

Trump's Women / The Reindeer Resistance

Newsweek[®]

INTERNATIONAL

習近平*

* Chinese President
Xi Jinping

10.02.2017

CITIZEN OF THE WORLD

How China can win as America turns inward

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Donald Trump's court is an end-times Camelot that tells you more than you might want to know about the role of women in his world. *by Nina Burleigh*

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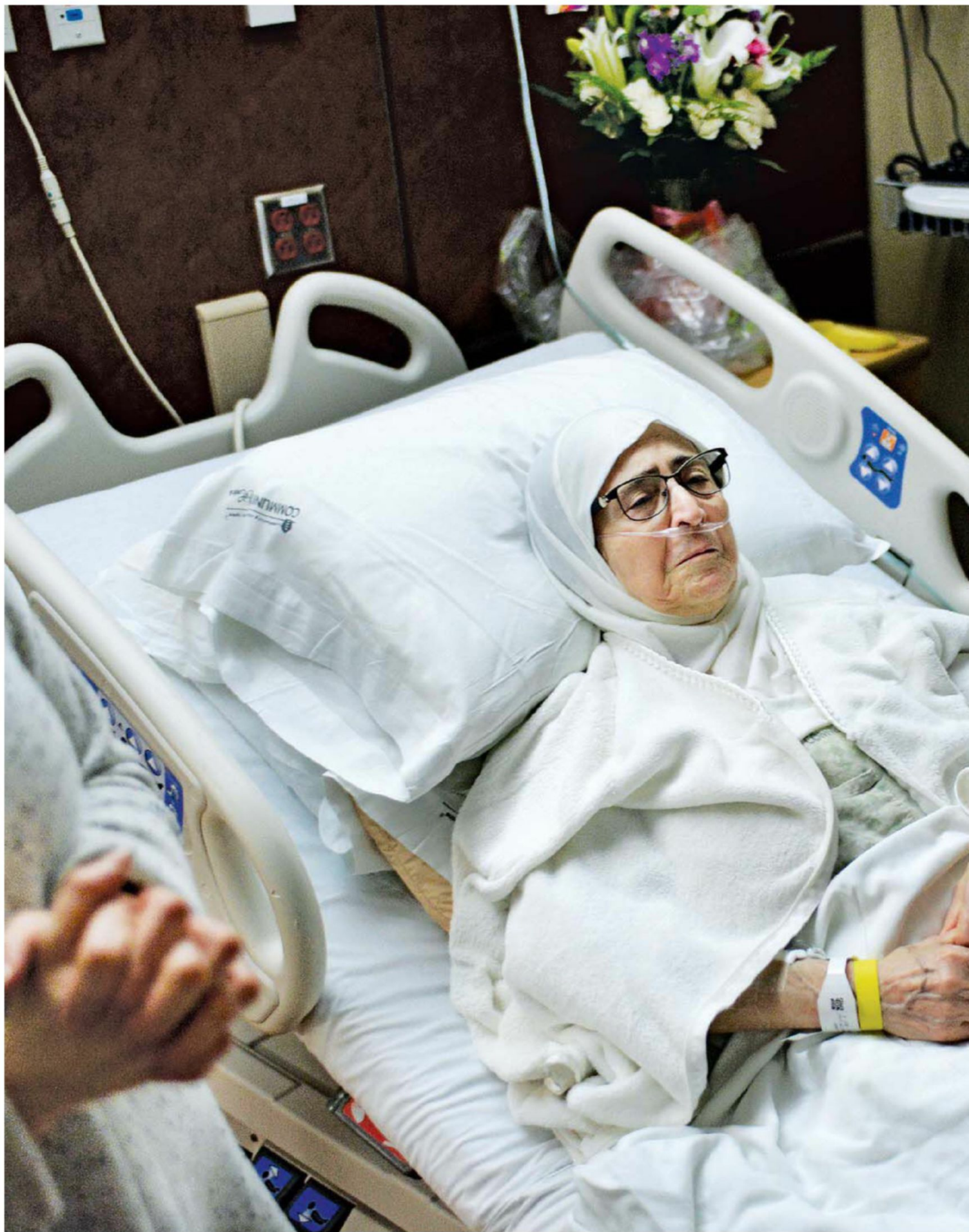
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BIG SHOTS

USA

Vetting Extremism

Munster, Indiana—The family of Isaaf Jamal Eddin gathered around her hospital bed on January 28 after learning that her daughter, a Syrian woman flying to the U.S. to care for her mother after a mastectomy, had been stopped by a U.S. immigration officer at Chicago's O'Hare International Airport and sent back to Saudi Arabia. Her daughter was among the many people blocked by an executive order, signed by President Donald Trump on January 27, that bars citizens of seven majority-Muslim countries from entering the country.



PAUL BEATY





CHILE

Heat Stroke

Santa Olga, Chile—Exhausted firefighters on January 26 take a break from battling the chain of over 100 wildfires that have burned almost a million acres and killed 11 people in central and southern Chile. All firefighters in Chile are volunteers, and residents have tried to fight the flames with tree branches and bottles of water, according to *The New York Times*. Chilean police arrested 43 people suspected of lighting some of the fires, and President Michelle Bachelet said, “We are sure that there has been arson in some of the fires. We will investigate this until the end,” according to South American TV network Telesur.



PABLO SANHUEZA

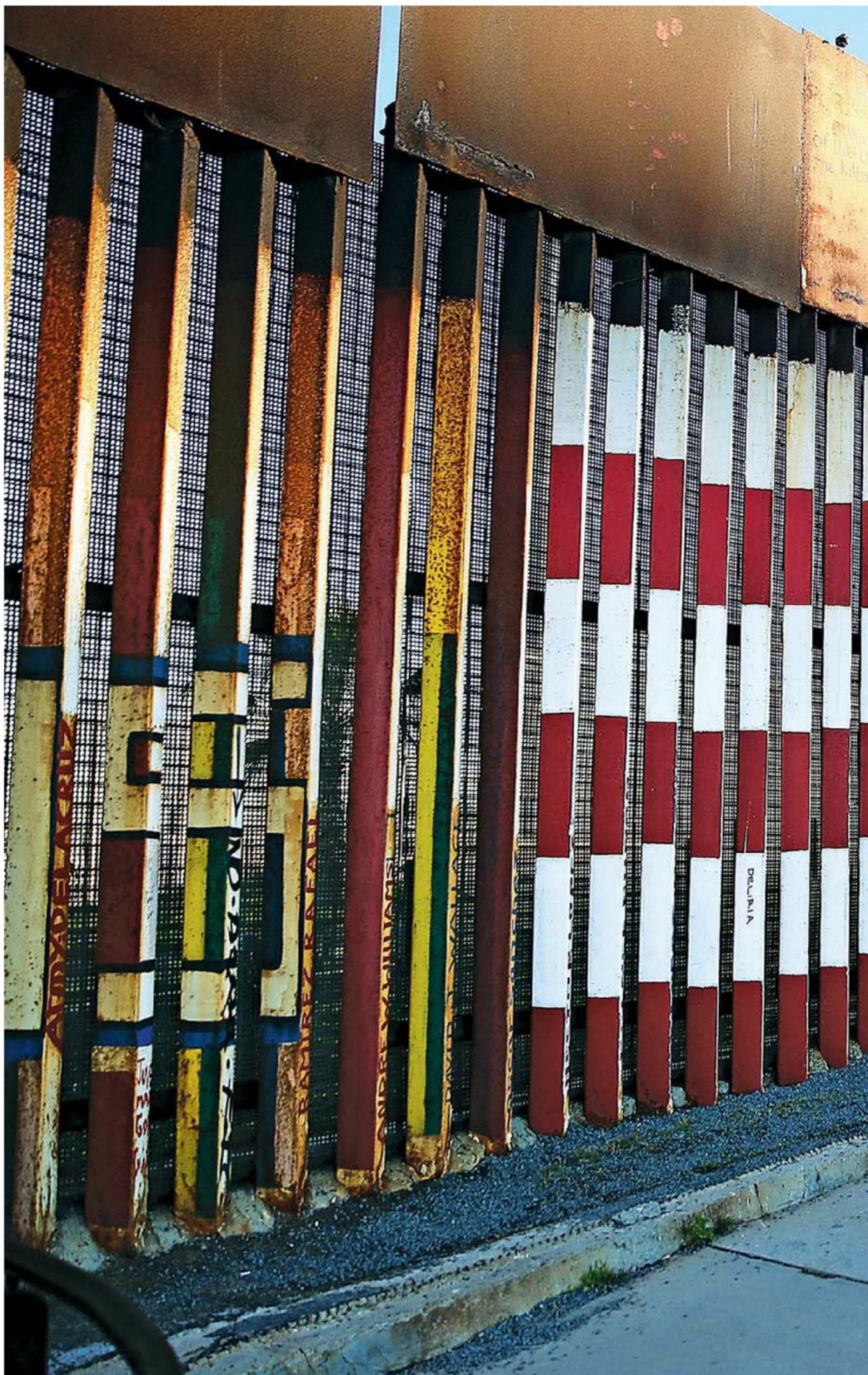
MEXICO

If You Bill It...

Tijuana, Mexico—A man walks by the U.S.-Mexico border on January 27, the day after the Trump administration floated the idea of a 20 percent tax on imports from Mexico to pay for a wall along the southern U.S. border. The proposal sparked a conflict that led to the cancellation of a meeting between the two nations' presidents. White House Chief of Staff Reince Priebus told CBS's *Face the Nation* that the White House is considering a "buffet of options" as it weighs how to fund construction of the wall Donald Trump promised to build but not pay for.



JUSTIN SULLIVAN





USA

The Other Red Phone

Washington, D.C.— President Donald Trump speaks on the phone with Russian President Vladimir Putin for an hour as some of his advisers look on in the Oval Office on January 28. From left are Chief of Staff Reince Priebus, Vice President Mike Pence, White House Chief Strategist Steve Bannon, Press Secretary Sean Spicer and National Security Adviser Michael Flynn. Trump and Putin vowed to improve relations between the two countries and talked about fighting terrorism and expanding economic ties, but neither mentioned the possible lifting of U.S. sanctions against Russia, *The New York Times* reported.



DREW ANGERER







P A G E O N E

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WHY THE MEDIA KEEPS LOSING TO DONALD TRUMP

Not since Nixon have the press and White House clashed so much, but this time it's different

DONALD TRUMP is obsessed with the media. The media is obsessed with Donald Trump. On both sides, this obsession is unhealthy. The last time there was such a level of neurotic fixation and overwhelming distrust between a president and the press was during the Nixon administration. The current White House should recall that the press won that war—and that the stakes now can be mortal.

Indeed, each side believes that, given its druthers, the other would kill it. So how does this bitter game play out?

The media view is that the Trump people are not only mendacious but nincompoops—“alternative facts, ha-ha!” To the media, it is a given that Trump is largely out of control and that the people around him are struggling at all times to save him from himself—and largely failing. This view persists (again, in a recent series of unsourced stories) despite Trump’s victory flattening almost every

media assumption about his supposed ineptitude and lack of strategy.

It is the Trump view that the media has been so wrong in its predictions, and made to look in the eyes of the public so woeful and ludicrous, that it must now double down in an effort to prove its thesis about the president and restore its honor. (The Trump White House now hammers a persistent theme: Why was nobody fired in the mainstream media for such dunderheaded election coverage?)

The media strategy is to show Trump to be an inept and craven sociopath. The Trump strategy is to show that media people are hopeless prigs out of touch with the nation (e.g., CNN’s media correspondent, Brian Stelter, who turns to the camera every Sunday morning and delivers a pious sermon about Trump’s perfidiousness) and nursing personal grudges.

Witness the battle over “alternative facts.” It’s curious to pick a fight that won’t change

BY
MICHAEL WOLFF
[@MichaelWolffNYC](#)





DREW ANGERER/GETTY

PISSING CONTEST:
The media thinks
the president is a
craven sociopath.
The president
thinks the media
is out of touch
with the nation.



anything—like the size of the inaugural crowd—but both sides eagerly jumped into it. Hence, the argument becomes about the reaction. Who is perceived as overreacting more? Whose apoplexy is greater? In the media's view—literal to a fault, in this instance—a lie is a lie. Therefore, Trump is a liar, making the issue of the size of the inaugural crowd a moral one.

In the view of Trump's team, the media's attempt to turn this "So what?" issue into a crisis of confidence—and that it rises to this level of high dudgeon on such a regular basis—discredits the media and adds to *its* crisis of credibility.

Note that the media repeatedly expressed end-of-the-world-level outrage during Trump's campaign, to no discernible effect. Arguably, its constant sense of injury even helped Trump with his base.

The media believes the opposite. (While, in almost every instance, it is wrong to speak of the media as a single entity, the Trump view of media sameness and consensus is reasonable here.) The media believes it speaks for Hillary Clinton's national ballot-box majority, for the millions who have now marched against Trump, for the demographically expanding left wing (although not in the right-wing states) and for common sense. After all, the media believes everybody believes what it believes. How could they not? *It's Donald Trump!*

ABNORMAL IS THE NEW NORMAL

If you were scoring this fight, you'd probably call it a draw, although the Trumpers in the West Wing would disagree. They are reminding the media on a daily basis that they are winning, to its blood-boiling annoyance.

The media's holy grail is, as it was for much of the campaign, to find some charge against Trump that will stick. Of the myriad possibilities, which one will be so *prima facie* damaging (pay no attention to the many instances that many people already thought were, or would be) or so shocking and insulting to the body politic that it will be the end, or at least the beginning of the end, of Trump?

The Trump people recognize this and, it would seem, even encourage it. A key difference between the Trump and Nixon administrations is the relative lack of paranoia in this White House. There is contempt but not paranoia (that may, of course, come). The Trump strategy, conscious or not, is to invite overreaction—and program for it. Kellyanne Conway, with that effortless smile, is more official media tormentor than spokesperson. The Trump team's overt threats against the media—which is quite easy to placate if, in fact, you *want* to placate it—reliably serve to stoke several news cycles of media breast-beating, never a pleasant sight.

The media's inability to topple Trump leads it to try all the more. The list of attempts is long: the dossier, the tax returns, emoluments, conflicts of interest, etc. The weight of all this, the media clearly believes, will ultimately bring him down. The Trump team believes that the more stuff like this the media piles on, the more each bit of it is diminished.

This battle might lead to a constitutional crisis: The media is united in its opposition to the

A KEY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TRUMP AND NIXON ADMINISTRATIONS IS THE RELATIVE LACK OF PARANOIA IN THIS WHITE HOUSE.

president and determined to find that guilty opening that will bring him down. (How can there *not* be one? it says to reassure itself.) And the White House believes the media's goal, its entire reason for being, is to destroy Trump, and therefore the administration's survival, its legitimacy, depends on breaking the media in the same dramatic way it intends to break the tide of immigrants it sees as so loathsome. "We're going to have to rethink our relationship here," said Conway, with impeccable cool and pointed chill, to NBC's Chuck Todd when they argued over her use of the phrase "alternative facts."

On the other hand, it is possible that each side, no matter how determined to kill the other, settles into a new and beneficial normal—with news media ratings and profits soaring and the many Trump dramas commanding the nation's undivided attention...until one side makes a lethal error and there's a kill. ■

ISLAND OF BRUTALITY: The violence at Rikers Island prison got so bad, the federal government had to step in. Progress has been made, but there are still concerns about the use of force against inmates.



You Have the Right to Remain Beaten

THE MAELSTROM OF VIOLENCE AT NEW YORK CITY'S BIGGEST JAIL HAS FORCED THE FEDS TO COME IN SWINGING

RONALD SPEAR wore glasses and walked with a cane. While the 52-year-old awaited trial at Rikers Island, a New York City jail so violent it's under federal oversight, he was housed in a medical unit because his kidneys were failing and he needed regular dialysis. On his wrist was a bracelet that read, "Risk of Fall." Early on December 19, 2012, Spear demanded to see a doctor.

Corrections officer Brian Coll was working in the infirmary that morning. When a doctor said he couldn't see Spear until later, Coll and Spear started to argue, and Coll began to punch him in the face and body. After other correction officers ran in and tackled Spear, Coll yelled, "Motherfucker!" and repeatedly kicked Spear in the head.

Inmates stood on their beds so they could see the beating; some yelled, "They're killing him!" They were right.

Coll then kneeled down, lifted Spear's head off the ground and told the dying man, "That's what you get for fucking with me. Remember that I'm the one who did this to you."

Coll was charged with the beating death of Spear and a cover-up. Following a 10-day trial notable for grisly testimony that underscored the constant violence that plagues Rikers Island, he was found guilty on all counts on December 15, and he now faces the possibility of a life sentence on the other side of the bars.

