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Newsweek

06.17.2016

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DON'T POP THEIR BUBBLE: We all bring our biases and tastes to the question of whether an activity is a sport. Bubble soccer, anyone?

FEATURES

DEPARTMENTS

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Newsweek

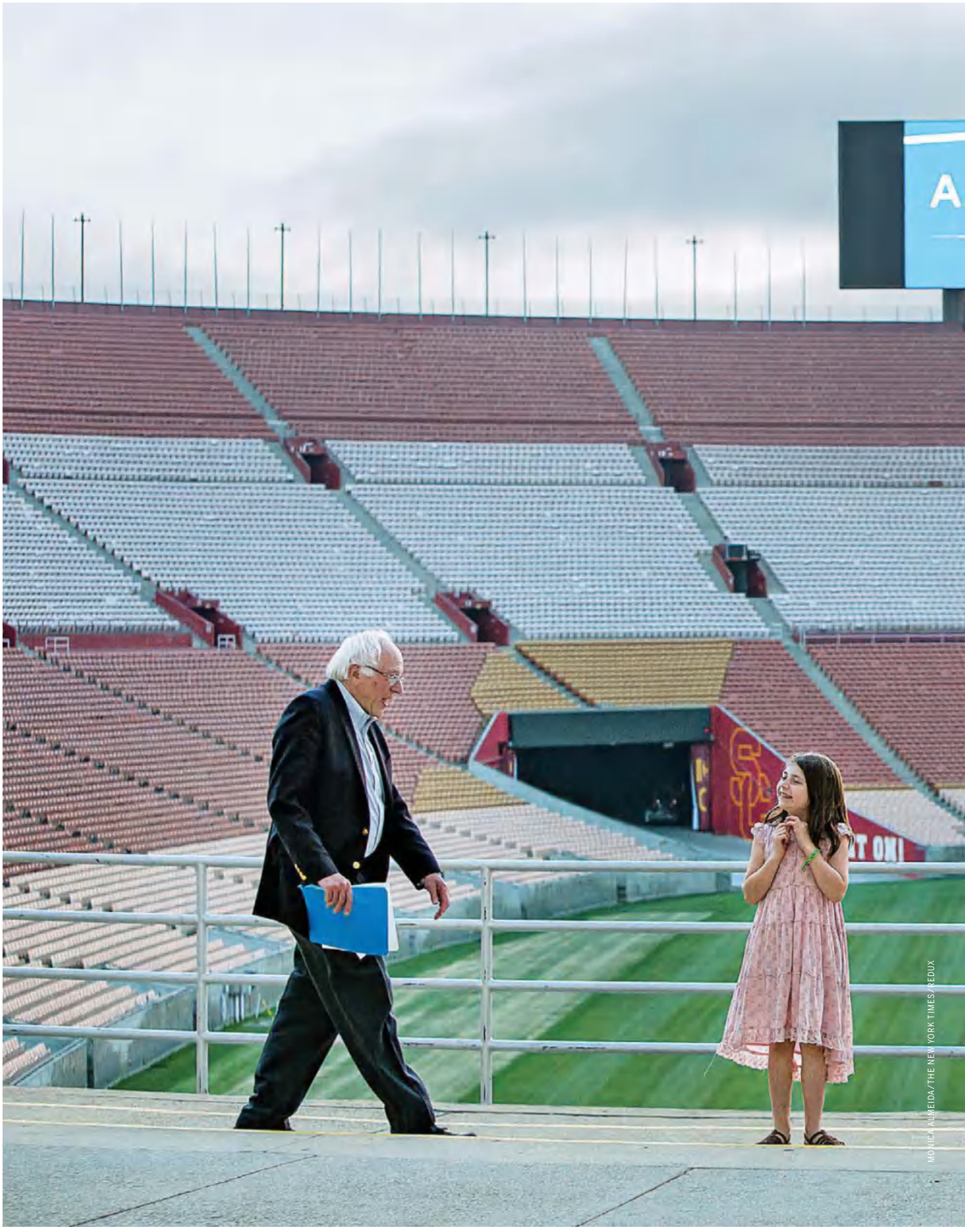
JEWEL SAMAD/AFP/GETTY

USA

Heavy-weight

New York City—A man places a candle under a mural of Muhammad Ali on June 4. A three-time world heavyweight champion, Ali died June 3 at the age of 74 after a long battle with Parkinson's disease. Ali made headlines outside the sports pages when he refused to serve in the Army during the Vietnam War, earning a conviction for draft evasion and a three-year suspension from boxing. He was also a vocal civil rights advocate. Born Cassius Clay, he converted to Islam in 1964 and rejected his "slave name," adopting the name Muhammad Ali.

JEWEL SAMAD



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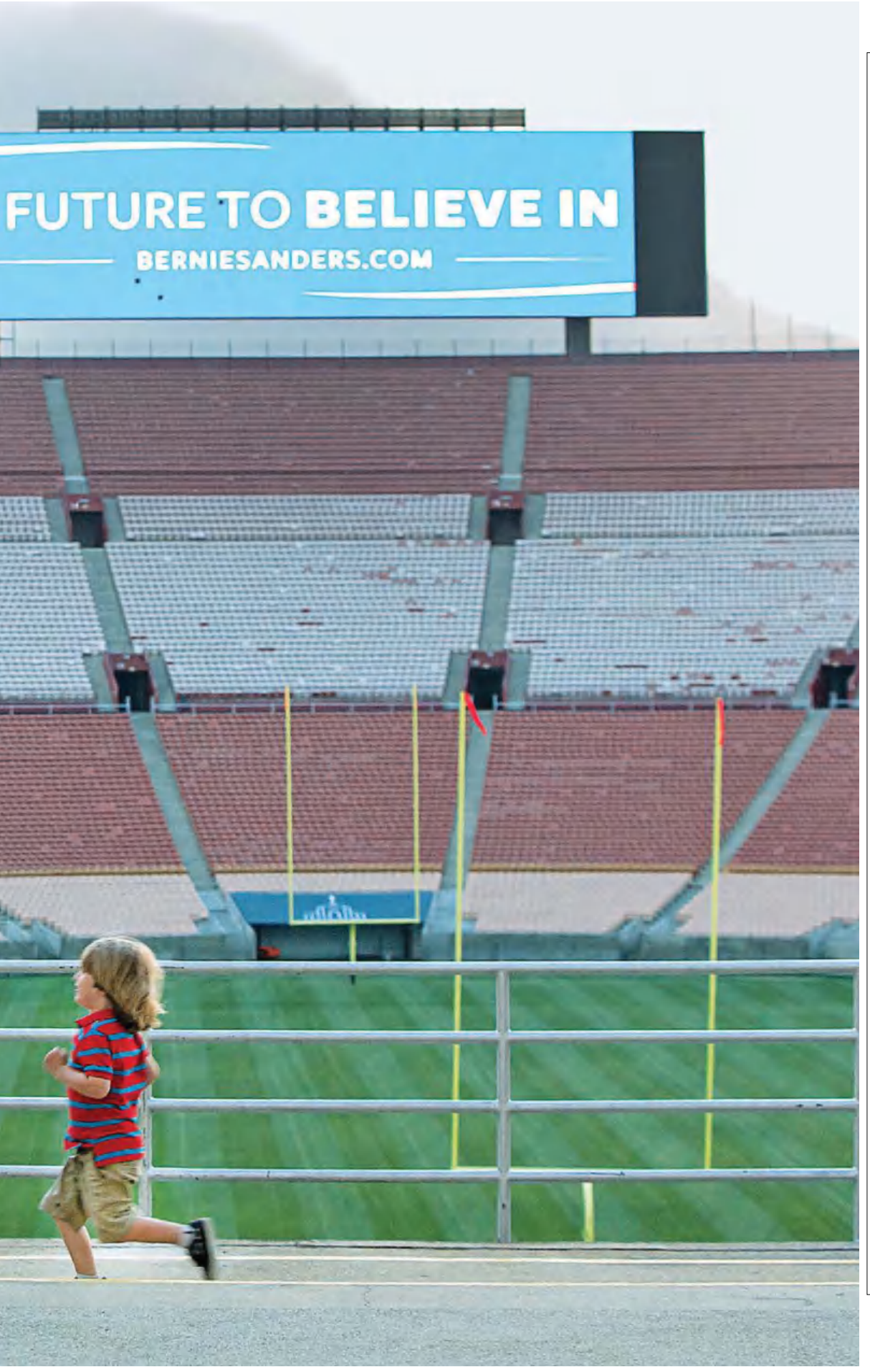


USA

Won't Back Down

Los Angeles—Ella and Dylan Driscoll, the grandchildren of Senator Bernie Sanders, greet the Democratic presidential candidate before a campaign rally at the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum on June 4, three days before the California primary, where Hillary Clinton was expected to clinch the nomination. Despite the near statistical impossibility of his winning the nomination and calls from within the party for him to drop out to avoid damaging Clinton's chances of winning the White House, Sanders vowed to keep campaigning until the Democratic National Convention in July.

MONICA ALMEIDA

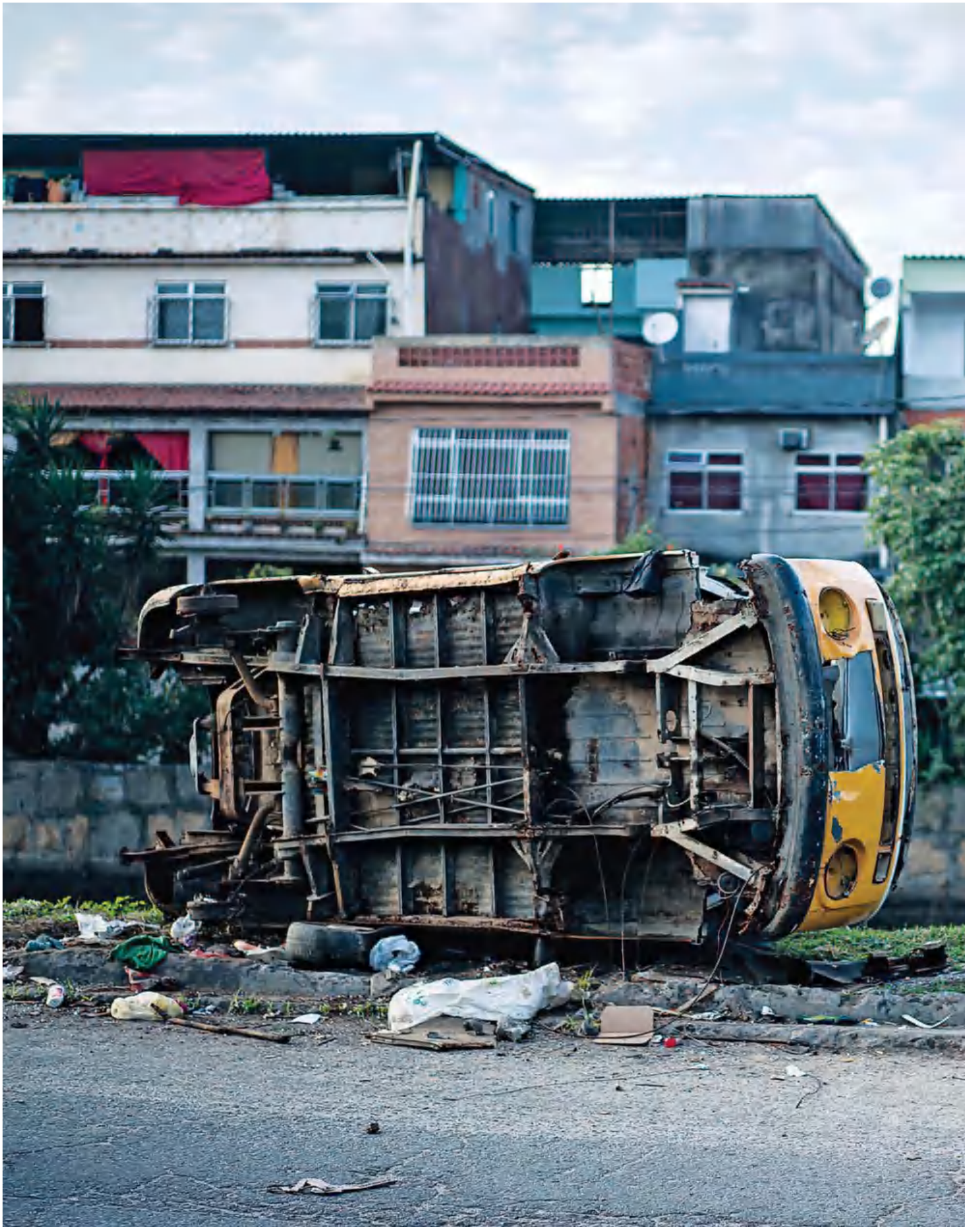
DAVID J. PHILLIP/AP

USA

Herd Mentality

Chenango, Texas—Cattle are herded through floodwaters toward higher ground on June 4. Governor Greg Abbott toured flooded areas south of Houston and said he had started the process for emergency aid, after days of rainfall raised river water levels to record-breaking heights. "I saw some neighborhoods that were literally islands, completely surrounded by water," he told reporters. On June 2, nine soldiers from the Fort Hood army base were killed when their vehicle overturned in floodwaters during a training exercise. Thousands of homes and three prisons were evacuated due to the flooding.

DAVID J. PHILLIP



FELIPE DANA/AP

BRAZIL

The Road to Rio

Rio de Janeiro—Popole Misenga, a refugee who fled the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 2013 and sought asylum in Brazil, jogs near his home on May 27 as he trains for the Olympic judo competition. Misenga is one of 10 athletes on the first team of refugees to compete under the five-ring Olympic flag. Last year, International Olympic Committee President Thomas Bach announced that refugees would be invited to participate at the games for the first time.

FELIPE DANA

TRUST US. WE'RE POLITICIANS

Voters don't seem to care about whether candidates tell the truth—and that may not be so bad

LESLIE RZEZNIK was excited to vote for Hillary Clinton in the 2008 Democratic primary, hoping to see America elect its first female president. But this year, when her state's primary came, the 54-year-old of Canton, Michigan, chose Clinton's opponent, Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders. A key reason among many for her: "I don't feel like she's the same candidate she was in 2008," Rzeznik says. "I really don't trust Hillary."

