

TIME

COLD WAR II

The West is losing Putin's dangerous game

BY SIMON SHUSTER



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TIME photo illustration; Putin: Alexey Nikolsky
Ria Novosti/EPA



Vladimir Putin leaves the Itamaraty Palace in Brasília on July 16 after attending the final day of the BRICS summit. Photograph by Felipe Dana AP

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Russian armed militants are prime suspects in the downing of Malaysia Airlines Flight 17. But the West is flailing in its response *by Simon Shuster*

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Editor's Desk

A Hard Look at War



KNOWLEDGE IS THE TRUE ORGAN OF sight, declares the ancient Indian *Panchatantra*, not the eyes. But some times the path to believing depends on seeing, which in turn depends on those who bear witness. Weeks like this, as conflict flares in both Eastern Europe and the Middle East, almost require a warning label: the most important images are the hardest to look at. They are certainly among the hardest to capture, which is why we owe a debt to the photographers who go, at great personal risk, to the front lines of the headlines.

The extraordinary photos included with this week's cover story on Ukraine and featured on TIME.com were taken by French photographer Jerome Sessini. He had been working in a nearby mining village in Donetsk when he heard about the Malaysia Airlines crash, and he was among the first journalists on the scene. He had no problem walking right into the middle of the crash site. When pro Russian separatists appeared, they initially challenged Sessini and took the memory card from his camera. But they eventually allowed him to take the pictures shown here, including those of bodies and debris strewn through the fields or crashed into nearby farmhouses. "I was in shock," the veteran war photographer says. "I don't think I ever felt so sick."

More than a thousand miles south, Italian photographer Alessio Romenzi was chronicling the experience of people caught in the cross fire between Israel and Hamas in the Gaza Strip. "It's a common theme to all wars," Romenzi says. "You have two sides, and civilians—people who are guilty of nothing—are caught in the middle. Sometimes people die because they were at the wrong place at the wrong moment. They were near a target. But nobody knows exactly where these targets are." He is not optimistic that even the most wrenching images will change the course of events in the region. "We've seen them before, and we are again in the same situation," he says. But he takes comfort in the thought that his work will be remembered later on. "We photographers are doing this for the future."

Nancy Gibbs, MANAGING EDITOR



BEHIND THE SCENE

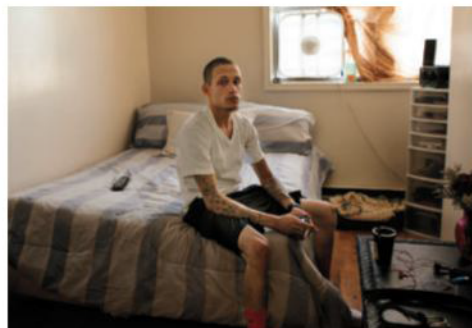
'I don't think I'll be able to board a plane without thinking about these images.'

JEROME SESSINI, PHOTOGRAPHER, ON HIS SHOTS OF THE AFTERMATH OF THE MALAYSIA AIRLINES CRASH



NOW ON TIME.COM

Explore the First Family of fundraising in an interactive graphic of the \$1.4 billion that Hillary and Bill Clinton have raised and benefited from since 1992. Made in partnership with the Center for Responsive Politics, the graphic allows you to look at top donors and types of fundraising. Find it at time.com/clinton.



TIME VIDEO On July 17, Ramsey Orta, above, at his home in Staten Island, N.Y., used his phone to videotape police wrestling his friend Eric Garner to the ground. On the video, the 43 year old Garner is shown telling the officers—one of whom used what appeared to be a choke hold—that he couldn't breathe. Garner, a Staten Island fixture, died shortly after. Orta's video has become a national talking point. He told TIME that police have harassed him since his footage became public, but he is not cowed. "It just gives me more power to not be afraid to pull out my camera anytime ... and if I get arrested, hey, I got something on camera." Watch the rest of the story at time.com/ericgarner.

BEHIND THE SCENE: BENEDICTE KURZEN; TIME VIDEO: PAUL MOAKLEY FOR TIME

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Conversation

What You Said About ...



ALIEN SPECIES Bryan Walsh's July 28 cover story led Scott Churchill, a psychology professor at the University of Dallas in Irvine, Texas, to defend the good name of the "hapless" invaders: **"The real culprit here is the negligent human species that has treated these forms of life as capital for trafficking,"** he wrote, "and the consumers who simply dump unwanted pets in swamps when we're tired of them."

Princeton University junior Meixi Wang praised the Python Patrol group featured in the article, citing the effectiveness of local, as opposed to federal, efforts: "Whether it's signs informing Illinois fishermen on how to properly dispose of zebra mussels or teaching New Jersey homeowners how to identify and control Asian long horned beetles, the bottom up method holds more potential than you'd think."

KLEIN ON OBAMA "Quite a lead from @JoeKleinTIME and a stinging conclusion too: Obama is no Robert Kennedy," wrote the Huffington Post's Sam Stein on Twitter of Klein's critique of the President's calculated approach to the current U.S. border crisis. Klein's column generated commentary. "Thank you so much for your article," wrote JoAnn Lister, a health care provider in Alpine, Texas. "Every point you make is correct," said El Paso attorney James Speer. Others, like Sheldon Saitlin of Chicago, defended Obama and derided Klein's suggestion that he meet with "Tea Party nativists": **"Did Klein just get out of a spaceship?"** I seriously doubt there is sufficient security to protect the President from a meeting with a room full of angry folks who see no good reason to give these refugees anything more than a ticket back to their personal hell."



INSTAGRAM TURNS FOUR Olivia Waxman's TIME.com piece on the story behind Instagram's first post—a photo of a dog posted by co-founder Kevin Systrom—was widely shared on Twitter and covered by *USA Today*, *Cosmopolitan* and others. Citing the current popularity of canine posts on Instagram, Boston.com's Justine Hofherr mused, **"And to think it all started with a photo of a dog."**

LIGHTBOX As Washington debates immigration reform, photographer Platon, in partnership with Human Rights Watch, set out to tell the stories of individuals affected by U.S. policy. In a series of portraits and videos taken over the past year (including the four below), Platon features children, outreach workers, documented and undocumented immigrants, from places ranging from South Korea to Haiti. To see the rest of his work from the series, go to lightbox.time.com.



Evelyn Velasquez, 3, protests the detention of her mother's partner Antonio Herrera for using false documents



Angie Kim and her brother Peter Kim came to the U.S. as young children, but only Peter is a U.S. citizen



Roland Sylvain, center, who came from Haiti at age 7, faces deportation, though his wife and older son are U.S. citizens



Robin Reineke, director of a group that seeks to identify migrants who died, holds belongings of border crossers

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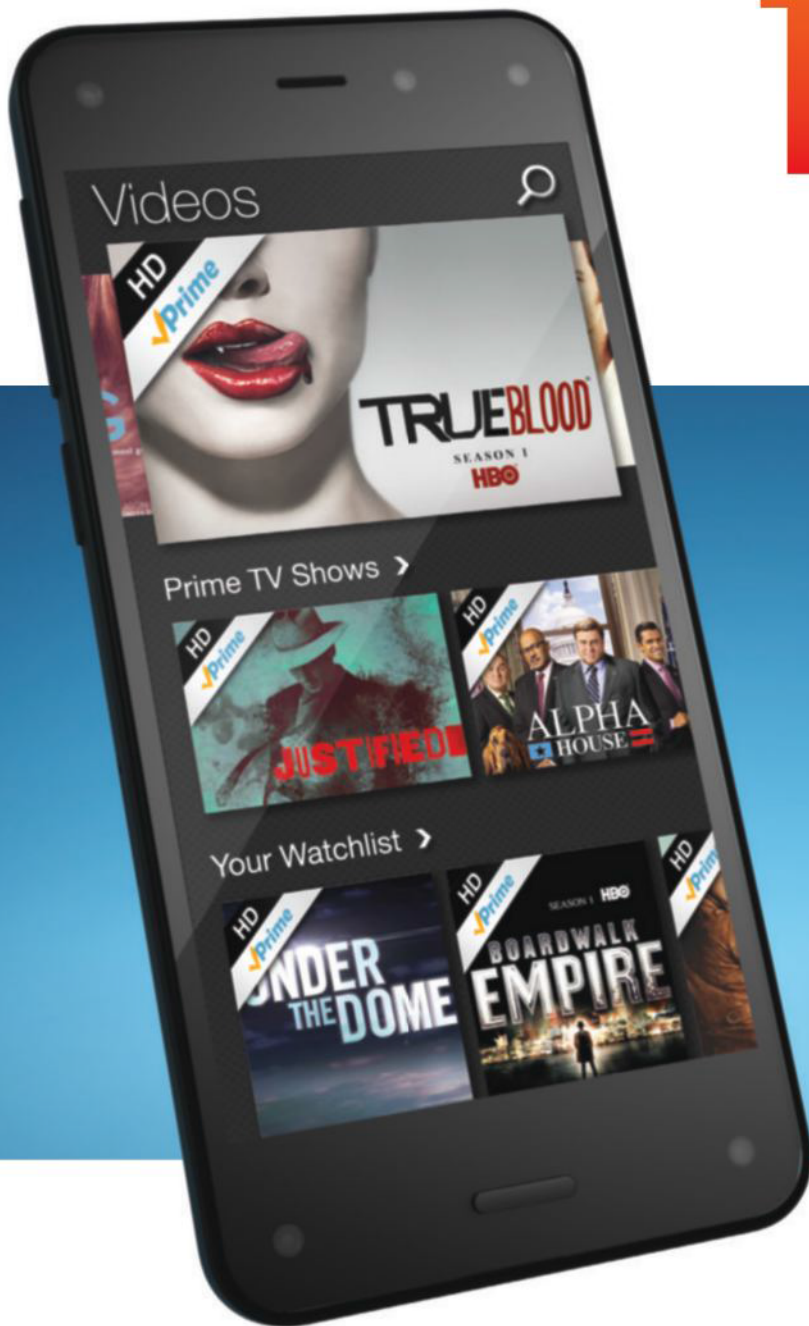
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Briefing



200

Number of pairs of women's underwear (total value: \$1,900) stolen from a Victoria's Secret at a Georgia shopping mall



'I wouldn't have taken him.'

TONY DUNGY, former NFL coach, on **Michael Sam**, who was drafted by the St. Louis Rams this year and is attempting to become the first openly gay player in the NFL; Dungy later said he would not have a problem coaching a gay player

Rory McIlroy

The 25 year old Irish golfer won the 2014 British Open, his third major championship



GOOD WEEK

BAD WEEK

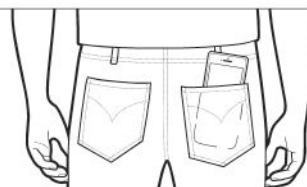


Tiger Woods

The 14 time major champion finished fourth to last among golfers who made the cut

'Get serious.'

BARACK OBAMA, U.S. President, on his advice to Russian President Vladimir Putin about ending hostilities in Ukraine



5.5

Reported size in inches (14 cm) that new Apple iPhone screens could measure

'Gaza will be the graveyard for the invaders.'

ISMAIL HANIYA, former Hamas Prime Minister, reacting to the Israeli operations in the Gaza Strip; more than 600 Palestinians and 30 Israelis have been killed since the conflict began on July 7

'I will not stand idly by.'

RICK PERRY, Texas governor, explaining his decision to send 1,000 National Guard troops to secure the southern border in an effort to stem the influx of unaccompanied minors from Central America into the state



150

Number of homes destroyed during a Washington wildfire, the largest in the state's history

'No means no.'

ELIZABETH WARREN, Massachusetts Senator, on continued speculation that she might run for President in 2016







Briefing

LightBox

Tragic Toll

Relatives of four boys from the same family who were killed in an Israeli strike on a Gaza beach mourn during their funeral on July 16. The Israeli military, which is investigating the incident, said the strike was aimed at " Hamas terrorist operatives" and called the civilian casualties "a tragic outcome."

Photograph by Alessio Romenzi

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

World

DATA

GREEN NATIONS

A new study ranked the world's 16 largest economies according to their energy efficiency policies and programs.

Below, a sampling, from best to worst:



1

Germany



4

China



11

India



13

U.S.



16

Mexico

SOURCE: AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR AN ENERGY EFFICIENT ECONOMY



Israel-Hamas Conflict

The search for a cease fire as the death toll mounts

With hundreds dead and thousands more wounded in the war between Israel and the Palestinian militant group Hamas, international efforts to press the pause button intensified as U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry arrived in the region on July 21. He was there to meet with U.N. Secretary General Ban Ki-moon and Egyptian President Abdel Fattah el Sisi, who are trying to come up with the right formula for a cease fire. Regional powers Jordan, Turkey, Qatar and Iran are also in the fray, as is the European Union, which called on Hamas to disarm.

On July 23, Kerry met with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu as well as Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud

Abbas, whose Fatah faction joined forces with Hamas in April to form a unity government—a move that led Israel to suspend U.S.-brokered peace talks with the Palestinian Authority. The two Palestinian factions came together after a rift in 2007 that left Hamas in control of the Gaza Strip while Fatah held sway in the West Bank.

But despite the international efforts, the prospect of a deal between Israel and the Palestinians remained dim. While Abbas has called on Hamas to stop the rocket attacks that caused Israel to launch the ongoing military operation on July 8, outrage over the bloodshed in Gaza has also led Abbas to close ranks with the militant group and endorse its demands. Chief among



The mother of an Israeli soldier mourns during his funeral on July 22. Photograph by Ronen Zvulun / Reuters

them is the call for an end to the near total blockade of Gaza imposed by both Israel and Egypt.

“The Gaza demands of stopping the aggression and lifting the blockade in all its forms are the demands of the entire Palestinian people, and they represent the goal that the Palestinian leadership has dedicated all its power to achieve,” Yasser Abed Rabbo, a senior Palestinian official who advises Abbas, said as Kerry met

with leaders from both sides.

Hamas also wants Israel to release approximately 50 of its members, all of whom were set free as part of a prisoner exchange in 2011 but were re-arrested last month while the Israeli government pursued the Palestinians responsible for kidnapping and murdering three Israeli teens in the West Bank.

To resolve the issues, Abbas has backed a call for a truce followed by five days of negotiations between the two sides.

For its part, Israel is of two minds. With 32 Israeli soldiers killed and about 130 wounded in the first few days of a ground operation, many in the country are keen for a cease-fire deal. Moreover, with many international flights to and from Israel suspended on July 22, American aviation authorities temporarily barred U.S. commercial flights from flying to Israel's Ben Gurion Airport following a nearby rocket attack and citizens in the south and center of the country running into bomb shelters day and night, the nation's sense of normality has begun to evaporate.

At the same time, there are many in Israel's military and political establishment who argue that their mission to destroy Hamas' arsenal of rockets and its network of underground tunnels is far from accomplished. Cutting that mission short, they argue, gives the militant group a grace period in which to rearm.

"We've agreed in the past to lift restrictions, but the key to that is nonviolence," Mark Regev, a spokesman for the Israeli Prime Minister, told TIME.

With little sign of a cease-fire agreement, the conflict continued to exact a grim toll. Almost 700 people—the majority of them Palestinians—had been killed by July 23, leaving the air heavy with a bitterness that only served to further harden positions on both sides.

WORLD

720,000,000



Number of women worldwide who were married before age 18, according to UNICEF. Some 250 million of them were married before their 15th birthday

THREE CHALLENGES FACING

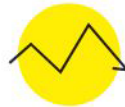
Indonesia's next President

On July 22, Joko "Jokowi" Widodo—a small town businessman who became the governor of Jakarta—was declared the winner of Indonesia's presidential elections, securing 53% of the vote in the world's most populous Muslim-majority nation.



HIS OPPONENT

Presidential rival Prabowo Subianto, a onetime general, won't accept the result and has yet to concede. Prabowo says the election process was "defective" but hasn't offered much evidence. He might appeal the result to the Constitutional Court.



THE ECONOMY

The Indonesian economy is still hobbled by budget busting fuel subsidies, inadequate infrastructure and red tape—obstacles that Jokowi must overcome to boost growth. GDP in the first quarter of this year expanded at its slowest rate since 2009.



DIVERSITY

In recent years, Sunni hard liners have upped attacks on Christians, Shi'ite Muslims and other minorities. Jokowi, a Sunni who has a record of working with members of other faiths, will need to defend pluralism in what is one of the world's most diverse nations.