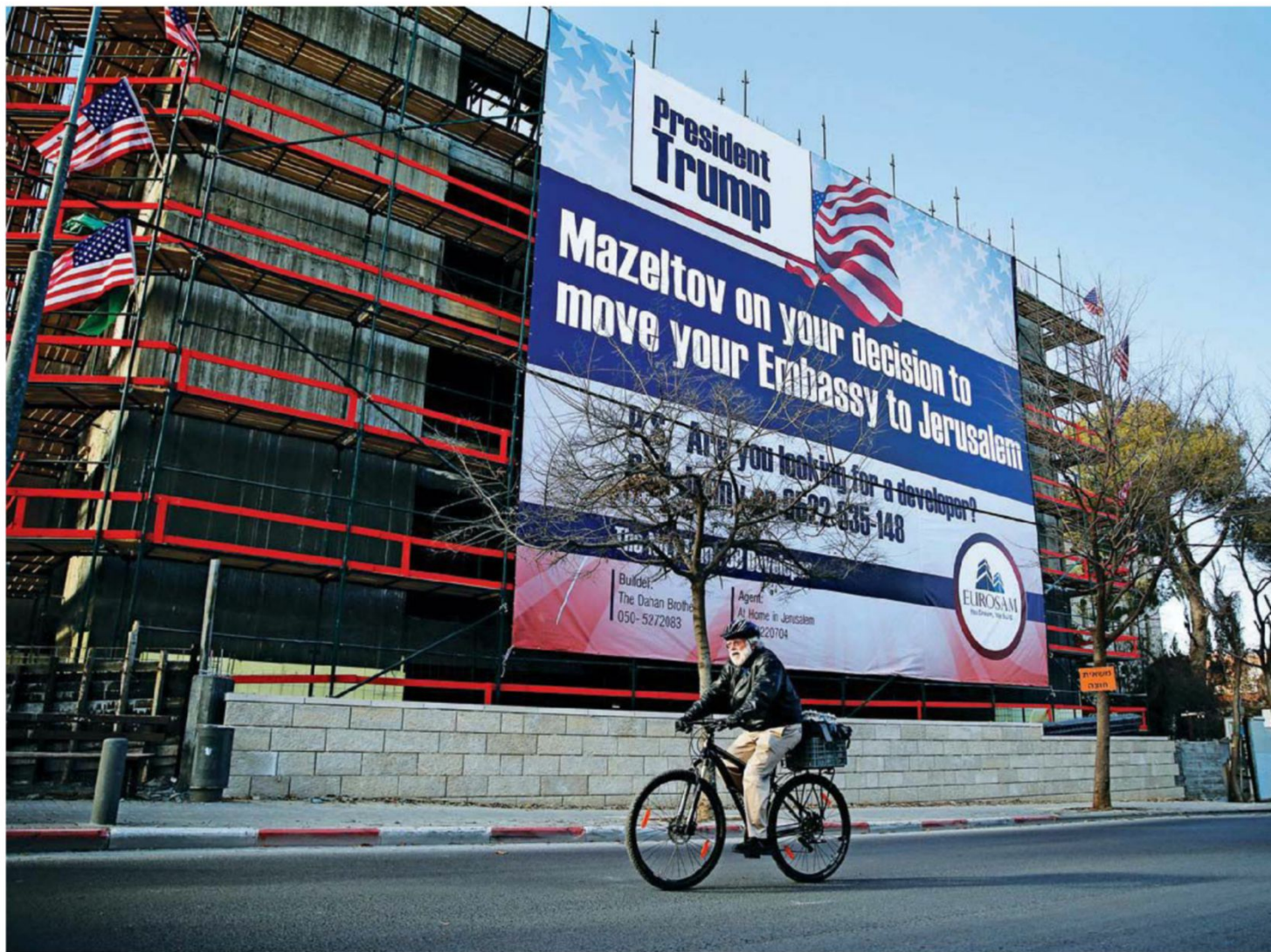
His conviction is the latest event that highlights how treacherous it is to be imprisoned on Rikers Island—where 9,000 officers watch over 10,000 prisoners—and shows how pervasive the code of silence that conceals negligent or criminal actions can be. New York City paid \$5.75 million in September to settle a lawsuit

over the death of Bradley Ballard, a mentally ill man who died after he was locked in a jail cell without his medication for a week in 2013. A homeless veteran died in a sweltering hot cell there in 2014. In 2015, the family of a prisoner who was ignored by guards after he swallowed a toxic soap packet and begged for help as he died received a \$3.8 million settlement. In September of last year, six Rikers Island correction officers were sentenced for beating a prisoner, and in October, another four were convicted for beating an inmate and covering it up.

The violence at Rikers Island—which also includes inmate attacks on guards—forced the federal government to step in. The Department of Justice joined a lawsuit against the city in 2014. That led to sweeping reforms, but while the federal monitor team said in May that significant progress has been made at Rikers, they also raised concerns about the use of force against inmates.

"Coll killed Spear by repeatedly kicking him in the head as he lay restrained on the ground, telling him before he died not to forget who did this to him," said Preet Bharara, U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York, when the verdict was announced. "The FBI investigators and career prosecutors on this case did not forget. And today, neither did the jury." **N**

BY
JOSH SAUL
@joshfromalaska



LOCATION, LOCATION, LOCATION

Why Trump won't move the U.S. Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem—at least for now

ON THE south side of Jerusalem, an open field that once served as a British military encampment has stood unoccupied for more than two decades. In the spring, Arab shepherds often graze their sheep on the low scrub grass. In 1995, the Israeli government set aside the nearly eight acres of land for the new U.S. Embassy after Congress passed a law requiring the U.S. to move it from Tel Aviv to Israel's capital. Ever since, however, every American president—both Republican and

Democrat—has invoked a waiver that postpones the move, sobered by the impact it would have on the Middle East and U.S. national security.

President Donald Trump, who promised repeatedly on the campaign trail to break from his predecessors and move the embassy, is now backing away from that pledge after less than a week in office. Instead, he is reportedly pursuing something far more ambitious: a revived Middle East peace process. “That is their top priority,”

BY
JONATHAN BRODER
@BroderJonathan

+
**TRUMP'S NEW
DEAL? Donald
Trump and his
team are looking
into a broader
Middle East peace
effort, but one that
might not mean
an agreement with
Palestinians.**

Joe Scarborough, the MSNBC host who speaks frequently with Trump, said on January 23, citing an unnamed White House source. "And they have been told in no uncertain terms that the recognition of Jerusalem sets that back for the next four years."

The White House has declined to comment on Scarborough's report, but a day earlier, Sean Spicer, Trump's press secretary, said an embassy move wouldn't be happening anytime soon. Hours later, after Trump spoke to Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu by phone, Israeli officials said the two leaders gave the embassy move scant attention during their 30-minute conversation, instead focusing on Iran.

National security analysts say postponing the embassy move was a smart decision, even if Trump isn't really considering a new Middle East peace initiative. In recent weeks, he's received a flood of warnings that fulfilling his campaign pledge could be disastrous. Ambassadors from Egypt and Jordan, which are important U.S. allies and the only two Arab countries that have peace treaties with Israel, met with Trump's advisers in early January to warn them of the violence likely to erupt across the Muslim world if the president took a step recognizing the claim that the city is Israel's exclusively. Not only do Palestinians see Jerusalem as their capital, the envoys warned, but the city is Islam's third holiest site, which could make a move even more incendiary.

"The jihadis and the Iranians would exploit the hell out of it," Aaron David Miller, a former adviser to six secretaries of state on the Middle East peace process, tells *Newsweek*. "You'd have Sunni and Shia radicals both waging holy war against the Israelis and the United States."

Some Arab leaders prepared for the worst. Jordan's King Abdullah met in Amman with Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas on January 22 to outline the steps they would take if the Americans moved the embassy. Among other things, Mohammed Shtayyeh, a senior Palestinian negotiator, said the Palestinian Authority could revoke its recognition of Israel, a move that would likely precipitate a third intifada, or Palestinian uprising. Jordanian security forces braced for violent protests against the U.S.-educated king.

The likelihood of such a backlash worries Israeli leaders too. Diplomatic sources tell *Newsweek* that some of Netanyahu's top security aides have quietly cautioned their counterparts in the White House that moving the embassy is not in Israel's interests—at least right now. (The sources spoke



on the condition of anonymity because of the political sensitivities surrounding the issue.) Over the past year, Israel has been developing closer security and intelligence-sharing ties with Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar in the face of Iran's growing influence in the region. Moving the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem could spark popular protests in those countries that might force their leaders to curtail those exchanges.

In his report, Scarborough noted that Trump will seek a regional peace accord between Israel and the Arab states and not necessarily an agreement between Israel and the Palestinians. "It's not going to be Israel across the table from the Palestinians," he said. "It's going to be one Arab country after another recognizing Israel's right to exist, but that only happens as long as they delay moving the capital to Jerusalem."

Such an agreement sounds like a throwback to 1979, when the U.S. brokered the Israel-Egypt peace treaty, which left the Palestinians on the sidelines. In 2002 and again in 2007, the Arab League endorsed a Saudi plan that offered Israel full recognition and peace in return for creation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank,

**"THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A
TWO-STATE SOLUTION, ONLY
A TWO-STATE NARRATIVE."**

with East Jerusalem as its capital. Israel never fully embraced the plan, opting instead for a series of U.S.-brokered talks that collapsed, one after the other, amid mutual recriminations. Today, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the other Persian Gulf countries once more have turned away from the Palestinian conflict to focus on the threats posed by Iran and Islamist militants. And increasingly, they're putting aside their hostility toward Israel and cooperating with it against their common foe, Iran.

Trump hopes this shift will help him at the negotiating table, but Middle East experts believe



it will be hard to convince Arab leaders to exclude the Palestinians entirely from his vision of peace. "It's not the first thing on their mind," says Steven Cook, an Arabist at the Council on Foreign Relations. "But the Palestinian issue is still emotive and symbolic. It will be very difficult for the Arab states to take the next step of sitting down and recognizing Israel without addressing it."

Either way, many analysts applauded Trump's pullback from the embassy move. They say he'll need to use all his negotiating skills if he hopes to broker a regional peace accord—something Trump has called the "ultimate deal." Many veteran Middle East hands suggest Trump might reconsider his intention to appoint his trusted son-in-law, Jared Kushner, 32, an Orthodox Jewish real estate developer with no diplomatic experience, as his Middle East envoy. "If you can't produce peace in the Middle East, nobody can," he told Kushner at a dinner of top campaign donors at Washington's Union Station the night before his inauguration.

Yet Kushner may have already compromised his ability to be seen as an honest broker. The Israeli daily *Haaretz* last year dug up tax records showing his family foundation, which he and his siblings direct with their parents, has donated tens of thousands of dollars to Jewish settlement organizations in the West Bank. Palestinians regard the settlements, home to roughly 630,000 Jews, as Israel's way of preventing establishment of their independent state.

"If anyone was foolish enough to believe that a Trump administration might succeed in negotiating a peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians, this is further evidence of their delusions," Diana Buttu, a Palestinian political analyst and former adviser to Abbas, told the Associated Press.

Trump also will need to brush up on international law, which bans a conquering power from transferring parts of its population into occupied territory. Trump's advisers on Israeli affairs say he doesn't consider the settlements to be illegal or obstacles to peace. Enabling his views is the Republican Party's platform, which rejects "the false notion" that Israel is an occupying power. Israel, which seized the West Bank and East Jeru-

salem from Jordan in 1967, argues that Jordan's sovereignty over the territory wasn't internationally recognized at the time.

Trump appeared to deliberately flout diplomatic convention in December when he nominated David Friedman, a New York bankruptcy lawyer with far-right political views, as his ambassador to Israel. In his upcoming confirmation hearing, senators almost certainly will question Friedman about his strong opposition to a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which is the long-standing U.S. position.

"There has never been a two-state solution, only a two-state narrative," Friedman wrote in a column for *Arutz 7*, a right-leaning Israeli news site. Arguing that Palestinians would have much better lives if they accepted Israeli rule, he added, "Much has changed over the decades since the two-state narrative began.... Palestinians can witness—through the internet and first-hand experience—the advantages of integration into Israeli society."

Advocating such a move would be a major break in American policy. Yet some say Friedman's views are more attuned to the reality on the

"YOU'D HAVE SUNNI AND SHIA RADICALS BOTH WAGING HOLY WAR AGAINST THE ISRAELIS AND THE UNITED STATES."

ground in both Israel and the West Bank. As the stalemate between the two sides drags on, more Israelis and Palestinians are beginning to discuss amongst themselves a one-state solution in which Israel absorbs the West Bank and its Palestinian population, says Kurt Volker, a former ambassador in the George W. Bush administration.

"The settlements and the intertwining of societies have gone too far, and there isn't any way to separate them anymore," he tells *Newsweek*. "You can't draw the boundary, you can't realistically evacuate that many Jewish settlers, and you can't trust the Palestinians on security. So it's going to have to be Israel in charge of the whole territory on security."

The problem, Middle East analysts say, is that no one has figured out yet how Israel could remain a Jewish state if it were to give all those Palestinians the vote, or how Israel could remain



**ONE-STATE
QUANDARY:** No one
has figured out how
Israel could absorb
the West Bank
and still remain a
Jewish majority
country as well as
a democracy.

America's only democratic ally in the Middle East if it didn't offer them full rights.

That conundrum hasn't stopped Netanyahu from accelerating settlement activity now that Trump is in office. Within days of his inauguration, Israel approved more than 3,000 new housing units in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. In the coming weeks, the Israeli parliament is expected to pass bills that would legalize more than 100 illegal outposts built on private Palestinian land in the West Bank and annex Ma'ale Adumim, a sprawling settlement city of 40,000 between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. The move, a major sticking point in past peace talks, would cut the West Bank nearly in half.

Of course, none of this matters if Trump's idea of a peace process is to ignore the Palestinians and pursue agreements between Israel and its new security partners in the Gulf. That certainly appears to be the view among some Republicans. Duncan Hunter of California, a member of the House Armed Services Committee, says Trump's policy is to "go with whatever Netanyahu sees as the best course for the Israelis."

That view partially explains Trump's postponement of the embassy move, along with his own concerns about an eruption of anti-American violence. But as Trump and his national security

team assess the possibilities for his Middle East peace effort, advocates for relocating the embassy to Jerusalem haven't given up. Robert Satloff, executive director of the pro-Israel Washington Institute for Near East Policy, recently published a detailed plan that he claims will enable the move to go forward without sparking protests from Palestinians. The plan proposes designating a West Jerusalem address for the temporary embassy while the new embassy is constructed. Most important, Satloff cautions, the Trump administration should stress the move does not prejudge Palestinian claims to East Jerusalem, which will be resolved in negotiations.

Miller, the former State Department adviser, thinks the plan is a fantasy. "No matter how you try to qualify it," he says, "by moving the embassy to Jerusalem, we will have basically agreed that united Jerusalem is the eternal capital of Israel, opening the door for the Israelis to expand their presence there without any pushback from the United States."

For Friedman, Trump's ambassadorial nominee, it apparently makes no difference whether Trump moves the embassy now or later. He already has an apartment in Jerusalem, where he plans to live and work until a new embassy rises in that open field. **N**



ONE DICTATOR DOWN

After 22 years, Gambia finally has a new leader. Why were so many voters thanking a couple of guys in D.C.?

JEFFREY SMITH knew he wouldn't get much sleep on December 1. The American human rights advocate sat up all night in front of his computer in Washington, D.C., with his dog Theo, watching as votes in the Gambian election trickled in. More than 4,000 miles away, in the West African country, volunteers in the capital city, Banjul, were emailing him results. Jammeh, Gambia's eccentric, autocratic president of 22 years, was facing an unexpectedly strong challenge from Adama Barrow, 51, a mild-mannered real-estate agent.

Sometime around 5 a.m. the next day, it became clear that Barrow was going to pull off an astonishing win, ending decades of state-sponsored intimidation and human rights abuses that many Gambians had been fighting against for years. When all the votes were counted, Barrow had secured 43.3 percent of the total, compared with Jammeh's 39.6 percent share.

Barrow celebrated his win. But it was also a triumph for Smith. Nine months earlier, he had helped launch Vanguard Africa, a D.C.-based nonprofit organization that supports pro-democracy politicians in Africa. Co-founded in April 2016 by U.S. Democratic Party strategist

BY
KRISTA MAHR
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GIVEN THE BOOT:
A supporter of
Gambia's
newly elected
President
Adama Barrow
kicks a poster of
the incumbent
Yahya Jammeh in
Serekunda, Gambia
on December 2.

Joe Trippi and Christopher Harvin of public relations firm Sanitas International, Vanguard's mission is to give Africa's political underdogs the same kind of public relations support often reserved for autocrats who can afford to pay international firms to burnish their images.

"Here in D.C., there are so many PR and lobbying firms that work for highly oppressive governments to help them project a positive image, despite massive human rights concerns," says Smith, 36, who has worked on Africa policy for UNESCO, a U.N. agency that promotes international peace and security; advocacy organization Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights; and U.S. think tank Freedom House. Though Vanguard is primarily running on funding from its

IN A SPEECH IN DECEMBER, TRUMP SAID HIS ADMINISTRATION WOULD "STOP TRYING TO BUILD NEW NATIONS IN FAR-OFF LANDS."

founders for now, the group hopes to raise money from sources like family foundations and corporations, to offer pro-bono help to "democratic underdogs" across the continent.

In the run-up to Gambia's election, Vanguard provided campaign advice and public relations support to candidates daring to run against Jammeh, who seized power in a 1994 coup and whose administration has been accused by rights groups of imprisoning and torturing political opponents, journalists and LGBT people. Smith reached out to international journalists to promote stories, circulated the candidates' names on social media and regularly spoke to news outlets about the Gambian election.

As Gambians celebrated Barrow's win in the streets of Banjul, thanks poured in to Smith and Vanguard over Twitter. "Thank you so much Gambia's own Jeffrey Smith. We were ignored by many but you stood up for us all the way," one Twitter user wrote. Smith tried to redirect some of the praise back to Gambian voters, but the media attention put Vanguard in the spotlight. Some questioned why he was even involved. "Shouldn't we rather want to ask who exactly is @Smith_JeffreyT and what is his agenda with our destiny," another user tweeted.