I just don't trust her. This has become a familiar refrain for Democratic voters this election cycle. Just 19 percent of respondents to an April NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll described Hillary Clinton as "honest and trustworthy." And Donald Trump? More than 70 percent of voters in an April AP/GFK poll said the word "honest" describes him only slightly or not at all.

And yet, barring some shocker between now and July, American voters will choose either the scandal-plagued and supposedly prevaricating Clinton or the blustering and often buffoonish Trump to be their next president. "I look at a lot of polling data," says Karlyn Bowman, a public opinion analyst and senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. "It's amazing that anyone would vote for these two people."

At one time, questions about integrity could sink a presidential candidate, even if they were unfair. Al Gore's claim in a 1999 CNN interview that he "took the initiative in creating the internet" fed perceptions of him as a serial exaggerator. John Kerry couldn't shake the "flip-flopper" label in 2004. And Mitt Romney's support for universal health care in Massachusetts torpedoed his credibility as a true conservative in 2012. Today, we still say we care about trust: February YouGov poll that ranked Clinton and Trump worst on trust asked voters what they wanted in a candidate. For Republicans, trust tied with "has policy proposals I agree with." For Democrats, trust came in third but only 2 points behind "has the experience to be president."

But at the ballot box, honesty doesn't seem to matter as much. This is partly a function of

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BRIAN SNYDER/REUTERS

HELLO, MUDDER: Trump has a distinctive way of overcoming his high negatives among voters: He loudly and frequently smears all his opponents.

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THE TRUST BELT: Democrats rank "trustworthy" only third on the list of qualities they look for in a presidential candidate.

MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY

some broad changes in the American electorate and partly a coincidence, in that these two candidates are overcoming their glaring trust problems. With voters more polarized than ever before, and with their trust in the government and other institutions at a nadir, many have begun to rank trust lower on their list of desired political attributes. Or perhaps they've set it aside altogether. At the same time, both of these two very different candidates have managed to convince voters of this: You don't have to trust me, but you should still pick me.

This is a huge change.

THE POLAR(IZED) EXPRESS

Whether they know it or not, American voters have for years been moving further and further away from valuing trustworthiness in their leaders, thanks to changes in our politics and the way we think.

The first issue is polarization: Voters committed to one political party or another tend to view their tribe as honest and righteous and the opposition as liars and wrong. Confirming the obvious, a 2014 Pew Research study found that Republicans and Democrats are more divided along ideological lines today than at any point in the last 20 years. A *Washington Post* poll found that among Republicans, 60 percent considered Trump "honest and trustworthy," but among American voters overall, 59 percent say the opposite. "True-blue and true-red partisans are happy with the present situation," says Stanford University political scientist Morris Fiorina. "But the less partisan portion of the electorate is less than thrilled."

But polarization alone doesn't explain why voters would choose two candidates who are so poorly trusted. Perhaps because Americans are increasingly overworked, stressed, checked-out or distracted by Facebook, they are relying on heuristics—mental shortcuts—to simplify the processing of information, wrote Yale University professor of psychology Dan Kahan in a July 2013 study on how voters think. This kind of fast, associative reasoning explains, for example, why people tend to overestimate the danger of a terrorist attack, rather than more common and more threatening dangers, like car accidents. Heuristics are problematic because they tend to reinforce existing bias, Kahan found. Gun control opponents staunchly believe more restrictions wouldn't have any impact on gun deaths, for example. When voters do some homework, he added, they tend to look for evidence that reinforces their already held ideologies. Conservatives who took a test measuring cognitive abilities in 2005 did no better or worse than liberals who took the same test, Kahan reported. In fact, those who scored highest on the test were the *most* likely to let their ideology motivate their thinking. Being smarter, in other words, doesn't make us more likely to rely on credible information.

Mental processing known as "post-decision dissonance" also helps us feel more satisfied with the choices we've made. In politics, "once voters put their support behind one candidate, they may start viewing that candidate as more trustworthy and alternatives as deceitful, lying scoundrels willing to say or do anything to win," Matt Motyl, a political psychology professor at the University of Illinois at Chicago, tells *Newsweek*. We choose quickly, then look for ways to justify that decision, even if it means rejecting plainly observable facts. Clinton's Benghazi scandal might be baseless, but millions of Americans seem to think there's a reason to be outraged. Trump's proposal for a wall at the Mexican border may be unrealistic, but the idea has propelled him toward the White House. And after we've made a choice, the loyalty only grows: A 2001 study in the journal *Political Psychology* showed that for no discernible reason voters became more enamored with candidates not only after voting for them but also after they won an election.

> "IT'S AMAZING THAT ANYONE WOULD VOTE FOR THESE TWO PEOPLE."

So we think less and vote more predictably, according to whatever club we've joined. But Americans also don't care about trust because, to some degree, it isn't really there anymore. Overall, trust in government is at or near historical lows. When a *Washington Post*/ABC News poll asked Americans in September if "most people in politics" can or can't be trusted, 72 percent of respondents checked "can't."

"Americans have always associated politics with corruption," Bowman says. "We would prefer our politicians to be honest rather than not honest, but maybe we've defined *honesty* and *trustworthiness* down." Trust numbers for other institutions have dropped precipitously as well, from organized religions to big business to schools. This has impacted our political choices; we simply shrug and choose our candidates based on other factors.

Clinton and Trump have done their best to encourage that phenomenon. Both candidates have found a way to overcome voters' distrust of them in different ways.

Clinton's big problem is baggage—the stench left behind after decades of scandals dating back to the 1990s, be they legitimate or trumped up. So her approach in 2016 is to try to convince voters that scandal-mongering Republicans are to blame—the *attacks* are causing the public perception, not her actions. "Read behavioral science, read psychology," Clinton told MSNBC's Rachel Maddow in February. "Even when all the attacks prove to be unfounded, untrue, it leaves a residue."

Trump's tactic is markedly different. He just calls everyone else out and gives them negative nicknames, from "Lyin' Ted Cruz" to "Crooked Hillary." He tweeted in April that Clinton is "perhaps the most dishonest person to have ever run for the presidency." Whether he's wrong or not doesn't much matter, and his supporters either agree with him or they don't care if he's being honest. "To the extent that people are using Trump as a way of venting about their general unhappiness, trust is irrelevant," Fiorina says. "They're just trying to send a message that they're tired of being taken for granted and screwed by both sides." Or as Shapiro puts it, "Trust matters, but in the context of this competition between these two candidates, it matters less."

It may simply be coincidence, then, that 2016's front-runners are Trump and Clinton, and that we've picked them because we care more about other traits than trust. Georgetown University linguistics professor Deborah Tannen argues that trust still matters, and that voters find Clinton inauthentic, though perhaps unfairly. If they didn't, she says, Sanders wouldn't be nearly as competitive as he is. "If it wasn't for this 'I don't trust her, I don't like her' she would have totally galloped over Sanders," Tannen tells *Newsweek*. "Even he didn't expect to be a serious candidate." While Sanders is more trusted, Democrats believe Clinton is more electable and better prepared to be commander in chief. An ABC poll in January (when Clinton's overall lead against Sanders was much higher nationally) found Clinton with an 18-point edge on handling the economy, up 21 percent on managing health care and 29 points on immigration issues.

General elections tend to involve personal characteristics less than other measures too. Voters often pick their president not based on who that person is but on "issue proximity," i.e., "how the economy has been very recently," notes Ariel Malka, a psychology professor at Yeshiva University.

"Trustworthiness sounds so important, but voters can be forgiven for not necessarily prioritizing honesty and trustworthiness over how strong a leader someone is, how competent they are," he says. "A voter might assume they're all kind of dishonest and sellouts, in a way, but that they're under institutional constraints that prevent them from lying about everything."

> TRUMP TWEETED THAT CLINTON IS "PERHAPS THE MOST DISHONEST PERSON TO HAVE EVER RUN FOR THE PRESIDENCY."

So what happens in November if Americans are forced to choose between two candidates they don't trust or even like very much? They may stay home. "This might portend a low-turnout, cranky general election, based on which candidate voters dislike the most," says Will Friedman, president of the nonpartisan research firm Public Agenda. Rzeznik is certain she'll vote in November, and if Clinton is the Democratic nominee, it'll be for her. "I think she's as dishonest as the next politician," Rzeznik says with a sigh. "She's a weather vane, blown into one direction and following it. But given a choice between her and a Republican, I would definitely choose her." As will staunch conservatives probably choose Trump. In a race to the bottom, the next president will be the one we hate less. N

'I Have a Stream'

AMERICANS SPEND BILLIONS ON DVDS, BUT ONLINE SERVICES ARE GROWING FAST

Long ago, before Netflix, Hulu and Amazon Prime, gadgets called VCRs roamed the earth. Do you remember? They were rectangular boxes that plugged into televisions, and if a videocassette (a smaller box with spools of film) was inserted into a slot in the player, a film would play on your set—that is, as long as whoever watched it last was kind enough to rewind. Most VCRs now sit on the dusty bottom shelves of thrift stores or are buried in garages, because someone figured out how to put movies onto shining, reflective discs called DVDs, and then we all bought flat, rectangular boxes to play them.

Thanks to online streaming, DVD players may soon join VCRs on those dusty shelves. The amount of money consumers have been spending on DVDs has been declining steadily for the past 10 years. In 2016, consumers are expected to spend 7 and 10 percent less on DVD sales and rentals, respectively, than they did in 2015. It's kind of like when young people notice that their parents are acting like grandparents.

But just because Dad loses his keys more often than he used to doesn't mean you should reserve a room in the retirement home. Americans are still projected to spend $8.42 billion on DVD sales and rentals in 2016, versus $6.62 billion on video-streaming services. Tech-savvy Americans who cut the cord long ago may have a hard time believing DVDs still reign supreme, but plenty of Americans haven't embraced on-demand streaming. For those who weren't weaned on the internet, the rapid progression of entertainment technology can be hard to grasp. But despite DVDs' lead, projected 2016 streaming revenue is up 22 percent just from 2015.

While that is less than the streaming industry saw in 2015—the first year growth slowed—it's mostly a testament to how staggering the growth was in the first place. The market for streaming video may have reached a saturation level, but it will continue to expand. At least for 2016, though, plenty of American families are still dropping those shining, reflective discs into their DVD players. Now, to figure out which of their TV's aux channels will play the movie...

SOURCE: STRATEGY ANALYTICS

BY
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ILLUSTRATION BY HARRY CAMPBELL

WHEN A GIANT ROAMED THE EARTH

Muhammad Ali was a colossus of sports and culture

ON THE MORNING of September 6, 1960, Cassius Clay was having breakfast with a few buddies inside the Olympic Village in Rome. The night before, Clay, 18, had defeated 25-year-old Ziggy Pietrzykowski of Poland in the light-heavyweight boxing gold medal match, igniting the flame of his magnificent pugilistic career. As Clay sat in the dining hall with a few members of the U.S. contingent, heavyweight world champion Floyd Patterson entered the room.

"Watch this," Clay told his friends, and then, as recounted in *Rome 1960* by David Maraniss, he grabbed a knife and fork and leaped on the table. "I'm having you next!" the brash teenager bellowed at the heavyweight champ as everyone, including Patterson, burst into laughter. "I'm having you for dinner!"

Muhammad Ali, born Cassius Clay, died in Phoenix on June 3 at age 74 of respiratory illness and complications related to Parkinson's disease. Some kings wear crowns. The Greatest simply wore a heavyweight championship belt.

Few athletes have been as dominant in their chosen sport: Ali was a three-time heavyweight champ whose career spanned three decades. He had a 55-2 record before losing three of his final four bouts, ill-advised fights he accepted long after he should have made his egress from the ring. Of those first two blemishes on his career record, though, losses to Joe Frazier and Ken Norton, Ali would find redemption by later beating each of those men—twice. (He beat Patterson too, five years after he stood atop that table.)

Boxing was his occupation, but Ali was a colossus of culture. He was by far the most charismatic athlete of the 20th century: passionate and ebullient, articulate and garrulous, self-absorbed but self-aware. He was undaunted by the stature of his opponents or by the divisive racial years during which he entered his prime. At a time when leaders of the civil rights movement were marching peacefully, locking arms and singing "We Shall Overcome," Ali was standing defiantly over the prone figures of boxers he'd dispatched and unapologetically proclaiming, "I am the Greatest of all time!"

He was introduced to America during those 1960 Summer Olympics, in the waning hours of the Eisenhower era, a time when athletic vainglory was intensely frowned upon, particularly if it emanated from a "Negro" athlete. Ali repeatedly declared that he was pretty—and he was. He said he was gonna "whup" whomever he fought—and he did. As early as 1964, before his first heavyweight title bout, versus Sonny Liston, he proclaimed himself "the Greatest." And he was.

Outspoken and untamable, Ali rocked everyone who dared meet him inside the ring—he won his first 31 pro bouts before succumbing to Frazier in 1971—and anyone who dared to do so outside it. He was equally at ease releasing a

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THE POPULIST: Ali was a Pied Piper wherever he went, and even celebrities jockeyed to meet him, and were often starstruck when they did.

RICHARD GORDON/CHICAGO HISTORY MUSEUM/GETTY

flurry of jabs with his fists or his tongue.

Listen to Ali, armed with only a high school diploma, in 1967, as he refused induction into the U.S. Army during the Vietnam War and went toe to toe with a group of white college students: "I'm not gonna help nobody get something my Negroes don't have. If I'm gonna die, I'm gonna die right now, right here, fightin' you. If I'm gonna die. You my enemy. My enemy's the white people, not the Viet Cong.... You my opposer when I want freedom. You my opposer when I want justice. You my opposer when I want equality. You won't even stand up for me in America for my religious beliefs, and you want me to go somewhere and fight, but you won't even stand up for me here at home."

(Ali was also, as an aside, the nation's first rap star. Soon after turning pro by signing with a consortium of white millionaires from his hometown of Louisville, Kentucky, Ali explained, "They got the complexions and connections to give me good directions." He described his modus operandi in a couplet, "Float like a butterfly, sting like a bee,"

HE WAS EQUALLY AT EASE RELEASING A FLURRY OF JABS WITH HIS FISTS OR HIS TONGUE.

and later in his career branded his bouts with a flourish, e.g. "The Rumble in the Jungle" and "The Thrilla in Manila." No one ever made boxing less grim or more poetic.)