PARAGUAY

'With three workdays a week, we would have more time to relax, to improve quality of life.'

CARLOS SLIM, Mexican billionaire, proposing a "radical change" in the way people work. Speaking at a conference in Paraguay, he said that in the future, people will work shorter weeks but delay retirement



Trending In



RESOLUTIONS

Cambodia's government and opposition agreed to a power-sharing deal, ending a year of deadlock in which the opposition boycotted parliament



DEMOCRACY

Afghanistan resumed an audit of votes cast in June's presidential runoff, after fresh disputes had halted the exercise



TRAGEDY

An AIDS conference in Melbourne held a moment of silence for six scientists and activists who died in the downing of Malaysia Airlines Flight 17



INTOLERANCE

Christians fled the Iraqi city of Mosul after Islamist extremists ordered them to convert, pay a tax or face death



Spotlight


\$1.5
million
 COST PER PLANE
 OF AN ANTIMISSILE
 DEFENSE SYSTEM

Peril in the Air Guarding planes from ground-based threats is everyone's job—and no one's

BY ZEKE MILLER

WHEN CIVIL AVIATION OFFICIALS LEARN OF A NEW danger—like liquid explosives or underwear bombs—national and international agencies respond by issuing rules and restrictions for passengers around the world. But airlines and governments have been slow to address ground-based threats. The downing of Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 on July 17 is raising fresh concerns about who in the complex global aviation system is responsible for defending civilian aircraft against missiles.

For years, airlines have confined their worries about planes being shot down to so-called **Man-Portable Air Defense System (MANPAD)** missiles like the U.S. FIM 92 Stinger or the Russian Strela 2. Those systems have limited range: they can hit aircraft as they take off or land but not at higher altitudes. Aviation authorities had thought longer range anti-aircraft missiles, usually controlled by national militaries, couldn't or wouldn't be used against commercial airliners cruising at 30,000 ft. (9,140 m) or higher. The Malaysia Airlines disaster has changed that thinking.

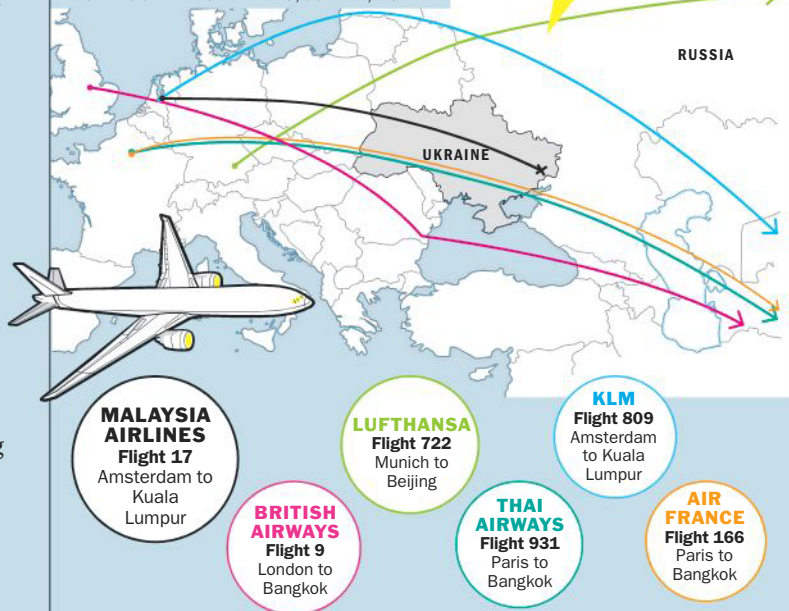
But recognition of the threat doesn't mean an organized response from **regulators**. National agencies, including the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration and the European Union's Eurocontrol, can issue flight warnings for regions they consider dangerous and can ban routes for national carriers they regulate. Only in individual countries can close their airspace to all flights. After several Ukrainian military planes were shot down in July, the government in Kiev closed airspace in the east of the country up to 32,000 ft. (9,750 m). MH 17 was flying 1,000 ft. (305 m) above that on a route safely transited by hundreds of airliners in the days before the incident. No aviation officials warned flights off that higher route until after MH 17 was shot down.

The U.S. says airlines should decide where it's safe for their planes to fly, barring an outright ban on a route. Tony Tyler, CEO of the airline trade group **International Air Transport Association**, argues that airlines take their cues from governments. "It is very similar to driving a car," he says. "If the road is open, you assume that it is safe. If it's closed, you find an alternate route."

Eastern Ukraine is hardly the only danger zone. The **FAA** strongly warns against but does not prohibit flights over Syria and Yemen, where MANPADs are in use. Some U.S. airlines had canceled flights to Tel Aviv's Ben Gurion Airport even before the FAA issued a temporary ban July 22 because of threats from missiles launched in Palestinian-held Gaza. One final option—plane-based missile defense systems like the ones found on Air Force One—is available but costly.

AVOIDING THE DANGER ZONE

ASIA BOUND FLIGHT PATHS, JULY 17, 2014



THREATS INCLUDE

RADAR-EQUIPPED MISSILES

- **Name** Russian BUK
- **Type** Vehicle mounted missile
- **Range** 72,000 ft. (21,950 m)
- **Introduced** 1979



HEAT-SEEKING MISSILES

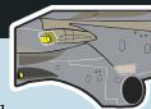
- **Name** U.S. FIM 92 Stinger
- **Type** Shoulder launched; also mounted on vehicles or aircraft
- **Range** Around 10,000 ft. (3,050 m)
- **Introduced** 1981

DEFENSES INCLUDE

JAMMER

Several systems confuse missiles with electronic radiation.

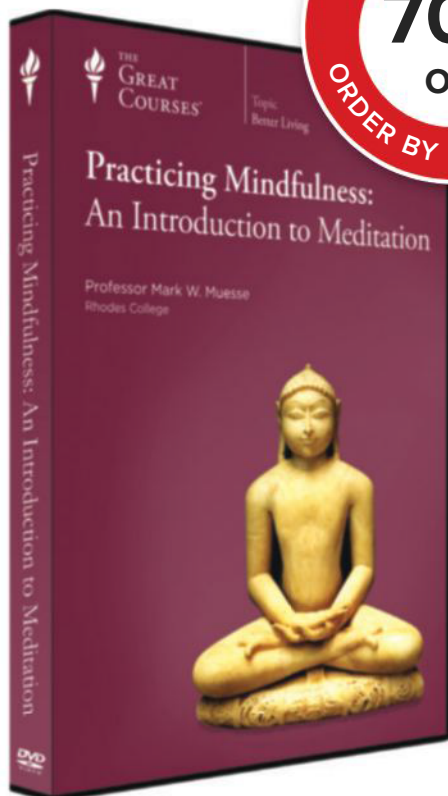
- **Name** Northrop Grumman Large Aircraft Infrared Countermeasure
- **Cost** \$1.5 million per plane
- **How It Works** Automatically detects a missile launch, determines if it is a threat and activates a high intensity laser based countermeasure system to track and defeat the missile



DECOYS

Simpler methods fool missiles with multiple targets

- **Flares** Ejected from the plane, they burn and create heat to divert a heat seeking missile from the aircraft
- **Chaff** Foil strips ejected from the airplane present a radar guided missile with multiple targets designed to divert it



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4. Preparation Taking Moral Inventory
5. Position Where to Be for Meditation
6. Breathing Finding a Focus for Attention
7. Problems Stepping Stones to Mindfulness
8. Body Attending to Our Physical Natures
9. Mind Working with Thoughts
10. Walking Mindfulness While Moving
11. Consuming Watching What You Eat
12. Driving Staying Awake at the Wheel
13. Insight Clearing the Mind
14. Wisdom Seeing the World as It Is
15. Compassion Expressing
Fundamental Kindness
16. Imperfection Embracing Our Flaws
17. Wishing May All Beings Be Well and Happy
18. Generosity The Joy of Giving
19. Speech Training the Tongue
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Nation



Parched fields A dried up irrigation ditch in Richvale, Calif.

Turning Off the Tap Even the governor can't convince Californians to take their drought seriously

BY KATE PICKERT/LOS ANGELES

WHEN GOVERNOR JERRY Brown declared a drought emergency for California in January, he asked residents to cut their water consumption by 20%. Six months later, that mission can be measured. A survey released in July showed that the state used 1% more water in May than the previous three year average for the same month.

The disappointing news comes as California remains stuck in a historic shortage, with reservoirs dwindling and the snowpack in the Sierra

Nevada range at dangerous midsummer lows. The consequences are severe: a July 15 report from the University of California at Davis estimates that the drought will cost the state more than \$2 billion this year, with some 17,000 seasonal and part time agricultural jobs lost.

In an effort to awaken Californians, officials have put in effect the first statewide emergency water use restrictions since the drought began. The curbs on lawn watering and other outdoor uses carry

100%

Percentage of California now experiencing severe, extreme or exceptional drought conditions, according to the U.S. Drought Monitor

finer of up to \$500 per day for each violation, but officials acknowledge that the fines' real value is less enforcement than awareness. "There are not going to be that many fines written, given or paid because we just don't have the resources to do it," says Timothy Quinn, head of the California Association of Water Agencies. "This is only going to be successful if people have a change of heart."

That buy in is essential if the state is to find a way out of this crisis and take steps

JAE C. HONG—AP

to prevent the next drought from devastating California. That's why water districts are fixing leaky pipes and encouraging customers to use recycled water for nonpotable purposes like fountains and lawn irrigation. Some communities are paying residents to remove thirsty turf in favor of drought resistant plants. And throughout the state, more water districts are setting prices based on volume, charging extra for water used beyond a set threshold. "The more people conserve now, the less likely it is that in the next year or two they're going to have to go to really serious water rationing," says Felicia Marcus, chairwoman of the state water board.

But even smart conservation can have a boomerang effect. Coastal Southern California has some of the state's most cutting edge water use policies, including mandatory low flow toilets, turf removal programs and strict lawn watering laws, but it got the worst grade on the recent state survey of water use. That stretch, which encompasses Los Angeles and San Diego, used 8% more water in May than the average for the same month over the previous three years. In the Sacramento area, where only about half of all homes have water meters and conservation policies are far less advanced, residents reduced water consumption by 13% in May.

Californians will need to replicate those habit changes across the state. "If it doesn't rain next fall, all bets are off, and we're going to have to go to far more serious restrictions everywhere," says Marcus. For now, she adds, "We're just ringing the bell and saying, 'Hey guys, wake up.'"

REPUBLICANS

Christie's Long Road Back

Often the most telling questions are the ones that don't get asked. At a 13-minute press conference in Tennessee July 12, no reporter queried New Jersey Governor Chris Christie about the George Washington Bridge scandal that once threatened to torpedo his presidential hopes.

It's a positive sign for the garrulous governor as he gets back on the road this summer including a swing through the early-caucus state of Iowa in an effort to repair his damaged reputation and raise money in his role as head of the Republican Governors Association. But it doesn't mean he's over that bridge yet. As Christie revs up for 2016, he remains a popular target for other, more conservative Republicans.

In a jab at Christie's selective approach to picking issues, Louisiana Governor Bobby Jindal said the GOP must offer substance over style. "The next big elections can't be ones about personalities

or just about slogans," he told TIME in response to a question about Christie. Wisconsin Governor Scott Walker used Christie as a foil for questions about an investigation into his own campaign practices. "Obviously, he's not out of the woods yet," Walker said, suggesting that Christie's troubles, unlike his, were "just beginning." And Texas Governor Rick Perry, another potential 2016 contender, outshone Christie at a pro-Israel event attended by the influential GOP megadonor Sheldon Adelson.

Christie's backers say the bridge is a bump in the road maybe not the best metaphor. But while he retains the unusual candor that made him an early front runner, the overtures from Wall Street financiers have become less frequent. "He's still surrounded by the same guys," says a top GOP fundraiser who was once committed to Christie. "Where's the growth? I'm not seeing it yet." —ZEKE MILLER

Christie has been taking shots from fellow GOP governors



The Rundown

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Eric Garner, a 43 year old father of six, died July 17 in Staten Island after a violent altercation with **New York City** police. Cell phone video of the fatal encounter, which shows one officer wrapping his arm around Garner's neck and wrestling him to the ground and Garner repeatedly saying, "I can't breathe," ignited a national debate over the use of force by police. The officers involved have been assigned to desk duty while local prosecutors and the NYPD probe the incident, which began when police accused Garner of selling illegal cigarettes. An interview with Ramsey Orta, who filmed the scene, is on TIME.com.

OBAMACARE

A key piece of the Affordable Care Act was thrown into question July 22 after federal courts in **Washington, D.C.**, and **Virginia** issued conflicting rulings on the government's authority to subsidize health insurance for people who buy it in the federal marketplace. The issue is likely headed for the Supreme Court.

AIR TRAVEL

\$5.60

Amount of the new TSA security fee on plane tickets, up from \$2.50 for direct flights and \$5 for connecting flights. Layovers longer than four hours count as a new flight.

BANKRUPTCY More than 30,000 current and retired **Detroit** city employees voted July 21 to approve pension cuts that would reduce the city's debt by \$7 billion, nearly three weeks before the start of the trial on the Motor City's plan to exit bankruptcy.

Money



Recycle. Reuse. Reprofit

Startups are trying to make money selling your unwanted stuff

BY KATY STEINMETZ

IN A BUSTLING SAN FRANCISCO warehouse, a buyer for a startup called Twice is inspecting a pair of used jeans. She checks the button holes and zipper for snags, the legs and cuffs for wear. If the pants pass inspection, the old owner gets paid and the pants are cataloged, steamed and photographed before being listed on Twice's website at a fraction of their original cost (perhaps \$19 for Levi's). When someone else buys them, they become a pound or two of the 400 tons of clothing that Twice will resell this year. "It's environmental," says co founder Noah Ready Campbell of Twice's mission. "It's about reusing clothing and avoiding manufacturing more."

Twice is one of many startups at tempting to make the environmen

tally sound choice preferable and easy for consumers while making a profit in the process. The statistics driving these efforts are shocking: In the U.S., 90% of mobile devices are thrown away rather than recycled. Up to 40% of the food produced gets trashed. Americans junk some 12 million tons of textiles each year. "There's no way we can continue to produce waste at the level that we are and survive on this planet," says Adam Werbach, a co founder of Yerdle, a site where people trade things they might otherwise throw out. "It really is much easier to click a button than it is to knock on your neighbor's door."

And that is the convenience gap these enviro preneurs hope to close.

Consider the steps involved in

listing a used iPhone on eBay: take a picture, set a fair price, outline the specs, connect your bank, pay fees, wait a week for bids to come in and then hope it actually sells. These are inefficiencies that Silicon Valley types seek out like blood hounds. "People actually feel guilt that they're holding onto these items," says Ryan Mickle, founder of the electronics auction site FOBO, where bidding lasts only 97 minutes and the company suggests starting prices for you. But in surveys with potential users, he found that ignoring old stuff still causes less angst than confronting what can be the messy process of getting it to someone else.

Many items cluttering closets and garages are less desirable than gadgets: DVDs, picture frames, bird books, an old wine carafe. These are items companies like Listia and Yerdle want on their sites, where by giving things away, people earn credits that they can spend on other users' property. The sites aim to replace the rush that accompanies buying something new with the fun of bartering and the satisfaction that comes from giving away something you don't need. "People are seeking out human connection in our day to day economic transactions," says Arun Sundararajan, a business professor at New York University who studies these budding economies. "There is a non economic value that comes from giving your stuff to other people."

Sundararajan says that if a company like Yerdle achieves its aim of displacing 25% of new sales, that's good for the economy because it decreases waste. On the flip side, there is a possibility of job losses among people who make those new items. But he believes that other jobs in newer sectors would replace them, as happened when technological innovation put farmers out of work. "Efficiency is the name of the game in all of consumption," says Ready Campbell of Twice, "and in the whole economy, really."



TWICE

It wants: Old clothes. Twice operates like a brick and mortar clothes reseller but online.

Venture funding: \$23 million



SPOILER ALERT

It wants: Unsold food. This startup hopes to connect people with excess food to those who need it.

Venture funding: None



FOBO

It wants: Your old phone. Currently just in San Francisco, the app runs 97 minute auctions.

Venture funding: \$1.6 million

It pays to tend to your flock.



Since 2003, employee out-of-pocket expenses have risen nearly 90 percent¹.