That Twitter user's skepticism, though in the

minority, underlines the tricky nature of Vanguard's work in promoting democracy from the other side of the globe. But nongovernmental organizations like Vanguard could take on an even larger share of this work under the new U.S. administration, which appears committed to reducing America's engagement abroad. In his inaugural address on January 20, President Donald Trump promised to put "America first." This could include deprioritizing Washington's long-standing practice of promoting democracy in other countries. In a speech in Pennsylvania in December, Trump said his administration would "stop trying to build new nations in far-off lands." According to Steven Feldstein, former U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state in the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor: "There's a lot of trepidation in the democracy community about what's coming next."

But organizations in the U.S. are likely to continue their work, he adds. Democracy-building groups that receive government funding, like the National Democratic Institute, have a long history of bipartisan support among U.S. lawmakers; others are privately funded. Autocratic governments in Africa often use money, graft, and restriction of information to hold onto power, says Feldstein, which makes outside help essential for opposition parties to run viable campaigns. "The type of work that Vanguard is doing is absolutely critical as a way to balance out a playing field tilted in favor of incumbents."

Many of these pro-democracy groups work in Africa, where democratic gains have been made in recent decades but serious challenges remain: In 2015, leaders in Rwanda, Burundi and Congo sought to extend their term limits, and last year, violence and corruption marred elections in Uganda, Somalia and Gabon.

In Gambia, Barrow's upset turned the tiny



GOING AWAY PARTY: People celebrate in Gambia's capital, Banjul, on January 22, after former President Yahya Jammeh fled the country, ending a political crisis that has gripped the country since his election defeat.

+

country—population 1.8 million—into an unlikely international news story, as the world watched to see whether the president would step down. A week after he conceded, Jammeh rejected the election results and requested a fresh vote. Thousands of Gambians fled the country after the regional bloc Economic Community of West African States warned that it might intervene if Jammeh did not back down; Barrow left for Senegal in mid-January for safety and had to be sworn in on January 19 as Gambia's new president in an inauguration ceremony in Dakar.

Barrow tells *Newsweek* he welcomes outside help in shoring up democracy in Gambia. "We want to accept all democratic principles. We want to defend democracy, human rights, rule of law—this is what we are advocating for," he says, speaking by phone from Senegal before returning to Gambia on January 26. Barrow hopes to reinstate foreign relationships that suffered under Jammeh. (The U.S., for instance, had suspended the country from some aid and trade benefits.) Under Barrow, maybe some of that will change. "We will be looking for support. We don't have natural resources, the economic situation is very, very serious, so we want everybody to have their hands on deck, Gambians and Gambia's friends, to help Gambia stand again," he says.

On January 21, after West African troops rolled into Gambia to ensure a peaceful transition, Jammeh relented, going into exile in Equatorial Guinea. Though Jammeh was reportedly allowed to keep his luxury car collection—to the chagrin of some Gambians—it was, at least, Gambia's first peaceful transition of power since the country gained independence from the British in 1965.

Vanguard's founders want to make sure more leaders like Barrow can have a shot at power. "People spend a ton of money to fight HIV and malaria, and a lot of it is pocketed by corrupt leaders," says Trippi, a senior adviser at Vanguard, and a campaign consultant who worked with Democratic presidential candidates Howard Dean and John Edwards and on Zimbabwe opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai's 2008 campaign against dictatorial President Robert Mugabe. The group hopes its success in Gambia will be a blueprint for other countries where fledgling democratic movements need a boost.

Some of Trippi and Harvin's work, prior to founding Vanguard, has come under scrutiny: In 2011, both men worked for Bahrain's government after it violently suppressed anti-government protests. Harvin, who also served as an adviser on Donald Trump's presidential campaign, helping to organize rallies and with media outreach, says Sanitas was helping an important American



ally in a tumultuous region. "We are proud of the work we did there," he says. Trippi, who worked on a social media project to open peaceful dialogue between citizens and the government, left after a few months because he didn't feel it was going anywhere. "It was probably naïve in that environment to think I could do that," he says.

Vanguard explicitly states that it will only help candidates who meet its pro-reform, pro-democracy criteria, which include a commitment to transparency and free elections. So far, Vanguard has only officially worked on two elections—Gambia and Somalia, in which the firm backed Somalia's first female presidential candidate, Fadumo Dayib, before she dropped out over concerns that the election was rigged.

For people in Gambia, Vanguard's help is mostly welcome—so long as it doesn't undermine what Gambians have accomplished themselves, says Ebrima Sall, a Gambian who is executive secretary for the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa in Dakar. "The fact that this was the making of Gambians is something people are very proud of."

Barrow says he was grateful for the support. "Of course we welcome support because it was something that Gambians needed, it was something that has taken five decades before it happened, for the first time in the history of this country, so it's a welcome development," he says.

Some say the optics of Gambians thanking Americans for an election result is potentially problematic. Steve McDonald, a global fellow at the Wilson Center in Washington, says Vanguard is playing it "straight," and its nonprofit status shields it from some of the criticism directed at paid consultants. But, he says, "It's an edge you need to walk very carefully.... Whether justified or not, a link to a U.S. firm that is helping [a candidate] could indeed be used as a negative."

Smith and his colleagues say they know Vanguard will have its detractors, particularly as it starts working in more countries. "No matter what, we're going to be described as a neo-colonial institution by individuals who have a vested interest in staying in power," Smith says, even if "we aren't doing anything that the people aren't clamoring for themselves."

—With reporting by Conor Gaffey/London

XAUWE OLLEROS/ANADOLU/GETTY



HUFF BOAST

Arianna Huffington preaches the gospel of sleep, mindfulness and good ol' consumerism

THE REVOLUTION is coming, and it will leave you rested and relaxed. We're going to storm the barricades thrown up by our relentless workaday lives, by the despotic tech monarchy whose foot soldiers are sleek devices beeping us into mindless compliance. And this revolution is led by a sexagenarian entrepreneur named Arianna Huffington, she of that online bazaar of regurgitated news, amateur blogging, and corporate puffery. Having stepped away from The Huffington Post, she has started Thrive Global, a wellness website that went live on the last day of November with indispensable life advice from the likes of actor Ashton Kutcher ("I Don't Bring My Phone Into the Bedroom") and Amazon founder Jeff Bezos ("Why Getting 8 Hours of Sleep Is Good for Amazon Shareholders").

Having cycled through the varieties of American experience, Huffington has settled on the beloved national enterprise of peddling miracle cures to the masses. She does so online at Thrive Global, and at a Thrive Global "pop-up" store, which opened in December in the heart of Manhattan's SoHo luxury shopping district.

The "pop-up" designation is a cliché meant to evoke a by-the-bootstraps approach to mercantilism—but there is nothing even remotely casual about Huffington's pop-up store. Entering Thrive Global, a wall welcomes you with the following quote: "Let's all go from surviving to thriving." Notice the first-person plural—Huffington, worth



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: GEORGE PIMENTEL/WIREIMAGE/GETTY; VALERIE MACON/GETTY IMAGES; DARREN CALABRESE/CANADIAN PRESS/AP

BY
**ALEXANDER
NAZARYAN**
@alexnazaryan

**EMPERESS OF ALL
MALADIES:** Having
stepped away from
The Huffington
Post, Arianna
Huffington has
reinvented herself
as a wellness
entrepreneur,
selling miracle
cures to the
masses.

\$50 million, is just another working stiff like you and me. But she has a secret, and she will share it—provided you share your credit card number.

Thrive was the name of Huffington's 2014 book, written seven years after she suffered a collapse caused, apparently, by exhaustion. Huffington opens the book by arguing Chernobyl and Three Mile Island were caused "at least partially" by a lack of sleep. Nuclear scientists may quibble with that simplistic assertion, but a book about napping and meditation will sell a lot better than a book about faulty graphite-moderated reactors.

Copies of *Thrive* are placed in stacks around the bright space of Thrive Global, competing with a newer book by Huffington that updates her thinking on naps. *The Sleep Revolution* begins with the suicide of a purportedly overworked Goldman Sachs analyst in San Francisco. The central idea of the book is not even remotely revolutionary: "Getting the right amount of sleep enhances the quality of every minute we spend with our eyes open." Huffington (or, more aptly, loyal ghostwriter Roy Sekoff) stuffs this meager goose of an idea full of social science research that seems to bolster her point.

WHAT HUFFINGTON IS RUNNING IS A WELL- APPOINTED DEATH CULT.

In the midst of the Thrive store, there is some kind of light sculpture with a printed legend that perfectly encapsulates Huffington's brand of pseudo-scientific self-help: "There is no light at the end of the tunnel. There is only you. You are the light." Got that? Good. Now go take a nap.

But how, exactly, do we thrive and sleep in this crazy world of ours? By buying stuff from Thrive Global, of course. That includes several virtual reality devices, one of which greeted me with a three-dimensional apparition of U2 lead singer Bono, who promptly began to croon. What this has to do with thriving, I don't know.

Should virtual reality not lead into the kind of Lululemon-clad mindfulness Huffington has in mind, you can try out the Energy Pod (sold online for \$10,000). This high-tech chair is supposed to induce workplace napping and thus bring about the sleep revolution in small increments—the sleep low-grade guerrilla-warfare campaign, if you will. For a moment I was indeed

transported—to the middle of a jet going through turbulence over the Rocky Mountains.

For someone who preaches disconnecting and living in the moment, Huffington sure wants to sell you a lot of gadgets, all of them intended to correct the panoply of physiological deficiencies you probably developed as a result of eating poorly or sleeping poorly or doing something else wrong, like not living in Santa Monica.

Among the digital tools peddled by Huffington is the Muse brain-sensing headband, a silly-looking \$249 device that supposedly "provides you with real-time audio feedback on what's happening in your brain when you meditate," and the Spire "mindfulness and activity tracker," which promises to offer "insight into when you're tense, focused or calm," for only \$99.95. Not only are these toys expensive; they're dangerous, offering the illusion of psychic salvation that is as easy as updating your iPhone. If you're in serious distress, you should see a psychiatrist. If you've had a crappy day, go for a jog or have a glass of wine.

Much of what Huffington is selling is tinged with the prospect of bodily oblivion: a \$249 genetic test for cancers, for example, or the Mint Oral Health Monitor (\$99) and a subscription to Doctor on Demand, which can summon a medical professional on your iPhone (\$49).

Let's real-talk for a quick minute here. What Huffington is running is a well-appointed death cult. She will stave off your mortality while constantly terrifying you with the prospect of death, which is why her books begin with nuclear accidents and suicides. In *Thrive*, she writes that "a eulogy is often the first formal marking down of what our lives were about...It is how we live on in the minds and hearts of others." You, for example, might be remembered as a good parent or a gracious host, while Arianna Huffington will be remembered for bringing spiritual tranquility to millions and taking immensely restful naps in her \$10,000 nap chair. It's all the same, sort of.

Shorn of Huffington's corporatist shamanism, that eulogy business is more or less true: Focusing on mortality can make us more aware of the lives we live and how we live them. It is also true that we should get some sleep, and not always look at our phones, and eat kale at least once a year, and go for a run when it's nice out and try to not shout at people who take up two seats on the train. These things were true before Huffington came down the mountain, revelatory tablets in hand. They will be true long after her fatuous "revolution" has run its course. ■





世界公民 | 習近平

Citizen of the World

**AS THE UNITED STATES WITHDRAWS
FROM A KEY INTERNATIONAL
AGREEMENT, BEIJING IS BECOMING
THE GLOBAL CHAMPION OF FREE TRADE**

BY ISABEL HILTON

GLOBAL WARMING:
China's President
Xi Jinping has an
opportunity to
position himself
as a statesman,
even as he cracks
down on dissent at
home.

ILLUSTRATION COSTIS PAPATH-GEODOROU

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THREE DAYS BEFORE Donald Trump took the oath of office and became the 45th president of the United States, Chinese President Xi Jinping stood on the main stage at the World Economic Forum's annual meeting in the Swiss mountain resort of Davos and alluded to Charles Dickens. It was, Xi told the gathering of the global business and policy elite, "the best of times and the worst of times." The Chinese president then delivered an uncompromising defense of globalization, despite acknowledging its flaws. It had, he said, "powered global growth and facilitated movement of goods and capital, advances in science, technology and civilization, and interactions among people."

Five days later, Trump made it as clear as possible that he did not share Xi's enthusiasm for international free trade deals. On January 23, the new president signed an order to withdraw from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the hard-won trade deal negotiated under President Barack Obama. The TPP would have created a trade pact with 12 countries, including Japan, Peru and Vietnam, that together would have represented 40 percent of the global economy. The deal deliberately excluded China, and many in Washington saw it as a way of containing China's regional dominance.

In Beijing, Xi will likely have reacted to Trump's move to withdraw from the TPP with mixed feelings. On the one hand, the decision delivered a significant blow to the era of free trade; but Xi would no doubt have celebrated the demise of a deal designed in part to hem in China's vast engine of trade.

As the U.S. was backing away from a major international agreement, China continued its

push to strike pacts with other nations. The same day that Trump consigned the TPP to the Oval Office wastebasket, a Chinese initiative had some good news to share. The multilateral Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, which was set up by Beijing in 2015 to finance infrastructure projects across Asia, had received applications from 25 new prospective members from Africa, Europe and South America, to add to the 57 existing shareholders. The U.S. had been hostile to the bank, seeing it as a challenge to existing institutions, such as the World Bank, and had declined to join; it chastised others, including the U.K., for signing on. Jin Liqun, the bank's Chinese president, told the *Financial Times*, "China needs to do something that can help it be recognized as a responsible leader."

Signs of China's growing role as a champion of globalization kept coming. The following day, on January 24, the prime minister of Malaysia urged a speedy conclusion to the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), China's own Pacific trade initiative involving 16 countries in the Asia-Pacific, which China promises will boost economic integration in the region. Two days later, the deputy prime minister of Thailand voiced a similar sense of urgency. The prospective member countries, which represent 29 percent of global trade, are scheduled to meet in February in Japan to conclude the pact.

The battle between China and the U.S. for leadership in the Asia-Pacific region, the world's most dynamic area of economic growth, shifted remarkably in just those few days, leaving America's regional allies—notably Japan, Australia and South Korea—uncertain about what the changing balance of power and influence will mean for their own futures.

Until now, along with Taiwan and Vietnam, these three key U.S. allies have enjoyed the security guarantee of America's military presence and the political reassurance of Obama's early decision to focus U.S. foreign and trade policy on the region. Along with that came the prospect of the world's



RON SACHS/BLOOMBERG/GETTY

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XI WILL LIKELY HAVE REACTED TO TRUMP'S DECISION TO BACK OUT OF THE TPP WITH MIXED FEELINGS.

biggest multilateral trade pact, which promised closer future integration by unifying standards and steadily removing nontariff barriers, such as food-safety regulations that can effectively ban the import of certain products, or other burdensome standards that exporters find difficult to meet. The TPP promised to stimulate economic reform in its members and encourage them to diversify their economic relationships, making them less dependent on China.

Now, they are looking at a radically altered landscape. Some have expressed a continuing commitment to TPP, but without the U.S., which would have been by far the largest economy in the group, few believe it will survive.

NO THANKS, BARACK

TPP was a key element in Obama's attempts to pivot to Asia; it was a gift intended to make it eas-

SIGNING OFF: U.S. President Donald Trump holds up his executive order withdrawing the U.S. from the Trans-Pacific Partnership on January 23.

ier for his successor to counter China's growing economic dominance in Asia and beyond. Had Hillary Clinton won the presidential race, she would likely have reopened the complex negotiations, but observers in the region point to the important difference between the Clinton-style questioning they predicted and Trump's repudiation of multilateral trading arrangements.

The Chinese-sponsored RCEP is less ambitious than the TPP, seeking primarily to reduce or eliminate tariffs on trade between China, other Southeast Asian nations, Australia, India, Japan, South Korea and New Zealand. It is not aimed at the kind of deeper integration that the TPP promised, but China prefers it that way: The RCEP does not include the kind of environmental and labor protections that Beijing finds restrictive. China likes the pact for one other important reason: As the biggest economy in the group, its influence is only likely to grow.

These shifts, and the opportunities they present for China, have all been rather sudden and unexpected for Xi, who has consolidated more power for himself inside China than any of his predecessors since Deng Xiaoping. Normally inward-looking Chinese leaders are not used to occupying positions of global leadership. At Davos, Xi assured his audience that China would continue to support both global trade and the Paris Agreement on climate change. Leading by example on these issues is new for

China; the country has been protective of its domestic markets and it remains the world's biggest polluter. But Trump's election has offered Xi an opportunity to assert a forward position in the spaces that the new administration seems keen to vacate. Xi may also feel he has no choice but to defend free trade: Trump's "America first" policy, which he made the focal point of his inaugural address, could damage the global trading system on which China's economy depends.

The audience of business leaders and policymakers at Davos welcomed Xi's assurances. In his language and demeanor,



he played the role of a mature and responsible global player. It was a striking evolution for the leader of an increasingly authoritarian and mercantilist Communist state, one that many business leaders and politicians in the West have accused of undermining advanced economies through unfair trade practices, such as using hidden subsidies to dump goods like cheap steel on international markets. Deng, the father of China's opening to the global economy following the death of Mao in 1976, could hardly have dreamed of attracting such respect from the global elite.

Deng's advice to his successors, as China embarked on its three decades of self-reported double-digit growth in the early 1990s, was to hide its strength and to persuade others that China's rise was no threat to established interests and powers. China has always insisted that it does not seek hegemony and that its growing prosperity is of general benefit to the world.

Western governments and corporations encouraged China's integration into the global economy on the understanding that to become a real leader China would have to embrace the established order and undergo a political evolution toward democracy, as Taiwan and South Korea had done. Those same governments and companies hoped that China's membership in the World Trade Organization, and its move to a freer market economy, would provide benefits to both China and to its economic partners.