In 1967, Ali was stripped of his heavyweight title and banned from boxing because of his refusal to be inducted into the armed services. He lost three years in the prime of his career when he decided not to fight for his country, a somewhat ironic happenstance, since seven years earlier, at the Olympics in Rome, he had done just that. And at those Olympics, when a reporter suggested to him that America was the land of intolerance, he replied, "Oh yeah, we've got some problems, but get this straight: It's still the best country in the world."

As a child of the 1970s, I worshipped Ali even though I was neither black nor much of a fighter. With his perfectly sculpted 6-foot-3 physique, that majestic countenance and those expressive eyes, he came across as more of a comic book superhero than a boxer to my friends and me ("the black Superman," as a popular song of the time labeled him). In those ABC *Wide World of Sports* interviews with Howard Cosell, his verbal sparring partner, Ali was playful and mischievous and always entertaining. (Cosell: "You're being extremely truculent." Ali: "Whatever *truculent* means, if that's good, then I'm that.")

My friends and I never thought of Ali as white or black; we just thought of him as unbeatable. Then he lost. The first defeat came to Frazier in March of 1971, only his third fight back following the three-year hiatus, a 15-rounder at Madison Square Garden. Two years later, in San Diego, he lost again. Ali entered the ring wearing a rhinestone robe, a gift from Elvis Presley, and left with a broken jaw, a gift from Ken Norton. He fought the final two rounds of the bout with the fractured mandible.

Ali's greatest moment in the ring was still ahead of him. He was 32 and no longer as quick or graceful as he had been when he stepped into the ring in Zaire against George Foreman, 25. A 6-foot-4 beast, Foreman was unbeaten (40-0) and in the previous two years had disposed of both Frazier and Norton in less than two rounds. The Greatest was finally the true underdog; he had at last met someone bigger, stronger and younger than he. But not smarter.

In the Rumble in the Jungle, which began at 4 a.m. local time to accommodate pay-per-view American audiences, Ali introduced his "rope-a-dope" strategy, allowing Foreman to pin him against the ropes and exhaust himself throwing punch after punch after punch. Ali tucked himself into the ropes, protecting his face with his 8-ounce Everlast gloves as he patiently waited Foreman out in the simmering jungle heat and humidity.

"Maybe this could be the tactic of Ali," said ringside announcer Bob Sheridan with 30 seconds remaining in the eighth round, "to let the man punch himself out." Ten seconds later, Ali connected on "a sneaky right hand." Eight seconds after that, Foreman was on the canvas.

There would be more fights, more purses and even one more colossal victory (versus Frazier in the Philippines), but Ali's final opponent was Parkinson's. He was diagnosed in 1984, and it slowly and cruelly robbed him of his physical abilities and later his ability to speak. In these last 32 years, though, Ali became, as *The New York Times* called him, a "secular saint," an international ambassador of goodwill.

In Ali's adopted home state of Arizona, where he resided for the last 20 years of his life, he partnered with a few local philanthropists to host an annual event, Fight Night, which has raised more than $100 million for the fight against Parkinson's. In Phoenix, the Muhammad Ali Parkinson Center is at the forefront in terms of research and therapy in battling the crippling neurological disease, for which there is no cure.

> "WHATEVER *TRUCULENT* MEANS, IF THAT'S GOOD, THEN I'M THAT."

Ali's legacy transcends every sport, every geopolitical border and every language. He was a creature immune to self-doubt and a fighter who seemed to embrace, or at least enthrall, every person he met. Immediately after knocking out Liston in February of 1964 to win his first heavyweight title, Ali stepped to a microphone in the ring and repeatedly declared, "I shook up the world!"

That he did. And a world that needed shaking is in his debt. N

KAVALAN PUTS TAIWAN ON MAP

HUGE COPPER STILLS handmade by whisky stills maker Forsyth, of Speyside, dominate the floor like giant chess pieces over a chequered board. Next door in a dimly-lit cellar, some of the world's best whisky sleeps in 50,000 wooden casks until it is bottled for distribution to discerning drinkers all around the world. The scene is no different from whisky distilleries all over Scotland, with bell-bottomed copper stills twinned with two-storey "washbacks" and massive vats capable of holding tens of thousands of litres. But walk outside and not a single thistle or clump of bluebells is in sight, nor

the chilly bracing air of the rugged highlands. Instead, there are 37-degree temperatures and an intense humidity in high summer, with the palm trees and semi tropical vegetation associated with Yilan County, in Taiwan.

Here, 10,000km east of the British Isles, Kavalan makes award-winning whiskies. Named after one of Taiwan's oldest indigenous tribes, Kavalan can mature its product in about four years—a fraction of the 10 years needed for the best Scotch. Experts agree the quality is just as good.

TROPHY CABINET

AT THE RECENT 2016 World Whiskies Awards (WWA) in London Kavalan's Solist Amontillado Sherry beat off global competition to win the "World's Best Single Cask Single Malt." Matured in American oak sherry butts, the single malt was described by judges as: *"Hints of raisin and coconut on the nose, but essentially what we have here is a toffee smoking a cinnamon-flavoured cigar."* Last year, its Solist Vinho Barrique won the "World's Best Single Malt" which judges described as *"surprisingly smooth on the palate. It's like Bourbon-infused milk chocolate"*. The double feat—in consecutive years or non-consecutively—has only ever been achieved once by one other brand. Kavalan's other recent tributes include "Best Distillery of the Year" at the 2015 International Wine and Spirit Competition and the WWA's "2015 Master Blender of the Year" for Ian Chang.

BUILDING A VISION

ELEVEN YEARS AGO, Kavalan was an out-of-this-world concept by Taiwanese family-owned drinks group King Car, best known for its Mr Brown Coffee. Mr. T. T. Lee had a vision to build the nation's first whisky distillery, using Scottish stills on a sprawling site in Yilan County on Taiwan's north east coast. With the recruitment of master blender Ian Chang—trained in the UK—and renowned Scottish drinks consultant Dr. Jim Swan, King Car began constructing its whisky-making operation. Lantern-shaped copper stills

The CEO of King Car Group Mr. Y. T. Lee and his father Mr. T. T. Lee, international whisky consultant Dr. Jim Swan and master blender Ian Chang (From left to right).

were handmade by Forsyths and imported from Scotland together with a stainless steel mash tun, copper top and eight stainless steel washbacks for fermentation.

FIRST RIPPLES

MOVE FORWARD to eight years ago, and Kavalan was considered an upstart in global competitions. The idea of whisky being made in Taiwan, the home of high-tech electronics, was dismissed. Yet the first ripples were felt when The Times of London held a blind taste-testing in honour of Scottish poet and icon Robert Burns. Intending "mischief," The Times wanted to put the wind up some stuffy old scotches with a new English whisky's arrival. But mischief, as ever, was to spring from an unexpected corner: Kavalan won the taste-testing resoundingly, to the horror of the assembled whisky elite. The

paper instead found itself reporting about a far darker horse's unthinkable result. As Kavalan was only three years old at the time, the story became the stuff of whisky folklore.

SKY'S THE LIMIT

TODAY, THE 10-YEAR-OLD Kavalan has released 17 expressions and filled its trophy chest with more than 180 awards. It is available in 39 countries including France, UK, Belgium, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, the U.S., Russia, South Africa and Australia. The distillery produces 5 million bottles annually with 10 stills. This capacity is set to double in 2017 with the import of another 10 Scottish stills to 10 million bottles. Under the CEO Mr. Y. T. Lee's stewardship, Kavalan has gained global recognition for its smooth taste and complex flavor, a result of Taiwan's intense humidity. The next 10 and 20 years herald Kavalan's expansion to all corners of the world, as well as the fortification of a new Asian whisky homeland, while making corporate social responsibility contributions to give back to society. Kavalan's ambition is to place Taiwan on the global map, showing the world that extraordinary, world-class whisky is produced in Taiwan. ■

THE BUGS FROM BRAZIL

Experts say the Olympics should be postponed or moved because of Zika

IN AUGUST, Rio de Janiero will host roughly 10,000 Olympic athletes and more than a million spectators, including 500,000 from abroad. A significant number of them will become infected with Zika. The question is: How serious will the consequences be?

With Brazil in the midst of a Zika outbreak that the World Health Organization (WHO) says has infected up to 1.5 million people, more than 200 health experts wrote an open letter in May calling for the games to be postponed or relocated—options that would be extraordinarily challenging only two months before the opening ceremony is slated to commence but not impossible.

BY
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+

HOST BUSTERS: Municipal workers get ready to spray insecticides at Rio's Sambadrome, home of the Olympics archery competition, hoping to kill Zika-bearing pests.

PILAR OLIVARES/REUTERS

International Olympic Committee Director General Christophe De Kepper was upbeat about Rio at an IOC-WHO meeting in May, saying, "We are fully confident that the measures taken by Brazil will provide safe conditions."

The WHO says the virus will spread regardless of whether the games go ahead and has not recommended a change of venue or cancellation, raising concerns it is sacrificing health to commercialism. "There is an opportunity to postpone," says professor Arthur Caplan, a bioethics expert and the head of the NYU Langone Medical Center's Division of Medical Ethics. "It would be expensive and difficult, but it seems to me to be morally required because of these risks."

Caplan warns that the IOC could be liable. "The IOC is setting itself up, and so are the athletic federations, for a pretty hefty lawsuit if something goes wrong, since the WHO has immunity from lawsuits as an agency of the United Nations," he says.

Most people who contract Zika, which is spread by mosquitoes, recover with no lasting effects. But some pregnant women who contracted the virus have had babies with microcephaly, and some people develop the potentially devastating disease Guillain-Barré syndrome.

The IOC has advised national Olympic committees to follow WHO guidance. The WHO recommends insect repellent, light-colored clothing from head to toe and safe sex during a visit and for at least four weeks afterward. (After it became clear that Zika could also be spread by sexual contact, the IOC said it would distribute 450,000 Olympic condoms.) Pregnant women are also advised not to travel to Zika-infected areas.

The Zika crisis comes amid trying times for Brazil: The crime rate is high, President Dilma Rousseff has just been suspended from office pending impeachment, and the real has plummeted because of the country's prolonged economic slump. Rio Mayor Eduardo Paes, speaking to reporters in May, played down the Zika threat but said no one should expect the city to be "first world."

No teams have canceled, but several athletes have, including golfers Marc Leishman of Australia and Vijay Singh of Fiji. Experts question why the burden is on athletes to decide. "Saying the athletes can choose is disingenuous—they rely on their coaches and authorities to tell them if it is safe," says Caplan.

Cameron Myler, a four-time Olympic luger and former member of the U.S. Olympic Committee, is a lawyer and an NYU School of Continuing and Professional Studies professor of sports management who dismisses the suggestion that the IOC would be liable: "Athletes have been provided information about the risks of the virus, so if they choose to travel to Rio and participate in the games, they will be assuming those risks."

Although the U.S. swim team opted not to train in Puerto Rico because of U.S. government warnings about Zika, the swimmers still plan to attend the games: "We are all taking the necessary precautions to make sure that athlete safety is the primary responsibility and priority," says Scott Leightman, the USA Swimming communications director.

University of Ottawa professor Amir Attaran, one of the health experts who drafted the open letter in May, says swimmers might be safer than visitors. "I am much less concerned about the athletes than the tourists," he says. "They are going to be visiting crowded neighborhoods, some of which will be slums where the disease is stratospherically high, and they are going to get infected."

> "YOU ARE SAYING...'WE DON'T CARE IF THERE ARE GOING TO BE BRAIN-DAMAGED KIDS; THERE'S BUSINESS TO BE DONE.'"

In an article in the *Harvard Public Health Review* that documented how the Zika outbreak is flourishing, Attaran said Rio has the most suspected Zika cases in Brazil, 26,000, and a rate of 195 per 100,000. He examined a similar mosquito-borne disease, dengue fever, to learn from historic patterns how the relatively new Zika virus might behave: "Since this year, when Rio began its intensified efforts against mosquitos, dengue has gone up, not down," he

concluded. He said dengue was an excellent proxy for learning about Zika since it is transmitted by the same mosquito species—the *Aedes aegypti*. "In the first quarter of 2016, there is 600 percent more dengue cases than in the first quarter of 2015," he said. "So all the promises that 'we've controlled it in Rio' are false."

Brazilian Health Minister Ricardo Barros went to Geneva in late May to speak with the IOC and the WHO; he presented data that the virus-carrying *A. aegypti* mosquito is less common during the cooler and drier months of the Brazilian winter. But that is disputed in the *International Journal of Infectious Diseases* by a dozen public health experts, who concluded that Zika transmission in Brazil can occur all months of the year.

"The point is not whether you as an individual are lucky [enough to avoid getting Zika]. The point is that you are moving in a half-million tourists to this event who are then going to all corners of the world," Attaran says. He warns that judgments on whether to proceed with the games seem to be based on money, not public health. "What you are basically saying is, 'Let's bring on the Olympics of brain damage for commercial opportunity. We don't care if there are going to be brain-damaged kids; there's business to be done,'" he says.

WHO'S IN CHARGE?

Dr. Margaret Chan, WHO director-general since 2006, has much experience with outbreaks, but as director of health of Hong Kong, she was criticized for underestimating avian flu and SARS, as she has been for WHO's slow response to Ebola.

Once again, Chan is trying to calm anxiety, but some experts question the WHO's independence. In late May, WHO directors voted to reduce restrictions on the influence private sector companies—read: Olympic sponsors—can have on the organization. Bill Jeffery, the executive director of the Centre for Health Science and Law in Ottawa, Ontario, says although the rules are designed to apply to technical cooperation rather than in developing standards and guidance on health issues, the change is "vulnerable to exposing the WHO to commercial influence if loosely applied by WHO staff." He likens it to "inviting foxes into the chicken coop."

Questions have also been raised about the WHO's relationship with the IOC—in particular, a memorandum of understanding between them in effect from 2010 to 2015 that was not made public. Under a subsequent agreement, the WHO provides public health advice to Brazil and the IOC.

Asked about possible conflicts of interest, Nyka Alexander, a media officer in the WHO Department of Communications, says, "It is quite the opposite."

