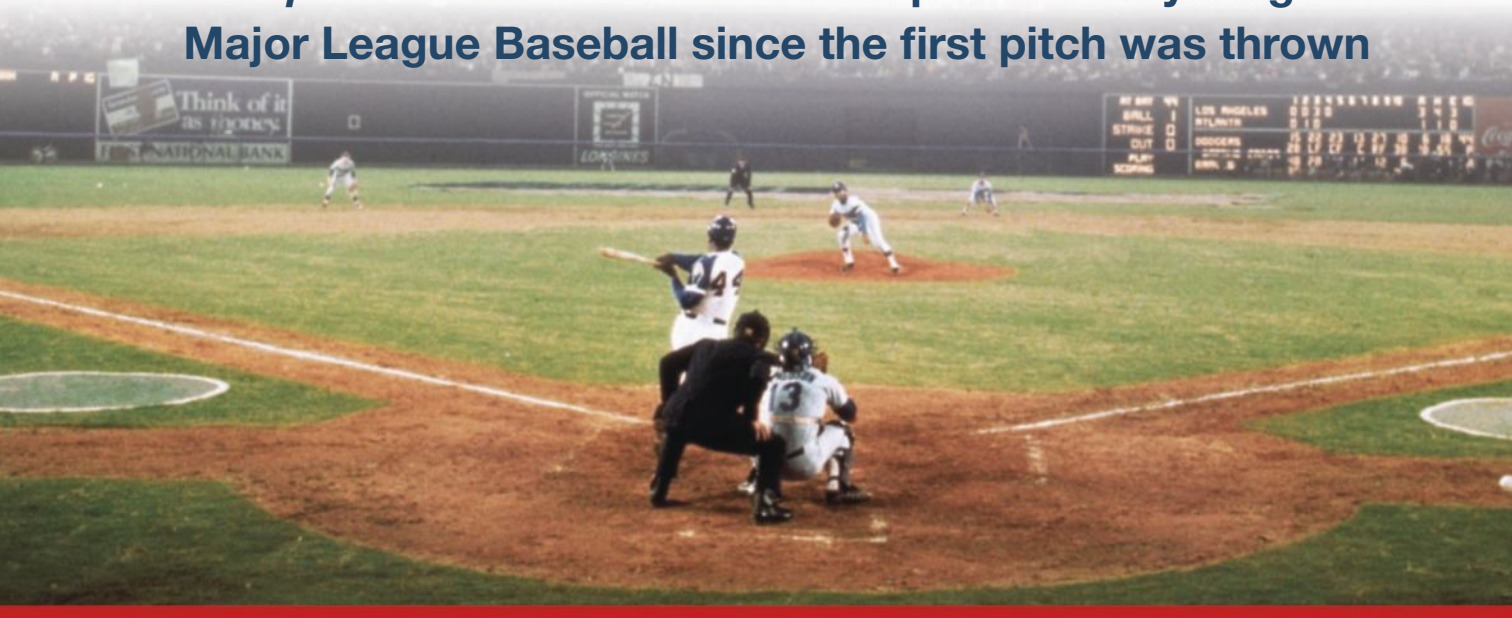


Sports Illustrated ranks the Top 10 of everything Major League Baseball since the first pitch was thrown



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10 Questions

Just six months after he got lost Brierley arrived in Australia, carrying little but his passport

At the age of 5, Saroo Brierley got lost on a train. A quarter-century later he found his way home, using the Internet

How does a 5-year-old boy from a rural Indian town end up alone in Kolkata [then known as Calcutta], 1,680 km away?
We were a very poor family. My mother couldn't really feed us or look after us. I caught a train late one night with my [older] brother. When we got off the train I was really tired, and my brother said, "Stay here for a few minutes" and went to look for food. But when I woke up, I couldn't find him anywhere, and on impulse I jumped on the train standing in front of me and went to sleep there, hoping that he would come along. I ended up in Kolkata.

How did you survive there?
I just survived a day at a time, begging. I found food and nuts on the ground, food in the rubbish. Lots of nuts.

When you got to an orphanage three weeks later, why didn't its staff find your family?
My vocabulary was very small. I only knew about eight words, never went to school. I didn't know my last name or the train station I came from. The orphanage put my picture in the paper, but they were advertising in the wrong place.

You were adopted by a family in Tasmania, Australia. Was that a culture shock?
After I got on that train, life was just changing all the time, from the train to becoming lost to almost dying in the Ganges to going to jail after I was taken off the streets to going to an orphanage. Australia was just another change.

How did you start looking for your original home?
I did what I had actually tried to do when I was a young kid: catch a train back from Kolkata, but using the web and Google Earth to follow all the railroad tracks out of Kolkata, from a bird's-eye view.

So you just looked along the train tracks for landmarks that triggered your memory?
I had a very good memory of the train station. But it was like looking for a needle in a haystack. I had to see a water tower and a bridge, then past the train station a ravine. I started looking in about 2006. From 2010, I was quite obsessive about it—maybe 30 hours a week. When I finally found it in 2011, I didn't want to get excited because I wanted to check that it was real.

How did your adopted family feel about you spending this much time on the search?
They didn't know. They thought I was just mucking around.

What happened when you visited your old house?
I saw the door shut and a chain around it, and I thought the worst, that my family had died. Then some people came out, and one sort of understood English. I had a picture of myself as a kid. He just said, "Now I'll take you to your mother." She lived about 50 yards away. When I saw her, time stood still. Air didn't taste like air. Some mix of chemicals between us was going absolutely crazy.

I imagine you had a lot of questions for each other.
I can't speak Hindi, so it was really hard. The first thing she said was something like "Come here. Let me hug you." My first real question for her was "Did you look for me?" And she did, she looked for ages and ages. She never thought of going all the way to Kolkata. She didn't want to move away from the neighborhood because she was hoping I would come back one day.

What happened to your older brother?
I found out he died a week after I disappeared. He was killed from the impact of a train hitting him or someone pushing him off a train.

Your book, *A Long Way Home*, is being made into a movie. Are you going to go all Hollywood now?
I'm 33. If I wanted to do that, I don't think I'd be here in Tasmania, expanding the family business in industrial hosing. There might be a cameo. Who knows, maybe my role will just be on the side, drinking a latte with some biscotti.
—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

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BRIERLEY: RICHARD MALONE; PASSPORT: COURTESY SAROO BRIERLEY

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