Five years ago, with Xi's arrival in power, those expectations began to waver. Much like Trump, Xi built his domestic appeal on the promise to

FIRING AND HIRING:
Chinese recruiters wait for potential employees on April 16 in Beijing. Over the next two years, China will lay off millions of workers in industries like coal and steel, but it will create 10 million new jobs.

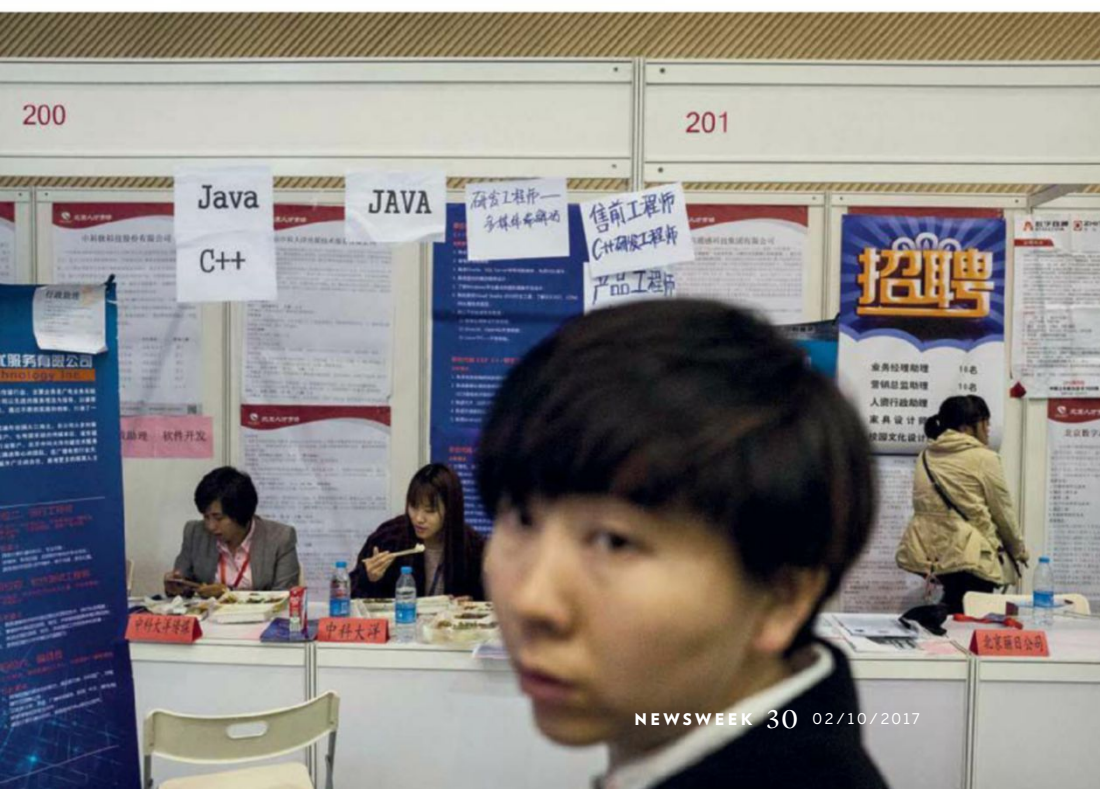


reinvalidate his own country's economy. After what he called a "century of humiliation" by other powers, China sought respect and a restoration of its central place in world affairs. It became more assertive in the region, moving to consolidate its claim on the whole of the South China Sea, despite competing and overlapping claims from five neighboring countries; it invested in naval power, in part to protect its maritime trade routes and energy supplies.

To weather what are likely to be difficult times for the Chinese Communist Party, which has become tainted by pervasive corruption in its seventh decade of holding exclusive power, Xi is also seeking to reimpose a belief in Communism, both on party members and on wider Chinese society, ideas that are increasingly at odds with China's social and economic realities.

In 2013, in an internal party document known as Document Nine, party members were instructed to "fight against" ideas that threatened the dominance of the Communist Party. Western constitutional democracy, universal values, the separation of powers and an independent judiciary were all on the list.

Since then, the space for debate and dissent has shrunk—the state increasingly controls China's internet and insists that only its own version of history is permitted. In January, China's most senior judge, Chief Justice Zhou Qiang,





**\$383.9
BILLION**

China's expenditure on foreign direct investment from 2013 to 2015; the U.S. has benefitted the most from the spending.

The World Bank; AEI



**GLOBAL
TRADE**

Xi's \$1 trillion "One Belt, One Road" project, is a network of rail, road, and sea routes, across 60 countries in Eurasia.

PBS Newshou



**\$7.55
BILLION**

The value of the 33% stake that China Nuclear General holds in Britain's Hinkley point C nuclear power plant.

The Guardian



**SMITHFIELD-
FOODS INC.**

Shuanghui International Holdings Ltd. bought the meat processor in 2013 for \$7 billion, the largest U.S. acquisition by a Chinese investor.

Bloomberg

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TEMPTING AS IT MUST BE TO ASSUME GLOBAL LEADERSHIP, XI HAS A LOT TO DEAL WITH AT HOME.

again warned provincial judges not to fall into the “trap of erroneous Western thinking and judicial independence,” and urged them to “struggle against...rhetoric that negates the leadership of the Communist Party.”

These internal pressures make this unexpected global opportunity actually rather inconveniently timed for China. Tempting as it must be to assume global leadership, Xi has a lot to deal with at home. He must steer China away from the low-wage, high investment and export-led economy that powered the last four decades of turbocharged growth. That means a difficult transition to a higher-value, more efficient and slower-growing model driven by services, innovation and domestic consumption. And progress has been slow: Huge state-owned enterprises have resisted the transition to the free market; China is laboring under ever larger debt, as officials try to stimulate their flagging growth; and the renminbi has lost value and capital has been leaching out of China in search of safety and better returns. The Communist Party is now preparing for an important party congress in October, when five members of the Standing Committee of the Politburo, the seven men who run China, will retire. Xi, who can expect one more five-year term in office, will spend much of his time before October trying to ensure that the new appointees are loyalists. The larger

XI JINPING

習近平



STATESMANLIKE:

The 63-year-old president, the son of a prominent Communist Party member, came to power in 2013, promising to crack down on corruption.

uncertainty the party faces is the potential threat of discontent if the economy slows.

That's a more likely prospect if Trump acts on his inflammatory remarks about China. He has accused China of “raping” the United States through unfair trade practices and threatened to impose a 45 percent tariff on Chinese imports. China has responded by suggesting that it can retaliate by not buying big ticket items such as aircraft from the U.S., and pointing out that U.S. consumers benefit from the low manufacturing costs that U.S. companies enjoy in China.

But China's difficulties would certainly be compounded by a trade war with the U.S., because exports are currently more important to China than they are to the U.S. According to the World Bank, China's trade-to-gross-domestic-product ratio is 41 percent, up from 9 percent in 1960 (the U.S. figure is 28 percent). Although both countries would suffer in a trade war, since China's dependency on trade is greater, and retaliation in any trade war is costly for the smaller economy, China's pain would be more severe.

XI'S TRUMP CARD

As Xi's audience in Davos knew, the global trading system—built up over the past four decades—is now particularly vulnerable. The U.K.'s vote to leave the European Union and Trump's fierce attacks on multilateral trade deals are the clearest signs of that political backlash. Global trade has grown steadily for four decades, but if it now shrinks, the U.S. is better positioned to survive than China. The U.S. runs a current account deficit, importing goods to meet domestic demand. Importing less would favorably affect that deficit. China, however, needs to export to keep its large manufacturing base busy and would suffer if the U.S. bought less of its output.

The game is not totally one-sided, however. China's 1.3 billion consumers remain a tan-

talizing potential prize for U.S. companies, and China is less likely to look on those U.S. corporations favorably if their president is taking hostile action against China. The other potential weapon China holds is that it owns \$1.115 trillion of U.S. Treasury bills, which is 29 percent of the U.S. \$3.841 trillion foreign debt. China could decide to dump those assets and swallow any loss to punish the dollar.

If the moment is not ideal for China to take up the burden of greater leadership, the opportunities presented by a U.S. withdrawal

“ **A U.S. PRESIDENT WHO PUBLICLY ADVOCATES TORTURE IS IN NO POSITION TO LECTURE CHINA ON ITS OWN HUMAN RIGHTS FAILINGS.**

from global responsibilities will nevertheless be hard to resist for a leader bent on restoring China's greatness. The risks of failing to try are equally big: China's dependency on global trade means Xi must try to shore up a trading system that China still needs. At the same time, as the U.S. steps back, China has an opportunity to challenge a U.S.-centered international order built on the values of individual freedom, democracy and the rule of law.

This may make it possible to achieve that most elusive prize: the moral standing and respect that global leadership confers—that magical leverage that comes when a wealthy superpower reaches out to help other countries or peoples. Even if it ultimately serves the superpower's interests.

A U.S. president who questions climate science enhances the standing of a Chinese president who stands by the Paris Agreement, and who sees the opportunities in a low carbon future, as well as the threat climate change poses to global prosperity. A U.S. president who publicly advocates torture is in no position to lecture China on its own human rights failings. And Trump's disdain for verifiable facts is a welcome distraction for Beijing, often accused of promoting questionable versions of





PAY XI
ATTENTION:
 Above: The Chinese president speaks at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland on January 17.
 Left: A Chinese laborer loads coal into a furnace at a steel factory.

historic and current controversies. In a world bemused and worried by Trump, China will find it easier to play down its own domestic political failings, its protectionist policies and its lack of transparency and accountability. Maybe, finally, it will be able to convert its economic power into political influence.

In the longer term, if China's political system can survive the economic pain that a trade war with the U.S. could create, the breakdown of the globalized trading system could speed up the internal reforms—essentially building domestic consumption and exporting less and making China's economy more efficient—that China is finding difficult to enact because of the protectionism of the country's giant state-owned companies. If the net result is indeed a more efficient China and more consumers willing to spend rather than save, China would eventually emerge stronger from the crisis.

A key unanswered question is whether U.S. consumption will continue to fuel global growth—the role of so-called “consumer of last resort”—that the world's largest economy has played for

half a century. A global economy in which every major country seeks to be a net exporter is unlikely to thrive.

If Trump does impose high tariffs on Chinese goods, American consumers will have to pay more for them and disrupting global trade will not necessarily create jobs for U.S. workers. When he signed the order to withdraw the U.S. from TPP, Trump said it was a “great thing for the American worker, what we just did.” But if some manufacturing does return in the U.S., it is likely to be either highly automated or very low wage. In effect, the U.S. consumer would be taxed—by paying those higher import duties on other countries' goods—in order to create jobs for U.S.-based robots.

There are other, strategic risks of a reduction in global trade that Beijing is well aware of: A world that relies less on cooperation

is at greater risk of crises, and Asia has no shortage of simmering confrontations, from the Korean Peninsula to the South China Sea where Trump's newly appointed officials have threatened to stop the Chinese from accessing islands they have built. In China's immediate sphere of influence, tensions over Hong Kong and Taiwan could erupt. China's military is not strong enough to assume the full burden of global security guarantees, nor would it wish to take them on. But a less stable and cooperative region will mean that each country—including U.S. allies such as Japan—is likely to invest more in defense, perhaps triggering another Asian arms race.

The sudden changes that Trump's presidency has already brought to a region he has visited only as an investor and private citizen will likely set the world's two biggest economies against each other. If Xi continues to play the global statesman, he might yet fulfill his promise to his people: make China great again. ■

Isabel Hilton is a writer, broadcaster and founder and editor of CHINADIALOGUE.NET



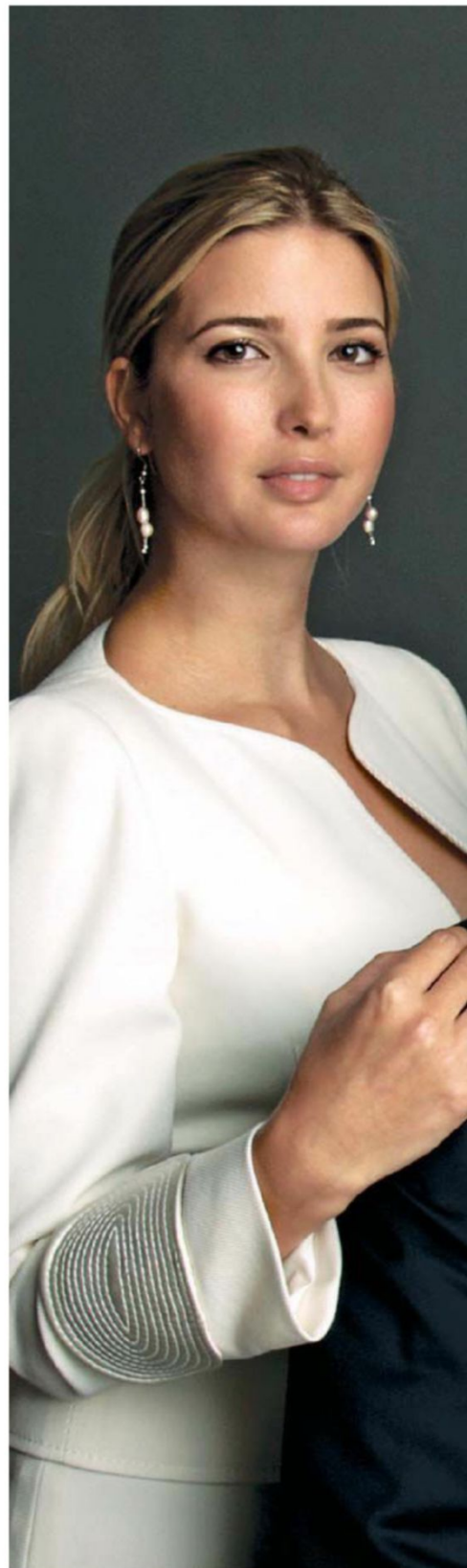
THE QUEENS OF TRUMPLANDIA



**DONALD TRUMP'S COURT
IS AN END-TIMES CAMELOT
THAT TELLS YOU MORE
THAN YOU MIGHT WANT TO
KNOW ABOUT THE ROLE
OF WOMEN IN HIS WORLD**

BY NINA BURLEIGH

A FEW HOURS after American voters bitch-slapped feminism on November 8, two women followed Donald Trump onto the stage at his postelection party. Gliding in heels that would challenge a ballerina, first-lady-to-be Melania Trump and first daughter Ivanka Trump were camera-ready at 3:30 a.m. Melania had wriggled into a white, off-the-shoulder Ralph Lauren palazzo pants jumpsuit; Ivanka was wearing one of the ice-skating dresses she favors, a powder-blue Alexander McQueen frock



PHOTOGRAPH BY TIMOTHY GREENFIELD-SANDERS



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FIRST FOR POWER:
First daughter
Ivanka, left, and first
lady Melania, with
President Trump.

that showed off her long legs. Somewhere out of the frame, two former wives of the president-elect, Ivana Trump and Marla Maples already had notions of ambassadorships buzzing in their brains like vibrators.

These queens in the House of Trump—all of them having served variously as models, arm candy, reality-show stars, humiliated sidekicks and shopping channel mavens—are vestal virgins in the temple of acquisition. They are significant even for those who don't worship there for what they reveal about the emotional life of the 45th president of the United States and his views on the role of women. During the course of Donald Trump's adult life, a span of 50 years, America became a better, more tolerant nation, and the women's movement was a big reason why. Trump, however, is a living link to another era. His first prenuptial agreement was penned by mob lawyer, Senator Joseph McCarthy acolyte and Richard Nixon ally Roy Cohn. (Former President Barack Obama was in junior high when Cohn wrote it up.) Norman Vincent Peale—evangelist of mid-20th-century self-improvement—presided over his first wedding.

When Trump first married, marital rape was still exempted from American laws. (In fact, in a divorce deposition, his first wife would accuse him of marital rape, but she backtracked later and claimed she meant that she felt emotionally violated.) There were still families—Trump's own for example—where the elder generation found the word *pregnant* offensive. Abortion had been legal for only three years. Women were either Mrs. or Miss and were still vastly outnumbered by men in graduate schools (they are now in the majority). About half as many women worked outside the home as do today. Now that women are more independent and working mothers have pushed men a little into the drudgery of domestic work, some men are confronting an existential crisis. As much as any lost factory job or fading national whiteness, putting Dad back in charge is the "great" part of Trump's "again."

The wheels of that change are already rolling: Congressional defunding of Planned Parenthood means fewer legal abortions and less affordable contraception, the repeal of Obamacare ends the federal mandate that insurers cover contraceptives, and Trump's promise to appoint anti-choice judges will soon kill *Roe v. Wade*. Many Americans could soon be where women were when Trump was born—1946—giving birth whether they want to or not and, consequently, unable to pursue careers.



The Trump Queens, in many ways as surreal as their king, exist beyond the dramatic changes in the lives of the average American woman over the past half-century. They will preside over the court of an end-times Camelot on acid, wielding enormous power over stylists and foreign dignitaries in exchange for surviving the ultimate reality-show challenge: impressing Donald Trump, his fellow oligarchs and captains of supranational corporations with their looks and poise. They have paid for that power in measures of dignity. As the new president once said, "It doesn't matter what they write [about you] as long as you have a young and beautiful piece of ass."



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LEFT BEHIND:
Ivanka's sudden political conversion roughly paralleled that of her libertine and formerly Democratic father.



DREAM QUEEN FOR A QUEENS BOY

OF THE THREE Trump wives, the first, Ivana, is the only one close to Donald Trump's age—just three years younger. She, like him, came of age in the yuppie era, and she, alone among the Trump wives, aspired to be a working woman and is the only wife with whom Donald ever shared his business life.