Chan's comments on Zika have ranged from flippant to frightening. After initially expressing doubts about a link between Zika and microcephaly, in January she said Zika "went from a mild threat to one of alarming proportions" and that it qualified as a global health emergency. Three months later, when I ran into her at the U.N. headquarters, Chan remarked with a laugh, "If you're not pregnant, don't worry about Zika."

> "WE KEEP FINDING THAT [ZIKA] ISN'T BEHAVING LIKE WE EXPECT."

Even if organizers and sponsors are persuaded that it's not worth the risk of going ahead with the games in Rio, is it realistic to make a switch?

Some have floated the idea of splitting up the games into different sports in pre-existing Olympic stadiums in London, Beijing, Athens or Sydney, noting that many more people watch the games on television than in person, and for them it would make little difference to have multiple venues. But Jay Kriegel, former president and executive director of the New York City bid for the Olympics, says the games have to be in one place for logistical reasons. "In the old days, you might have been able to say, 'Let's wrap it up and go to Los Angeles because they are the most prepared and have all these facilities.'" Today, he says, it's not just the sponsors and ticket sales and airfares that have been paid for. Security in 2016 is key, he says, and organizers would never be able to make arrangements in such short time. He cites the threat of terrorism and years of discussions with the security services of all participating countries.

Former U.S. Olympic Committee Executive

PREGNANT PAUSE: Many experts still say Zika is only a real concern for pregnant women, although there is now a warning against unprotected sex for four weeks after visiting Brazil.

NACHO DOCE/REUTERS

Director Harvey Schiller says moving the games would be very difficult. He rules out Tokyo, saying the 2020 venue is not ready, and London, which has converted its Olympic sites since the 2012 Games. "The only city that may have the capacity would be Beijing," he says, adding that even that would be time-consuming and expensive. Beijing hosted the 2008 Summer Games and is due to host the 2022 Winter Games. He favors sticking with Rio.

Caplan worries that concerns about expense are outweighing other issues. "We keep finding out that [Zika] isn't behaving like we expect," he says. "First, we thought it was just women, then it turned out it was men, then it turned out you could get it into the blood supply, then it turned out that there were neurological things going on that were different from just being born with a small head—so it is clear we don't really understand it well."

Chan said something rather similar at a press conference in March: "The more we know, the worse things look."

TECH WAITS FOR NO MAN

WHY THE WORLD LOVES SILICON VALLEY... AND FEARS IT

BY KEVIN MANEY

SILICON VALLEY IS THE NEW ROME. AS IN THE TIME OF CAESAR,

the world is grappling with an advanced city-state dominating much of the planet, injecting its technology and ethos everywhere it lands and funneling enormous wealth back home.

Peter Thiel—tech investor, avowed monopolist, proponent of skipping college—has many of us wringing our hands about Silicon Valley's swelling wealth and influence. Thiel spent about $10 million to secretly fund an ex-wrestler's lawsuit against a salacious news-gossip website, allegedly as revenge, and that revelation set off panic about the ability of Silicon Valley and its billionaires to impose their will.

Thiel's is just one of many stories with a similar theme. Facebook got accused of muting conservative news on the site, stirring still more worries about media control and censorship. Meanwhile, Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg made Thiel look like a cheapskate when he paid $30 million to buy and tear down four homes around his residence, just so nobody can see into his windows. Look around the U.S and you find that Salesforce CEO Marc Benioff wielded the power to reverse an Indiana law that might have discriminated against the LGBT community, by threatening to abandon the state. The Donald Trump phenomenon has been largely fueled by voters angry that their jobs are getting reamed by technology.

Similar angst about California's peninsula of geeks and Ghirardelli has resulted in backlash around the globe. The European Commission is freaking out about Google and Netflix, China is pushing back against Apple, and India recently stopped a Facebook plan to offer free internet because the government felt India might lose control over its wireless infrastructure. "There are certain rules necessary to operate so India doesn't become a digital colony," Sharad Sharma of Bangalore think tank iSpirt told journalists.

And yet the Silicon Valley Empire is just getting started. A new generation of technologies such as artificial intelligence, 3-D printing and blockchain are about to cross the chasm from prototype to mainstream and challenge everything you know about manufacturing, money, services, national sovereignty and much else in your life. If you think there's been head-spinning change since 2007, when smartphones, social networks and cloud computing combined to usher in the current tech era, the next 10 years could short-circuit your cortex.

Is all this good or bad? The answer is as complex as asking the same question about the Roman Empire two millennia ago. It's nice for some; really sucks for others. We all hope it will be beneficial to humanity in the long run, but we might have to give it a couple of hundred years to really know.

GET USED TO THAT SUCKING SOUND

SILICON VALLEY loves to "disrupt" stuff, and it's now disrupting the world. Famed tech analyst Mary Meeker this month released her annual data dump about the industry. If you pick it apart, you can see Silicon Valley's ascendency in the global economy.

For instance, Meeker listed the 20 most valuable tech companies in 2015. Twelve were American, seven were in China, and one was in Japan. None came out of Europe or India or anywhere else. The U.S. companies represented 76 percent of the total market cap and 87 percent of the revenue. Of the dozen companies based in the U.S., just one is not in Silicon Valley (Priceline, based in Connecticut).

Here's a different way to see the tilt toward California: The number of internet users is growing faster in India than anywhere else in the world. Almost all of that growth is from people using mobile phones. The top three phone apps in India are owned by Facebook (Facebook, WhatsApp and Facebook Messenger), so no wonder India was worried about even more encroachment by the company. Also, almost all of India's mobile phones run on either Google's Android or Apple's iOS operating system. That means a significant proportion of India's most dynamic industry is sending money to Silicon Valley. That kind of thing is happening in every country except, like, North Korea.

In recent years, the payments going to Silicon Valley have been lurching into businesses that used to be non-digital and local. Uber shows how that works. It takes a 20 percent cut of the fare for every ride. In France, say, 100 percent of money spent on taxis used to stay in France. If Uber wins a significant chunk of France's taxi industry, 20 percent of that money will leave France. Now imagine that happening in industry after industry, country after country.

(Speaking of money cascading into Uber from abroad, the Saudis just pumped $3.5 billion into the company. They apparently could not find promising tech startups in their own country to invest in.)

Alphabet, Google's parent, controls 12 percent of all money spent globally on media advertising, according to *Adweek*. No company has ever controlled 12 percent of global ad spending! And there's no question Google is sucking serious money out of countries. In 2015, Google got 54 percent of its $75 billion in revenue from overseas.

In the macro picture, tech is one of the few economic sectors growing in any meaningful way any-

ALLISON JOYCE/REDUX

DON'T LKE THAT: The three biggest apps in India belong to Facebook, but India shot down the company's offer of free Wi-Fi, perhaps fearing it would lose control of its wireless infrastructure.

where in the world. Meeker's stats show that global growth of gross domestic product has been below average for six of the past eight years. So if global growth is stagnant and technology is hot, that means most other segments are *really* crappy. Since most of the money being made in technology is by companies based in Silicon Valley, it seems that it is driving a lot of the world's economic dynamism—and most of the world is paying Silicon Valley for it.

On the campaign trail, Trump keeps saying America is losing. But he's wrong: America is clearly winning in technology, big time. The problem is that a lot of America is not Silicon Valley, which is but a short stretch just south of San Francisco. Even within the United States, Silicon Valley is playing Rome, and the rest of us could wind up like Judea.

ANGST ABOUT CALIFORNIA'S PENINSULA OF GEEKS AND GHIRARDELLI HAS RESULTED IN BACKLASH AROUND THE GLOBE.

GEOGRAPHY IS DYNASTY

WE HAVE TWO Americas now: Atoms America and Bits America. Atoms America is manufacturing, retail, services, restaurants—old-school business you can see and touch. And it is in trouble. In May, job growth in the U.S. was the slowest in more than five years, according to federal data. Some 10,000 manufacturing jobs disappeared. For years now, middle-class wages have stagnated. A vast swath of people are seeing their jobs automated away by software. Trump's supporters tell pollsters they feel resentful and powerless. Voting for Trump is fighting back.

On the other side of this divide is Bits America. These are people who write code, analyze data, sell apps, invest in startups. The top talent in Bits America entertain bidding wars for their services. There are pockets of Bits America all over the country and high concentrations in places such as Boston, New York, Washington, D.C., and Seattle—each home to significant tech companies. Still, nothing in the Bits universe rivals Silicon Valley—land of peach-fuzz billionaires, rocketing housing prices and highways filled with Teslas, with Stanford University operating like the region's power plant for talent.

More money gets invested in more companies there. In the first quarter of this year, California

UBER HEX: French cab drivers tried to shut down Paris to protest the arrival of Uber, just one of many tech companies steadily sucking money out of Europe and into Silicon Valley.

companies—almost all in Silicon Valley—got $396 million in venture funding, nearly three times more than second-place New York ($149 million) and four times more than third-place Massachusetts ($90 million). And wealth created in that valley tends to stay home. Even when companies go public, it's not making people rich across the country. Look at the top 40 owners of Facebook stock. Almost all of them live in Silicon Valley. (Thiel, No. 7, owns 2.5 percent, worth more than $2 billion.)

When smart people from all over the world want to build a technology company, they go to Silicon Valley. The Collison brothers grew up in a small village in Ireland. Clearly brilliant, Patrick Collison left Ireland to go to MIT, and John Collison attended Harvard University. In 2010, the brothers started digital payments company Stripe and in 2011 got $2 million in funding from three Silicon Valley venture investors: Sequoia Capital, Andreessen Horowitz and... Thiel. Stripe is now worth more than $5 billion. It's not based in Ireland or Boston. It's in San Francisco.

Silicon Valley's momentum is not slowing. I talk to a lot of Bay Area investors. Ten or 15 years ago, they were flying to China and India, looking for promising investments, and some set up branches around the U.S. Now many think they don't need to go beyond a 50-mile circle around Palo Alto. Most of the talent of any consequence is there already or will go there.

For his book *The New Geography of Jobs,* Enrico Moretti, an economics professor at the University of California, Berkeley, crunched data and found that, counterintuitively in this connected age, geography matters a great deal in the tech industry. "In innovation, a company's success depends on more than just the quality of its workers—it also depends on the entire ecosystem around it," Moretti wrote. "It makes it harder to delocalize innovation than traditional manufacturing." An industry like steel or shoes can move to where labor and resources are cheaper. Tech industries need to coalesce in a few places, and Silicon Valley is the most powerful magnet of them all.

TAKE IT ALL APART

IN 2015, the media ogled "unicorns"—private tech companies valued at more than $1 billion. Private valuations got a little crazy. The word *bubble* surfaced. Meeker popped all that bubble babble. "There are pockets of internet company overvaluation," she said last year. "But there are also pockets of undervaluation. Very few companies will win. Those that do can win big."

We describe it another way in *Play Bigger*, the new book I co-wrote with three Silicon Valley startup advisers. Our highly networked age has created an environment where one company tends to develop and then dominate a new category of business (as Facebook, Airbnb, VMware and many others have

done) and win big over time. Silicon Valley is the best region in the world at generating these category kings, and new ones will become the most valuable companies of the next generation.

It's probable that the coming category kings will dwarf our Facebooks and Googles. Artificial intelligence is a game-changing technology, much like cloud-based apps over the past five years. It will be the basis for inventions we can hardly imagine now. (How about an AI-driven tiny drone that learns to buzz around and keep an eye on a building, replacing security guards? It's coming!) And 3-D printing will get good enough so that a company like Nike will no longer make shoes in Asia and ship them back to the U.S. Instead, it will "print" them in a network of thousands of small factories peppered throughout cities and towns—so you can pick up your ready-made sneakers locally. Blockchain—the complex technology behind bitcoin—is only beginning to remake the financial industry. Virtual reality will get good enough to reinvent stuff like tourism, sports and doctor's office visits. Biotech, robotics—an incredible array of technology is ready to burst upon us.

The impact will dramatic. Hemant Taneja of Global Catalyst Partners says we're heading into a "global application rewrite." We are about to take apart every product and service in the world and put it back together with data, AI and all this other new stuff.

Sure, some of the companies that take advantage will come from places that are not Silicon Valley. Much-ballyhooed virtual reality startup Magic Leap is in Florida. Some important financial tech based on blockchain is coming from New York. But Silicon Valley hosts the majority of companies beginning to drive the global application rewrite. As Meeker said, the few that dominate new businesses will win big over time, all over the world, making it harder than ever for other places to catch up.

So let's go back to whether this is good or bad.

If you pick up your mobile phone, you'll see a lot on there that you used to pay for and now comes free or cheap. You have a camera and a flashlight, both of which you used to buy. News is free—no need to buy a newspaper. International calls are cheap on Skype. Music—free or cheap on Spotify.

That device is just one example of the impact of technology and globalization. It's increasingly making more things cheap or free, in many ways lowering our cost of living. That works on physical goods too—tech and global manufacturing are why you can buy nice clothes at H&M for way less than similar items cost 20 years ago. Technology will only accelerate this trend. Mike Maples, partner at tech investment company Floodgate, tells me we're heading into an age of abundance, when we'll have access to much more for much less than ever before. We'll live better lives on less money. Which seems quite good.

TECH IS ONE OF THE FEW ECONOMIC SECTORS GROWING IN ANY MEANINGFUL WAY ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD.

However, as Moretti's data shows that same dynamic crushes the middle class by killing jobs and shrinking salaries. If more stuff is free or cheap, fewer people can earn money making and selling things. Instead, when something gets reduced to a cloud-based app, relatively few people can make it and sell it around the planet—and rake in all the money. Consider maps. Lots of companies used to print them, and lots of stores sold them. Today, there's one consumer map company that matters globally: Google, based in Mountain View, California. Google gets all the map money, and most of those map jobs are gone.

For much of the world outside of Silicon Valley, the bad is starting to feel worse than the good. We love our phones and apps and cheap things, but we don't like feeling economically marginalized. A move like Thiel's against Gawker adds to the sense that an elite few have all the leverage. Books like Martin Ford's *Rise of the Robots* suggest that technology will replace most of our jobs. Trump has tapped into middle-class anxiety about the future. So has Bernie Sanders, although someone should tell him he's fighting yesterday's war—the easy capitalist villains going forward aren't going to be on Wall Street but up and down California's 101. (Sanders this month drew 4,000 to a rally in Palo Alto, where housing prices and income inequality are leaving non-millionaires behind.)