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¹2013 Employer Health Benefits Survey, The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, August 20, 2013, <http://kff.org/report-section/2013-summary-of-findings/> Accessed 11/19/2013. ²Aflac Company Statistics, October 2013, One day processing turnaround based on business days after required documents are received. Online claims available for Accident, Sickness, Cancer & Wellness claims. ³Eastbridge Consulting Group: U.S. Worksite/Voluntary Sales Report. Carrier Results for 2012. Avon, CT: April 2013. **Coverage is underwritten by American Family Life Assurance Company of Columbus. In New York, coverage is underwritten by American Family Life Assurance Company of New York.** Worldwide Headquarters | 1932 Wynnton Road | Columbus, GA 31999

Milestones



DIED

Elaine Stritch

Brassy stalwart of the stage

By Patti LuPone

There was no one like Elaine Stritch, and I doubt there will ever be another like her. She was the type of Broadway actress that they don't make anymore. The first time I met Elaine, who died at 89 on July 17, it was maybe 20 years ago, and it was where else? in Sardi's. It was all so cliché. There were a bunch of people in the business sitting around tables, and I think Elaine was with Celeste Holm and one other person. Elaine all of a sudden said, "Patti! Come and sit with us!" She had great generosity toward her colleagues.

I am very critical of what I see on Broadway, because I've seen greatness. Watching Elaine in *At Liberty* [her Tony winning one woman show] was witnessing greatness. So she became the benchmark for whatever you see after that in solo shows. When you have that kind of history, that's real—it's a powerful thing.

AS TOLD TO SARAH BEGLEY

LuPone has won two Grammys and two Tony Awards

AWARDED

The Library of Congress Gershwin Prize for Popular Song, to piano man **Billy Joel**, for his lifetime contribution to the genre. The prize will be bestowed at a ceremony in November.

DIED

American author **Thomas Berger**, 89, who wrote more than a dozen books. He is best remembered for his 1964 novel *Little Big Man*, which was the basis for Arthur Penn's revisionist western starring Dustin Hoffman.

HONORED

The late astronaut **Neil Armstrong**, by the Kennedy Space Center, which renamed its Operations and Checkout Building for him. The 45th anniversary of the Apollo 11 moon landing was marked on July 20.

DISCOVERED

The decomposed body of fugitive South Korean billionaire **Yoo Byung-eun**, whose company operated the Sewol ferry, which capsized in April, leading to about 300 fatalities. The cause of Yoo's death is unknown.

DAMAGED

The replica **World Cup** given to the victorious German team. It was chipped while the squad was celebrating its win. (Luckily, FIFA held on to the real one.)

SUCCUMBED

To an insect infestation, the **George Harrison Tree**, a memorial pine planted in Los Angeles in 2004. The culprit bugs? Beetles. The tree will be replaced.

DIED

James Garner

Low-key hero

There are actors who become stars because they're imposing, powerful, monumental. And then there was James Garner. He was a high school football and basketball player who kept his rugged good looks long into life. But the characters he became famous for, especially TV's Bret Maverick and Jim Rockford, won you over with their minds. They got through trouble with cleverness, charm and subtle wit.

Garner, who died July 19 at age 86, made dozens of films, including *The Great Escape* and *Victor/Victoria*, and earned a Best Actor Oscar nomination for *Murphy's Romance* (1985). But it was on TV that he really found his sweet spot—and ours. Debuting in 1957, *Maverick* was about a character ahead of his time in spirit, a forerunner of the roguish antiauthoritarians who would rule movies and TV in the 1970s. Garner's most famous role, Jim Rockford in *The Rockford Files*, which debuted in 1974, was, like *Maverick*, a hero who became bigger by being cut down to size. A private detective who'd spent time in jail on a bad rap, always one step ahead of the bill collectors, he was not a pressed suit; he was a rumpled jacket that could use a dry cleaning. And that was what made him wear so comfortably. —JAMES PONIEWOZIK



STRITCH: ASTRID STAWARZ—GETTY IMAGES; GARNER: EVERETT

TIME

A LOOK BACK IN TIME

July 20, 1969: **One Giant Leap For Mankind**



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In Gaza, a Just but Bloody War

Hamas provoked this round, and Israel had no choice but to respond



ORI NIR IS A MAN OF PEACE. HE WAS born and raised in Jerusalem, spent many years as a prominent journalist for *Ha'aretz*, Israel's finest newspaper, and is now the spokesman for Americans for Peace Now. He is not shy about disagreeing with the Israeli government, especially when it comes to the illegal Israeli settlements in the West Bank and the general bellicosity of Benjamin Netanyahu's regime. But he hasn't protested the current Israeli incursion into Gaza. "It is a just war," he told me, "carried out with a great deal of care."

THIS MAY SEEM SURPRISING TO PEOPLE WHO don't follow the Middle East as closely as Nir does, and you might rightly ask, Why is this incursion different from all other Israeli incursions? Because Hamas, which was in an existential jam this spring, needed a new strategy. It had lost its prime ally in the region when the Egyptian army overthrew the Muslim Brotherhood. (Hamas is the official Palestinian branch of the Brotherhood.) It also alienated another of its supporters, Iran, when it sided with the Brotherhood against Bashar Assad in Syria. Opposition within Gaza to Hamas' corruption and misrule was also on the rise. What to do?

Provoke Israel. It had worked in the past. A kidnapping of Israeli soldiers on the northern border had led to Israel's less than discriminate assault on Hizballah in Lebanon in 2006. Rocket attacks had provoked Israel's two previous Gaza incursions, in 2008 and 2012. Hamas and Hizballah had "won" those wars because their fighters resisted the Israelis more effectively than conventional Arab armies had done in the past but also because the images of collapsed buildings and blood soaked children had bolstered Israel's growing reputation as an oppressor and a bully in the eyes of the world.

This time is different, however, for several reasons. The initial provocation, the kidnapping and murder of three Israeli teenagers, was indefensible, as was a retaliatory murder of a Palestinian teen. In a moment of moral clarity, Hamas lauded its kidnapers, while a furious Netanyahu called the retaliation "reprehensible." Indeed, Israel's actions have been more prudent across the board. It confined its bombing at first to Hamas' military facilities and leaders. Civilians were killed in the process—as was Hamas' intent—but these were targeted strikes, not the free range assault on Gaza City that had occurred

STALEMATE IN GAZA



ISRAEL

"Our mission is to restore a sustainable quiet, a sustainable security to our people by seriously degrading Hamas and other terrorist groups' capabilities in Gaza."

Benjamin Netanyahu



HAMAS

"We'll never go back to the slow death ... Our demands are fair, and they are humane. Our people have decided."

Ismail Haniyeh, top Hamas leader in Gaza

TO READ JOE'S BLOG POSTS, GO TO time.com/swampland

in Operation Cast Lead in 2008. The ground campaign that followed was limited as well, confined to Shejaiya, a neighborhood on the eastern outskirts of Gaza City that was a warren of Palestinian fighters and the launch point for a very elaborate tunnel system from Gaza to Israel. The fighting has been brutal, to be sure. More than 500 Palestinians and 32 Israeli soldiers have been killed. But it was not an indiscriminate massacre. Israel was protecting its border, the right of any sovereign nation; its citizens were threatened by Palestinian assaults at the receiving end of the tunnels (several of which were attempted, and foiled, during the fighting). "I don't like the civilian casualties that result from bombing the homes of the Hamas leaders," Nir says. "And what's happening in Shejaiya is horrible, but I think it falls within the normal rules of war. The moral bottom line seems clear." And then, semi amazed to be doing so, he quoted Netanyahu: "'We're using missile defense to protect our civilians, and they're using their civilians to protect their missiles.'"

THERE HAVE BEEN THE PREDICTABLE ANTI Israel riots in Europe, mostly populated by Islamic groups; the parlor left has been appalled, on cue, by the alleged Israeli brutality without questioning the deadly cynicism of Hamas. Meanwhile, Hamas has been outfoxed diplomatically: it opposed the cease fire agreement proposed by Egypt, which Israel—and the Arab League supported. If you're really the aggrieved party, it's not easy to explain why you won't accept peace. By now, in a reasonable world, Hamas would have lost all remaining shreds of its tenuous moral credibility.

A cease fire will be negotiated sooner or later, perhaps even by U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry. It is likely that nothing good will come of it. But Hamas' weakness, its inability to dictate terms, does leave a tiny possibility for peace. The first step is to restore legal order in Gaza by returning the Palestinian Authority ousted by Hamas in a 2007 coup to power and bringing in the U.S. trained Palestinian security forces who have done such an excellent job of bringing law and order to the West Bank. The next step is free elections in Gaza, which, given Hamas' current unpopularity, might be won by more moderate factions, perhaps even Fatah.

This is the Middle East, of course. Israel remains intransigent on a West Bank agreement. Peace is a chimera; only the dead bodies are real.

Jon Meacham

War Without End

From Ukraine to the Middle East, we still live in the long shadow of 1914

IT WAS SUPPOSED TO BE OVER IN A matter of weeks. In the summer of 1914, the European war that began in the aftermath of the assassination of Franz Ferdinand drew great armies into the fields, launched ships of war upon the seas and engaged imperial ambitions and fears. There was, however, a sense of optimism among several of the combatants, an expectation that victory would be quick. “You will be home before the leaves have fallen from the trees,” Kaiser Wilhelm II told the German troops in the first week of August.

Of course, it wasn’t over by the time the leaves fell, and what became known as the Great War really isn’t over even now. From the downing of the civilian Malaysian airliner by Moscow supported insurgents over Ukraine to the Israeli Palestinian combat in Gaza to Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan and Iran, the troubles of our time directly descend from the world of 1914–18, the era that inflamed ethnic and nationalistic impulses and led to the ultimate creation of new nation states, especially in the Middle East.

To understand the madness of the moment, then, one needs to take a long view—one that begins in 1914 and not, as many Democrats would have it, with the election of George W. Bush or, as many Republicans think, with the election of Barack Obama. The spectrum of political conversation in our time is, to borrow a phrase from Abraham Lincoln, inadequate to the stormy present.

THE 19TH CENTURY HAS BEEN SAID TO HAVE ended in 1914, with a war that became, in the words of historian David Fromkin, “in many ways the largest conflict that the planet has ever known.” One could argue that the 20th century lasted only 75 years, ending under the Administration of George H.W. Bush, with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the death of the Soviet Union (itself a product of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917). As the news of this summer reminds us, we are now in a world much like that of 1914, without a truly controlling order.

Americans who grew accustomed to a largely static balance of power during the Cold War must teach themselves to think in kaleidoscopic terms, not binary ones. Our national imagination

TWO ERAS, NO CONTROLLING ORDER



APRIL 2, 1917

“Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.”

Woodrow Wilson



JULY 22, 2014

“Around the world the old order isn’t holding and we’re not quite yet to where we need to be ... a new order that’s based on a different set of principles ... on a sense of common humanity.”

Barack Obama

is still partly shaped by the FDR/JFK rhetoric of American responsibility and the idea that we are capable of bearing any burden and paying any price to bend the world to our purposes. Yet we must be realistic—not defeatist but realistic about our power. While we should never give up the conviction that we can effectively exert our will around the globe, we should also appreciate that any undertaking is inherently limited, a point supported by the experience of the American President of the 1914–18 era, Woodrow Wilson, who believed that the war of that age would end all wars. He was wrong—woefully so. The first Bush was closer to the mark when he spoke, usually privately, of how foreign policy was about “working the problem,” not finding grand, all-encompassing solutions to intrinsically messy questions.

AND THOSE QUESTIONS TODAY REMAIN URGENT and dangerous. In his insightful book *Europe’s Last Summer*, Fromkin writes that “it takes two or more to keep the peace, but only one to start a war ... An aggressor can start a major war even today and even if other great powers desire to stay at peace—unless other nations are powerful enough to deter it.” To think of another conventional conflict on the scale of the Great War—16 million dead, 20 million more wounded—stretches credulity. Still, the forces of ambition, greed and pride are perennial in the lives of men and of nations, and wars of any size bring with them large and unintended consequences.

Summing up August 1914, historian Barbara Tuchman wrote, “Men could not sustain a war of such magnitude and pain without hope—the hope that its very enormity would ensure that it could never happen again and the hope that when somehow it had been fought through to a resolution, the foundations of a better ordered world would have been laid.” We know now that such hope was illusory. It did happen again, from 1939 to 1945, and now, a century on, we live in a world that remains vulnerable to chaos and mischance and misery. Such, though, is the nature of reality and of history, and we have no choice but to muddle through. There is, in the end, no other alternative, whether the leaves are on or off the trees.

WORLD

CRIME WITHOUT

RUSSIA BACKED THE REBELS SUSPECTED OF SHOOTING DOWN MALAYSIA AIRLINES FLIG



T P U N I S H M E N T

HT 17. WHY EACH NEW CRISIS MAKES PUTIN STRONGER BY SIMON SHUSTER/GRABOVO



Out of the sky
*The body of a passenger,
still strapped into his
seat, rests in a wheat
field in eastern Ukraine*

PHOTOGRAPHS BY
JEROME SESSINI

THE SCENE WAS ALMOST TOO HORRIBLE TO TAKE IN,

and yet in a world of bristling threats no scene has been more revealing: under the baking July sun of eastern Ukraine, hundreds of bodies lay rotting as pro Russian militiamen, some of them apparently drunk, brandished their weapons to keep European observers away. A Malaysia Airlines Boeing 777 bearing 298 souls—AIDS researchers, young lovers, eager children—had been blown out of the sky, apparently by a Russian-made missile, and the dead fell in a gruesome storm. One voice, and one voice only, could put an end to this indecent standoff over the innocent victims. But Vladimir Putin merely shrugged and pointed a finger at the Ukrainian government and, by extension, its Western allies. “Without a doubt,” Putin told a meeting of his economic aides on the night of the disaster, “the state over whose territory this happened bears the responsibility for this frightful tragedy.”

Had Putin finally gone too far? As the days passed and the stench rose, the coldly calculating Russian President got his answer: apparently not. While state-controlled media at home buried Russia's role in the disaster under an avalanche of anti-Western propaganda, leaders in Europe and the U.S. found themselves stymied once again by Putin's brazenness. Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte, whose nation lost 193 citizens in the attack (one of them a U.S. passport holder) called pitifully on Putin to do “what is expected of him” in helping recover the bodies. U.S. President Barack Obama struck a similar tone on July 21 after the victims' remains had been packed into refrigerated train

cars out of reach of foreign investigators: “Given its direct influence over the separatists, Russia and President Putin in particular has direct responsibility to compel them to cooperate with the investigation. That is the least that they can do.”

That was the crisis in a nutshell: the least Putin could do was the most Obama could ask for. The American President announced no deadlines, drew no red lines and made no threats. Even as U.S. intelligence sources asserted with growing confidence that Russian weapons and Russian allies were behind the missile attack, U.S. diplomats were met with roadblocks as they tried to rally Europe to stiffen sanctions against Putin. Obama and Rutte spoke as leaders without leverage, for their voters aren't interested in military conflict with Russia or its puppets. A generation of Westerners has grown up in the happy belief that the Cold War ended long ago and peace is Europe's fated future. They are slow to rally to the chore of once again containing Russia's ambitions.

So Putin presses ahead. His increasingly overt goal is to splinter Europe, rip up the NATO umbrella and restore Russian influence around the world. As if to put an exclamation point on that manifesto, the pro Russian rebels in Ukraine apparently resumed their antiaircraft attacks less than a week after the destruction of Flight 17. On July 23, two military aircraft belonging to the pro Western Ukrainian government were shot down just a few miles away from the airliner's crash site.

And Putin evidently will keep going as long as each new crisis only makes him



stronger. The 21st century czar has mastered the dark art of stirring up problems that only he can solve, so that Western leaders find themselves scolding him one minute while pleading with him the next. The crisis in Syria last year is a perfect example. He supplied weapons and training for the armies of President Bashar Assad, propping up the tyrant while Western statesmen demanded Assad's ouster. Yet when Assad crossed the “red line” drawn by Obama and used chemical weapons



against his own people, Putin stepped in to broker the solution. At the urging of the Russian President, Assad gave up his stockpile of chemical weapons. In turn, the U.S. backed away from air strikes in Syria. And guess who still reigns in Damascus? Putin's ally Assad.