They were married just before Easter of 1977, a few months after Donald presented her the Cohn prenup that

required her to return all gifts given to her by Donald, which nearly killed the deal. Eventually, the two men agreed to let Ivana keep the jewels if this love bond proved less than eternal, and the wedding proceeded. Later Donald would say, in front of his wife, "I would never buy Ivana any decent jewels or pictures. Why give her negotiable assets?"

Ivana, with her Bond-villainess accent, spoke such baffling English that friends in the early years of the marriage could barely understand her, but it didn't matter because Donald was notoriously bad at small talk. She introduced her husband—provincial in taste and experience—to Eastern Europe, and they visited Russia in 1987, which was the first time Donald publicly expressed interest in doing business there. He failed to get a sit-down with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev on that trip, but eventually he licensed his brand to a Russian vodka with gold leaf labels and spent years investigating possible development deals in Moscow and elsewhere.

In 1986, Donald bought the 126-room, 110,000-square-foot house/castle and 17 acre-grounds of Mar-a-Lago, a jazz age millionaire's sandbox. At the Palm Beach, Florida, dinners the Trumps hosted, local grandees snickered at Donald in his business suit, at Ivana wearing stiletto heels in the boggy Florida grass, but Ivana kept her game face on, predicting, "In 50 years, Donald and I will be considered old money, like the Vanderbilts."

They were, for a while, an effective team. He got richer, and her Barbie-doll big hair became a New York City '80s icon as she grabbed seats on charity boards. In Atlantic City, New Jersey, Donald made Ivana CEO of the Trump Castle casino, overseeing 4,000 employees and a \$1.2 million weekly payroll. In New York City, Donald put her in charge of his Plaza Hotel, and she oversaw a \$60 million renovation. But she still presented herself as primarily a wife and mother, a traditional "European wife.... I don't mind that Donald is the boss. I like it that way. I have to have a strong man.... This is why most feminists aren't married and have no children. I like to have both."

She called herself his "wife-twin," but he would later say her professional aspirations ruined their 14-year marriage. "Putting a wife to work is a very dangerous thing," he said after their divorce.

It took several years to hammer out the settlement. Trump, now deep in debt and trying to stall, according to Trump biographer Harry Hurt III, regularly called his estranged wife and whispered "I love you, Vaska"—her Czech pet nickname. Barely 40, Ivana told gossip columnist Liz Smith she had no intention of looking older than 28, and she hired Michael Jackson's

plastic surgeon. She returned to New York City after two weeks away with a new face, fuller lips and a much larger bust.

Ivana finally settled, taking \$14 million in cash, plus a few properties. She then created her version of her ex-husband's businesses, launched her own books and hawked her trinkets on the shopping channels—everything value-added with the marital-name brand she kept. She bought some properties in the South of France, and she also tried to make some lemonade out of her romantic travails with various Italian playboys (she married two... and divorced two) by doing a reality-TV dating show called *Ivana Young Man*.

The exes are said to be on good terms now, although she hasn't yet been given the ambassadorship to Czech Republic she wants. Ivana spent part of Christmas week at Mar-a-Lago with her kids and grand-

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THE TRUMP QUEENS ARE VESTAL VIRGINS IN THE TEMPLE OF ACQUISITION.

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kids, but it is impossible to imagine Donald with Ivana on his arm today. She is his picture of Dorian Gray, tucked away in Saint-Tropez, walking her little dog on the *plage*, sagging skin on display like all the rich Russians of a certain age in the South of France.



SAGE-APPROPRIATE SEX

BETWEEN HIS FIRST and third marriages, Trump evolved from the brash, rich, yuppie family man with a “wife-twin” to a too-big-to-fail businessman who dragged down banks and shareholders with his \$900 million midlife debt crisis. His consort during this very costly transformation was Marla Maples.

Maples was born in Cohutta, Georgia, in 1963, an overachiever in high school who earned trophies for everything from basketball to swimming to clarinet and was *almost* Miss Georgia Teen. (She lost to a clogger with a better community service record.) She tried college for a while, held on to her high school boyfriend too long, got pregnant, had an abortion that was decidedly against her religion, then moved to New York City, where she got a few modeling jobs—a Delta Air Lines billboard—and a small part in a Stephen King movie. (She played a woman crushed to death by watermelons.)

Trump first took up with Maples after a party he threw himself to celebrate the publication of *The Art of the Deal* in 1987. Their eyes locked in a receiving line studded with celebs like Michael Douglas and Cheryl Tiegs, politicians and socialites. “You could see the fireworks go off the second Donald and Marla set eyes on each other,” Maples’s walker that night, an ex-NYPD cop named Tom Fitzsimmons, told Trump biographer Hurt. “I’ll never forget the way he kept winking and staring at her even though Ivana was so close to them she couldn’t help seeing the whole thing.”

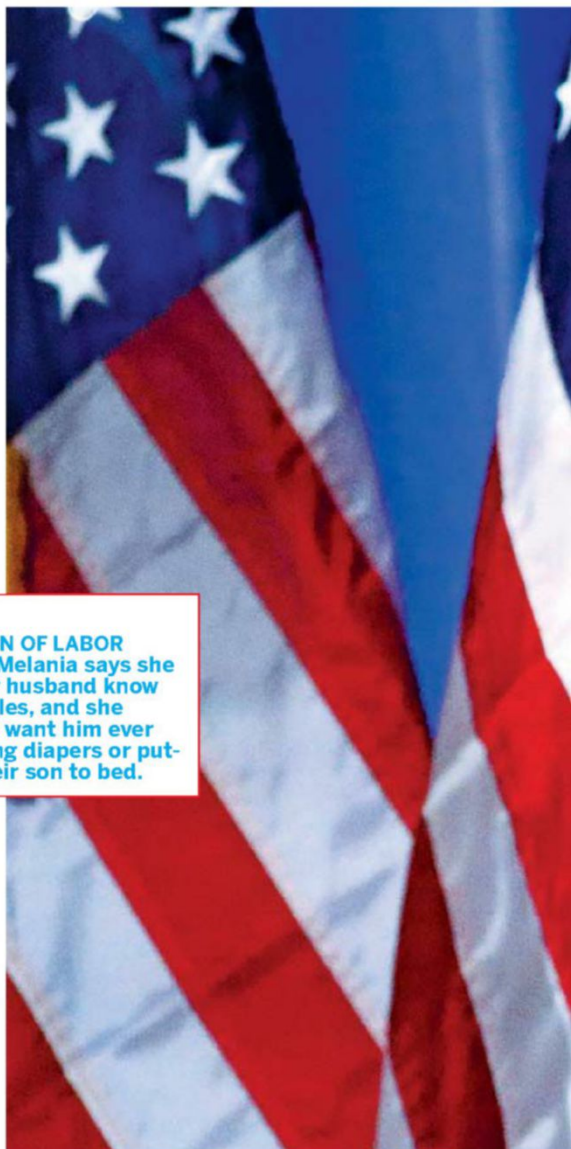
Maples was a Baptist by birth, but by the time she met Trump, she was a disciple of New Age theories, doggedly trying to channel the wisdom of ancient sages. “I just think the first moment I met him, I had a sense like I had known him before,” she told *Access Hollywood* last year. “It was much deeper than just whatever you might feel. We had a sense of like, if you believe in past lives or you don’t, it was as if we had known each other.”

Even though he had a wife and three kids, Trump wooed Maples hard, bombarding her with news clips about himself and declaring publicly that their time in bed was the best sex he’d ever had. She returned the compliment—in the *New York Post*—but also reported that he would never let her see him naked: He made her leave the room while he got undressed and would be under the covers when she came back.

Even before Ivana was out, Donald was loaning money to Maples’s father and inviting him up to Atlantic City to attend prizefights. Trump also agreed to help Maples get modeling and acting gigs, but according to Hurt, he made her sign a contract in which she agreed to pay him a percentage of every job she got.

They wed in December 1993, three months after she’d given birth to Trump’s fourth child, Tiffany. Maples wore an off-the-shoulder Carolina Herrera gown and a tiara studded with 325 diamonds. Guests noshed from a groaning board piled with \$60,000 worth of caviar, sushi, smoked fish, lamb, turkey, beef, plus six vertical feet of vanilla-cream wedding cake.

Trump’s three children from his first marriage didn’t show.



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DIVISION OF LABOR
PAINS: Melania says she
and her husband know
their roles, and she
doesn’t want him ever
changing diapers or put-
ting their son to bed.



“I HAVE
TO HAVE A
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THIS IS
WHY MOST
FEMINISTS
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In Maples, Trump no longer had a wife-twin, but she was a demanding young woman and their bliss didn't last long. In 1999, he let Maples know that he was divorcing her by first telling a few reporters at the *New York Post*. The *National Enquirer* reported that she got ticketed for frolicking on a Florida beach at 4 a.m., a few miles south of Mar-a-Lago, with one of her security guards. Marla denied any hanky-panky, but after that, she didn't have much leverage to renegotiate her prenup, so she settled for just \$2 million—coincidentally, the cost of her wedding tiara—and moved with Tiffany to Southern California to “find a quieter, more spiritual existence.” Her agents proposed a tell-all book, *All That*

Glitters Is Not Gold. HarperCollins bought it, describing it in its 2001 catalog as “this remarkably candid memoir”—but never published it.

Donald and Marla have remained friends, possibly because that remarkably candid book was never published. A few days after the election, she slipped into Trump Tower for a 45-minute audience with the president-elect. She flashed her famous sweet smile at reporters on the way out without saying a word, but her publicist let it be known that she was angling for her dream job, U.N. ambassador of goodwill to poor African nations. The only problem, journalists snickered, is that U.S. presidents don't appoint U.N. ambassadors to Africa.

In a *New York Times* profile of Tiffany shortly before the election, Maples wielded the Southern shiv of faint praise: “I had the blessing of raising her pretty much on my own,” adding that Tiffany “would like to get to know her father better and spend time with him like his other children did, by going to his office and watching him work. Only now, he's not in the office anymore. He's on the campaign trail.”

But long before the presidential campaign, Tiffany was destined to be the forgotten Trump child. The Lion in Winter had moved on.



PSYCHEDELIC EYES ON THE PRIZE

DONALD TRUMP'S three wives and eldest daughter all have enough modeling experience to know what a camera can do to or for a woman. Melania is said to be planning a White House "glam room" where makeup artists can do her face under camera lighting. A Google image search of any woman in the public eye turns up at least one bad shot, but the Trump women are almost never caught squinting, winking or, mouth ajar, speaking.

That changed on Inauguration Day, when Melania was caught on camera with a look of despair after Trump turned and scowled at her on the reviewing stand. She smiled through their awkward first dance later that night but appeared to be pushing him away. Nothing about their body language suggested a warm relationship. Next morning, a #freemelania meme shot through Twitter, along with links to articles speculating that she was unhappy at best, abused at worst.

Donald was an avid "modelizer" long before Melania could walk. He came of age at a propitious time for a man with his proclivities and wallet. Before the '70s, Manhattan fashion models were housed in convent-like apartments on the Upper East Side. Then the industry began to change, and predatory men like John Casablancas started running stables of girls. Chaperones were a relic of square times, and the boundaries between agent and model, client and date, woman and girl blurred.

Trump always held an all-access pass to New York's models. He called sex with them "my second business," told Howard Stern that avoiding sexually transmitted diseases had been his Vietnam and boasted to author Michael Gross, "You had drugs, women and booze all over the fuckin' place. If I hadn't got married, who knows what would have happened?"

He emerged from the ruins of his casino empire and the wreckage of his second marriage with a new approach to women and business. He bought the rights to the Miss Universe franchise in 1996 and three years later started his own modeling agency—T Models, later changed to Trump Model Management. These new properties, while smaller than his buildings, held out more than a financial reward. He still couldn't make small talk, but with a stable of fetching women who had signed nondisclosure agreements vying for crowns, who needed to talk? According to Gross, he used his T models to decorate parties at which he sealed deals. Fellow modelizer Leonardo DiCaprio once called Trump's agency "one-stop date-shopping."

As a pageant impresario, Trump moved with the other self-styled players running portfolios of pulchritude. When Casablancas was shamed out of the business in the '90s—he famously had sex with 15-year-old model Stephanie Seymour when he was 41—Trump found him a seat on the board at Trump Realty Brazil. In 1998, Paolo Zampolli, another Trump running buddy and professional connoisseur of firm female flesh, dispatched a team of his girls over to a Fashion Week event at Manhattan's Kit Kat Club with photographers, producers and rich playboys. And that's where Trump first saw his third wife.

Melanija Knavs was born in 1970 and spent her first 19 years behind the Iron Curtain, in a tiny, colorless slab of the Greater Soviet Union now called Slovenia. Her father was a businessman and car dealer who

did well enough under the Communist regime to nurture a habit of collecting Mercedes-Benz cars. Her mother was a pattern-maker who got her two daughters into fashion. The family was well-off enough to ski in Italy and Austria in the winters, but for most people in the former Yugoslavia, luxuries were rare and even more coveted for being scarce.

But Melanija, tall and stunning, knew she had something to leverage. Her beauty "was not the classic type," a friend from Ljubljana told journalist Julia Ioffe. "She had eyes that were kind of psychedelic. You look in those eyes and it was like looking in the eyes of an animal."

In 1992—three years after the fall of the Berlin Wall—she came in second in a Look of the Year modeling contest in the newly independent Slovenia. Four years later, she came to New York City, where Zampolli brokered her work visa and American modeling contract and paid for an apartment. She was only 26, but in Manhattan, Melania K, as she was now calling herself, confronted the grim news that she was already, by the standards of professional modeling, too old. She was booked for mostly commercial work—including an ad for Camel cigarettes, as tobacco and alcohol ads were reserved for "older" models.

At the Kit Kat Club, Trump was smitten by the animal-eyed young woman. He sent his companion to the bathroom and flirted with Melania, but she refused to give him her phone number. She didn't go on a date with him until three months later, and after dating him for a few months, she broke up with him. It took him six months to get her back.

Their 2005 wedding was the Trumpiest yet: She wore a \$100,000 Dior dress. (*Vogue*, which put her in bridal mode on the cover, reported workers put in 550 hours attaching 1,500 crystals to it.) Wedding guests included Rudy Giuliani and Kelly Ripa, Bill and Hillary Clinton. Billy Joel serenaded guests as they ate caviar and sipped Cristal in the shadow of a 5-foot-tall Grand Marnier wedding cake.

She became a U.S. citizen a year later. When the Associated Press reported she had worked in the U.S. without a work visa, Trump's lawyers threatened to sue but did not. She has said she followed U.S. immigration rules to the letter.

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PUTTING
A WIFE TO
WORK IS
A VERY
DANGEROUS
THING.”

+ WIFE-TWIN KILLING:
Trump said Ivana's
professional aspira-
tions destroyed their
marriage.



Like all the other Trump women, Melania hawked her own products with the Trump name affixed: a line of “affordable” jewelry on QVC, including a \$150 “replica” of her 10-carat, emerald-cut diamond wedding ring, and a beauty line featuring a caviar-infused anti-aging cream that never took off. In midsummer 2016, her personal website disappeared, and her jewelry disappeared from QVC. She is rarely photographed smiling, leading to cruel suggestions that she fears moving her face lest her crow’s feet show. Her makeup artist, Nicole Bryl, recently said she spends at least an hour and 15 minutes preparing Melania’s face. Andre Leon Talley, her wedding groomer and former *Vogue* editor-at-large, called her the most moisturized woman he’d ever encountered.

Not long after Trump was elected, the campaign announced that Melania wouldn’t be moving to the White House. While her husband moves a few hundred miles south, she will get to pad around alone in their spacious triplex penthouse apartment atop Trump Tower, with a Versailles-style hall of mirrors, a white marble fountain and ceilings festooned with hand-painted cherubs. She has a personal chef and assistant. But no nanny stands between her and her only son, Barron, now 10. “We know our roles,” Melania once told Parenting.com, referring to the division of labor with her husband. “I didn’t want him to change the diapers or put Barron to bed.”

Trump has called Melania “the rock” and highly prizes her self-containment. Before they wed, Trump told Howard Stern that he’d never “seen any of that” when asked whether Melania farted or “made doody.”

Trump: I’ve never seen any of that.

Stern: Wow.

Trump: It’s amazing.

Donald and Melania have now been married 12 years—as long as he and Ivana were together. Their wedding was not the only family milestone in 2005. That same year, daughter Ivanka, fresh out of Wharton School, joined the Trump Organization, filling her mother’s long-empty pumps as Trump’s savvy work-wife.



DAUGHTER DEAREST

THE FRENCH have a phrase for parents whose first child is a boy and second a girl: *choix du roi*. The king’s choice is considered the ideal order: The first son to inherit the kingdom and the daughter to marry off and *expand* it. And by marrying Jared Kushner, scion of another multibillion-dollar real estate concern, that’s exactly what Ivanka’s done.

Ivanka is still Daddy’s girl, even if she’s no longer bouncing on his knee with his hands all over her. It’s not her fault people see more in those pictures than what she remembers—she was happy to have his attention. After all, she could have been Tiffany.

Trump was never an attentive dad. He couldn’t remember the names of the private schools, and his assistant gave him reports from the nannies. To get his attention, Ivanka got in the habit of running up to his office on her way home from school every day, according to her memoir, *The Trump Card: Playing to Win in Work and Life*.

In the 2003 documentary *Born Rich*, featuring New York City mega-wealthy heirs and heiresses, Ivanka projects a level of humility that is unusual among her preening and whining peers. No one was more surprised than those peers to see her conversion from progressive New Yorker to a member of the inner circle of advisers around a man called



TRUMP CALLED SEX WITH MODELS “MY SECOND BUSINESS.”



by some the second coming of Hitler.