If you put all the current trends together, it seems obvious Silicon Valley will become the most powerful place on earth at the expense of just about everywhere else on earth. The one thing that might derail the Silicon Valley express would be something like the Russian Revolution, in which the workers rise up against the autocracy. That doesn't seem imminent, but it's a possibility Silicon Valley needs to embrace and counter, or at best it's going to wind up fending off escalating attacks from governments, activists and the frustrated masses. The industry's nightmare would be getting regulated like electricity and telecommunications—industries that once invented cutting-edge technologies but turned into sleepy bureaucracies under government rule.

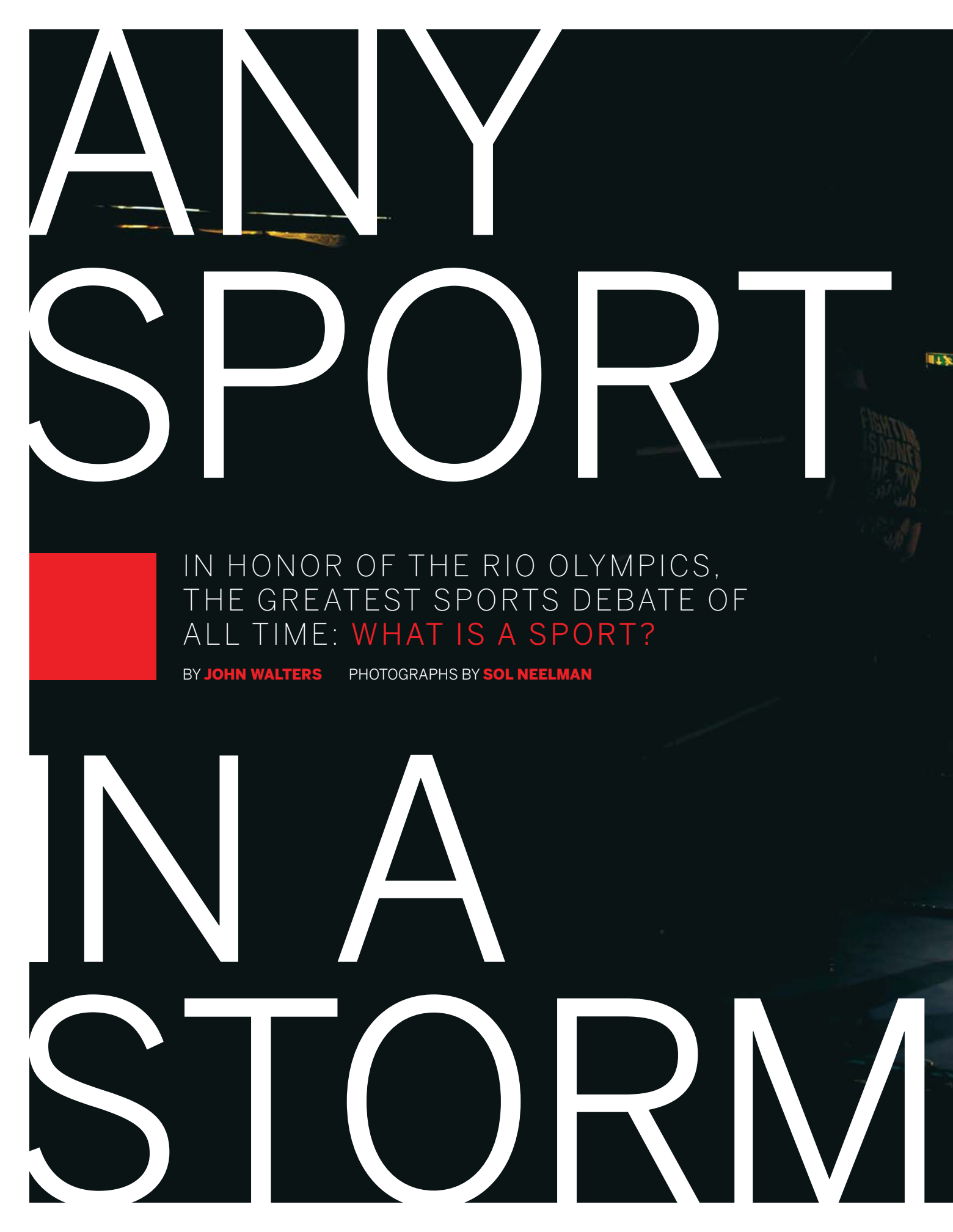
For decades, tech's movers and shakers have focused almost solely on developing innovations and building companies. In this next chapter, they must make certain the rest of the world prospers too, or somewhere down the line Peter Thiel might find himself fiddling while things get hot all around him. N

CHRISTOPHE PETIT TESSON/EPA

ANY SPORT IN A STORM

IN HONOR OF THE RIO OLYMPICS, THE GREATEST SPORTS DEBATE OF ALL TIME: WHAT IS A SPORT?

BY **JOHN WALTERS** PHOTOGRAPHS BY **SOL NEELMAN**



PAWN-TIFICATING: Chessboxing has a diabolic logic to it, a brain/brawn brawl: a round of chess followed by a round of boxing. Rinse, repeat until someone scores a knockout or a checkmate.

IT WAS A SPECTACLE, ALL RIGHT. THE 100TH RUNNING OF THE INDIANAPOLIS 500, WHICH WAS STAGED OVER MEMORIAL DAY WEEKEND, MARKED THE FIRST SELLOUT IN THE HISTORY OF WHAT IS KNOWN AS THE GREATEST SPECTACLE IN RACING.

Approximately 350,000 people witnessed rookie driver Alexander Rossi taking the checkered flag in Speedway, Indiana, making it the largest attended single-day sporting event in history.

Or was it? Speedway, a suburb of Indianapolis, is a town of fewer than 15,000 whose roads are not ideally suited to accommodate the sudden influx of thousands of vehicles of all sizes. Cars, trucks and RVs arranged bumper to bumper snaked in lines 2 miles long outside the Indianapolis Motor Speedway. Thus, an attendee of this latest Indy 500 sat in hours of traffic in the pursuit of watching hours of traffic. Where does commuting end and sport begin? "We think it's a sport if the machine is a car?" asks David Goldblatt, author of *The Games: A Global History of the Olympics*. "Why have we invested so much of our identities in the internal combustion engine? I've never heard anything so ridiculous in all my life."

To be fair to Goldblatt, a cheeky Brit, he was discussing Formula One racing, a close cousin of IndyCar racing. And to be fair to auto racing, we are not here to vilify its worthiness as a sport. Rather, we come to ask a more rudimentary question: What is sport?

Last month, ESPN, the self-proclaimed "Worldwide Leader in Sports," televised both the Indy 500 and the Scripps National Spelling Bee, as it has done for years. Next month, it will air both the World Series of Poker and the Nathan's Hot Dog Eating Contest. This month, ESPN is airing the NBA Finals and a plethora of Major League Baseball, both "traditional" sports, but are they any more or less valid than the aforementioned endeavors?

"Does it matter?" asks Scott Van Pelt, host of ESPN's midnight *SportsCenter* telecast. "If people are enjoying, if they are keeping score, isn't that enough?"

Two summers ago, ESPN3 streamed the world championships of *Dota* 2, a popular video game, that were being held in front of 17,000-plus fans at KeyArena in Seattle. In September of that year, ESPN President John Skipper famously said of the event, "It's not a sport—it's a competition. Chess is a competition. Checkers is a competition. Mostly, I'm interested in doing real sports."

Skipper's words drew a generational line in the sand. Two months earlier, the United States government had decided to grant professional gamers, as they are known, the same travel visas it grants to professional athletes. Uncle Sam says esports are a sport, even if the head of the Worldwide Leader in Sports

disagrees with him. And Skipper's not the only one. "Gamers, you know, pffft," says Goldblatt, who teaches a course on the Olympics at Pitzer College in Claremont, California, where many of his students are esport enthusiasts. "Are they sports? It's just like, *thumbs*, man. Esports is just people using their thumbs. I'm not enjoying the thumbs."

Cheese-rolling. Pole-vaulting. Wife-carrying. Figure skating. Cup-stacking. Bobsledding. Ferret-legging. Golf. Somewhere someone right now is endeavoring to become more proficient at every one of these activities. Half the sports on that list are imbued with the prestige and promise of an Olympic medal, but is there anything more intrinsically worthy about performing a triple salchow than there is about keeping an angry

WHAT'S THE FREQUENCY, KEN? There are no brakes in extreme Barbie Jeep racing, and little common sense, apparently.

"YOU KNOW WHY THEY HAVE JOCKEYS? BECAUSE HORSES DON'T LOOK AT ONE ANOTHER AND SAY, 'LET'S RACE!'"

ferret inside your trousers for two minutes?

The upcoming Summer Olympics from Rio de Janeiro will feature 306 different events in 42 sports, or so the official Rio2016.com site tells us. But how many of those sports, such as synchronized swimming or equestrian events, do you consider a sport? "If someone invented gymnastics today," says Goldblatt, "it would just be a specialized form of Zumba."

Each of us brings our biases and tastes to the question of whether any activity is a sport. Most of us require less time to decide than Stephen Curry needs to get off a three-pointer. "Chess is as pure a sport as there is because it is in no way left up to the judgment of other people," says Tim Crothers, a former senior writer at *Sports Illustrated* who teaches sports journalism at the University of North Carolina. "At the bottom of the barrel, you have figure skating, which is just an exhibition judged by people we have no trust in."

Crothers is adamant that chess is a sport, while Amelia Boone, the world's premier female obstacle racer, is just as adamant that it is not. How about a cheerleading contest? "Yes," says Boone.

"In high school, I wrote a column titled 'Cheerleading Is Not

BLUFFING WILL BE SEVERELY PUNISHED: The winner in convict poker is the last person still at the table after the bull has "played his hand."

a Sport,'" says best-selling sports book author Jeff Pearlman. "The next day in the cafeteria, I was surrounded by a group of angry cheerleaders. That was the greatest thing, to that point in my life, that had ever happened to me."

Pearlman does not believe golf is a sport, but Van Pelt, a former Golf Channel studio host, insists it is. "Before you even factor in striking the ball, just walk 7,500 yards in one afternoon," he says, "and see how sore you'll be the next day. Oh, and then I'll play poorly on top of that.

"A spelling bee is not a sport, though. For starters, it's an antiquated skill. If I spell something incorrectly, a red line just pops up under the word."

"How can a spelling bee be a sport?" asks Goldblatt. "Even Stephen Hawking can win a spelling bee."

Angela Gleason teaches a seminar at Yale University titled History of Sport, and she approaches the course with the objectivity of a scholar. Each semester, she opens class with the same succinct speech. "Whatever we discuss, you'll never know if it is my opinion or not. Except for one thing: I feel very strongly—it is not just my opinion but also my conviction—that NASCAR is *not* a sport."

DOES SEX COUNT?

GEORGE COSTANZA: "And then, as I watched him struggling, I realized something was obstructing its breathing. From where I was standing, I could see directly into the eye of the great fish—"

Jerry Seinfeld: "Mammal."

Costanza: "Whatever."

You may recall the classic scene from *Seinfeld* in which Costanza relates how he removed the golf ball Kramer had hit into the surf that was obstructing the blowhole of a whale. The scene relates to sports on a surface level—no pun intended—but also on a more philosophical plane.

Consider the whale. It lives in the ocean. It

"I DON'T KNOW ANY OTHER ANIMAL THAT WANTS TO WIN FOR THE SAKE OF WINNING."

swims. It has fins. Whales are aquatic creatures, and yet most of us, marine biologists or not, know whales are mammals. Whales are classified as mammals because in the 18th century, Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus, the "father of modern taxonomy," created an objective system for classifying plant and animal life based on a hierarchy of traits. Whales are mammals because they are warm-blooded, have glands to produce milk for their young and possess a four-chambered heart, all of which Linnaeus observed were more fundamental shared traits than, say, being an attraction at SeaWorld (an aside: The documentary *Blackfish* is a huge misnomer).

Moby-Dick and the shark in *Jaws* may have both been great and white and the object of someone's obsession, but taxonomically, Captain Ahab's whale had more in common with King Kong. And no one disputes that because Linnaeus's system of classification is universally accepted in the scientific community. In the sports community, on the other hand, denizens cannot even come to a consensus on what is a strike, or traveling, or even if O.J. did it (he *totally* did it; c'mon!). The National Football League is nearing its centennial—2020—and still haggling over what constitutes a catch.

Last summer, I was in a bar in Chatham, Massachusetts, in which two men far burlier than me were arguing over whether golf is a sport. When they learned that I write about sports for a living, the more menacing of the two said, "Great, you can tell him that golf is a sport."

Summoning all of my temerity, fully aware that I might be seconds away from being the loser in my first ultimate fighting match, I said, "But golf isn't a sport."

We will get to why I said that—and how many stitches I needed—later. First, let's accept that very few people are able to provide a succinct definition of *sport*, while *matter* is defined as "anything that has mass and volume." There it is, the entire universe in six words—but defining *sport* is impossible?

Second, let's acknowledge that almost everyone is able to declaratively opine, and with great conviction, on the validity of a sport. Competitive eating? "Absolutely not," says Boone.

"No!" agrees Van Pelt. "There's nothing more American than sanctioned gluttony, it's the most American thing there is. But it's not a sport."

Finally, let's understand that if most of us feel comfortable pronouncing an activity as a sport or denouncing it as not one, then we must possess a subconscious, perhaps even instinctive, knowledge of what constitutes sport. "This reminds me of the case on pornography," says Boone, who is an attorney at Apple. "I can't define it, but I know it when I see it."

Pornography, by the way, is not a sport. Yet.

Gary Belsky, the former managing editor of *ESPN the Magazine* and co-author (with Neil Fine) of *On the Origins of Sports*, says, "You don't need a definition of sports. It's more quantum physics, like the Heisenberg Uncertainty Principle. There are simply too many variables."

But what if you did have to define it? Let's give Dan Lebowitz, executive director of the Center for the Study of Sport in Society in Boston, a crack at it: "I'm big on 'Sport is a competitive endeavor that involves athleticism in which the goal is to win.'" Competition. Athleticism. Keeping score. That eliminates both chess *and* figure skating, if you believe that scoring should not be determined by a judge.