Other world leaders try to avoid crises; Putin feasts on them. When a pro Western government came to power in Ukraine, Putin dashed in to annex the region of Crimea—an act that redrew the borders of

Young lives

Personal effects apparently belonging to some of the 80 children who were on board Malaysia Airlines Flight 17

Europe and snatched away Ukraine's territorial jewel. Within a month, Western diplomats began stuffing the issue into the past. Why? Because by then, Russia had stolen a march on eastern Ukraine, giving the West another crisis to deal with—and another problem that only Putin could reconcile. He made a show of pulling Russian troops back a short distance from the border with Ukraine, but Russian arms and trainers kept the separatists supplied for the fight. And when

the fighting produced the macabre spectacle of the rotting corpses, once again the instigator was in the driver's seat.

"Mr. Putin, send my children home," pleaded a heartbroken Dutch mother named Silene Fredriksz Hogzand, whose son Bryce, along with his girlfriend Daisy Oehlers, were among the victims of Flight 17. And he did send them home but only after the crash site had been so thoroughly looted and trampled that investigators may never be able to prove exactly what happened.

Divided We Stand

CAN THE WEST STOP A FIGURE WHO IS DETERMINED to uphold the dreary habits of czars and Soviet leaders while projecting Russian exceptionalism and power? Putin doesn't have a lot to worry about when he looks at the forces aligned against him. Obama, as the leader of a war weary nation, has ruled out all military options, including the provision of weapons to Ukraine. Europe is both too divided and too dependent on Russian energy supplies to provoke any lasting rupture in relations. The only option would seem to be the steady ratcheting up of sanctions.

That's harder than it sounds. Putin has allies in the heart of Europe—notably Italy, which now holds the rotating presidency of the E.U.—and it has lobbied against the sort of sanctions that could do serious damage to Russia's economy. Cutting off trade, the Italians say (and they speak for others), would only reverse the current, inflicting substantial pain on European corporations that benefit from it. "The Europeans are in a panic over the U.S. line on sanctions," says Sergei Markov, a Kremlin connected political consultant who traveled to Europe in mid July to rally support among pundits and politicians there. "As soon as the E.U. gets the slightest chance to turn away from Washington on the issue of Ukraine, they will take it."

Even if Europe does begin to match Washington's tough stance on sanctions, there is scant evidence to suggest that they will work. They did not, for example, dissuade Russia from allegedly giving the separatists sophisticated SA 11 missiles, one of which U.S. intelligence officials say

Somber work Miners and rescue workers take part in the search for human remains







was probably used to shoot down MH 17. Imposing sanctions may simply make Putin lash out more. “It’s like poking a bear in the paw with a needle,” says Andrei Illarionov, who served as Putin’s top economic adviser in the early 2000s. “Will it prevent him from ransacking your cooler? Probably not.”

In fact, the first three rounds of U.S. sanctions targeting Russian officials, oligarchs and state run companies have done little to stop the bleeding of Ukraine.

Haunted Igor Tiponov bows his head outside his home in the village of Rassypnoy. Inside a body from MH 17 had crashed through the roof

If anything, as the world turned its attention away from the conflict in the former Soviet republic in the past several weeks, the fighting there has worsened. The top NATO commander in Europe, U.S. Air Force General Philip Breedlove, says Russian weapons and paramilitary fighters have continued flowing through the holes at the border. Russian troops massed in western Russia have kept up the threat of a full scale invasion. “Everything that Putin has done has shown that he is absolutely



all in on this issue,” says Ian Bremmer, head of the New York City based Eurasia Group consultancy. “The Russians do not back down.”

Crackdowns and Conspiracy Theories

INSTEAD OF CHASTENING THE RUSSIAN President, the prospect of isolation has only seemed to harden his resolve. Nor is there any sign that Moscow’s ruling class a section of Russian society that constitutes a

key pillar of support for the President has flinched in the face of Western threats and sanctions. Putin’s public approval rating is the envy of every Western leader, standing at 86% as of late June, 20 points higher than when the Ukraine crisis began last winter, according to the independent Levada Center polling agency.

But even if more meaningful sanctions were somehow enacted, there is no guarantee they would help shove Putin off his pedestal. The Russian President thrives in crisis because he so effectively controls the narrative in the motherland. Russia’s pro Kremlin TV networks both state controlled and private are the main source of information for 90% of Russians. This TV propaganda machine helps keep Putin secure in an era when other strong men have been toppled in revolutions driven in part by social media. Apart from a state backed crackdown this year on independent news websites, the Kremlin’s supporters have proved adept at drowning out online dissent and flooding the Russian language web with Putinthink.

His media networks have cast the conflict in eastern Ukraine as a righteous struggle, pitting a resurgent Russia against the conniving West. The pro Putin talking heads on these channels hit reliably similar themes, championing Russian dignity, Orthodox Christian values, the survival of the Russian speaking world and the fall of the American menace. Now MH 17 is being crammed into this narrative. After a brief wait for Putin to set the tone, a tide of conspiracy theories flooded the Russian media, all of them blaming Ukraine or its ally, the U.S., for shooting down the plane. With feelings toward the U.S. at an all time low in Levada’s surveys, this wasn’t a difficult sell for a populace weaned on the dogmas of the Cold War. “It goes without saying that everything bad that happens to us is initiated by the United States,” says Mikhail Zygar, editor in chief of Russia’s only independent news channel. “That’s something many Russian politicians or just ordinary Russians get with their mother’s milk.”

Putin’s designs, meanwhile, are far grander than Ukraine. He hopes the conflict on Russia’s western flank will create divisions within Europe that shrink American influence. His vision which he referred to on April 17, at the peak of Russia’s euphoria over the conquest of Crimea is the creation of a “greater Eu-

rope” that would stretch from Portugal to Russia’s Pacific Coast, with Moscow as one of its centers of influence. By creating problems like Ukraine that only he can solve, he puts himself in the center of European politics. Russia’s vast oil and gas resources on which Europe relies only add to his influence.

The U.S., in this scenario, becomes a rival rather than an ally of Europe. “The United States is a major global player, and at a certain point it seemed to think that it was the only leader and a unipolar system was established. Now we can see that is not the case,” Putin said at the end of his appearance on a call in show that day in April. “If they try to punish someone like misbehaving children or to stand them in the corner on a sack of peas or do something to hurt them, eventually they will bite the hand that feeds them. Sooner or later, they will realize this.”

A Case of Russian Pride

WHAT HAPPENS IN THE AFTERMATH OF the MH 17 disaster will test Putin’s assessment of declining American power. The coming days will determine whether the U.S. and Europe can form a united front against a country that virtually the entire world believes handed a loaded weapon to an unregulated militia. “We can’t do this unilaterally,” says a senior official in the Obama Administration. “We’ve got to work with the Europeans on a strategy to help contain Russia.”

So far there’s not much unity on show. Four days after the downing of the airliner, when the bodies of the victims were still stuck in rebel territory, French President François Hollande said France would go ahead with the sale of at least one warship to Russia, the helicopter carrier *Mistral*, against the direct objections of the U.S. and U.K. “The symbolism is terrible,” the Administration official tells TIME on condition of anonymity.

The symbolism was not much better when E.U. Foreign Ministers met on July 22 to discuss ways to isolate Russia further. Even with emotions still raw over the downing of MH 17, the ministers did not bring European sanctions into line with those of the U.S., choosing instead to add a few names to their blacklist of rebel leaders and Russian technocrats. They pledged to draft a list of harsher punishments later in the week, possibly including an

arms embargo. Even the Dutch, who lost so many, do not yet seem keen to take the lead. “In the near term, much will depend on the Dutch and where European opinion settles,” says the Administration official. “The Europeans had already been moving forward slowly, but forward.”

Certainly, the Dutch-led investigation into the shoot down isn’t likely to trouble Putin soon. British experts are analyzing the plane’s flight recorders. Forensic experts are examining the wreckage that was scattered across an area of several square miles. The investigation could take years, and it will be complicated by the fact that the people likely responsible for the disaster—the rebel fighters—had several days to remove evidence of their culpability.

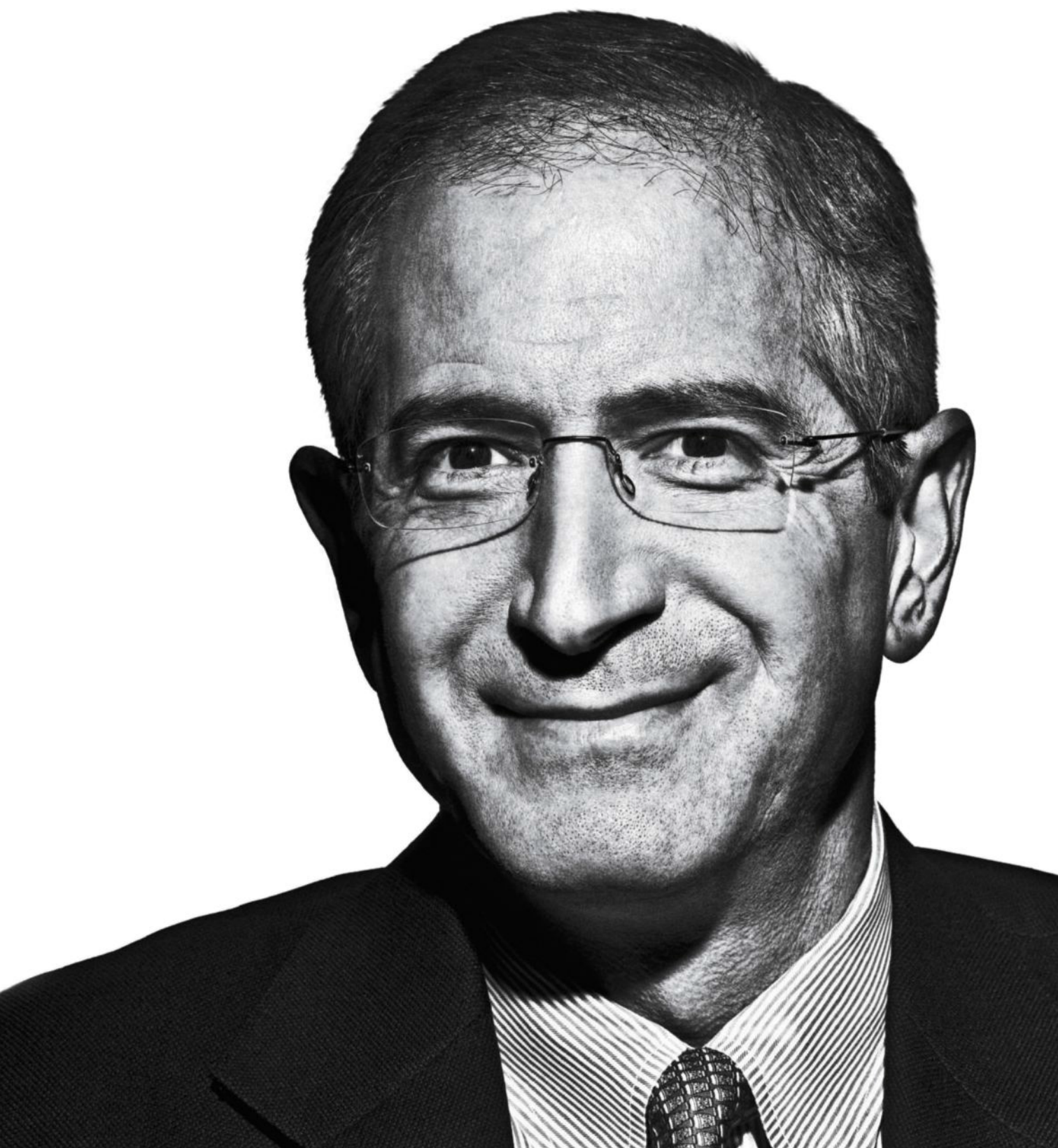
There is always the chance of a quick and unexpected breakthrough—a missile fragment with a chemical signature or a serial number identifying its source. One of the trigger pullers could break his silence and confess to the crime. That could lead to an arrest, extradition, a trial and conviction years down the road. But these are chances Putin seems willing to take. “Maybe he can still apologize,” says Zbigniew Brzezinski, who served as National Security Adviser under President Jimmy Carter. “But he would have to swallow a lot of mendacity.”

Besides, for now, Vladimir Putin answers to virtually no one. His command of the Russian airwaves will help him manage any blowback at home, spinning even the most damning evidence as part of an ancient American conspiracy. The more the world picks on him and Russia, the more it feeds a Russian will to push back, out of a sense of pride and victimhood. Isolation will still be the West’s only means of attack, and if Europe has lacked the will to impose it after Syria, after Crimea and even amid the global outrage over MH 17, it is unlikely to take action once the shock of the crash subsides. Putin has played this game before. He need only bide his time for the West’s own inaction to clear him. WITH REPORTING BY MICHAEL CROWLEY, ZEKE MILLER, JAY NEWTON SMALL AND MARK THOMPSON/WASHINGTON; MIRREN GIDDA/LONDON; AND CHARLY WILDER/MOSCOW ■

Fallen *The body that landed on Tiptonov’s house lies on the floor next to a bed*







NATION

**The man who
wants to remake
the Internet
does not wear a
hoodie. He just
owns the cables.
Now he's after
more. Meet Brian
Roberts, the
*King of Comcast***

BY HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS

Photograph by Rainer Hosch

STOOPING SLIGHTLY AT THE NECK, BRIAN Roberts, the chief executive of Comcast, loped onstage in April at the cable industry's annual trade show in Los Angeles. Behind rimless glasses, his face looked earnest and likable, more tenured sociology professor than cutthroat mogul. In a country that has long celebrated its tech titans as gurus and geek celebrities—think Steve Jobs in his black turtleneck, Jeff Bezos with his delivery drones—Roberts dresses for the boardroom, a peach tie with his charcoal suit, and utters none of the utopian rhetoric of Silicon Valley. If you met him on the street, you would never guess that he could soon control the U.S. Internet's most powerful company.

After settling before the audience, Roberts described the revolution that he expects will remake his company in the coming years. Americans today are streaming video on more devices than we thought possible “24 months ago, even 12 months ago,” and that's not changing anytime soon. People, he said, will watch TV where they want it, when they want it—and it won't be through an old box in their living room but through smartphones and tablets and any number of slick new screens hooked up to the Internet. “It's a whole new world,” he said.

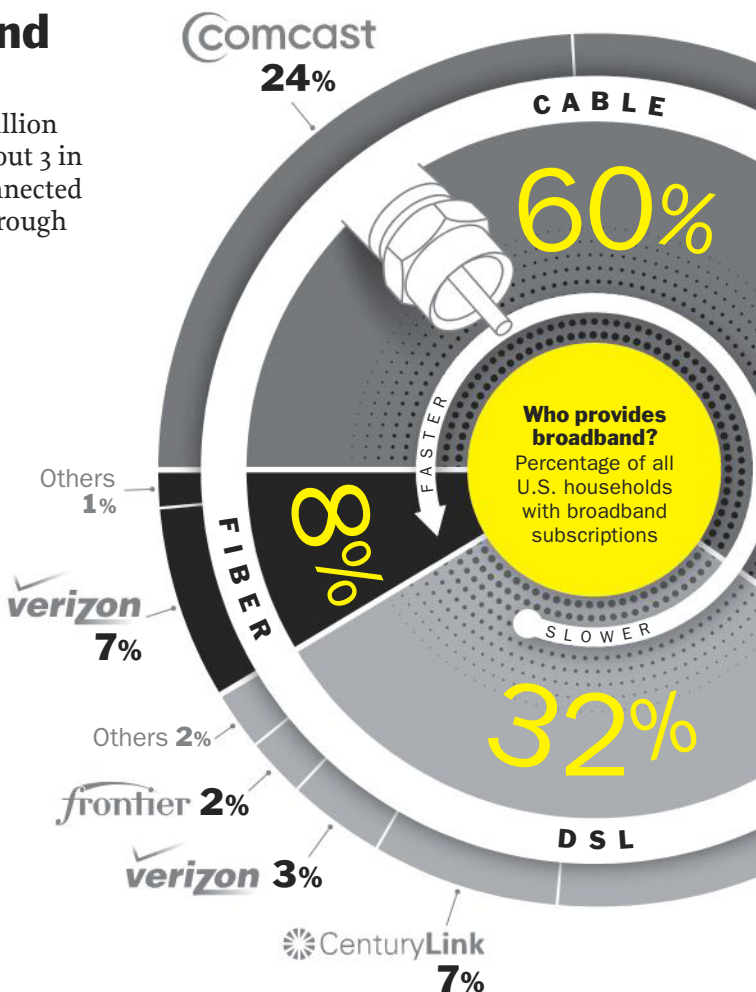
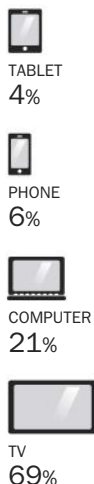
What he didn't say was that he is poised to dominate that new world, however it evolves. His company is already the largest cable outfit in America and the owner of the television behemoth NBCUniversal, with the lucrative rights to broadcast hundreds of live sports events every year. But Roberts' real trump card is that he owns more of the physical infrastructure—the high-speed digital wires capable of streaming online video to people's homes—than anyone else in America, and he's making a play to control even more. In February, Roberts made a \$45 billion bid to buy Time Warner Cable, the nation's second biggest cable company.