Ivanka’s rightward swerve started years before her father’s latest campaign. In 2007, she started talking about converting to Judaism in order to marry Kushner, whose Orthodox Judaism forbids women from becoming rabbis and officially assigns them duties as keepers of hearth and home. Some male adherents refrain from contact with women who might be menstruating, menstrual blood being a primitive biblical taboo. She now keeps a kosher home for her husband and three children, and she assiduously follows the Sabbath, when observant Jews turn off all electronics and take 24 hours off every Saturday. “It was very brave of her,” says family friend Nikki Haskell. “And she is very, very strict about it and keeps a very tight ship.”

Her political conversion roughly parallels that of her libertine and formerly Democratic father. “She struck me as a liberal New York Democrat,” *Born Rich* producer Dirk Wittenborn says. “Her conversion and marriage—and motherhood—all coincided with her becoming more conservative. I think she’s someone who understands the responsibility of her position. She understands the role she has to play.”

Trump used Ivanka’s Judaism to deflect charges his campaign encouraged anti-Semitism. “I have Jewish grandchildren” was all he had to say when confronted with his Nazi dog whistles. When Ivanka introduced her father at the Republican Convention, she delivered a “Democrat-sounding” speech endorsing child care and maternity leave. She’s never objected publicly to his anti-abor-

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MODELING FEES: Trump agreed to get Maples modeling and acting work but had her sign a contract that gave him a percentage of anything she made.



tion agenda; nor did she ever voice dismay over his yearslong “investigation” into the legitimacy of President Barack Obama’s birth certificate.

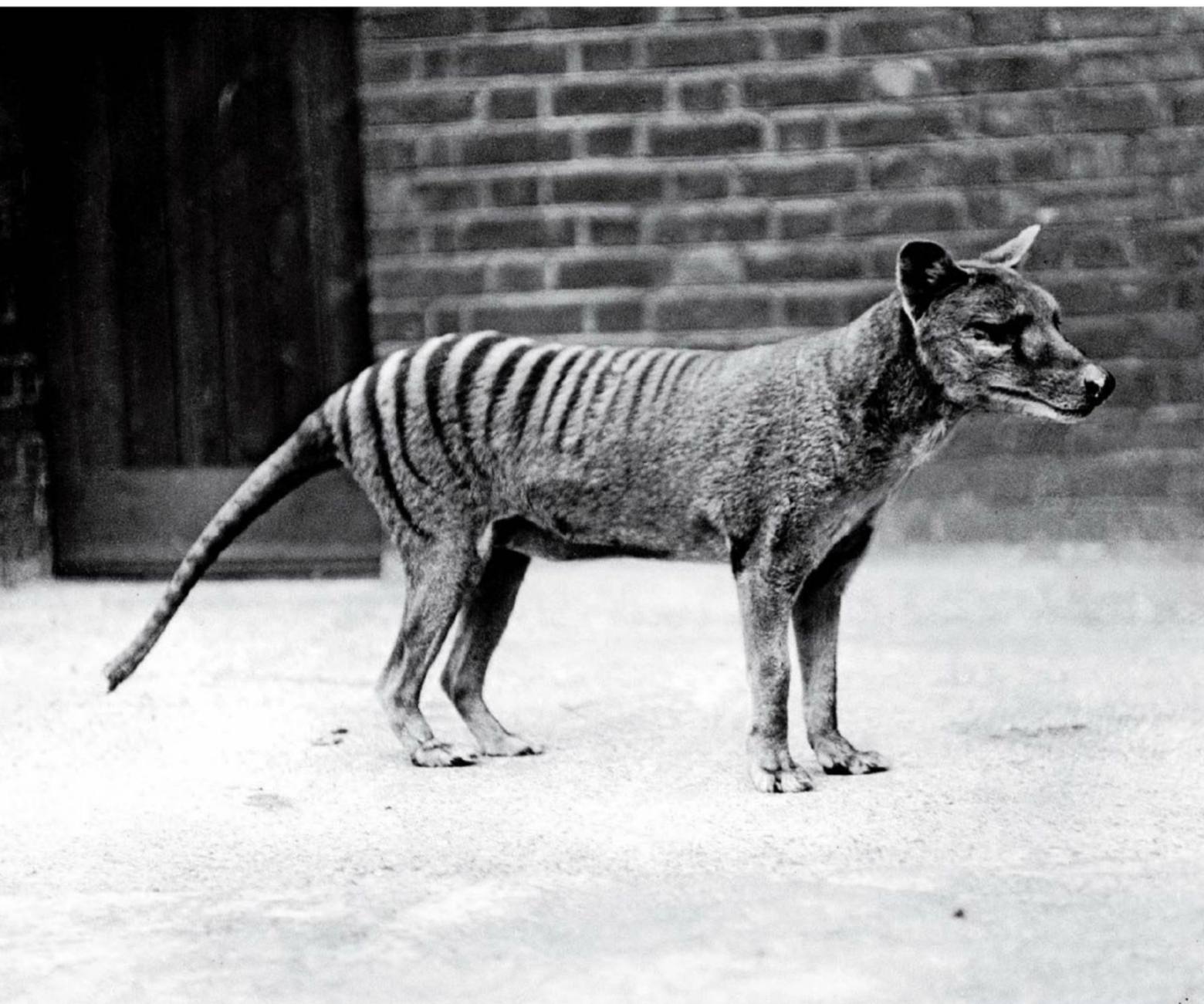
As her father barnstormed last year, inciting near riots at some of his rallies, Ivanka’s Instagram account remained cheerfully apolitical: short videos of her adorable kids or glamour shots of herself in funny Boomerang video poses at various campaign stops in the hinterlands, chic coats wafting in the cold wind on the tarmac at Buffalo or Eau Claire. She was snapped vacationing in Croatia with her close friend, Shanghai girl Wendi Deng, another Olympian social climber in the process of catapulting from Rupert Murdoch to some even bigger man.

She had plenty of reasons to push hard for her dad. Besides filial duty, an election

loss might have ruined the Ivanka brand. Reporters were already digging out embarrassing facts, including merchandise made in China and Indonesia and lawsuits over copycat products. Just before the election, Nordstrom and other stores were selling her brand at a discount in the face of boycotts. Her second book, *Women Who Work: Rewriting the Rules for Success*, once looked like a project to pre-empt damage from her father’s political implosion. It is still due out this spring. By then, Ivanka will have rewritten her rules for success, multitasking as mother, de facto first lady and unofficial adviser and conduit to the most powerful man on the planet.

The most empowered and enlightened of the Trump Queens has smiled her way through parental behavior that might have provoked less stoic women to cut ties. Her dad has publicly called her “hot,” gleefully agreed with Howard Stern that she’s “a piece of ass” and said on national TV that if she wasn’t his child, “perhaps I’d be dating her.”

Born in the 1980s, Ivanka Trump will indeed be a role model for millennial women, with her Instagram account of cute babies bouncing and herself flouncing in haute couture around the White House. Gracefully, she leads them back to when their grandmothers were young and wanted to be Jackie Kennedy, when women spoke softly, dressed impeccably and endured, with the utmost grace, the maddest of Mad Men. ■



+ PREDATOR: The compartmentalized brain of the Tasmanian tiger suggests it was an intelligent hunter with a good sense of smell.



NEW WORLD



SPECIES

BRAINS

TECHNOLOGY

EPA

ENVIRONMENT

TRUMP

GOOD SCIENCE

BRAINS FROM BEYOND THE GRAVE

MRI scan reveals secrets of the long-extinct Tasmanian tiger

FOR THE first time, scientists have peered into the brain of a long-extinct animal: the Tasmanian tiger, a rangy and fierce carnivore that ruled the wilds of its namesake island and was hunted into oblivion in 1937. A marsupial (like kangaroos or opossums), the apex predator wasn't related to tigers, and it resembled a dog or coyote.

Emory University neuroscientist Gregory Berns, who was the first to train a dog to enter an MRI machine, recently came across photos of Tasmanian tigers. Noting their canine look, he wondered whether their brains might be similar to those of dogs. What if, he wondered, you could scan the Tasmanian tigers' brains?

Berns hunted down a Tasmanian tiger brain that had been soaking in preservative at the Smithsonian Institution for well over a century and scanned it in an MRI machine. In a study published January 18 in the journal *PLOS ONE*, he reported that the brain of the Tasmanian tiger (*Thylacinus cynocephalus*) and dogs look very different. For one thing, the extinct predator has larger olfactory bulbs, the neural

machinery responsible for the sense of smell.

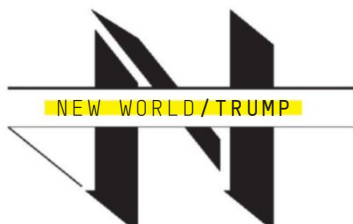
The researchers also found the tiger's brain to be larger, which would fit descriptions of the animal as an ambush predator requiring relatively more intelligence than scavenging. The tiger's brain is compartmentalized, or modular, which typically happens as brains get larger. Not all the neurons have enough room to communicate, so the brain develops areas specialized for different functions.

Leah Krubitzer, a researcher at the University of California, Davis, who wasn't involved in the research, says that this "heroic" study helps to expand scientists' knowledge of brain evolution and variation.

Berns has now initiated a project called Brain Ark to scan the brains of as many animals as possible. So far, he and his colleagues have scanned dolphins, elephant seals and a manatee, and they have assembled "a growing collection of coyote brains."

"We're trying to get the word out" to researchers, Berns says. "Send us your brains." ■

BY
DOUGLAS MAIN
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DISRUPTIVE

ACCIDENTALLY GREAT AGAIN

By fighting against progress, Trump might accelerate it

DONALD TRUMP is a spasm.

Now that our new president is in office and we've seen his Cabinet of old white billionaires and his "American carnage" inaugural address, it's obvious he is the leader of one last, desperate push to stop the 21st century from unfolding.

But in spite of himself, Trump might end up being the best thing to happen to technological advancement since World War II—as long as he doesn't start World War III along the way. If Trump bigly discredits the backlash against progress, it will accelerate the arrival of a future that's going to be better than any of the bleak pictures he paints. Techies once so aligned against Trump might even end up perversely thanking him.

Already, in his earliest actions and statements as president (End trade deals! America first! Bring back uneconomical jobs!), Trump is standing on the wrong side of history. He's as mistaken about the future as when Frank Sinatra declared in 1957 that rock 'n' roll was a "brutal, ugly, degenerate, vicious form of expression" that would never last.

If Trump wants to turn back progress, he will fail. This is not a political argument. It's not about Republicans or Democrats. It's about the inevitable. The world is moving into a radical new digital era, leaving behind the industrial order we built in the 20th century. That factory-based economy will fade as surely as print newspapers and paper maps have become objects of nostalgia.

When Trump spectacularly fails to stop this shift—and, of course, with him it will be

spectacular—that failure could clear out the conservatives and populists who fight against the future. "Trump ultimately is going to do America and the world a service by becoming the vehicle that will finally take down right-wing conservative politics for a generation or two," writes Peter Leyden, author and CEO of media startup Reinvent. He equates Trump with Herbert Hoover, elected in 1928, another time when technology was recasting every aspect of life and business. Back in the early 1900s, cars, airplanes, the telephone and the electric grid all stampeded into society over about a 30-year period. Life in the late 1800s was unimaginably different from life in the 1930s. Hoover, an ultraconservative with strong ties to business, rode a backlash against this rapid change to gain office but then choked after the stock market crashed in 1929.

"Perhaps his single greatest policy blunder was supporting and signing into law a tariff act that fueled international trade wars and made the Depression even worse," said *U.S. News & World Report* in a feature on the 10 worst presidents ever. (Sound familiar?) Hoover's failures knocked roll-back-the-clock conservatives out of power until 1952.

The magnitude of our current technological change echoes Hoover's time. Life today is profoundly different from life in 2007, when smartphones, social networks and cloud computing were babies. In another 10 years, pre-2007 life is going to seem practically Amish. We're witnessing an explosion of artificial intel-



BY
KEVIN MANEY
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IN A VACUUM: Leyden equates Trump to Herbert Hoover, who was also elected at a time when technology was recasting every aspect of American life and business.

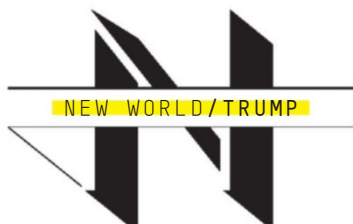
ligence technology and the arrival of self-driving cars, delivery by drones, digital currencies like bitcoin tied to no sovereignty and \$200 genetic tests that could unlock the secrets to every individual's health. Solar energy for the first time became cheaper in some regions than carbon-generated energy—a glimpse of the end of oil's dominion.

These new technologies are doing more than just changing the way we live. They are changing the global economy, taking apart one industry after another, which destroys many old companies but also creates many forward-leaning new ones. A list of the world's most valuable compa-

IN ANOTHER 10 YEARS, PRE-2007 LIFE IS GOING TO SEEM PRACTICALLY AMISH.

nies shows how fast things are changing. In 2006, the top four were Exxon Mobil, General Electric, Microsoft and Citigroup; all but Microsoft were more than a century old. In 2016, the top four were Apple, Alphabet (Google), Microsoft and Amazon—all new-economy companies.

These transformations have been wrench-



ing for big chunks of the population. Software is automating away many kinds of jobs; today, it's lower-end repetitive jobs held by people who didn't go to college, but tomorrow it will be professional and creative jobs. One new company, Jukedek, is using AI software to replace songwriters. (If songwriters are the next coal miners, Kanye might've been prescient in his support for Trump.) People on the wrong side of the divide are angry and scared, so they understandably supported a leader who promised to bring their Old Economy jobs back.

But the new tech promises better times. Throughout history, automation and trade have created more jobs and greater prosperity, despite people's fears. AI will give us a chance to solve cancer, ease climate change, manage our bursting cities and explore other planets. Genomics will be a key to making health care cheaper by helping us prevent diseases before they start. While new technology isn't all good, it's almost always better than what came before.

Still, a backlash was probably unavoidable. We're in the middle of what economist Carlota Perez calls a turning point in a technological revolution. At such points, when technology is getting too far ahead of our ability to adapt, government's job is to slow things down. The crazier the pace of change seems, the more likely we are to elect someone who will push back hard. The fact that we elected someone as radically retro as Trump shows just how far and fast technology has raced ahead.

The pushback is always temporary. Always. And it can be beneficial, as Perez wrote in her seminal book *Technological Revolutions and Financial Capital*. It forces technology to realign with society and spread its benefits more equitably. Silicon Valley needs to take note of that. But then progress resumes. The opposition gets caught holding too tightly to the past and gets swept away.

Tech surges often align with surges in a young population ready to embrace the new, and in America the massive millennial generation born in the digital era is moving into the workplace and starting companies. As polls show, compared with the nation's previous generations, this one is more educated, ethnically mixed, globally oriented and

driven by purpose rather than money. They have been migrating to cities in record numbers.

Which side of history is Trump on? Just look at who voted against him. College graduates backed Hillary Clinton by a 9-point margin; people without a college degree backed Trump by 8 points, according to the Pew Research Center. "This is by far the widest gap in support among college graduates and non-college graduates in exit polls dating back to 1980," Pew states. Young voters went for Clinton by a huge 18-point margin, while voters over 65 went heavily for Trump. And as anyone who saw an election map knows, Clinton won almost every major city, while Trump won the rest of the countryside. So it seems Trump stands firmly with the past—or, at least, the past stands firmly with Trump.

"In short order, [Trump] will completely and irrevocably alienate all the growing political constituencies of the 21st century," Leyden predicts. That's a lot of gravity pulling at Trump's already low 40 percent approval rating.

Look at the far-right movements around the world, and you'll see the same pattern. Pro-Brexit voters tended to have the characteristics

"IN SHORT ORDER, [TRUMP] WILL COMPLETELY ALIENATE ALL THE GROWING POLITICAL CONSTITUENCIES OF THE 21ST CENTURY."

of Trump voters. So, really, Trump is in a corner. He got elected because of a social spasm, but he won't be able to beat the trends.

The wild card here is Trump's unpredictability. He might ditch the anti-progress populism and pivot to policies that look forward and help a shiny new society blossom.

Or he could get us into some serious trouble. Social spasms can lead to wars and revolutions. Those early-1900s advances upset the global order and led to two world wars. A similar kind of global conflict in this century could go nuclear and send society back to solving algorithms by drawing in the dirt with sticks.

If we're lucky, the Trump presidency will be but a pause and recalibration in the race to the next era, and we won't end up trading the promise of self-driving cars for an oxcart we have to pull through postapocalyptic rubble. ■

PROTEST FAIL:
Efforts to block
the proposed
Dakota Access
pipeline came
to naught as
Trump signed an
executive order
to revive it.



ECO-CHAMBER OF HORRORS

THE TRUMP TRANSITION TEAM TRIES TO CLEAR THE FOG
ABOUT CLAIMS THE EPA'S BEING GUTTED

UNTIL LAST month, the Environmental Protection Agency communicated with the public through nine blogs, three discussion forums, 34 Facebook pages, 37 Twitter handles, two Medium accounts, a YouTube channel, a Pinterest page, numerous widgets, a wiki site, and Instagram, Flickr and Storify accounts.

That came to a halt with the arrival of Donald Trump. Reports said EPA climate webpages were being shut down, research funds were being slashed and press officers had been silenced.