Those are three valid metrics, but why stop with Lebowitz? Let's make defining sport a sport, if you will. "There has to be an idea of a healthy connection, something that you are doing for your physical well-being," says Boone.

"There must be the acceleration of more than one limb simul-

taneously," says Goldblatt. "And let's not forget having fun."

"I have a definition that I believe in very much," says Gleason, who has dedicated much of her professional life to plumbing the why of sport. "Sport is our greatest expression of attaining or witnessing bodily excellence.

"Bodily excellence moves us the way beauty moves us," she explains. "I don't want to get all warm and jammy here, but I think it makes us proud to be human. There's no doubt in my mind, at the bottom of this is that we all appreciate excellent bodies."

I WIN, THEREFORE I AM

LET'S TAKE another run at fun. "It's a summer day and a bunch of 8-year-olds are sitting around with nothing to do," says Crothers, a father of two. "Eventually, they're going to figure out a competition. And I think that goes back to the beginning of time."

When Boone was an associate at a Chicago law firm, she used to time herself walking from her condo to her office each morning. "People walking on the other side of the street had no idea they were racing me," says Boone, who finished first in her law school class. "There are some people who really don't have a competitive bone in their bodies. Sometimes, I'm kind of jealous of those people."

Pearlman never visits a diner with his son without engaging in a contest to build the taller sugar-packet castle. "I don't know any other animal that wants to win for the sake of winning," says Pearlman, a former senior writer at *Sports Illustrated*. "You know why they have jockeys in the Kentucky Derby? Because horses don't look at one another and say, 'Let's race!'"

However, all mammals do, to varying degrees, compete for sexual primacy. Gleason suggests that most other mammals do not keep score "because they don't have hands," but how far apart are two rams locking horns from the climactic drag race scene in *Grease*? Is there a connection in the fact that former Los Angeles Lakers center Wilt Chamberlain put up numbers involving both backboards and headboards that more than half a century later remain unattainable?

Athletic prowess relates to sexual prowess, and opportunity, which extends back to the dawn of man and the most primal of urges. No one is suggesting that fifth-grader Nihar Janga or seventh-grader Jairam Hathwar, the recently crowned co-champions of the Scripps National Spelling Bee, are going to make it rain at the club any time soon, but certainly their "Bee All That You Can Bee" moment has enhanced their self-esteem.

"Sports decides who is best," says Gleason. "One thing that has always interested me is why faculty members hate sports so much. I think there's a deep resentment among many of my colleagues. They could write a book that would change the scope of art history, but the fact that they can't make a foul shot is all that matters."

Competition is fun. Suspense is fun. "We like suspense," says Boone.

"I will watch any game, any sport, anytime, anywhere that is coming down to the last second and the outcome is undecided," says Crothers. "Then I'm in. I don't care if it's underwater tiddlywinks."

SPLINTER GROUP: The scoring for log-riding is simple: who can stay on for the entire slide down the hillside?

"THERE MUST BE THE ACCELERATION OF MORE THAN ONE LIMB SIMULTANEOUSLY."

Remember that riveting film about the team heavily favored to win that did so without any adversity? You don't? That's because it has never been made. We play sports because we crave suspense, which is delivered by one of two means: a struggle between two or more combatants who are evenly matched (Rocky Balboa vs. Apollo Creed) or one in which a participant is doing something historically unprecedented,

be it good (Secretariat clinching the Triple Crown by winning in the 1973 Belmont Stakes by 31 lengths) or bad (Jean van de Velde blowing a three-shot lead on the final hole of the 1999 British Open).

"Ernie Els, one of the best golfers in the world, six-putted the first hole at the Masters earlier this year," says Crothers. "How could you not be captivated by that?"

Dan Shaughnessy, a sports columnist for *The Boston Globe*, created a ruckus earlier this spring when he tweeted that the University of Connecticut women's basketball team, in the midst of a 75-game winning streak (their third winning streak this century of 70-or-more games), was not watchable. Shaughnessy was called a curmudgeon and a misogynist, but to an extent he was correct. The Huskies, who regularly win contests by 50 points, are not "watchable" from a sports perspective. They are only watchable from an artistic perspective. There was very little suspense to watching Salvador Dali paint, but the end product was a masterpiece.

MAKING SPORT OF TRUMP

IN 1896, Pierre de Coubertin, a French baron, resurrected the ancient Greek Olympic games, which had been dormant for a few millennia, as a quadrennial showcase of sport. Before the 1912 Stockholm Olympics, de Coubertin attempted to persuade the Swedish officials to stage artistic, literary and musical competitions in which medals would be awarded.

The hosts demurred, but as the father of the modern Olympics, de Coubertin overruled them (Does anyone refuse Lorne Michaels a cameo on *Saturday Night Live*?). He then solicited submissions and announced that he would judge these competitions. In the poetry event, an ode to sport won the gold medal, and below is its opening stanza:

SPORT? NOT A SPORT? Clockwise from upper left: Ostrich-racing; flaming tetherball; mud-pit bellyflops at the annual Summer Redneck Olympics; underwater hockey.

O Sport, pleasure of the Gods, essence of life!
You appeared suddenly in the midst of the grey clearing which writhes
With the drudgery of modern existence.
—Georges Hohrod and Martin Eschbach

It may not surprise you to learn that Hohrod and Eschbach were not the era's most potent poetry-penning pair, but rather a pseudonym for...Pierre de Coubertin. The father of the modern Olympics awarded himself a gold medal minus any real competition, a matter of verse over versus. "The idea of writing as a competition is absurd," says Goldblatt, a prolific author. "Jim Thorpe won only one more gold medal than de Coubertin in Stockholm. He must have thought, You silly people."

Linnaeus performed taxonomy by identifying elemental distinguishing traits: Some creatures are warm-blooded and others are cold-blooded. Some give birth to live offspring and others lay eggs; some have feathers and others have hair. Is it possible to taxonomize sports—and to a more rudimentary degree than the International Olympic Committee announcing that there will be 42 sports comprising 306 events in Brazil?

We must try, and we will begin by being all-inclusive (for the moment, you're in, wife-carrying and chess). Some sports require participants to play defense. Some sports require athleticism. Some sports are decided by judges. Some sports are ruled by a clock. Some involve inhaling mass quantities of food and—no, sorry—you're out, competitive eating.

"The problem is, what is and what isn't a sport is decided by a collective consciousness," says Goldblatt. He's right. Two thousand years ago, people recognized rowing as slave labor: If you and a group of colleagues were pulling oars in synchronicity, you were probably shackled together on a Roman trireme. Nowadays, incorporating the same talents, you can be a

"SPORT IS OUR GREATEST EXPRESSION OF ATTAINING OR WITNESSING BODILY EXCELLENCE."

gold-medal winner. Is cotton-picking up for discussion for the 3008 Olympics? It sounds absurd, even offensive, to suggest as much, but no more than heavyweight eights would to *Ben-Hur*.

Or this: Earlier this month in Debrecen, Hungary, 18 two-man teams participated in a national grave-digging contest. Laszlo Toth and Jonas Racz buried the competition, but then, the duo was digging in their home cemetery—an intriguing sub-plot.

The other problem is passion. Sports are a reservoir of passion, and thus any suggestion that certain popular sports are in fact merely athletic activities will instantly be met with defiance by that sport's ardent fans. Where, however, do we draw the line? If auto racing is a sport, why not vacuum cleaning? "I don't think there's much of a future, as a spectator sport, in pushing an Electrolux around," says Goldblatt.

But what if there were? Is an activity a sport simply because it features competition and can attract huge crowds and/or television ratings? And if so, when will *SportsCenter* begin covering the 2016 presidential election? "This election has been packaged just like a sports event," says Van Pelt. "The map of the United States is the scoreboard, and the team colors are red and blue. The polarization, that's nothing new to sports fans. You're as likely to see a guy in a "Make America Great Again" hat vote for Hillary as you are to see a guy in Crimson Tide gear shout 'War Eagle!' There's an element of sport to it."

True, but there is also an element to sport of love and war where, like professional wrestling (not a sport), all's fair. Eventually, we arrive at this conundrum: If every competition is a sport, are we not devaluing the term? "Why do I really care?" asks Boone. "If poker is or is not a sport, that's not going to keep me up at night."

But it will keep *me* up at night, which is why I risked the welfare of my proboscis at that bar last summer to overrule a burly stranger. And so, not unlike a certain promotional HBO ad featuring Bill Simmons, allow me to tell you what I believe. I believe that a sport must be (1) a competition of undetermined outcome (thereby eliminating pro wrestling and the Democratic primary) that has (2) codified rules, (3) a pronounced element of athleticism and (4) defense.

Yes, defense. Baseball, basketball, football, hockey, tennis, water polo, rugby, ultimate fighting, etc. are all sports. Swimming, golf, marathoning, the 100-meter dash—even the Tour de France—are all athletics. Sports are athletics, but all athletics are not sports.

"I don't agree with that," says Van Pelt, who fondly recalls playing "Kill the Guy With the Ball" as a lad in Montgomery County, Maryland. "The most exciting nine-and-a-half seconds this summer are going to be when Usain Bolt hears the gun in the men's Olympic 100-meter final."

Van Pelt may be right. However, there is nothing, at least not in my taxonomy, that puts sports on a higher stratum than athletics. It's simply that there is a basic difference between an athletic competition in which your opponent is directly and physically thwarting your progress and those that do not feature that component.

"Ultimately, sports can be thought of as a game of competing against one another with an aspect of territorial acquisition or invasion," says Belsky. "So in that way, I can see your point. But there's another adage that may fit just as well: It's a sport if ESPN covers it."

Back in Cape Cod, I offered my potential assailant at the bar this analogy. Line two competitors up side by side on a shooting range and it's a competition. Line them up at opposite ends of that shooting range, facing each other, and now we have a sport.

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ARMS RACE: Monahan is marketing the iBackPack to students and college faculty in Texas, which just passed a law allowing guns to be carried on campus at public colleges.

GOOD SCIENCE

GUNS SOLD SEPARATELY

The cool new product for back to school: a bulletproof backpack

IBACKPACK OF TEXAS

BY
MAX KUTNER
@maxkutner

THE BACKPACK of the near future will have everything modern students need: device-charging ports, Bluetooth, Wi-Fi—and bulletproofing. Doug Monahan was developing a high-tech backpack last December that he envisioned as "a communications hub" when he heard about the shooting in San Bernardino, California, where 14 people were killed at a holiday party. He decided to build an extra pocket and fill it with Kevlar, the synthetic fiber used in standard bulletproof vests.

The iBackPack has raised nearly $1 million across Kickstarter and Indiegogo and is set to start shipping this fall. Monahan says he's presold thousands. "If somebody goes into a classroom and starts some shenanigans," he says, "you can use the backpack as a Roman shield." But Monahan stresses that his product is a tech backpack with protective elements, not the other way around. The bag comes with batteries that Monahan says can recharge wirelessly. Ports throughout allow for easy cable charging. The bag has a built-in Wi-Fi modem and Bluetooth speaker. Special pockets are designed to fit devices. The backpacks run from $169 to $349 and weigh less than 5 pounds.

J. Pete Blair, executive director of the Advanced Law Enforcement Rapid Response Training Center at Texas State University, is skeptical about how much protection a backpack offers. "We teach 'avoid, deny, defend,'" he says. "So having a backpack on your arm as a shield? I don't know where that would really factor in or that people would be able to effectively [use] it." He adds that a quarter of mass shooters carry high-caliber assault weapons, which can penetrate the IIA Kevlar being tested for the iBackPack. (Monahan plans to offer stronger types, but those weigh more.)

The backpack is a response to not only school shootings but also new laws. In Texas, where Monahan's operation is based, concealed handgun license holders can carry guns in buildings on public college campuses starting August 1. The iBackPack isn't the only high-tech bulletproof bag; the brand Guard Dog Security sells one that has type IIIA bulletproof padding (stronger than IIA).

DISRUPTIVE

THE GENESIS IPO

The most exciting companies don't shake up existing industries. They create new ones

DISRUPTION is so last decade. Creation is the thing now. That may seem like semantics, yet in all kinds of businesses, creating and dominating a new category is the winning strategy. Geoffrey Moore's *Crossing the Chasm* revolutionized how we think about new products. Clayton Christensen's *The Innovator's Dilemma* taught us about disrupting an aging market. But now, as my co-authors and I describe in our book *Play Bigger*, great enduring businesses are about creating a market and changing how customers think.

The most exciting companies give us new ways of living, thinking or doing business, solving a problem we didn't know we had—or a problem we didn't pay attention to because we never imagined there was another way. Before Uber, we hailed a cab by standing perilously close to traffic with an arm in the air. After Uber, that seemed dumb.

These companies are not making products or services that just incrementally improve on whatever came before. They don't sell us better. The most exciting companies sell us different. They introduce the world to a new category of product or service—like Clarence Birdseye creating frozen food a century ago or Uber defining on-demand transportation today. Such companies make what came before seem outdated, clunky or costly.

Disruption has been a holy word in tech, like maybe you should genuflect when someone says it. But disruption is a byproduct, not a goal. Elvis Presley didn't set out to disrupt jazz. He set out to

BY
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HANS-BERNHARD HUBER/LAIF/REDUX

IT'S GOOD TO BE KING: A category king, such as Brian Chesky's Airbnb, didn't improve an existing service; it created a new service and then dominated that new market.

create rock 'n' roll—a sound that came from his soul. Rock was different from jazz, not better. But over time, as young audiences embraced rock, they left behind big band jazz and crooners. The byproduct of Elvis's creation was disruption.

A term for the companies that create, develop and dominate new categories is *category kings*. From time to time—you know, like in all of 2015—the technology industry gets caught up in hype about soaring valuations of startups. But like disruption, valuations are an outcome, not a strategy. A billion-dollar valuation of a company that is not a category king is likely to be fleeting. A billion-dollar valuation of a category king is often a bargain, in good economies or bad. Think of Amazon.com, Salesforce.com, Facebook, Google.