If the deal goes through, which most observers expect, Roberts will own, by conservative estimates, 35% of the nation's broadband Internet connections, and that's after the company divests a few million users as part of the merger. If you narrow the definition of broadband to include only those connections that would allow a family to watch and record several high-definition videos simultaneously, the same way they'd use a TV, his share

Broadband Battle

More than 85 million U.S. homes—about 3 in every 4—are connected to broadband through a phone or cable company.

How we view our video content

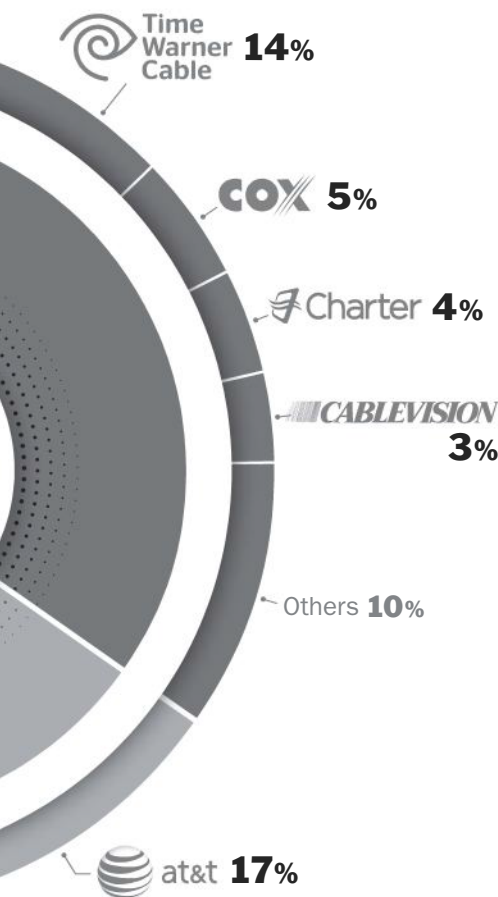


of the market could stretch above 60%. The combined company would be nearly seven times the size of its nearest cable rival and the dominant broadband provider in 19 of the country's 20 top markets. With that sort of market clout, Comcast will have the leverage to demand more money from TV programmers, online video streaming companies and regular customers—and the power to shape what technologies and Internet services are available, and at what cost and quality, in a large percentage of American homes.

This vision may be good for Roberts' business, but it's causing some queasy feelings in corporate suites from Hollywood to Silicon Valley to New York City, where rival media and telecom companies have been scrambling to find a way to compete

in Roberts' new landscape. AT&T recently announced it will buy DirecTV, the biggest satellite TV company in the country, and in June, Rupert Murdoch's sprawling media empire, 21st Century Fox, floated the idea of snapping up the movie and television giant Time Warner—a move that would give Murdoch the scale he needs to hold his own with Roberts during negotiations over everything from cable carriage fees to channel placement. (Time Inc., the owner of this magazine, became independent of Time Warner in June. Time Warner Cable is independent of both companies.)

Reed Hastings, the CEO of Netflix, the largest online video streaming company, has warned his own investors that Comcast is already using its “anticompetitive leverage” to extract fees from web companies



Note: Fiber service includes fiber to the premises.
Company figures don't equal 100% due to rounding.
Sources: Parks Associates; ABI Research
Graphic by Emily Barone and Lon Tweeten

in exchange for allowing them access to American homes. The comedian turned Senator Al Franken says he's heard from content producers who are worried that the merger will make Comcast powerful enough to essentially decide which TV networks even exist. If the company refuses to carry a show, it could be a fatal blow.

'We want to lead, to innovate. Why is this controversial?'

BRIAN ROBERTS, CEO OF COMCAST

In his typically low key way, Roberts has patiently dismissed all of these concerns. An even bigger Comcast, he says, will mean more money to spend developing new technologies, improving customer service and investing in the digital infrastructure that wires our country from coast to coast. Comcast's stronger position at the negotiating table will be a boon to customers too, he says, by allowing the company to bid down how much it pays TV networks to carry their channels. The merger, he promises, will be "a win for everyone."

The recent record, however, suggests the story will be a bit more complicated. Comcast has raised customer prices by an average of more than 4% every year since the mid '90s, a trend that Comcast executives say won't end anytime soon. "We're certainly not promising that customer bills are going to go down," Comcast's executive vice president David Cohen told reporters in February. This year, the American Customer Satisfaction Index rated Comcast and Time Warner Cable the worst two companies in any industry nationwide.

Economists, meanwhile, worry that further mergers will reward an industry that is among the most expensive, by comparative download speeds, in the developed world. For example, for the price and quality of 45 megabit per second (Mbps) download speeds, U.S. broadband ranks 30th out of 33 developed countries, according to a recent report by the Organisation for Economic Co operation and Development. In Hong Kong, 500 Mbps costs \$35 per month; in San Francisco, Comcast's fastest download speed, 105 Mbps, runs you \$114.95.

Public frustration aside, the only real obstacle in Roberts' way is a few hundred government employees in Washington who are scrutinizing the deal for antitrust implications and consumer interest concerns and will decide this fall whether it passes muster. To win them over, Roberts has amassed one of the largest lobbying and political influence operations ever created. At the same time, in his trademark modest way, he has continued to publicly dismiss any suggestion that his business plans should raise public concern. "We want to lead, to innovate," he told one reporter recently. "Why is this controversial?"

The Next Internet

FOR MOST OF THE PAST 25 YEARS, NO SINGLE person or company has been powerful enough to control how the American Internet works. One reason for that was the diffuse and chaotic nature of our online economy—a kind of rough and tumble Wild West where thousands of producers jostled for the attention of the masses. In this environment, no single company, not even Goliaths like Google or Facebook, dominated enough traffic to bend the network's free market checks and balances.

The infrastructure of the Internet helped keep everyone on a level playing field as well. All players, from pip squeak individuals to giant companies, had to pay an Internet service provider (ISP) a flat fee, based on the speed or volume of the service, for online access. In exchange for those fees, the ISPs would expand and maintain their pipes and pass their customers' traffic to and from another set of companies that owned the larger, global transit ways for online information. It was, for a time, a marvelous architecture, fundamentally unlike any of the other networks in our lives. There was no government ownership as with the interstate highway system, no costly long distance plans as with phone networks and no individual postage required to send content as with the U.S. Postal Service.

But in recent years, that unique structure has started to crack, and the reason is the size of the biggest players. A decade ago, thousands of companies shared in the daily buzz of Internet traffic, said Craig Labovitz, the CEO of DeepField, a network research firm. By 2009, 150 companies accounted for half of all that traffic, and by early this year, just 30 companies made up the majority of the daily give and take. As of March, just two companies in particular—Netflix and Google, which owns YouTube—accounted for 47% of all Internet traffic during prime time hours at night, according to Sandvine, a network equipment company.

Meanwhile, ISPs like Comcast have consolidated as well. Part of the reason was old fashioned mergers, with big cable and telecom companies buying up smaller ones, and part of it was that the market for broadband simply changed. Online video consumption grew by 71% in the U.S. from 2012 to 2013, according to Nielsen. Since you need at least 5 Mbps to stream

a single HD video, according to the FCC, Americans' demand for faster broadband exploded. As a result, ISPs that offered perfectly acceptable speeds less than a decade ago have fallen out of favor. Dial up is laughable. Satellite is too unreliable. DSL is on the decline. And while there is a proliferation of faster mobile services like 4G and LTE, most come with data usage caps that make them unattractive to use as a household's primary Internet connection.

Verizon and AT&T, both of which are bleeding traditional DSL subscribers, have begun offering customers speedier services like FiOS and U verse. But those, along with lightning fast options like Google Fiber, are available in only about 20% of American homes. The rest of us are left with one choice for broadband capable of streaming multiple HD videos: cable. And since cable companies almost never compete with one another geographically, that means most Americans have one option for that fastest available category of broadband.

Though some analysts predicted as recently as a decade ago that cable was a terminal industry, the opposite has turned out to be the case. While pay TV subscriptions are slowly declining, broadband subscriptions are driving new profits. Broadband is Comcast's fastest growing sector, with margins that are, says industry analyst Craig Moffett, "comically profitable."

While undoubtedly good for the cable industry, this paradigm—more demand for streaming videos, more demand for faster broadband, fewer companies offering service that meets those needs—sets the stage for a power struggle. In one corner are enormous content producers like Fox, Time Warner and Netflix. In the other are powerful ISPs like Comcast. The stakes? Control over the Internet and the profits it produces.

Battle of the Titans

THIS FIGHT FOR CASH TURNS ON WHAT goes through the pipes and who pays for it. The biggest ISPs, including Comcast, say that since their wires are being clogged up by just a handful of the big content producers, those big content producers should pay them for access. But several of the big content producers say the ISPs are taking advantage of near monopoly conditions and demanding tolls from companies that have no choice but to pass through their pipes to reach customers.

'They want the whole Internet to pay them for when their subscribers use the Internet.'

REED HASTINGS, CEO OF NETFLIX

This central tension rocketed into headlines last year after customers began streaming more Netflix shows and overloading Comcast's network, causing the videos to buffer and sputter and not play at all. Netflix CEO Hastings, worried that such technical difficulties would cause customers to drop their Netflix subscriptions, agreed in February to pay Comcast to ensure that Netflix's content was speedily delivered. But he also cried foul. He argued that since most Americans don't have much choice of providers that offer broadband fast enough to stream video at home, Comcast could simply allow its customers' online access to degrade without worrying that they'd switch to another ISP. Comcast can use that "anticompetitive leverage," he said, to extort fees from Netflix and other web companies. It's Comcast's responsibility, he argued, to expand and maintain its pipes in order to provide customers with the access for which they are already paying. "They want the whole Internet to pay them for when their subscribers use the Internet," Hastings said.

Roberts, in his affable way, disagreed. He said Netflix, which now accounts for more than a third of the traffic on Comcast's pipes at night, is just trying to avoid bearing the costs of streaming the volume of Internet traffic that its shows generate. Netflix "used to spend three quarters of a billion dollars for postage" to send DVDs to customers in the mail, Roberts said. Why shouldn't it pay that same "postage" to Comcast for sending its content online?

Silicon Valley tech firms both in and out of the streaming video business have since spoken up, too, saying Comcast's leverage is likely to grow further with the release of its multifaceted new Internet

connected cable box, X1, which does more than stream TV. The X1 allows you to adjust your thermostat, turn down the lights, map your friends' locations from their smartphones and stream your kid's soccer game live from someone else's iPhone—all while tweeting about it. Any other company attempting to compete in that rich new market, known collectively as the Internet of Things, will inevitably be dependent on Comcast's pipes to reach at least 35% of the broadband market. Left unanswered is under what circumstances those companies, like Netflix, will be asked to pay Comcast to connect to their network on the back end, how much they will have to pay and whether those fees will preclude their entry to the market.

There is a similar but distinct fight brewing over the rules that govern the last mile of Internet service, the connections between ISPs and customer homes. The FCC has begun drafting a new set of rules designed to address Net neutrality, the idea that ISPs must treat all web content equally in that final stretch of pipe. The idea behind Net neutrality rules is to prevent an ISP from, say, allowing MSNBC content to stream more easily than a Fox News segment. As part of its merger with NBCUniversal, Comcast agreed to abide by Net neutrality rules until 2018. President Obama has also sworn to voters that he would hold these principles sacrosanct.

But then in April, FCC chairman Tom Wheeler, an Obama appointee, proposed a new set of Net neutrality rules that allow ISPs to give preferential, faster treatment to content from companies that pay them for the privilege. Critics, including nearly every major Silicon Valley tech firm—Google, Facebook, eBay, Amazon, you name it—have howled that those provisions will create a "fast lane" on the Internet for rich companies able to pay the price and a "slow lane" for everyone else. That will give the richest incumbent companies an advantage while squeezing out the next generation's innovators—tiny startups coding on a shoestring.

While Comcast has promised not to block or hamper access to any website and the FCC is vowing to monitor all ISPs for anticompetitive practices, tech companies say there's plenty Comcast can do to make accessing some sites more difficult, or expensive, while staying within the rules.

Will people be able to stream shows more easily through X1 than through competing devices, like Apple TV, that must use Comcast's broadband? Will Comcast's pricing structure make it simply unaffordable to stream videos through broadband? The answers may not be known for years.

In the meantime, Comcast has been repeating its commitment to enforce Net neutrality in ads promoting the merger. But the company has made no promise to extend that commitment beyond 2018 if the merger goes through. Rather, Comcast echoes the "open Internet" rhetoric of Wheeler and has joined others in the industry in pushing against any stronger regulation that would require broadband companies to treat all the content coming over all their wires equally.

The Influence Game

IN THE EARLY 1960S, BRIAN ROBERTS' father Ralph Roberts, who had tried his hand as a young man selling everything from belts to Muzak, bought a small cable company that served 1,200 homes in Tupelo, Miss. It was a tough business to get off the ground. Local leaders and city councils, which had the power to tightly regulate cable as they did other utilities, had to be cajoled to invite new cable franchises to wire their towns. In this climate, the famously charming Ralph Roberts, now 94, quickly learned that having friends in high places could be a major boon for business. It's a lesson that his son Brian, who joined the family company as a young man in the late '70s, quickly learned too.

Up until the mid '80s, when Congress passed a law deregulating the cable industry, the lobbying game was played in local and regional halls of power, but over the next two decades, as Comcast grew in size and clout, so did its presence inside the Beltway. Ever since Brian Roberts, who's now 55, became CEO in 2002, Comcast has been one of the biggest players in the Washington circuit. Last year it spent more on lobbying than any other company in the U.S. except Northrop Grumman, the defense contractor that makes the B-2 bomber. So far this year, Comcast has signed with more than 35 firms around town, hiring a total of 114 lobbyists, including five former members of Congress and a former FCC commissioner.

Meanwhile, the company spread sever

al million dollars' worth of campaign donations around 250 members of Congress this election cycle alone, focusing particularly on those who serve on the committees that regulate telecom. The Comcast Foundation has been busy writing checks too. Last year it gave nearly \$17 million to nonprofits—generosity that is not without political perks. During Comcast's last big merger, with NBCUniversal in 2011, at least 54 groups that received Comcast cash wrote letters to the FCC in support of their benefactor or otherwise publicly endorsed the deal. This year a university professor who testified before Congress on Comcast's behalf hailed from a think tank funded in part by Comcast cash.

This delicate dance of soft power is not, of course, unique to Comcast. Google, Amazon and Facebook are dumping tens of millions of dollars into "government relations campaigns" too. But one thing Comcast has going for it is decades of history on Capitol Hill—a past that has earned it a Rolodex of well-connected friends. The head of the cable industry's trade association, the National Cable and Telecommunications Association (NCTA), Michael Powell, used to be the chairman of the FCC, and current FCC chairman Wheeler used to be the president of the NCTA. Oh, and another former president of the NCTA is Roberts, whom Obama personally appointed to the President's Council on Jobs and Competitiveness in 2011. The pair spent a day together last August at Roberts' Martha's Vineyard estate.

While both Roberts and his wife have given hundreds of thousands in political contributions, it pales in comparison

with the several million that Comcast's man in Washington, Cohen, has bundled in campaign contributions over the years. At a fundraiser for Democratic Senate candidates at Cohen's home in Philadelphia last fall, Obama joked, "I have been here so much, the only thing I haven't done in this house is have seder dinner." In February, Cohen attended a White House soiree in honor of French President François Hollande. The company is "totally ubiquitous, all the time, everywhere, behind the scenes," former FCC commissioner Michael Copps says.