A key member of the Trump transition team says that the reports were exaggerated and that the ensuing alarm on social media and elsewhere is unwarranted. "There is nothing abnormal or out of the ordinary" happening at the EPA right now, says Doug Ericksen, who is advising the new EPA administrator and leading communications for the transition team. It's true that all social media accounts have been suspended and individual press officers cannot respond to inquiries, he says. But he tells *Newsweek* that the agency is simply trying

to assess its many avenues of communication. Many of these outlets can still be accessed, but new content is not being posted. "We're trying to get a handle on what's coming out," he says.

He insists that individual press offers will be given permission to respond to media inquiries directly but could not provide a timeline beyond "as soon as we possibly can." He says the transition team is meeting with regional communication staff as a next step.

Ericksen could not say what the funding priorities will be when the new EPA administrator is confirmed. Trump's nominee is Scott Pruitt, the attorney general of Oklahoma who has initiated or joined some two dozen suits against the EPA. Pruitt has had a confirmation hearing, but at press time the Senate had not yet voted to confirm him.

Late last month, the news site Axios reported that the Trump administration was going to radically reshape the EPA. That news purportedly came from a leaked memo written by Myron Ebell, who'd been appointed to the EPA transition team shortly

after the election. "What I have heard is that this [memo] was not his final piece of work," says Ericksen. "That one was created very early in the process and was replaced by several other proposed ideas." However, Ericksen says he has not seen the leaked memo or any other iterations. Ebell is no longer on the transition team. Ericksen could not say whether Ebell's suggestions, which included lifting regulations on greenhouse gases and water contamination, would be adopted. "All of these things are conversations for a later day."

Asked about contentions that the Trump administration has little interest in protecting the environment, Ericksen says Trump's strategies may simply be different from the Obama administration's.

Ericksen is a state senator from Washington with a master's degree in environmental policy from Western Washington University, and he is as uncertain about his future as he is about the EPA's. "I've got one suit, one tuxedo, and I have to go shopping," he says. "I haven't decided how much I like this town yet." **N**

BY
JESSICA WAPNER
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TRUMP VS. POLAR BEARS

Environmentalists fear the new president's impact on endangered flora and fauna

ENVIRONMENTALISTS who opposed Donald Trump's candidacy are seeing some of their worst fears confirmed. His nominations of people for Cabinet posts who doubt the scientific consensus on climate change, such as Oklahoma Attorney General Scott Pruitt for the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), have led researchers and conservationists to fear that historic progress on combating climate change may be undone.

An equally important issue that's received little attention: Trump and his Cabinet may threaten the survival of many endangered species, a pressing issue since humans are driving a mass extinction of Earth's flora and fauna. Trump's exact views on endangered species aren't publicly known (his team didn't respond to *Newsweek* requests for comment), so it would be wrong to condemn him pre-emptively. However, "the policies he's pushing, the regulations put up by Obama he wants to reverse"—such as the Clean Power Plan, geared toward reducing greenhouse gas emissions from power plants and factories—"would hurt endangered species terribly," says Kieran Suckling, executive director of the Center for Biological Diversity, an environmental group. "I don't see any direct animosity toward these species, but any time they get between a corporation and its profits, Trump is [probably] going to side with the corporations."

Here are seven species or groups that experts are particularly worried about or are representative of the impact Trump's policies could have.

POLAR BEARS

Fears about climate change and endangered species often overlap. Researchers agree that if warming continues, polar bears are in trouble. A report released January 9 by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service on how to keep them off the endangered species list concluded that "the single most important step for polar bear conservation is decisive action to address Arctic warming, which is driven primarily by increasing atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases. Short of action that effectively addresses the primary cause of diminishing sea ice, it is unlikely that polar bears will be recovered."

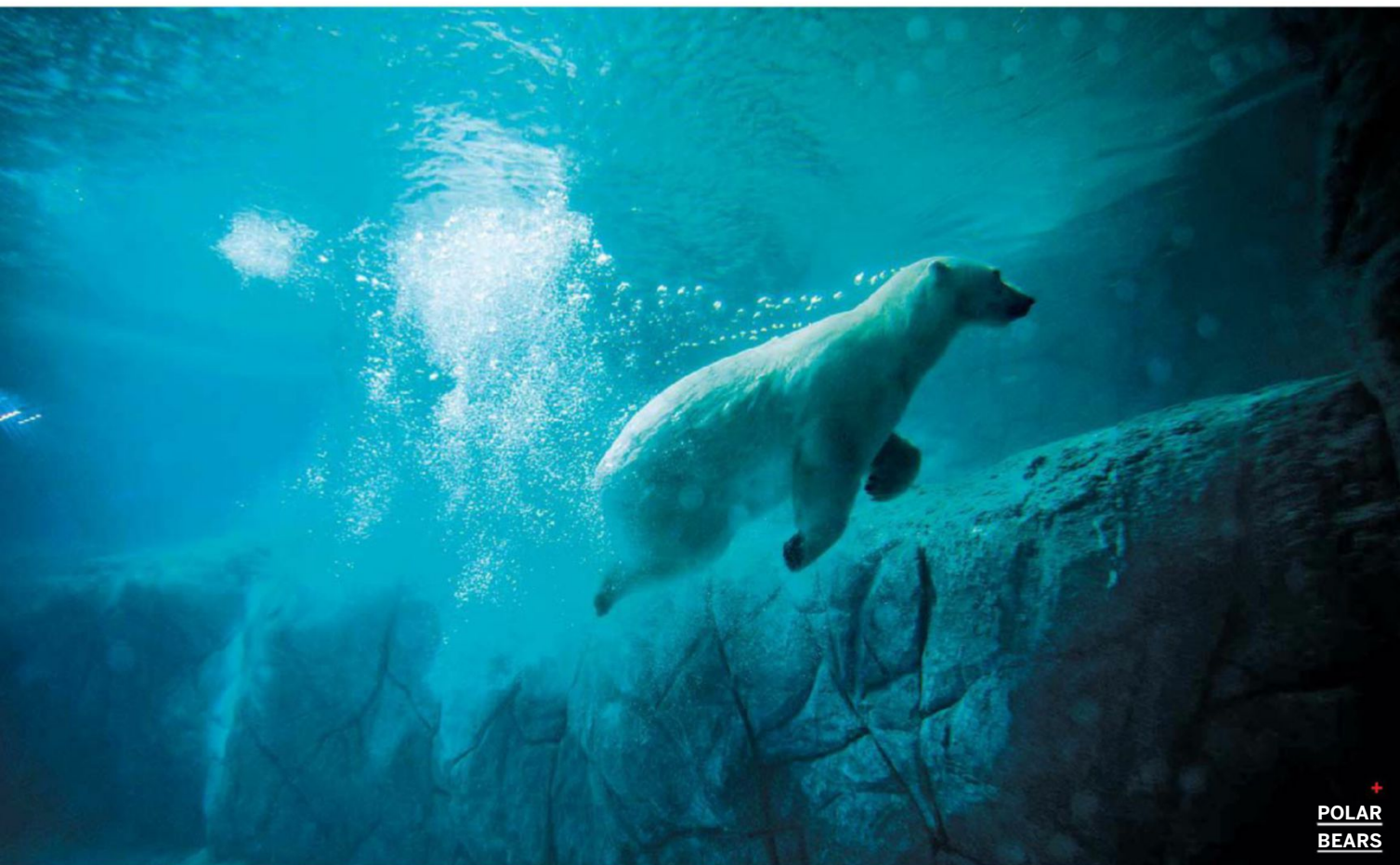
These animals depend on sea ice to hunt, and without it, many are likely to starve. If current trends continue, researchers expect that by 2050 their population will decline by two-thirds, says Elly Pepper, a wildlife expert with the Natural Resources Defense Council.

Unfortunately for the bears, Pruitt is suing the EPA to reverse the Clean Power Plan, and other Trump appointees have vowed to dismantle other climate regulations. These schemes "could spell disaster for polar bears," Pepper says.

WOLVES

Few wild animals elicit such polarized reactions as gray wolves. Most people seem to love them, while a devoted minority—especially hunters and ranchers—despise them for their propensity to eat game animals like elk and domesticates like cattle.

BY
DOUGLAS MAIN
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**POLAR
BEARS**



WOLVES



**SAGE
GROUSE**

The animals once lived throughout most of North America but were eliminated from most of the United States by the early 20th century. Wolves remained in northern Minnesota and were reintroduced to Yellowstone National Park in the 1990s. They are now also found in several states in the Northwest.

However, many of these states aren't happy about federal authorities telling them what to do regarding wolves, Suckling says. In the past six years, Congress has made at least 20 attempts, in the form of riders attached to bills, to take the animal off the Endangered Species List, he adds.

A 2011 rider removed wolves from the list in Montana and Idaho. On January 10, U.S. Representative Liz Cheney of Wyoming introduced a bill that would deprive the gray wolf of its Endangered Species Act protections, and environmentalists fear that with Congress in Republican hands, this bill, or a similar measure, will pass.

Things are even more dire for two subspecies, the Mexican gray wolf and the red wolf. The former lives in the Southwest, with a population of around 100, while the latter lives in North Carolina and numbers fewer than 50. Both are on the brink of extinction and may not make it if their

**WHOOPING
CRANES**



survival isn't prioritized, says Jamie Rappaport Clark, president and CEO of the environmental group Defenders of Wildlife.

SAGE GROUSE

Sage grouse are majestic icons of the sagebrush ecosystem, which supports a wide variety of creatures in 11 states. To save them, conservationists are working to save the whole ecosystem, says Clark. In September 2015, the Obama administration and many collaborators—including states, Indian reservations, industry and environmental groups—reached a compromise to offer some protections for the birds across 167 million acres. As part of the deal, the grouse were not listed under the Endangered Species Act, which would have required stringent protections. This allows some commercial activity, such as mining and ranching, to take place in areas where the birds live.

Many in industry were unhappy with the agreement. The “majority of the livestock, mining and energy industries bitterly opposed it and have put it at the top of their list to reverse that,” Suckling says. Some environmentalists, on the other hand, don't think the agreement went far enough, but generally speaking, the community is happier to have a deal than no deal. Republican politicians like Utah Governor Gary Herbert and Oklahoma Senator James Inhofe also opposed it.

Environmentalists fear that this plan will be

“THE POLICIES HE'S PUSHING, THE REGULATIONS PUT UP BY OBAMA HE WANTS TO REVERSE...WOULD HURT ENDANGERED SPECIES TERRIBLY.”

nixed under Trump, whose people would “love to blow this whole thing up and go back to business as usual,” Clark says.

WHOOPING CRANES

The population of these 5-foot-tall white birds, North America's largest, has dwindled to fewer than 450 in the wild. They are threatened mostly by gunfire (not hunters), habitat loss and power lines, which they often run into because they cannot see well. The Keystone XL pipeline in the Dakotas would cut a 1,700-mile swath through the migration corridor of one of the two remaining major populations of these birds, necessitating large amounts of habitat destruction and construction of power lines. Bird experts have opposed the pipeline, and the U.S.

**BORDERLAND
WILDLIFE**



**FRESHWATER
MUSSELS**



**ELEPHANTS,
BIG CATS, OTHER
SPECIES HUNTED
FOR TROPHIES**



Fish and Wildlife Service and the Department of Defense concluded that the cranes would be threatened by its construction.

Trump, however, signed two orders on January 24 that allow the Keystone XL and the nearby Dakota Access pipelines to go forward. This order could face legal challenges but makes it much more likely there will be construction in that corridor.

FRESHWATER MUSSELS, STURGEON

During his campaign, Trump repeatedly criticized the Waters of the United States rule, which has improved water quality by increasing the area subject to regulation by the EPA, thus reducing runoff and other sources of pollution. He called it “extreme” and “unconstitutional.” Pruitt, meanwhile, has sought to strike down EPA regulations to reduce water pollution.

Experts worry that such moves would hurt freshwater mussels, fish and other aquatic wildlife. North America is home to the largest diversity of mussels in the world, but they are in trouble; more than half of the 78 known species in the Midwest alone are endangered or



threatened, according to the Fish and Wildlife Service. Reducing laws that protect water quality would hurt these vulnerable species, Clark says. Such a move would also hurt species like the short-nosed sturgeon, which lives throughout the East Coast and is sensitive to water pollution.


BORDERLAND WILDLIFE

The United States is home to at least one jaguar, which lives in southern Arizona, on the site of a proposed copper mine currently seeking approval to operate. A final decision will rest with the Trump administration. Trump’s support for mining and the aggressive development of federal lands suggest that the mine is likely to go forward under his watch.

Trump’s promises to “build a wall” on the U.S.-Mexico border would likely be harmful for scores if not hundreds of species of plants and animals, from ocelots to amphibians. Southern Arizona and New Mexico are among the most biodiverse parts of the continental U.S. Many species move between the two countries, and a wall would prevent them from doing so, causing their populations to be fragmented or reduced. Free movement is critical for many species to mate and prevents isolated groups from becoming too genetically inbred.

**ELEPHANTS, BIG CATS, OTHER
SPECIES HUNTED FOR TROPHIES**

Two of Trump’s sons, Eric and Donald Jr., are avid big-game hunters and have been photographed with the bodies of large animals they’ve killed on trips to Africa, including a leopard and an elephant. Suckling worries that their influence could lead to the weakening of laws that forbid American hunters from importing trophies (like a lion’s head) that would hurt populations of these animals by encouraging hunting.

It should be noted that hunters (e.g., regular hunters, not those who travel to Africa to shoot elephants) are often supporters of conservation because it protects their sport. As the Fish and Wildlife Service writes, “The sale of hunting licenses, tags, and stamps is the primary source of funding for most state wildlife conservation efforts.” 





DOWNTIME

LUGGAGE

ARCTIC

IPHONES

CINEMA

RESTAURANTS

BLOOD AND TUNDRA

Indigenous reindeer herders are finding new ways to reinvigorate their culture

DEAR DEER: A Sami herder moves his stock to new grazing in Sweden. For the indigenous people of the Arctic Circle, reindeer are both food and a cultural pivot point.

IT IS Sara Aleksandersen's job to stir the blood. As Issat Turi, her uncle, cuts up the reindeer he has just slaughtered with a knife stroke to the throat, she kneels down, the cream of her reindeer-skin coat only a few shades darker than the snowy tundra around her. Sara is 15. Like generations of Sami youngsters before her, it is her responsibility to keep the blood in the bucket moving, to prevent the precious crimson fluid from coagulating. "For us, the reindeer is everything," says Turi. "We don't waste a bit."

Sara and her uncle live in northern Norway. For them, as for all of the 100,000 indigenous people—of 24 different ethnicities and nationalities—who make a living herding in the Arctic Circle, reindeer are not a cute seasonal accessory. Instead, they are everything: food, clothing, transportation, livelihood, culture. But as pressures such as climate change and industrialization mount, reindeer herders living in the far reaches of the north find their traditional way of life

increasingly under threat—which is why a group of them, operating out of the International Centre for Reindeer Husbandry (IRC), are mounting an extraordinary international effort to protect it.

The IRC and other Arctic organizations recognize that many of the challenges herders face, especially for those in the eastern Arctic, are related to climate change. Rising temperatures and shorter winters mean that instead of snow, winter precipitation often falls as rain. This refreezes as a layer of ice that prevents reindeer from accessing the lichen that constitutes the bulk of their winter diet. The effect isn't uniform: On the Svalbard Islands, receding ice has contributed to a rise in the local reindeer population. But globally, the number of animals has diminished roughly 30 percent in the past 10 to 15 years. In Russia, it's even worse: Stocks in the Taymyr Peninsula have declined by 40 percent since 2000, and an anthrax outbreak in Siberia, born of melting permafrost, recently killed 1,500 reindeer.

BY

LISA ABEND
[@LisaAbend](#)



As once-frozen landscapes defrost, they also become more appealing to nonindigenous humans. In many parts of the Arctic, industry and even conventional agriculture are now encroaching on grazing lands that herders have depended on for more than a thousand years. In Mongolia, miners have destroyed some reindeer habitats in their quest for gold. In Siberia, new roads designed to provide quick access have disrupted migration routes.

These changes are less apparent in the western Arctic, though they do exist. In northern Finland, for example, forestry is becoming more efficient, resulting in sparser foliage of the sort that reindeer need to eat. And in Norway, receding ice has likewise brought new industries—mining, wind farming, hydroelectric dams—to the coastal areas of the northernmost Finnmark region. It has even led to the growth of conventional animal husbandry in the area, all of which means greater competition for habitats.

But so far, climate-related changes in Scandinavian herding areas have been modest. More worrying, according to the Sami, who herd the great majority of the country's roughly 200,000 reindeer, are the forms of government intervention.

In the past, the Sami butchered reindeer at home and in seasons that varied according to the animals' gender and age. But as Norwegians' taste for reindeer meat has grown—the average

annual consumption is 400 grams per person—the government has largely taken control of the killing and butchering of reindeer, monopolizing distribution networks and requiring that any meat for public sale be prepared in industrial slaughterhouses. The industrialization of the process has tended to drive down prices for reindeer meat. And while the government has compensated herders with subsidies, it pays only for any calves that are killed; the Sami don't usually kill and eat calves in large numbers, since they are necessary for maintaining the herd's size.

"Now it's the meat monopoly controlling those things," says Anders Oskal, executive director of the ICR, which is located in the northern Norwegian city of Guovdageaidnu. "And if we don't practice them ourselves, we're in danger of losing our traditional knowledge."

THE REINDEER RESISTANCE

With his lush mustache and royal blue tunic adorned with grosgrain ribbons and heavy silver brooches, Oskal bears a certain resemblance to the Emerald City gatekeeper in *The Wizard of Oz*. But rather than keeping anyone out, he is dedicated to bringing them in. At the ICR, he oversees a course of study that teaches indigenous young people about everything from traditional slaughter and cooking methods to biodiversity and legal rights. "Our focus isn't on training people so they

+ REINDEER RODEO:
A Sami man in
northern Sweden
catches a reindeer
calf ready for
labeling last year.

can leave our society. We're teaching them what they need to stay in our society," Oskal says.