While working on our new book, my co-authors and I analyzed data on U.S. venture capital–backed tech startups from 2000 to 2015 and found that category kings earned 76 percent of the market capitalization of their market categories. Eddie Yoon, a principal at the Cambridge Group, analyzed the top 20 of *Fortune*'s 2010 list of fastest-growing companies and found they received an average of $3.40 in incremental market capitalization for every dollar of revenue growth. But half of those 20 were category creators, Yoon determined, and those 10 companies got $5.60 in incremental market cap for every dollar of revenue growth. "Wall Street exponentially rewards the category creation companies," he wrote.

Why? The ubiquity of networks, cheap cloud-based distribution and lightning-fast word-of-mouth through social media is intensifying a winner-take-all economy—especially when we're talking about digital products and services. Since networks give everyone access to the perceived best in any category, the vast majority choose it and leave the second- or third-best behind.

Once a company wins a position as category king, a gap widens between the leader and the rest. The leader, for example, increasingly has the best data. In today's world, data is power. Also, the best employees want to work for the category king. The best partners want to sign deals with the category king. Outside developers want to develop for the category king. The best investors want to put in their money, and the best investment bankers want to work on the initial public offering. As a category king pulls far ahead economically, it has the wherewithal to make acquisitions that vault it even further into the lead. The economic power of a category king builds and builds.

A category king strategy is important and effective when the economy is roaring, and perhaps even more powerful when downturns cripple runner-up competitors. Some of the great category kings have been built during some of the "worst" times—Google in the early 2000s, right after the dot-com crash; Airbnb in 2008, as financial markets melted; Birds Eye amid the Great Depression.

Airbnb, Tesla, Snapchat and Twitter are recent category kings in consumer-facing markets. The enterprise technology space is full of category kings too. Salesforce.com developed the cloud-based sales automation category. VMware defined and dominated a category of computer virtualization. Workday, NetSuite and Slack are among the new category kings of business services.

Most category kings are once-in-a-founder's-lifetime achievements. A rare few have proved to be master creators of category kings. One of the best of all time, as you might imagine, was Steve Jobs, especially during his second go-round at Apple. He led the creation of three important new categories: digital music (with the iPod and iTunes), smartphones (iPhone) and tablets (iPad).

Elon Musk made Tesla the category king of electric cars and SpaceX the category king of private spaceflight, incredibly doing that for both companies at the same time. Jeff Bezos started out making Amazon.com the category king of online retail, and he repeated that success with e-book readers (Kindle) and cloud-based computing services (Amazon Web Services). A lesser-known but no less prolific creator of category kings is Seattle entrepreneur Rich Barton. He had a hand in founding Expedia, Zillow and Glassdoor.

THE MOST EXCITING COMPANIES SELL US DIFFERENT.

While our connected age has revved up category king economics, category kings aren't just a connected-age phenomenon. When Chrysler introduced the minivan in 1983, it created—then dominated for three decades—a new category of vehicle. Bob Pittman's MTV and Ted Turner's CNN were once category kings. Boeing created the category of the jet airliner with its 707 in 1958.

So forget about that whole unicorn thing. Roll your eyes at all those self-defined disruptors. To find the next great companies, look for creators. Find yourself an Elvis. N

Adapted from **KEVIN MANEY'S** new book, *Play Bigger: How Pirates, Dreamers, and Innovators Create and Dominate Markets,* co-authored with Al Ramadan, Dave Peterson and Christopher Lochhead. Available June 14.

THE OD KILLER

Jack Fishman invented a drug that reverses opioid overdoses, but he lost his stepson to heroin use anyway

ANYTIME HER phone would ring at odd hours, Julie Stampler's stomach would drop. Her brother Jonathan had struggled for years with drug use, and she lived in constant fear of what news might be coming next. One night in late October 2003, the phone rang at 10:30, minutes after she'd put her kids to bed, and she steeled herself. Jonathan, then 32, had been dumped unceremoniously on the doorstep of Hialeah Hospital, 10 miles from downtown Miami. It wasn't far from her home, but the doctor on the phone said, "If you want to see him, you should hurry." She rushed over, but her brother was already in a coma.

Over the years, Julie's mother, Joy Fishman, had taken a "tough love" approach with her son, forcing him into drug rehab at 17, then cutting ties with him when he refused to change. When Jonathan was about 23, Joy briefly re-entered his life—she waited with him 24 hours to get emergency treatment at Jackson Memorial Hospital in Miami as he went into withdrawal. Joy was so incensed afterward—to her, it seemed that drug addicts were treated as the bottom of the triage barrel—that she called Channel 7News in Miami. She still remembers what her son told a reporter at the time: "If I don't stop using heroin, I'm going to die." Later, Jonathan was in and out of rehab. He told his sister he only snorted heroin, but in the late 1990s he was arrested for stealing needles and contracted hepatitis C—a sign of intravenous drug use. Then, in 1998, he cleaned up again and worked for the next few years as a drug counselor.

No one knows exactly what happened to him on that night in 2003, but his family slowly pieced a plausible story together: Jonathan told his girlfriend he was going to get high one last time. He injected what was probably a combination of drugs—heroin, cocaine, fentanyl, baby formula, no one knows for sure—inside his dealer's house. When he stopped breathing, someone drove him to the hospital, but no one rang the bell outside the emergency room, and by the time doctors saw Jonathan it was too late. After nearly a week, Joy was asked if she wanted to remove her son from life support. Overnight, as she weighed the difficult decision, Jonathan died.

Joy felt as if her life was tinged with a tragic irony: Her husband, Jack, had helped to discover naloxone—a lifesaving heroin-overdose antidote. "If there was naloxone available, Jonathan would still be alive," she says. But at the time of Jonathan's death, Jack could not have legally purchased or administered the drug he was the first to synthesize.

In 1961, Jack Fishman, a research assistant at Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Research Center, picked up a second job at a private narcotics lab run by Mozes Lewenstein in the borough of Queens in New York. Harold Blumberg, a colleague of his boss, proposed a small structural change to oxymorphone, a morphine derivative,

BY
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LIFESAVER: Dr. Marc Lasher demonstrates how to position an overdose patient who is vomiting during a workshop on administering CPR and naloxone in Modesto, California.

ANDY ALFARO/MODESTO BEE/ZUMA/ALAMY

to create an opioid antagonist—a compound that aggressively outcompetes morphine, heroin and other opioids in sticking to the brain's receptors. On a molecular level, opioid receptors function like cups waiting to catch endorphins; naloxone filled up those cups, effectively displacing other opioids and reversing their effects. Jack synthesized the drug, which they called naloxone.

Naloxone had very few side effects, and within a decade the U.S. Food and Drug Administration had approved it for use in reversing the effects of narcotics. If, for example, a doctor put someone too far under with an opioid, naloxone could bring back the patient. Intravenously administered naloxone emerged as an antidote for heroin overdoses, and it became the standard of care in emergency medicine. In 1983, the World Health Organization placed naloxone on its list of essential medicines—a clear acknowledgement that the antidote was a safe, effective tool for treating the acute respiratory failure that comes with toxic doses of any opioid.

But for decades, drug users who needed naloxone couldn't get it. Despite the fact that most overdoses are witnessed by friends or family, most drug users refuse to call emergency services for fear of arrest. Moreover, federal law requires a prescription, and that meant it could legally be dispensed only by a properly licensed practitioner. In 2001, New Mexico initiated a state program that allowed citizens without medical training to administer naloxone without the fear of legal repercussions. By 2003, harm reduction programs in cities such as Chicago and San Francisco also began distributing take-home naloxone, but it was still mostly unavailable across much of the U.S., including Miami.

"IF I DON'T STOP USING HEROIN, I'M GOING TO DIE."

By then, Jack had become the president of Ivax Pharmaceuticals, and he had let the patent on naloxone lapse. He'd also married Joy Stampler, who had two children from a previous marriage—Julie and Jonathan. Joy recalls when Jonathan overdosed in 2003, Jack felt heartsick, helpless and incompetent.

Nearly a decade later, Joy was interviewed for a 2012 *New York Times* story about how her luxury Manhattan building had become a bastion for Republican presidential campaign fundraising; Jack was featured as one of the Democratic holdouts. A parenthetical in the story mentioned that her husband invented naloxone. Ethan Nadelmann, executive director of the Drug Policy Alliance, read the story and called to ask if he could meet the man who invented the antidote. In the years since Jonathan's overdose, naloxone had become increasingly available, especially in easier-to-administer intranasal formulations, in part because of the DPA's work. In November 2013, Nadelmann arranged a meeting with the Fishman-Stamplers (along with two other families who had lost children to overdoses) and Dr. Sharon Stancliff, of the Harm Reduction Coalition. Stancliff distributed salmon-pink kits containing a naloxone nasal spray. It wasn't FDA-approved, but Joy recognized its impact immediately. It was simple to use and, she says, "if you see somebody who you may think is having an overdose, it doesn't matter if they're not. The drug can't hurt them. If you administer it, it can't do anything bad if they're not OD-ing. It's a harmless drug."

In 2013, the year Jack died, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reported more people died from overdoses than from car crashes. Public health officials, at least on the federal level, seemed to recognize the severity of the issue—and a potential solution: In 2014, the FDA approved Evzio, a portable injection kit with a fixed dose of naloxone specifically intended for laypeople; the agency also approved a nasally administered form of naloxone, known as Narcan, in late 2015.

Meanwhile, the Fishman-Stampler family began advocating for policy changes at the local level. In 2014, one of Jack's sons, Neil Fishman, a lawyer, successfully pushed for a law in Maine, his home state, that expanded the availability of naloxone for first responders and the family members of those at risk of overdosing. This past February, Joy traveled from South Florida to Tallahassee to speak to a room full of legislators in support of the Miami-Dade Infectious Disease Elimination Act (IDEA). The bill would allow the University of Miami to establish a pilot program to exchange clean needles and syringes for used ones. In 2013, when the bill was introduced, Florida led the nation in new HIV infections, according to data from the state Department of Health; today, Miami-Dade County still has one of the highest rates of new infections in the country, and there isn't a single needle exchange in the entire state.

The bill has died in the Florida legislature three years in a row. Dr. Hansel Tookes, a resident physician at Jackson Memorial Hospital who helped draft IDEA, hoped Joy's testimony might give proponents of the bill some of the leverage they'd been missing. "Who doesn't listen when a mom tells the story of the loss of a child that's completely preventable?" asks Tookes. "Had her son been in San Francisco, he and his friends would have had naloxone with them and could have reversed the overdose." Joy didn't bother to prepare a speech; she just spoke from the heart. "When my son died, I was pretty much alone," she told legislators. "Now it's a vast club, and now it's time that we all rally and get together and clean this up."

> FLORIDA LEADS THE NATION IN NEW HIV INFECTIONS AND HAS NO NEEDLE EXCHANGE.

The Florida legislature passed the needle exchange bill, and it was signed into law on March 23. It was a modest victory—part of the gradual shift away from what Joy calls a "junky" mentality, the idea that drug users are worthless and at fault for their condition, and toward a medical, therapeutic approach to treating addiction. It's happening across the country: A study published in *Drug and Alcohol Dependence* found that in less than five years—from 2010 and 2015—the number of states adopting laws that allow drug users to purchase naloxone at pharmacies went from four to 43. Joy has set up a private foundation through the DPA in her husband's memory to fund overdose prevention, including the purchase of naloxone kits for recently released prisoners and, if all goes well, drug users at Florida's first needle exchange. And she now keeps the antidote her late husband invented in her handbag, always ready to save someone's life.

PEOPLE MIGHT START ACCUSING US OF LEANING TOO FAR TO THE RIGHT

ONLY ON MSNBC

ALGORITHMS DON'T EAT DOUGHNUTS

The security industry is ridding itself of guns, guards and gates in favor of biometrics and Big Data.

ON THE MORNING of August 10, 1999, Buford Oneal Furrow Jr. walked into the North Valley Jewish Community Center in Granada Hills, a suburb of Los Angeles, and opened fire with a semi-automatic weapon. The 37-year-old white supremacist wounded a receptionist, a camp counselor and three boys before fatally gunning down a mailman he encountered nearby.

Nearly two decades later, and following numerous mass shootings across America, part of the legacy of that day can be found in the Bais Yaakov School for Girls 20 miles away. Located in affluent West Hollywood, opposite BuzzFeed's glass-fronted offices and a popular Mexican restaurant, Bais Yaakov provides an Orthodox Jewish education to approximately 300 students in grades nine to 12. But the three-floor gray building looks more like a modern fortress than a place of learning.

Bais Yaakov has multiple surveillance cameras visible around its perimeter. A 10-foot-tall green

BY
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PASSED OVER: The Tel Aviv airport tested a biometrics screening system to move passengers through lines more quickly and do a better job of flagging suspect travelers.

ARIEL SCHALIT/AP

metal fence protects the rear. Inside, an automatic lockdown system disables all doors with the press of a button as an audio-visual alert system relays instant warnings to staff and students in the form of flashing lights and announcements. The most sophisticated technology controls entry to the school: an in-motion biometric recognition system—featured in the latest *Mission: Impossible* movie—that verifies identities. As staff and students walk up demarcated lanes in front of its external doors, a camera reads both their facial features and body language. If the man, woman or child standing at the entrance is authenticated from a database of about 400 registered people, green lights flick on, buzzers sound and the doors open.

"[Granada Hills] freaked a lot of people out," says Adam Cohen, the volunteer facility manager, whose four daughters have all attended the school (one is still a student there) and whose two nieces were working at the Jewish community center when it was attacked in 1999. "You've got all kinds of crazy people out there. They're going to go to the easier site first. So if you make yourself look vulnerable, you're going to attract attention." In 2009, Cohen helped enlist Bais Yaakov, which already used fingerprint entry software, as the test site for FST Biometrics, an Israeli company developing the new entry system. A $100,000 Department of Homeland Security "site hardening" grant—given to a few hundred U.S. nonprofit grantees every year for the past decade or so—helped pay for it and other measures. Bais Yaakov is now among the most secure schools in the nation, according to safety experts. But it's not alone in ramping up protection at considerable expense. The U.S. security industry, from gadgets and manpower to software and consultancy, has evolved and expanded in recent decades amid rising fears of particular threats, like mass shooters, and the promises of new technology spawned by the digital and internet revolution.