Neither those personal connections nor piles of cash guarantee, of course, that the Justice Department and the FCC will simply approve the merger. But all that influence, as it's known, does tend to make it difficult to criticize a friend. Congress, which does not have a direct say over the federal regulators' review, could raise hell about the merger, ignite public outrage and threaten to pass new laws, but there is little sign of an uprising. Obama, who appointed Wheeler, could make a fuss about the new Net neutrality rules too, but he has so far dodged the spotlight, issuing bland statements about the "independent" agency Wheeler runs.

The Justice Department, for its part, is currently scrutinizing the merger for potential antitrust implications—an art more than a science in an era in which staggering consolidation has once again become the norm. Comcast and Time Warner Cable have argued that since they do not compete in any geographic region, anticompetitive concerns are a nonissue. That metric does not, of course, take into account the breadth of Comcast's reach, from cable, telecom, broadcast and TV programming to broadband Internet and new media, but no matter. Analysts in all of those markets generally agree that the Comcast merger is likely to get a green light later this year.

The future, in other words, is shaping up just as Roberts predicted. The goal, he told a reporter recently, is to get as many people as possible to "engage with us, to take advantage of this technological explosion." "We are in many, many homes. We offer the fastest Internet today," he said. "The more consumers want speed, the better it is for our company." On that final point, no one would disagree. ■

'I have been here so much, the only thing I haven't done in this house is have seder dinner.'

BARACK OBAMA, DURING A FUNDRAISER AT THE HOME OF COMCAST EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT DAVID COHEN



Photograph by Ryan Lowry for TIME



BUSINESS

STEEP THRILLS

THE SUMMER'S NEWEST
ROLLER COASTERS ARE
MORE DEATH-DEFYING
THAN EVER

BY SAM LANSKY/GURNEE

BIBLICAL PROPORTIONS

*Goliath, at Six Flags Great America in
Gurnee, Ill., shattered three world records
when it opened in June*

GOLIATH MAY HAVE COST millions to build, but it doesn't *look* very sturdy. From my hotel in Gurnee, Ill., an hour north of Chicago, I can see it: 15 stories tall and constructed of

wooden beams that, from a distance, appear as spindly as toothpicks. When it opened in June at Six Flags Great Escape, Goliath broke three world records for wooden roller coasters: the tallest drop (180 ft.), the steepest drop (85 degrees) and the fastest speed (72 m.p.h.). Steel roller coasters eclipse these figures, but many amusement park purists swear by the rickety charms of old-fashioned wooden rides. The look is dangerous—like it could collapse in an instant. For adrenaline junkies, there's no finer catnip.

When I get to the park, I sit in the front row of Goliath's cherry red train next to a boy no older than 8. "Are you scared?" I ask him.

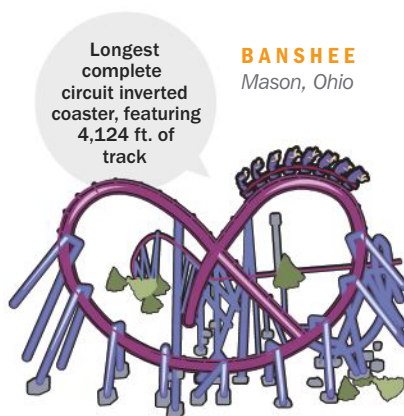
"No," he says defensively. A moment's hesitation. "Not *really*." But by the time we've ascended to the apex of a 165 ft. hill, we're both screaming.

This summer, America's newest roller coasters are testing the boundaries of height and speed, all in pursuit of scaring the pants off their riders. You loop through furious inversions (the term for the part of the track that turns riders upside down), plummet down dizzying drops of hundreds of feet or veer perilously close to an object on the track to experience the illusion of an inevitable collision before swerving to safety just in time. Technical innovations—largely led by an Idaho-based company called Rocky Mountain Construction, which built Goliath—have made it possible to erect wooden coasters that approach the daunting scale of their steel counterparts. Meanwhile, Swiss firms like Bolliger & Mabillard have developed new thrill rides like the wing coaster, which seats riders on either side of a track with nothing above or below: it feels like flight, hurtling through the air at a breathtaking velocity.

While there's little question that the biggest rides are getting scarier, judging their safety is more complicated. Consistent numbers on incidents are tough to come by, because no single government agency is responsible for amusement park safety. A study conducted for an industry

SUCH GREAT HEIGHTS

THE NEWEST RIDES,
BY THE NUMBERS



group, the International Association of Amusement Parks & Attractions, found that there were 4.3 injuries for every million park attendees in 2011; the study used data from 383 parks. Still, the industry has faced a few high-profile tragedies, like the death of a 52-year-old woman thrown from a roller coaster at Six Flags Over Texas in Arlington in 2013. As recently as July 7, 22 people were trapped on a coaster at Six Flags Magic Mountain in Valencia, Calif., and some of them were treated for injuries.

Growth in visitors to amusement parks has been lackluster, with annual attendance hovering at around the 300 million mark in recent years, according to industry sources. That makes the coaster arms race critical for parks that are competing to attract summer crowds and justify hefty ticket prices. At Six Flags Great Escape in Jackson, N.J., where a full-price day pass now costs \$66.99 for an adult, up 6% from last year, one of the big draws is Zumanjaro—a drop ride attached to the record-breaking steel roller coaster Kingda Ka—where riders fall 415 ft. at 90 m.p.h. in the span of 10 seconds. GateKeeper at Cedar Point in Sandusky, Ohio, boasts the world's highest inversion, turning riders upside down at 170 ft. Kings Island park in Mason, Ohio, has Banshee, the world's longest inverted roller coaster, where the train hangs beneath the track, leaving riders' legs dangling. If a new roller coaster doesn't break records, it isn't worth building.

That trend is likely to continue. "We don't feel we're anywhere close to the boundaries," says Alan Schilke, the designer of Goliath. "We can break a new record every year."

It's a terrifying thing to consider, especially halfway through the mighty Goliath, since I'm convinced I've made a terrible mistake in riding it. After that astonishing first drop, there's one head-spinning inversion, some wild lurching and then a zero-gravity stall in which the car is suspended upside down, giving the surreal feeling of weightlessness. I'm in a state of delirious half-blackout for most of the ride, screaming myself hoarse. *What kind of lunatic would willingly get on this thing?* I wonder.

But as the track flattens and we slow to a halt, the adrenaline settles. My heart rate slows. My euphoria passes. I look longingly back up at Goliath.

I ride it again.



**LEGENDS OF
THE FALL**

*Goliath's supersize
wooden construction
is a draw for many
coaster aficionados*

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ANNE SILVERMAN
AND
PETER MORRIS

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AT THE CEREMONY AND CELEBRATION
OF THEIR MARRIAGE

SATURDAY, THE TWENTIETH OF DECEMBER
TWO THOUSAND AND FOURTEEN
AT HALF PAST SIX O'CLOCK IN THE EVENING

THE MURPHY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Together with their families

Tiana Blackmon
and
Nathan Williams

request the honor of your presence
as they tie the knot

Saturday, the twelfth of October
Two thousand thirteen
Six o' clock in the evening

Linganore Winery
Mount Airy, Maryland

Dinner and merriment
to follow

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THE WEEK
THE KILLING HITS
NETFLIX

The Culture

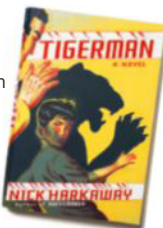


SUGAR RAY (2012): RICHARD MOSSE, COURTESY JACK SHANNAN GALLERY; THE HONORABLE WOMAN: SUNDANCE TV

BOOKS

Claws Out

A British sergeant expects peace and quiet when he's assigned to a remote island in Nick Harkaway's new novel, **Tigerman**, out July 29. Instead, he finds crime rings and impending environmental disasters, which he investigates with the help of a comic book loving teen.



ART

Dirty Pictures

Landscapes and the earth's natural elements are the subjects of a new exhibition, **Phantoms in the Dirt**, at the Museum of Contemporary Photography at Columbia College Chicago. Featuring images and objects from 16 artists, the show runs through Oct. 5.



For **Sugar Ray** (2012), **Richard Mosse** used discontinued infrared film to turn pink the plant life of the war-torn Democratic Republic of Congo

TELEVISION

Family Secrets

In the SundanceTV miniseries **The Honorable Woman** (premiering July 31), Belgian actress Lubna Azabal (right) plays a close friend of Nessa Stein (Maggie Gyllenhaal), an Anglo Israeli baroness turning her late father's arms business into a force for peace in the Middle East.



Big-Screen Sex Machine

A new James Brown biopic finally finds its groove

By Larry Getlen

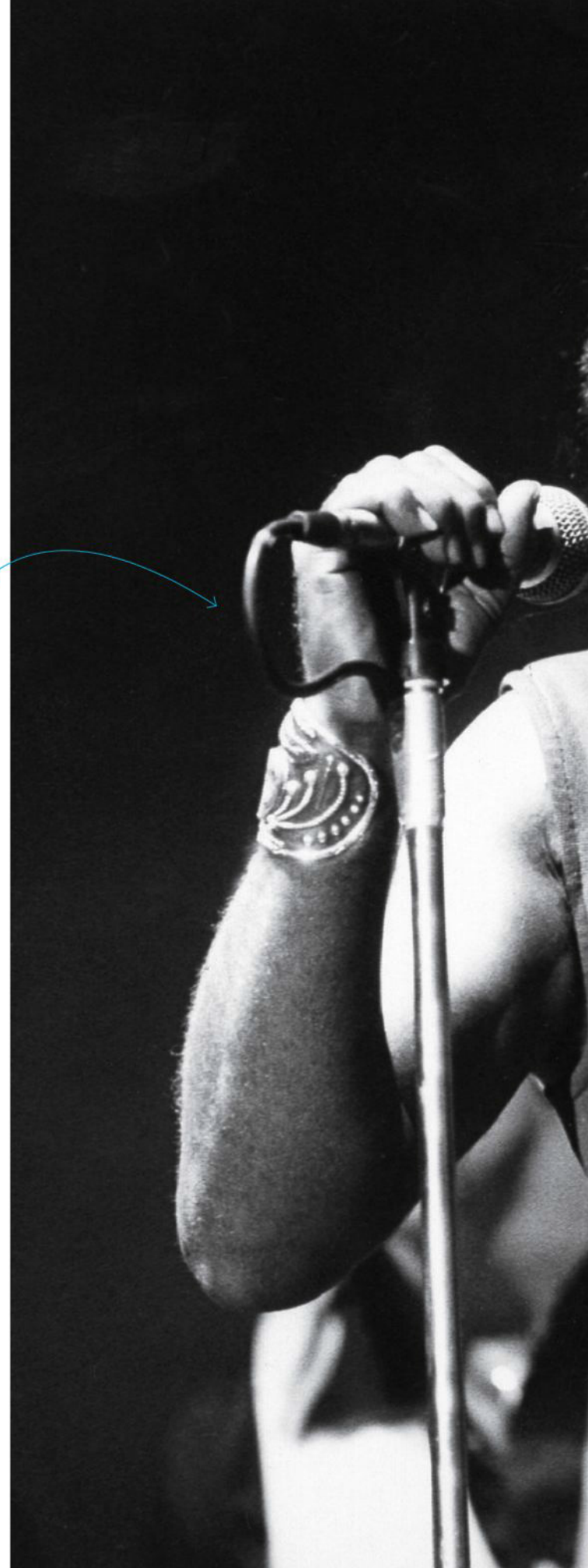
ABOUT 20 YEARS AGO, FILM PRODUCER BRIAN Grazer, known for his work on *A Beautiful Mind*, *Apollo 13* and *The Nutty Professor*, met some of the biggest names in hip hop, including Jay Z, LL Cool J, Slick Rick, Chuck D from Public Enemy and Ol' Dirty Bastard and RZA from the Wu Tang Clan. While their ages and rap styles were wide ranging, Grazer found they all had one thing in common: an undying admiration for James Brown, the man whose hits including "I Got You (I Feel Good)," "Papa's Got a Brand New Bag" and "Get Up (I Feel Like Being a) Sex Machine" defined both soul and funk music for generations.

"Every one of these guys brought up James Brown to me, and they all had a story. They weren't always flattering, but they were always respectful of him as the progenitor of hip hop," says Grazer, who at the time was working with another famous Brown worshipper, Edie Murphy, who impersonated the singer on *Saturday Night Live* in a bit titled "James Brown's Celebrity Hot Tub Party."

Brown was one of the most prodigious forces in popular music. From 1958 to 1986, he landed 116 singles on *Billboard*'s Hot 100 singles chart, and their irresistible grooves have since been sampled on about 4,000 songs. His life was just as vibrant, from an impoverished upbringing spent partly in an aunt's brothel to a determined struggle to wrest control of his career from businessmen—a career that fell apart when drugs sapped his judgment and frequently landed him in jail. It was a life too large not to wind up on the big screen.

With Murphy in mind to star, Grazer purchased the rights to Brown's story in the mid '90s, beginning a two decade quest that

Brown, a.k.a. Soul Brother No. 1, sings in Berlin in 1982





Boseman as the 1960s era Brown in *Get On Up*



ends Aug. 1, when *Get On Up*, starring Chadwick Boseman (42) as Brown, finally hits theaters. Grazer's first headache was Brown, who wouldn't sign a long term deal for the rights, forcing the producer to regularly renegotiate. Then Murphy passed on the role. Grazer spent the next decade commissioning scripts that didn't quite work and searching for a director. He eventually paired with Spike Lee, but Grazer says they couldn't agree on a budget. Lee insisted the film be made for \$55 million or \$60 million; Grazer wanted to spend half that.

Their quarrel became moot on Christmas Day 2006, when Brown passed away at age 73. Grazer lost the rights, seemingly for good this time, as Brown's estate became mired in years of complex litigation between family members and trustees. Around three years later, the music portion of Brown's estate came to be managed by Peter Afterman, who also works with the Rolling Stones. Enter Mick Jagger, a movie producer through his Jagged Films banner, who signed on to produce a Brown documentary, *Mr. Dynamite*, directed by Alex Gibney (which is the subject of negotiations for a pay TV debut later this year).

When the Stones front man heard about Grazer's efforts to make a Brown feature film, he suggested they collaborate. *Get On Up* was back on track. Tate Taylor (*The Help*) was hired to direct, and the search was on for an actor who could bring Brown to life.

Among those interested was Sean "Diddy" Combs, who paid for an audition tape in which he re-created the extravagant opening of a

Brown show. "I thought he was great," says Jagger. "His take on it was really wonderful and exciting." But Taylor had seen Boseman play Jackie Robinson in *42* and had a "sixth sense" that he was the right choice. Boseman was apprehensive, because of Brown's iconic status and his own desire not to jump right into another biopic.

There was another problem with Boseman: he wasn't a dancer, while Brown's footwork inspired everyone from Jagger (see sidebar) to Michael Jackson. Taylor paired Boseman with Aakomon Jones, who has worked with Madonna and choreographed the 2012 hit *Pitch Perfect*. Boseman not only learned Brown's moves but also devoured the secrets of the legend's overall physicality, coming to understand what made him one of the greats.

"When you're watching James Brown, you're seeing one part of what he's doing but not all of it. His body's doing several things at once," says Boseman. "At the mike, James is conducting the band without looking at them. His intention is always to keep time for the band, so they're watching his feet. Meanwhile, his shoulders are doing things, along with those foot movements, that are not necessarily what you would do with your shoulders. Then your head is doing something contradictory to what the shoulders are doing. The funk in his movement is coming from the alternating body parts."

Of course, Boseman also had counsel from one of rock's great performers. "We sat around and played [Brown's classic 1963 album] *Live at the Apollo*," Jagger says. "We played this very long track, 'Lost Someone,' during which he talks to the audience a lot. We closed our eyes and relived that scene and talked about how, in James' case, a performer gets the audience to respond to his moves."

When it came to the music, Brown's estate had some 950 recordings at its disposal, but they weren't all up to modern recording standards. Production team the Underdogs was hired to "sweeten" the originals with top studio musicians. The film even debuts previously unheard Brown recordings, including live versions of "Please, Please, Please" and "It's a Man's Man's Man's World," drawn from never released recordings of a 1966 concert in Tampa.

The final product is a particular triumph for Grazer, who not only gets to see two decades of diligence pay off but also gets to give the story of a legend its broadest exposure to date. Brown "didn't go to school for this," says Grazer. "He had some raw talent and courage, and a sense of self reliance that powered him to do something beyond what anyone could have imagined. It's a real American Dream story, and it shows how genius works."