By "our" he means not just Sami culture but that of all reindeer herders. One of the IRC's missions is to bring together the north's indigenous people so they might preserve and exchange traditional knowledge. Last year, for example, members of a dozen different herding groups met at the center's campus for a biodiversity course that started with a cooking session. Members of each group prepared their native recipes: Evenki women from northern Asia made reindeer throat sausage (the larynx acts as a casing for a filling of eyes and lips); a Nenets law student from the Russian Arctic prepared a typical dish of raw liver in fresh blood; and a Sami cook boiled hooves until their cartilage turned nearly liquid, then set them upright in a bowl so they looked like freshly steamed mussels. (They did not, it must be said, taste like them.)

For 23-year-old Ganbold Bayarmagnai, who came from Mongolia and wore a lustrous quilted coat while baking bread made with reindeer milk over an open fire, it was a rewarding experience. "At home, our eternal snow mountain no longer has snow. Our eternal frozen lakes are no longer frozen," he says. "But this makes me feel like we'll survive."

The ICR is making other efforts to ensure that Bayarmagnai is right. In late November, Oskal traveled to Yakutsk in Siberia to participate in a seminar on using technology to protect the reindeer meat industry. The center is also compiling an international cookbook of reindeer herders' recipes, in order to help preserve traditional culinary practices. And it works with the Arctic Council, a high-level organization comprising eight member states and representatives from the circumpolar area's indigenous peoples, to recognize and use herding communities' traditional knowledge in its climate-change adaptation strategies.

Many Sami, who in the 1960s began herding with snowmobiles instead of the traditional skis and sled, are open to change when they believe it makes sense. Issat Turi, who spends most of the year on the tundra living near his herd, in an isolated house that is a 90-minute ride by snowmobile from Guovdageaidnu, brings his reindeers' carcasses to the industrial slaughterhouse to sell. Though, he says with a disbelief that borders on contempt, "they waste so much. The blood, the bones, the skin? They don't want that. Just the meat."

At the beginning of December, Turi used trucks to move his herd from its summer grazing land on an island 500 kilometers away from his



home. And he has plans to introduce his traditionally raised and slaughtered reindeer meat to some of those restaurants in Copenhagen and Oslo that he knows are interested in sustainably raised local products.

But he still loves the old ways. He kills the animals that he and his family consume and smokes the flesh over an open fire in a *lavvu*, the Sami dwelling made from branches and reindeer skins. He likes sitting by a fire at night, opening a beer and listening to a *joik*, a haunting form of song meant to evoke a person or place. And although it is considered rude to ask a Sami herder how many reindeer he has, and hubristic for the herder to answer, Turi says he is doing well enough that he doesn't worry about the future (although he studied carpentry in school, just in case).

A generation younger, his niece Sara is less certain. Like most Sami today, she lives a life that straddles the modern and traditional: She goes to school in Guovdageaidnu, dresses mostly in jeans and sweaters, and enjoys tacos and chicken as much as reindeer meat. Because she has an older brother, she won't inherit her father's herd

"IF WE DON'T PRACTICE THESE THINGS, WE'RE IN DANGER OF LOSING OUR TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE."

(which is separate from Turi's) and says she might become a teacher instead. But she handles a snowmobile like a pro, and her cover photo on Facebook is of her family's herd.

As she stirs the blood that will be used for sausage, she acknowledges that herding is a hard life. "A lot of my friends don't want to do it because it's so difficult," she says. "But I like it. You have a kind of peace out here that you don't feel in the city. Plus," she adds, gesturing toward the reindeer, "this is who we are." ■



THE CURATED LIFE

A SPECIAL CASE

Louis Vuitton's great-great-grandson is still making bespoke luggage in the family home

LOUIS VUITTON means the same thing wherever you are in the world—except in Asnières-sur-Seine in northern France. Here, it just means “the locals.” While it was still a small village by the river, rather than the Parisian suburb it is today, Asnières was the subject of paintings by Seurat and Van Gogh. It was also where, in 1859, the founding family of the luxury luggage-maker decided to open its factory, right next door to the comfortable family villa. It remained the company's only workshop until 1977.

Today, it is Patrick Louis Vuitton who presides over a walled compound that would still be recognizable to his great-grandmother—because Asnières is still where Louis Vuitton makes all its special orders, as well as the 2,200 or so pieces of the traditional hard-sided suitcases and trunks it sells annually. The site also houses the bulk of the Vuitton archive, and it includes the recently opened La Galerie, a public space devoted to the history of the marque.

The compound still feels like a home. The grandest of the Vuitton stores around the world are called *maisons*, but some are so big that *palais* might be a more accurate description. *Maison* is, however, the perfect term to capture the truly domestic scale of Asnières. Off the villa's entrance hall is a dining room with a table that can seat a dozen people. It leads into an art nouveau drawing room, with a splendidly curvaceous fireplace and trailing tendrils of ivylike

plasterwork that make it a little like sitting inside a bottle of Perrier Jouët Cuvée Belle Époque champagne. But even here the feel is grounded rather than grand, partly because you can see through the extravagant stained-glass windows to the solid practicality of the workshops: two two-story buildings with cream plasterwork and vaulted, black-framed windows, to which the house is joined by a glass-covered arcade.

That Asnières still feels like a family home is partly thanks to Patrick Louis Vuitton. A gentle-looking man with close-cropped hair, he wears, sewn onto the lapel of his corduroy jacket, the green-and-red ribbon of the Mérite Agricole—a sort of Légion d'honneur for farmers and countrymen. His family home may now be a 20-minute drive from Vuitton's multistory *maison* on the Champs-Élysées—but the man has a distinct feel of *rus in urbe*. He hunts deer and regularly travels to what he describes as the “cradle of the family”—the Jura, the region of eastern France that his great-great-grandfather left when he headed to Paris in the mid-19th century—to look up Vuitton cousins and visit his favorite pipe-makers.

Patrick was born in 1951, grew up in the Asnières villa and began work in the factory next door. His great-grandmother, who died in 1964 at 104, was Louis Vuitton's daughter; she used to tell Patrick stories of the family's past and of the historical events she experienced, including the siege of Paris in the 1870s. It's now Patrick's

BY
NICHOLAS FOULKES



LEFT LUGGAGE: The archive at Asnières includes Vuitton trunks, boxes and cases from almost 160 years of manufacturing.

job to keep the family's memories alive, and with his tales of early mornings as a youngster in the factory, heating the foul-smelling bone- and fish-based glue, he transports his listeners back to a time when Vuitton was much smaller than today. He says that during the 1960s and 1970s, the entire business consisted of one shop in Paris and another in Nice, while administration and manufacturing employed between 120 and 130 people. Much has changed since then, not least the glue, which no longer stinks of fish and doesn't need to be heated before you can use it.

Patrick has worked 43 years for the company, both under the ownership of his family and latterly of the LVMH conglomerate, and his knowledge is encyclopedic. With wry amusement, he tells the

ROUGHLY 300 SPECIAL ORDERS ARE MADE AT ASNIÈRES EACH YEAR.

story of how he was once being interviewed on Japanese television when the journalist handed him a vintage Louis Vuitton briefcase and asked him to identify its age. He inspected it inside and out; then he not only gave the correct year of purchase but said it had been bought in July, in Nice—though he does admit he was a couple of weeks off the exact date.




That rather impressive trick speaks to a lifetime of craftsmanship. Under the supervision of Patrick, the carpentry team builds poplar frames for all the traditional pieces of Louis Vuitton luggage, on top of which the famous protective canvas skin is mounted. The compound is also where special orders are executed, roughly 300 of them a year. There have been some spectacular commissions, including a trunk for a Taiwanese customer that contained a DVD player, film library and espresso machine, complete with solar panel so that the owner could enjoy a coffee and a movie wherever he happened to find himself. With Patrick's guidance, the workshops have shown themselves capable of making medicine chests, keepsake boxes for a child's milk teeth, a casino trunk (including a roulette wheel)—indeed, trunks designed for most activities and interests, including tattooing, hairdressing, collecting Barbie dolls and playing croquet. They've made cases to hold guitars and cigars,

to hold champagne and to hold bottles of Ricard pastis. (This last case was particularly special: It was a present for Patrick's 60th birthday.)

Extraordinary though some of them may sound, thanks to Patrick's sketches, suggestions and accumulated experience, these pieces of luggage are remarkably practical. Whether it is a trunk specifically designed to meet the demands of a Chinese tea ceremony (one was being made when I toured the workshops) or the adaptation of an existing model with a fastening here, a pocket there or a compartment elsewhere to transform it into the perfect travel companion, one thing is always true: The best bit about

A TRUNK FOR A TAIWANESE CUSTOMER HELD A DVD PLAYER, FILM LIBRARY AND COFFEE MACHINE, COMPLETE WITH SOLAR PANEL.

asking Louis Vuitton for a specially ordered bag or trunk is the chance to spend a little time with its founder's great-great-grandson. 

Le Galerie Louis Vuitton, Asnières-Sur-Seine, France: by appointment only via +33 (0) 9 77 40 40 77. For special orders, see LOUISVUITTON.COM



+
THE ART OF TRAVEL: Patrick Louis Vuitton at work in the garden at Asnières, with one of his own special orders, a case designed for watercolorists.

IT'S A FIX: Why
can't Apple give
customers cover-
glass that lasts?



Smashing Times

A decade of iPhones? That's a decade of broken screens

TEN YEARS AGO, Apple began selling the iPhone, a beautiful piece of metal and glass that changed the world. Then some clumsy idiot dropped it.

It's difficult to say for certain who the first clumsy idiot was. It seems likely it was an Apple employee, testing it before release. It's possible it was Steve Jobs. The keys in his pocket scratched the crap out of his prototype. One month before the phone was released, he threw a tantrum at Apple. "I won't sell a product that gets scratched," he said, according to *The New York Times*. "I want a glass screen, and I want it perfect in six weeks."

He got his way. Sort of. Although it was better protected against keys, the glass still shattered in certain "medium-velocity impacts." As more people bought iPhones, more people dropped them. Humans are clumsy; sidewalks are hard. Sometimes the phones remained usable, and

those too lazy or apathetic kept using them.

Soon after the iPhone was released, blogs circulated cheap, warranty-violating fixes for broken screens. An industry grew around the problem, offering black-market repairs in the backs of bodegas. Brendan McElroy started the iPhone repair service Dr. Brendan's in his New York City apartment in 2008. It became so successful that, a few years later, he opened a bricks-and-mortar shop. The majority of repairs are, he says, for accidental damage, like dropping phones on the ground or into a toilet. "We've seen it as bad as it can get. Run over by trucks, dropped off roofs."

Sometimes the damage is caused on purpose. "We get a lot of angry significant-other stories," McElroy says. "A girlfriend or boyfriend found something on [their] phone and threw it—it's very common." Despite this, there's

not an uptick in business from disappointed lovers on Valentine's Day. Other holidays are better news. "Usually after the drinking days, like New Year's Eve or St. Patrick's Day, we'll have a big influx," says Dan, Brendan's brother.

Is it fair, then, to characterize the design of the iPhone as a spectacular failure? Obviously, a device humans carry in their hands at all times will be dropped. Yet, 10 years after its invention, it just takes one clumsy mistake to smash an iPhone screen into a spider web. If one wants to be conspiratorial, the lack of durability serves the purposes of industry. Phones break; new phones are released, always with newer, better features. But despite some recent design updates promising "the strongest cover glass used on any smartphone in the world," the screens still shatter.

Meanwhile, Apple removed the headphone jacks. Which, coincidentally, are one of the few safety systems protecting against broken screens. For what is a headphone wire but an accidental, protective phone bungee cord, dangling a dropped iPhone inches from its destruction? ■

BY
JOE VEIX
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SCREENING ROOM

THAT LOVING FEELING

Jeff Nichols's new film tackles racism from the inside out

"DON'T SPOIL the ending!" people say, as if there was, in most movies, anything to spoil. Hollywood long ago forgot the art of wrapping up its films, choosing mostly to blow them up instead. Fireballs, cratering planets, inter-dimensional vortexes guarded by alien overlords with ornate headpieces and English accents—the frenzied final reels all blur into one. Beginnings are frequently more imaginative. *Sunset Boulevard*, with its corpse in a swimming pool. *There Will Be Blood*, with its spewing oil strike. Just about any movie directed by Steven Spielberg, whose openings unfurl like drops of ink in water.

The beginning of *Loving*, the fifth film from writer-director Jeff Nichols, is a beauty. A white man (Joel Edgerton) and a black woman (Ruth Negga) are sitting on a porch in what looks to be rural America; judging from the man's plaid shirt and his blond buzz cut, you'd say some time in the 1950s. "I'm pregnant," says the woman, her big, doll-like eyes searching the man's face for clues to his reaction. For a while, he says nothing,

the hardness of his features seeming to take on a crueler cast. You're as nervous as she is. Finally: "Good," he says, with a small nod and a smile. Relief floods her features. We're hooked.

The story is based on the case of Richard and Mildred Loving, a mixed-race couple from Virginia whose attempts to stay married took them all the way to the Supreme Court and, by 1967, forced a change in the law prohibiting interracial marriage. Aha, you think. You know where this is headed—impassioned pleas to the jury, righteous anger, tear-jerking closing arguments. You would, however, be reckoning without Nichols, an Arkansas native whose previous films (*Shotgun Stories*, *Take Shelter*, *Mud* and *Midnight Special*) often feature occult events set in an everyday, Rust Belt landscape of pickup trucks, trailer homes and lonely gas stations—Stephen King by way of Raymond Carver.

After the news of her pregnancy, the Lovings marry in Washington, D.C., then return to Virginia. They are in bed one night when the local sheriff (Martin Csokas) wakes them up and throws them in prison. "All we gotta do is keep to ourselves for a while and this will blow over," says Richard, after a local lawyer helps secure their release on the condition that they quit the state. They move to D.C., but as Mildred

NICHOLS FOCUSES NOT ON THE LEGAL FIGHT, BUT ON THE LOVINGS THEMSELVES, THE HUMDRUM RHYTHMS OF THEIR RELATIONSHIP.

BY
TOM SHONE
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approaches her ninth month of pregnancy, she begins to crave the support of her family. The couple sneak back into Virginia to have their child—but someone rats on them. Thus begins the legal case that ends in the Supreme Court.

What is radical about Nichols's film is the extent to which he focuses not on the legal fight and ensuing national attention but on the Lovings themselves: the humdrum rhythms of their relationship, the planning of a home, the having and raising of children. Asked at the film's climax if he has any message for the Supreme Court, Richard thinks for while then says, simply, "Yeah. Tell the judge I love my wife."

When it was shown at Cannes last year, some grumbled that *Loving* wasn't angry or outraged enough, as if it were the duty of the past to mold itself to the predilections of the present. But the Lovings had no idea what history would make of them. It's also one of the few Hollywood films about race that doesn't feel as if it's playing to a modern, liberal audience—it's refreshingly non-partisan. Richard Loving didn't marry Mildred to

make a point or because he was politically enlightened. He was a taciturn Southerner, whose farm upbringing had put him side by side with black farmhands; he simply regarded them as equals. Edgerton digs down and gives us a wonderful mixture of stubbornness, pride and protectiveness, together with a bullish sense of decency. But it is the Oscar-nominated Negga who most captivates, with her wide, inquiring eyes and sweet voice. She draws you in, a hushed center of power.

The film's minimalism—its instinctive distrust of the grandiose—is neither an aesthetic tic nor entirely a moral matter but a lovely blend of both. Prejudice will never be rolled back by great arguments or long speeches, he seems to say. It is experiential. It's who you know. Look at the Lovings, curled up on the couch; get to know them; and *then* let's have a conversation about race. Nichols's film gives the Lovings the one thing they were for so long denied: normalcy. **N**

THE POWER OF TWO: Ruth Negga and Joel Edgerton star as Mildred and Richard Loving, the real-life American couple who fought successfully to change laws banning interracial marriage.

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Releases continue worldwide to March 16; for more information see FOCUSFEATURES.COM/LOVING



—the— To-Do List



1 STAY *The Drawing Hotel*—48 bedrooms plus a basement gallery dedicated to contemporary drawing—opens shortly in the 1st arrondissement of Paris, with bespoke artworks in every room.



2 BUY

From tick-tock to drip-drop: The German designer Patrick Palcic has launched this copper wall clock, which releases puffs of a different fragrance to mark the turning of each hour.

3 EAT

On the rare occasions that the French fashion set do eat, they go to Ferdi's. Now a London outpost of the tiny Parisian brasserie has opened in Mayfair—just in time for Fashion Week.



4 VISIT

Finally, a party to which you're invited. The Berlin International Film Festival hosts the world premiere of Sally Potter's *The Party*, with Cillian Murphy and Kristin Scott Thomas (*above*).

5 HEAR

Italian director Daniele Abbado (*below*) brings a new production of Verdi's dizzying, melodramatic opera *Il Trovatore* to the Staatsoper, Vienna, with Roberto Alagna as the doomed Manrico.



6 SEE

Find seventh heaven at the Kennedy Center in Washington, D.C., as the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater stages seven performances for the centenary of President Kennedy's birth.



1. CHRISTOPHE BIELSA; 2. KOELNWEISS; 3. FERDI LONDON; 4. ADVENTURE PICTURES LIMITED; 5. MICHELE BORZONI; 6. PAUL KOLNIK

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