Moves Like Jagger. How James Brown inspired Mick

"When I first went to America, I met James Brown at the Apollo, and he let me hang out with him and watch his shows. They did, like, four or five shows a day.

"I copied all of his moves. I used to do his slide across the stage, when you move laterally from one side of the stage to the other, twisting your foot on one leg. I couldn't do the splits, so I didn't even bother. Everyone did the microphone trick, where you pushed the microphone, then you put your foot on it and it comes back, and then you catch it. James probably did it best. [Soul singer] Joe Tex did it brilliantly. Prince does it really well. I used to try to do it, but in the end it hit me in the face too many times and I gave it up. So of course I copied his moves, but it's a kind of attitude too, not just a body move. It's about presence on stage in relationship to the audience."

—AS TOLD TO LARRY GETLEN

READ THE ENTIRE INTERVIEW AT time.com/jagger



Movies

The conjurer and his lovely assistants: Allen on the Riviera set with stars Stone and Firth



Woody's Illusion. His séance romance summons more moonlight than magic

By Richard Corliss

WOODY ALLEN LOVES FAKERY. THAT'S only natural: he performed magic tricks as a kid, and he's spent nearly 50 years (since his screenplay for 1965's *What's New Pussycat*) in the movies, that technological conjuring trick that fools viewers into believing the impossible. Many of the 44 features he has written and directed revel in the con, either criminal or emotional, as characters pretend to be what they're not, taking down more gullible souls and often stealing their hearts. That's the theme of *Magic in the Moonlight*, a minor comic diversion about séances and illusions that stacks up as not great, not awful but medium Woody.

A renowned magician who performs in Chinese makeup under the name Wei Ling Su, Stanley (Colin Firth) has a sideline exposing phonies who claim mystic powers, "from the séance table to the Vatican and beyond." At the urging of his old friend and rival conjurer Howard (Simon McBurney), Stanley journeys to Provence to debunk one Sophie Baker (Emma Stone), whose questionable psychic powers have beguiled a rich American (Jacki Weaver) and her son Brice (Hamish Linklater), a ukulele strumming oaf who calls

Sophie "a visionary and a vision." For Stanley it will be a solemn duty to unmask the fraud, if such she is, and thus confirm his devout cynicism about humanity. "We can't go around deluding ourselves," he tells Sophie. "But we *must*," she urgently replies, "to get through life!"

On the eighth leg of his European film tour that began in England with the 2005 *Match Point* and continued through Spain (*Vicky Cristina Barcelona*), Italy (*From Rome With Love*) and France (*Midnight in Paris* and now this), the 78-year-old Allen also treks into the gilded past: to the Côte d'Azur in 1928, when the Corniche highways were still dirt roads and, apparently, the prices were so high that the French couldn't afford to live there. The film's main characters are all American and

English—the idle rich and their guests who populated *Tender Is the Night*, F. Scott Fitzgerald's *Gatsby* on the Riviera. It is also the fantasy, familiar in the Allen oeuvre, of an older man (Firth is 53) falling for a young woman (Stone is 25) who is not straitjacketed, as he is, by intellect.

Stanley might be Allen's take on Henry Higgins, from Shaw's *Pygmalion* and Lerner and Loewe's *My Fair Lady*: a haughty bachelor who, to win a bet, gets involved with a girl he first has contempt for, then comes to appreciate. As Stanley all but tells his Aunt Vanessa (Eileen Atkins) while musing about Sophie, he's grown accustomed to her face. And who could not love Stone, of the ginormous eyes and husky voice? As a chic psychic chick in sailor dress and beret—or, after a rainstorm, looking like a soaked cat, but adorable—she's a girl any man would want.

Question is, who would want Stanley? Described by Howard as "a genius with the charm of a typhus bug," he is a sour pill, incapable of uttering a sentence without insulting the whole universe. Firth, working hard to suppress his patented bonhomie, gives the impression of having been force-fed the personality he's supposed to inhabit. Like the downtrodden plutocrat played by Cate Blanchett in Allen's *Blue Jasmine*, Stanley is a social miscreant—bad company for the other characters and a chore for the audience to engage with. Yet Stanley is presented as a potential mate for Sophie. And when this odd couple gazes at the stars through an observatory's open roof, they and we are meant to feel the magic in the moonlight.

You can see the movie as a Brooklyn boy's dream of a vanished civilization—all swank frocks and lawn parties—that perhaps existed only in the buoyant films he loved as a child and beyond. Firth and Stone could easily slip into one of those old romantic comedies, and Allen gets points for trying to revive the glamour, wit and heart of classic Hollywood at a time when other filmmakers just want to duplicate last year's superhero smash.

But the script lacks brio: it needs some one (perhaps the young Woody Allen) to punch up the laugh lines. And the movie is like one of Sophie's séances—except that the dead don't speak, and most of the living never come to full, endearing life. ■

The cynic: 'We can't go around deluding ourselves.'
The psychic: 'But we must, to get through life!'

Religion

Nonbelief System. Atheist “churches” take hold, even in the Bible Belt

By Josh Sanburn/Houston

ON A CLEAR, SUNNY JULY MORNING, AS churchgoers all around Houston take to their pews, dozens of nonbelievers are finding seats inside a meeting room in a corporate conference center on the city's west side to listen to a sermon about losing faith. But first there's the weekly “community moment” remarks on a chosen topic delivered by the group's executive director, this time focused on how we're hardwired to read sensationalized news as well as announcements about an upcoming secular summer camp. In between, a musician sings softly of Albert Einstein.

The men speaking before the assembled gathering—executive director Mike Aus, who regularly leads the group, and Jerry DeWitt, a visitor who heads a similar gathering in Louisiana—are both deeply familiar with the idea of Sunday ritual. Just a few years ago, they were Christian ministers active in the pulpit. Today they're both nonbelievers leading secular Sunday services.

This is Houston Oasis, a church that's not a church. It was started in September 2012 to foster community within Houston Atheists, a group formed through the online social networking portal Meetup that claims to be the site's largest association of atheists. Each Sunday, Aus welcomes his congregants at the door before leading them through many of the motions of a religious service. There's music, meet and greet time, guest speakers and Aus' message, which is part TED talk, part uplifting reflection on the wonders of the world this world around us.

But Oasis is careful not to get too churchy. There's music but no congregational singing. There's time to shake hands with your neighbor but no moment of silence. Because while it has all the markings of a church service, Oasis is designed to appeal to those who long for the rituals of old-time religion but have lost faith in its doctrines.

Oasis is one of a growing number of so-called atheist churches in the U.S.

Most are connected to Sunday Assembly, a London-based organization on a globe-trotting mission to launch 100 assemblies in 15 countries by the end of the year. About a dozen are already operating in the U.S.; almost twice that many are planning to open.

But whereas Sunday Assembly is largely a top-down movement, atheist churches are also sprouting from the ground up. DeWitt, a former Pentecostal preacher, runs the Community Mission Chapel in Lake Charles, La. In Tulsa, Okla., the Rev. Marlin Lavanhar, a Universalist, has created a separate service for humanists. Along with Houston Oasis, Texas also hosts the North Texas Church of Freethought, and in April, Kansas City, Mo., began its own Oasis, using Aus' service as a guide. As more former churchgoers identify as atheists, some are turning to these gatherings each week for social support.

The rise of atheist churches is part of a growing willingness by many atheists to adopt secular versions of religious practices. It's also a result of more everyday nonbelievers, and even clergy, “coming out” as atheists and reflects a modest mainstreaming of atheism across the U.S. As one example, since a Supreme Court decision in May that upheld prayer before town board meetings, nonbelievers in several communities have delivered the public invocations after the court acknowledged atheists' right to do so.

While 1 in 5 Americans claim no religious affiliation (up from about 1 in 6

five years ago), almost 6% now explicitly identify with atheism (the lack of belief in God) or agnosticism (the view that knowledge about God is unknowable), up from 4% in 2009. “You can't help but think that more atheists will come out,” says Dan Courtney, a member of the Atheist Community of Rochester, who gave an invocation on July 15 in Greece, N.Y., the town at the center of the Supreme Court ruling about prayer at civic meetings.

But the very concept of an atheist church—and even the term itself—is anathema to many in the movement. Some believe it's too much like the very thing they disavowed in the first place.

AUS' GATHERING IN HOUSTON IS APTLY named: it is very much an oasis. For the majority of city residents who claim a Christian denomination, Houston offers a host of megachurches, including two of the nation's largest Baptist churches, along with the biggest of them all, Joel Osteen's nondenominational Lakewood, which averages 43,500 congregants weekly. “Churchgoing is part of the warp and woof in this part of the world,” Aus says. “When you're surrounded by a predominant Christian culture, there's a need for even more support.”

For years, Aus preached at a progressive, nondenominational church in Houston, and he readily admits to having been a “cafeteria Christian.” “I never believed in hell,” he says. “Ever.” He always loved going to church and the community it nurtured, but by the late 2000s Aus realized he needed to leave the ministry. He first joined the Clergy Project, an online group of hundreds of active doubting preachers, then in March 2012 he declared himself an atheist on the MSNBC program *Up With Chris Hayes*.

Being an atheist may be America's last closeted identity, but the door has been opening over the past decade. In the 2000s the so-called New Atheists, led by evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins, provided intellectual support to nonbelievers through a series of books and articles that often tore religion into pieces. As nonbelievers have increasingly come out publicly, that hard-line approach has given way to a more accommodating stance toward believers. A number of academics

41

Rating given to atheists, on a scale of 0 to 100, in a Pew survey asking **HOW WARMLY RESPONDENTS FELT TOWARD SPECIFIC GROUPS**. Jews, Catholics and evangelicals scored in the 60s



JERRY DEWITT

A former Pentecostal minister, DeWitt now leads the secular Community Mission Chapel in Lake Charles, La.

MIKE AUS

In September 2012, Aus began Houston Oasis, an atheist service that is considered a model for nonbelievers nationwide

and authors have recently espoused the benefits of religious practices and institutions minus the theology. Alain de Botton, author of *Religion for Atheists*, argues that religion should be understood as an explanation of the origins of the world and the afterlife as much as a set of rituals and social practices. Chad Seales, a professor of religious studies at the University of Texas at Austin, says that in the study of religion, “belief is a bit overrated. The practices are what shape us.”

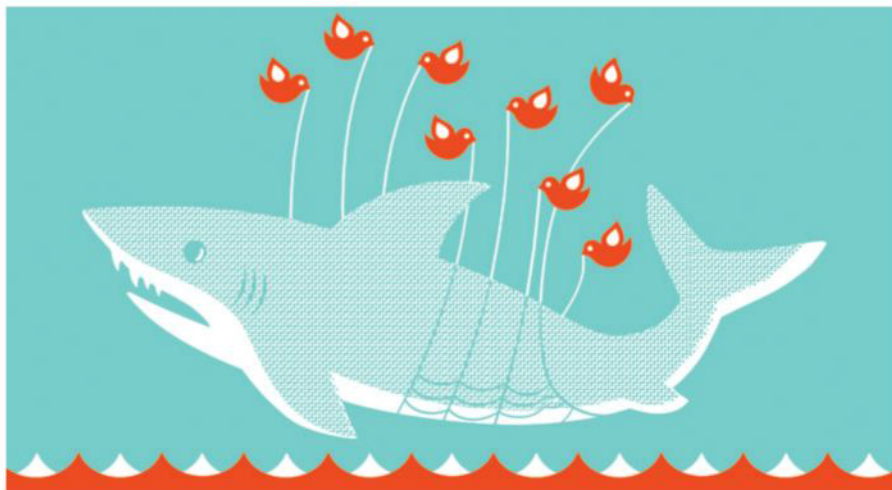
Houston Oasis has become so popular that the group plans to double its meeting space. Aus says he’s heard from people in several cities looking to start their own secular meet ups. The Humanist Community at Harvard, which holds a similar service each week, recently began an initiative to provide resources to atheist gatherings to keep the momentum going.

A number of atheists, however, are against the very idea of an atheist church, including Bill Maher, possibly the country’s best known nonbeliever. “It undermines the whole point of atheism, because the reason why people need to get together in religion is precisely because it’s nonsensical,” Maher says, arguing that people of faith need strength in numbers to support their belief systems.

But in a sense, that is exactly why atheists are getting together. In a country that still tilts skyward, nonbelievers need their own strength in numbers, even if that means imitating old time religion. “There are a lot of people in the free thought movement who say, Well, this is just mimicking church,” Aus says. “But if we don’t offer regular human community and support for nonbelievers, it would be detrimental to the movement.”

At the end of the service at Houston Oasis, many of its members continue the conversation at a café. Some discuss Aus’ thoughts on how we’re hardwired to respond to sensational news. Others ask about his journey away from the church. But mainly they talk about the little things: their plans for the evening, work, their favorite TV shows. Aus would say this urge to gather is simply human nature. But their weekly ritual, free of any predetermined belief, is something else too. It’s something they can all believe in. ■

Tuned In



Snark Attack! Why *Sharknado 2* is chumming the waters of social media

By James Poniewozik

I HAVE SEEN *SHARKNADO 2: THE SECOND One*, but I cannot properly review it. That's because I watched the Syfy channel movie—the sequel to last summer's viral hit about killer fish flying in a killer storm—on a review disc, in advance. In my office. Alone. Like a loser.

I have seen *Sharknado 2* the movie, in other words, but I have not had *Sharknado 2* the experience. That experience, when the movie airs on July 30, will involve watching it in a crowded room or, better, with limitless friends on social media. The movie is like a cook at home meal: the ingredients—the script, the bargain special effects, Ian Ziering chainsawing a great white in half—don't become dinner until you watch it, wisecracking and making merciless fun, turning Twitter and Facebook into the world's largest midnight *Rocky Horror* screening.

And that's just fine with Syfy. In fact, the channel badly needs you to do that. *Sharknado 2* is just an extreme example of how trends in technology and business are pushing TV networks to make shows that play well in the online world.

Last year's *Sharknado*, about a super storm that sucked toothy killers out of the Pacific and hurled them at Los Angeles, landed in the waters of social media like a bucket of delicious chum. It wasn't

a crazy hit, but it was big by the standards of a Syfy movie, and unusually, it grew in reruns: it had 1.4 million viewers for its premiere, 1.9 million for its second airing, 2.1 million for its third. And those ratings came in large part from buzz on social media, which it hit like, well, a tornado made of sharks.

The first thing *Sharknado* had going for it was its title, a portmanteau of American excess to match the cronut and the turducken. It was ridiculous, shareably so, and *Sharknado* was generating gale force winds online long before it even aired.

Then we actually saw it, and good God, was it stupid and glorious. People were knocking out sharks with bar stools, flying through the air into fish gullets, throwing bombs into tornadoes and getting showered with freshly detonated sushi. On Twitter, 1 in 6 tweets about TV that night was about *Sharknado*; it was a

When you tweet about *Sharknado*, you're not just a viewer—you're a marketer, creating urgency

trending topic even in countries where it wasn't airing. Everyone from political pundits to Mia Farrow joined in the *Sharknado* nado.

Just as a tornado erupts from converging hot and cold air masses, the *Sharknado* is a perfect storm formed from two opposing media trends colliding. The first is that technology threatens TV ratings and revenue: when people record shows and watch them long after they air, networks don't make money off the ads. (People now watch two hours more video a week than in 2011, Nielsen says—but about 10% less of it is live TV.) The second is that technology can help traditional TV, by driving viewers to watch certain buzzy shows live: if your friends are burning up Twitter about *Scandal*, you want to OMG along in real time.

This means that networks are increasingly interested in creating "events," like *Sharknado* or NBC's live *Sound of Music*, that people will want to watch as they air. When you tweet about *Sharknado*, you're not just a viewer—you're a marketer, creating urgency as effectively as did the theme from *Jaws*. (Syfy even chose the sequel's title through a Twitter contest, the better to get the Twittersphere invested.)

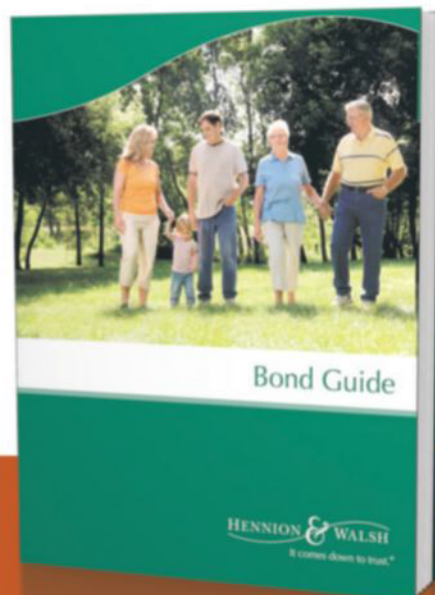
Now Syfy must make sharklightning strike twice. It's hard to re-create camp on purpose; *Sharknado 2* is like an indie band trying to keep its cred after a massive radio hit. (There's even a "jumping the shark" joke in *Sharknado 2*. Because of course there is.) Plenty of people want to ride this sequel's winds: there are cameos from the Kellys Ripa and Osbourne and Daymond John (of *Shark Tank*, natch), and there are cross-promotional roles for Syfy's NBCUniversal sibs the Weather Channel and the *Today* show. The production quality has been upgraded ever so slightly, from Z movie to, oh, maybe Q movie.

Yet the sequel somehow manages to re-create the dumb fun and stream-of-consciousness plot of the original, with out-letting-the-in-jokes-overwhelm-the-fin jokes. Most important, the movie is a target-rich environment for DIY second-screen snarking, with scenes like...

Ah, but I shouldn't spoil any more of the fun, for you or for me. I've got to save my best lines for Twitter. ■

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Pop Chart

LOVE IT

▲ MIT students created a **3-D printer for ice cream**. It extrudes soft serve instead of plastic.

▲ Kacy Catanzaro, a 5 ft. tall former gymnast, became the first woman to complete the **American Ninja Warrior** course.



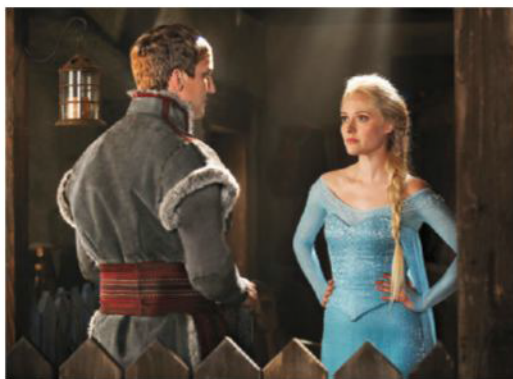
▲ **Beyoncé** leads this year's MTV Video Music Awards nominations, and her clothes are getting a Rock and Roll Hall of Fame exhibit.

▲ "The only thing that is artificial or fake about me is this!"

Aviva Drescher, chucking her prosthetic leg across the room on the **Real Housewives of New York**.



EXCLUSIVE FIRST LOOK: LIVE-ACTION ELSA Fans of ABC's *Once Upon a Time* learned this spring that Elsa, Frozen's ice queen, would be joining the show's ensemble of fairy tale characters—and now they can get their first look at actress Georgina Haig in the role, below, with Scott Michael Foster as Kristoff. Sparkly blue gown? Check. Long, blond braid? Check. Letting it go? We can only hope.



THE DIGITS

100 million

The number of likes Colombian pop star Shakira hit on Facebook recently—which corresponds to roughly 8% of the site's total monthly active users. What makes Shakira, the first person ever to reach this milestone, the most "liked" woman in the world? Maybe it's honesty. Her hips don't lie, after all.

QUICK TALK

Zoe Saldana

This summer, the *Avatar* actress goes back into orbit. In Marvel's *Guardians of the Galaxy* (out Aug. 1), Saldana, 36, plays the alien assassin turned hero Gamora. Before blasting off, she talks to TIME.

LILY ROTHMAN

Do you want to go to space in real life? No, it seems like I would have to do a lot of work up there. Every time I look at the news and I see astronauts, they never look comfy. They look *happy* but not comfy.

That's a great point. What makes me a little bitter is that I was born at this time, and 200 years from now I won't be able to be out there. **How do you think the future will be, besides comfier?** We're going to have the same problems that we have today, since we've had them since yesterday, but I think it's going to get better. **Which future advancement do you wish you had now?** Teleportation! **Obviously.** Are you kidding me?! I'd love to just stand on a thing and go "*Energize!*" and all of a sudden I'm in Vegas or Paris. **Guardians also looks to the past, at least when it comes to mixtapes. What was on the best mix you ever made?** Oh my God, I know there's no way for me to ever find it, but I miss it. Whitney Houston. English music from the '80s like "Don't You Want Me." Some Taylor Dayne, some Sam Cooke. It was perfect. **I hope you find it someday.** Thank you.

“
ON MY
RADAR

► Music by
Kid Cudi

"I always have
Kid Cudi on
my playlist.
Always."



ROUNDUP

A Brief History of Tracksuits

The world's most comfortable fashion statement is having a moment, thanks to Jenny Lewis' new video for "Just One of the Guys," which features Anne Hathaway and Kristen Stewart clowning around in beards and jewel-toned leisure wear. But don't call it a comeback: everyone from Olympic athletes to mob bosses has sported zipped up style in recent decades.

1986

RUN-D.M.C.
The pioneering rap trio wears three stripe Adidas sets onstage and in their music videos



1999

***NSYNC**
The boy band gives the world a questionable gift: a sleeveless take on the style





IN GOOD TASTE

Change comes to fruits and vegetables as they ripen and decay. Other things change too like Dalston, a rapidly gentrifying East London neighborhood that's home to Ridley Road Market. For his series *Dalston Anatomy*, Italian photographer Lorenzo Vitturi assembled items from the market in precarious sculptures and photographed them to make still lifes like *Green Stripes #1*, left, that allude to this change and the area's "crazy aesthetic." The work will be at the Photographers' Gallery in London beginning Aug. 1.



LEAVE IT

▼ Britney Spears accidentally **dined and dashed** on a \$30 meal at a Cheesecake Factory.

▼ Actor **Archie Kao, 44**, and actress **Zhou Xun, 39**, threw themselves a wedding onstage at a benefit in Hangzhou, China. Talk about **PDA!**

▼ The "original" copy of Rick Astley's "Never Gonna Give You Up," a.k.a. **the Rickroll video**, was removed from YouTube.



▼ Our night mares about **a mysterious 100-ft.-wide hole** in the ground that has appeared in Siberia.

VERBATIM

'I'm not a shark, I'm a blowfish.'

KANYE WEST, on his relationship with the paparazzi, in an interview with *GQ*; West explained that he just wants to defend himself, not attack anybody



2001

THE ROYAL TENENBAUMS

Ben Stiller plays a tightly wound financier who wears only bright red workout gear



2001

JUICY COUTURE

The company introduces a velour version; Paris Hilton soon makes it her signature



2009

GLEE

The Fox show transforms Jane Lynch into Sue Sylvester with the help of a bullhorn and a tracksuit



2014

PHARRELL

His hat gets the attention, but the singer also gives a track suited edge to the Grammy red carpet



FOR TIME'S COMPLETE FILM COVERAGE, VISIT time.com/movies

Belinda Luscombe

A Tale of Two Summers

It's not just the heat that makes this season frustrating. It's the scheduling

I AM BAD AT BEING A SUMMER mom. I'm always the one Googling "help last minute camp" the day after school gets out. One summer, I got my babysitter to take my kids each day to my gym, which had a pool, and pretend she was me. (Finally, an upside to wearing a skintight latex cap and goggles: anonymity.) Another summer, I managed to sign one of my kids up for an advanced skills soccer camp, even though he didn't really play soccer. It's not surprising that the emergency child care center at my workplace cotoned on fairly quickly to the fact that my emergencies occurred for a week or two every August.

sion for much of the day, a witness said.

The mom's arrest led to a round of national hair pulling (our own and one another's) about How a Person Could Even Do That or How a Person Could Even Report That. In fact, about 40% of parents leave their kids on their own, at least for a while, estimates the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry. Three states have even established a minimum age for being home alone, ranging from 8 years old in Maryland to 14 in Illinois.

Kids have raced around outside by themselves since the dawn of time. That's why those on the free range end of the child raising spectrum blamed the busybody who reported Harrell. Yet she was doing exactly what child protective

a double bind. The lower their earnings, the more inflexible their job. I could be writing this essay from home, in case my teenage kids suddenly needed help or to accuse someone of ruining their lives. Fast food workers have to be where the food is. "High wage jobs are associated with hard to replace skills," says Kenneth Matos, senior director of research at the Families and Work Institute. "[Corporations] need to do something to keep those individuals. Low wage jobs are generally associated with highly replaceable people, so it's not worth investing in flexibility."

Harrell can't do that job without child care, but at the minimum wage of \$7.25 an hour, she can't get child care doing that job. End result: she cobbles together some



For many parents, summer is oppressive not mostly because of the heat but because of the scheduling. The lengthening days are a hint of the specter of more than 50 million school age children with six more hours of free time than usual. It's a child care chasm that I usually end up crossing by building an emergency bridge made of cash: for more baby sitting, more late fees, more hastily put together sort of fun ish activities.

But no matter how unprepared I am, I'll never be arrested for my choices. That's what happened to Deborah Harrell, who was taken into custody earlier this month, officially for unlawful conduct toward a child, also known as leaving her 9 year old daughter in a park in North Augusta, S.C., for several hours while she was at work. Her kid had a cell phone, and the McDonald's Harrell works at was close by, but the girl was there without any adult supervi-

service agencies have asked citizens to do, especially since data indicates that child abuse reports tend to go down over summer but child abuse incidents do not.

So, once we get past the finger pointing, it might be worth having a different conversation: one about the gap between what we expect and what we're willing to pay for. If, by way of analogy, we go to Harrell's place of work for our luncheon needs, we cannot order McTruffles. McDonald's can't make the numbers work on that. Similarly, we cannot expect somebody to fund enriching child centric summer activities on minimum wage. She can't make the numbers work on that.

Age is a factor here. More than 45% of hourly workers whose income falls at or below minimum wage are older than 40, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and more than half are women. Harrell is 46. Parents in that type of job are caught in

thing ad hoc, just like I do. The difference is that my bad choices are cushioned by cash and society's false assumption that people who have it don't abuse their kids. When I make a mistake, my kids don't get taken away by social services.

Harrell may get lucky. On July 21, child abuse charges against 35 year old Shanesha Taylor, who left two toddlers in a hot Arizona car for more than an hour, were dropped. Taylor left the kids there because she had a job interview and nowhere else to take them. Both women's plights have touched a nerve; Harrell and Taylor have been given support and thousands of dollars in donations via social media.

As for me, I'm not sure where my 13 year old daughter is at this moment. I left her some money this morning and told her to have a nice day. If anyone wants to arrest me, I'll probably be at McDonald's, getting her some dinner. ■

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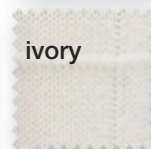
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10 Questions

Dean said it would take \$1 million to silence the jailed burglars. Nixon said, "We could get that."



Forty years after his boss resigned, **John Dean** is back with *The Nixon Defense*, based on the Watergate tapes

May I turn on a recording device?

Absolutely.

You recruited G. Gordon Liddy to run President Nixon's dirty-tricks campaign and were intimately involved in the cover-up. Why should a reader pay for your judgment on Watergate?

These tapes do refresh recollection of things I had totally forgotten about... Anybody who wants to take the time to listen to the tapes will get a confirmation of exactly what I've said. I have no reason at this late date to try to distort anything, other than to really understand what did happen and why.

Your book reminds us that the major players in Watergate were either incompetent sociopaths or malevolent egomaniacs. Is that the point?

I was trying to figure out how somebody as savvy as Nixon could have screwed up as badly as he did. It shows how a combination of his character and his decisionmaking were just a disaster.

The underlying premise of the book is that he knew less than the public imagines he knew.

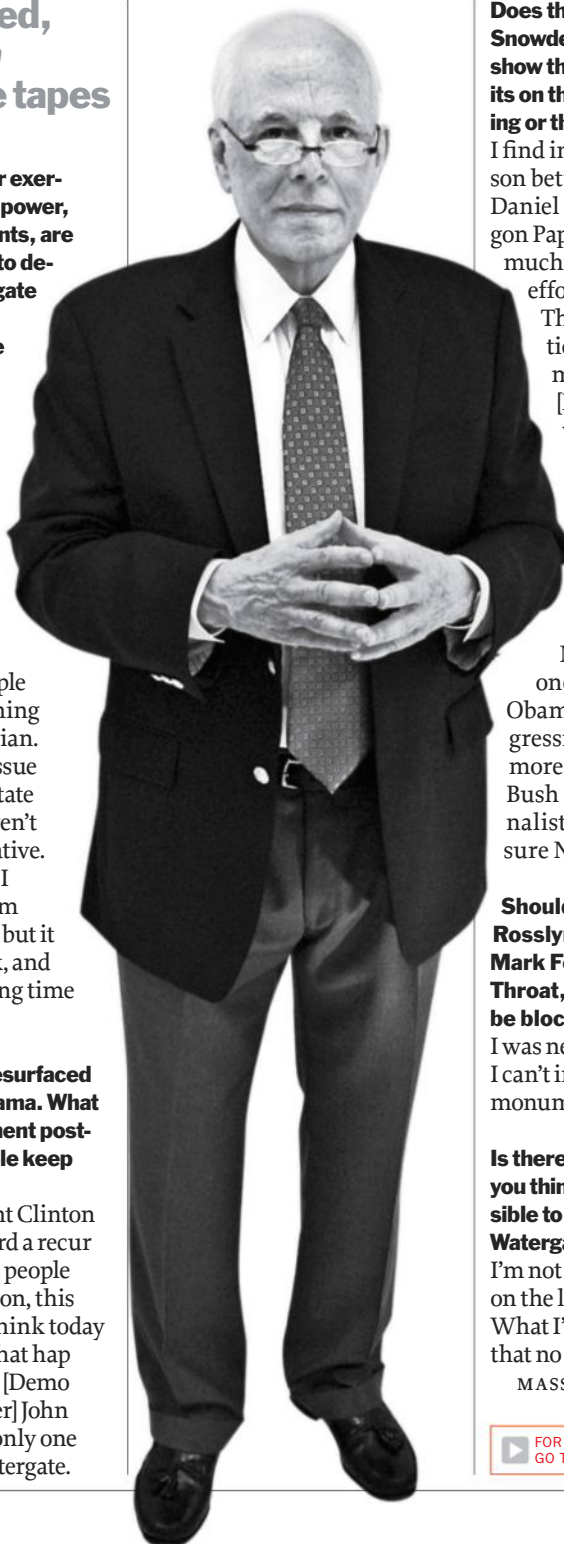
What struck me is that in the early days, he's relatively passive and certainly not running the cover up... He knows about everything from the payoff money to pretty actively suborning perjury, but compared to his later role, he's not deeply involved.

Comparatively minor exertions of presidential power, like signing statements, are now read as threats to democracy. Did Watergate permanently poison the public faith in the presidency?

I've had many people tell me over the years they think Iran *contra* was much more serious than Watergate... Nixon in his darkest day wouldn't have authorized torture post 9/11... People label things like signing statements as Nixonian. Well, Nixon didn't issue that many signing statements, and they weren't particularly provocative. The short answer is, I don't think it has damaged the presidency, but it has left a watermark, and I think it will be a long time before it is breached.

Impeachment has resurfaced under President Obama. What is it about impeachment post-Watergate that people keep reaching for it?

[During the President Clinton impeachment] I heard a recurring statement from people that this was for Nixon, this was to get even... I think today it's just an echo of what happened with Clinton. [Democratic House member] John Dingell may be the only one that remembers Watergate.



Does the case of Edward Snowden and NSA surveillance show that post-Watergate limits on the presidency are working or that they're not working?

I find interesting the comparison between Snowden and Daniel Ellsberg, [whose Pentagon Papers leak] provoked so much of Nixon's anger and effort to deal with leaks.

The Obama Administration has been much more aggressive than [Nixon's] in dealing with leaks.

Nixon personally authorized the Brookings Institution burglaries and other crimes in response to Ellsberg's leak.

Nixon only prosecuted one leaker... What Obama has done more aggressively than Nixon and more aggressively than Bush even is prosecute journalists and leakers... I'm sure Nixon is smiling.

Should demolition of the Rosslyn, Va., garage where Mark Felt, a.k.a. Deep Throat, met Bob Woodward be blocked?

I was never in the garage, but I can't imagine making it a monument to anything.

Is there going to come a time, you think, when it won't be possible to profit on the legacy of Watergate anymore?

I'm not sure I've ever profited on the legacy of Watergate. What I've done is the research that no one else is willing to do.

MASSIMO CALABRESI

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