In 2013, the industry totaled $388 billion—with 82 percent of that spent by the private sector—according to a 2014 report. That's bigger than education services ($308 billion) and arts, entertainment and recreation, including gaming ($280 billion). Electronic security products—ranging from alarms to metal detectors to card readers—are at the forefront of this growth. The Freedonia Group, a market research firm, estimates the market for these products will grow to $16.2 billion by 2019.

FST Biometrics, founded by Aharon Zeevi Farkash, a former head of Israeli military intelligence, has rolled out its entry system in a range of places, including New York City condo towers and health clubs, the Israel Diamond Exchange in Tel Aviv and a Dutch museum using it to provide personalized tours—visitors enroll and then pass through interactive checkpoints that tailor the experience to each person. The company claims its technology makes life easier, by eliminating the need for keys, fobs and access cards, and faster, by processing the information while people are in motion, and is less intrusive and more hygienic than finger print technology.

Yaron Zussman, FST Biometrics America's CEO, says it can meet the expected growth in security products and systems, twinned with people's desire for ease and comfort, by using "more passive and convenient" tools like in-motion recognition. The system suits an array of scenarios: from hospitals, where hands-free hygiene is crucial, to immigration control, where speed and efficiency could get airport lines moving again. One third party has even outfitted a Ferrari with the technology, and Zussman believes it will eventually become commonplace in cars to prevent theft or perhaps drunken driving. "It's not that far-fetched. I think in the future you'll be starting your car based on biometrics."

> "IF YOU MAKE YOURSELF LOOK VULNERABLE, YOU'RE GOING TO ATTRACT ATTENTION."

Innovation in security is increasingly centered on smartphones and wearable devices. HID Global currently manufactures access control cards (and the current U.S. green card) that let people open doors to places like offices and hotel rooms. In a new strategic collaboration with chipmaker NXP Semiconductors, HID will expand

this technology so it works with more smartphones, as well as wearables like Apple Watches and Android Wear. Meanwhile, the company also recently announced a new cloud-based platform to share data from government-issued IDs like driver's licenses, passports and Social Security cards securely on smartphones and other tablets. As many as 4 billion people will have smart devices by 2020, connecting to 25 billion "intelligent things" and consuming 50 trillion gigabytes of data, HID estimates. "The migration of your ID onto your phone is the last frontier—it's pretty much the last thing that you can't leave the house without," said Rob Haslam, managing director of its government identity business.

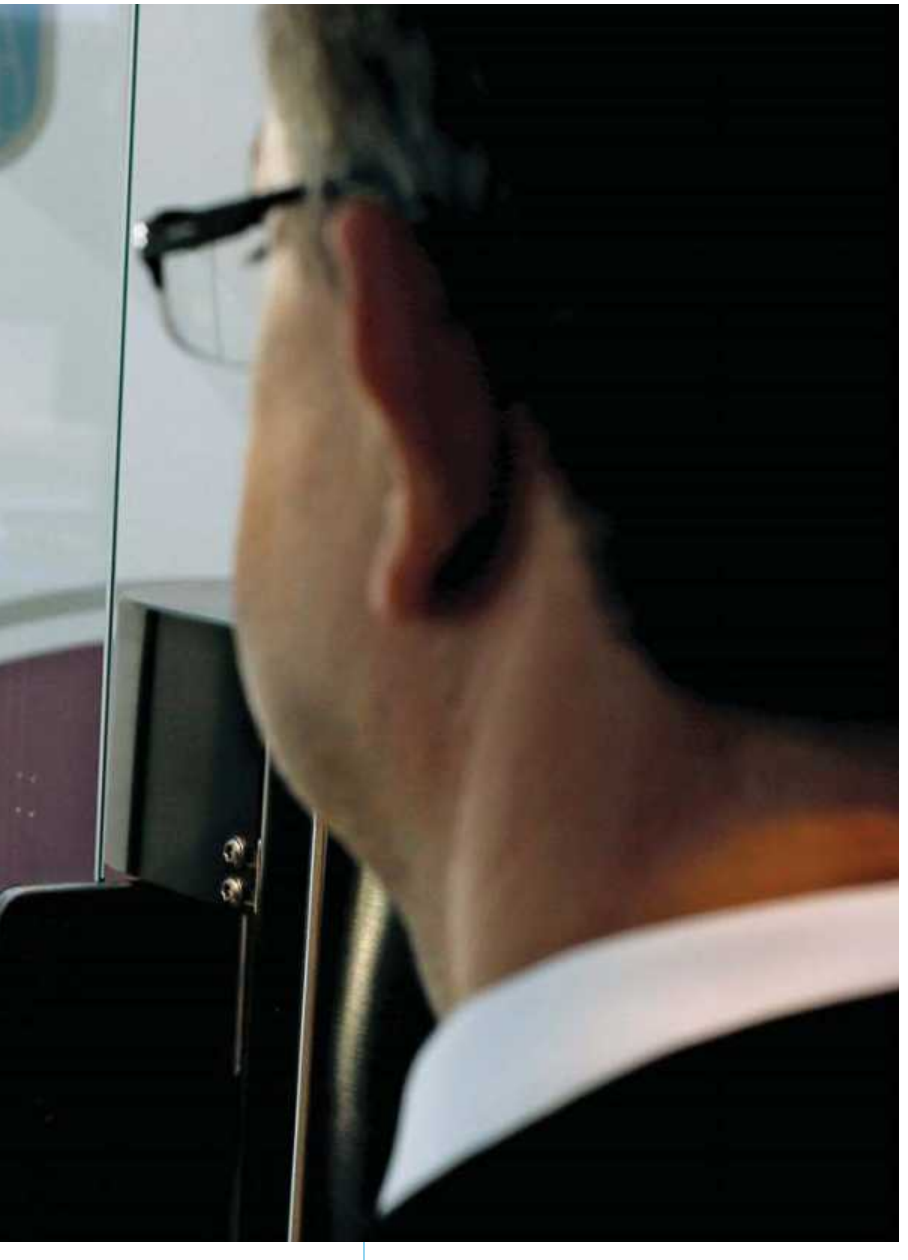
Because of concerns about privacy, HID's platform will allow people to limit the amount of information shared, depending on the scenario. For example, a police officer doing a traffic stop would be able to see more data than a liquor store worker verifying your age—but in either case, all you'd need to do is send it from your smartphone. The company is looking to pilot the technology with a state motor vehicle department or similar U.S. agency, but has yet to finalize an arrangement. In the meantime, it's pushing ahead with several overseas projects, including putting Nigeria's entire vehicle ownership system—comprising at least 50 million cars—onto a smartphone-accessible database. "We think we're on the verge of a new era," says Haslam.

A key challenge across the industry is how to store and utilize the vast amounts of information generated by security systems. Closed-circuit TV or alert networks gather troves of information, much of which is ultimately benign. But when something does happen, law enforcement and others need to be able to find a morsel of evidence within that data mountain. These are the issues at the core of current debates in police departments over rolling out body cameras: how much footage should be stored and for how long; whether it should be kept on cloud-based servers (as the New York Police Department has opted for) or on physical devices; which officers should have access to it, when and how; and so on.

Numerous companies have sprung up trying to meet these kinds of challenges. Last year, Qognify, which helps protect environments where any security lapses could be ruinously dangerous expensive and damaging—like airports and Olympic Games—released software called "suspect search" that indexes video to make it easily searchable. The system uses video analytics to assign every individual on screen a unique digital signature, which is stored in a database that can be searched. Using a tool like this, investigators can save hours or days of scouring footage for suspects. "[It] can be used in hindsight, a day later when someone is reporting something or very close to real time," says Illy Gruber, vice president of marketing at Qognify. It's already been rolled out in numerous airports, medical centers and city surveillance networks globally, though all such

+ **SNAP JUDGMENTS: The new generation of biometric scanners can eliminate the need for fobs, keys and ID cards, and even arrange personalized tours of a museum.**

WOLFGANG RATTAY/REUTERS



clients have asked for anonymity, Gruber says.

The security industry traditionally revolved around the three G's: guns, guards and gates. Technology is reshaping that landscape, building on these foundations and undoubtedly creating new issues along the way. Lee Tien, senior staff attorney at the Electronic Frontier Foundation, a nonprofit focused on civil liberties in the digital world, says he is concerned about the "collect-it-all, Big Data mentality" of the industry. "Frequently, users may not have consented to or even know their data is being collected, much less know what's actually being done with their data once it's collected," he adds. "*Big Data* often means data being used for something different than its original intended purpose."

Security companies appear aware of these worries. Gruber notes that Qognify's video search tool creates a database of avatars generated from footage, rather than storing actual images of people. Similarly, FST Biometrics doesn't save its users' images, instead translating them into an algorithm. FST Biometrics's Zussman also stresses their technology allows—rather than denies—access, and nothing more. "We're not a blacklist," he says. "We're never going to be all over the streets for facial recognition.... That's not our market."

The shift to digital security that uses tools like biometric verification and mobile credentialing also heightens fears around protecting the data sets integral to their use. Tien warns putting terabytes of sensitive data together in one place for any purpose creates a huge target for malicious attackers looking to score the next breach. Security industry professionals insist they are constantly updating their own protection protocols, and that their systems pass the highest data assurance tests, in which external parties evaluate their ability to withstand attempted hacks.

> "IN THE FUTURE, YOU'LL BE STARTING YOUR CAR BASED ON BIOMETRICS."

In enrolling in such systems, users do put a somewhat blind faith in the operator's ability to secure it. But this isn't all that new; the same thing happens—and has happened for years—when people give their information to retailers and government agencies and plug it into their cellphones. And numerous examples, from the 2013 hack of retailer Target—which exposed 40 million customers' financial data—to warnings by the California Department of Motor Vehicles in 2014 of a possible breach of its credit card processing services, show even the biggest, best-known entities can struggle with the task.

PINING FOR THE TSAR

Svetlana Alexievich's powerful oral history *Secondhand Time* offers a unique window into the fall of the Soviet Union

+

EVERYBODY'S A CRITIC: Censors blocked Alexievich's first book for two years, complaining that the war she described was horrible and that she did not have any heroes.

ISOLDE OHLBAUM/LAIF/REDUX

BY **TOBIAS GREY**

FOR THE PAST 35 years, Svetlana Alexievich has traversed the former Soviet Union, Dictaphone in hand, recording thousands of interviews with ordinary people—from construction workers in Siberia to helicopter pilots in Ukraine. Alexievich's methods have earned her comparisons to American historians Studs Terkel and Howard Zinn, but her accomplishments are in a category of their own: In 2015, the 68-year-old journalist became the first primarily nonfiction writer to win the Nobel Prize in literature since Winston Churchill did it in 1953.

So far, her output consists of five books she calls *The History of the Red Man*. The latest installment, *Secondhand Time: The Last of the Soviets*, covers the breakup of the USSR and the chaotic transition that ensued. It took Alexievich, who was born in Ukraine but lived most of her life in Belarus, 10 years to finish. The book, which was originally published in Russian in 2013, has been translated into English and was released in the U.S. and the U.K. in May. It's being hailed as Alexievich's masterpiece—not only for what it says about the fall of the Soviet Union but for what it suggests about the future of Russia and its former satellites.

One of the book's most revelatory moments comes during an interview with a Kremlin official who preferred to remain anonymous, for obvious reasons. Russia, he notes, has "a tsarist mentality.... Whether it's a general secretary or a president, either way it has to be a tsar." It is a point of view Alexievich regretfully admits she shares, and the reason, she says, that Russia has failed to embrace democracy. Yet she doesn't demonize Russian President Vladimir Putin; for her, the country's problem is a collective one. "Putin symbolizes the feelings and sentiments of pretty much the majority of Russian citizens,"

Alexievich tells *Newsweek*. "It looks like people in Putin's immediate circle who are oriented toward an anti-Western, Slavophile rhetoric... and who used to be on the margins of political thought...are moving closer to the president."

Some, such as the right-wing Russian political scientist Aleksandr Dugin, advocate a return to totalitarian values, and as *Secondhand Time* unfolds, the specter of Josef Stalin wafts in and out of it like Banquo's ghost. Many members of Russia's older generation whom Alexievich interviewed yearn for the days when the dictator ruled the Soviet Union with absolute power. One extraordinary conversation with an 87-year-old veteran of World War II leaves Alexievich bewildered (she occasionally inserts her feelings between brackets). Though the man's wife died in one of Stalin's gulags, he tells Alexievich his joy was unabated when the Communist Party readmitted him after a long period of "rehabilitation." "You have to understand!" the veteran exclaims. "You can only judge us according to the laws of religion. Faith! Our faith will make you jealous!"

Alexievich's faith in Russia's future dissolved during the 1990s. "The question was posed: What kind of country should we have—a strong country or a worthy one where people can live decently?" she said in her speech after receiving the Nobel Prize. "We chose the former—a strong country. Once again, we are living in an era of power. Russians are fighting Ukrainians—their brothers. My father is Belarusian, my mother is Ukrainian. That's the way it is for many people."

Secondhand Time is full of horrifying examples of the interethnic violence that erupted throughout the former USSR after its breakup. Once-friendly neighbors in places like Tajikistan, Abkhazia and Baku turned on each other, committing rape and murder with impunity. "It shows that our politicians cannot respond to the challenges of the times," says Alexievich. "They do not know how to react to events and political transformations. The only thing they could offer is violence and killing people."

Alexievich has experienced discrimination of her own in Belarus, where she says her books are not allowed to be published. She also says that Belarus's president, Alexander Lukashenko, originally congratulated her on her Nobel Prize but renounced that two days later. "He started talking about me as a slanderer of Russia and [saying] that books like mine don't inspire people," she says.

Yet Alexievich was excited to receive a letter of congratulations from Mikhail Gorbachev, the former Soviet premier and architect of the Soviet political reform movement perestroika. Alexievich credits his program for creating a climate of openness that allowed for the publication of her first book, *War's Unwomanly Face*, which tells the story of female soldiers who fought for the Red Army between 1941 and 1945. The book, published in 1983, was held up by the censors for two years with an admonishment: "Your war is terrifying. Why don't you have any heroes?" (Random House is planning to release the book in a new English-language translation next year.)

In her return letter to Gorbachev, Alexievich says she thanked him for his reforms. "I think that Gorbachev is one of the greatest politicians and people of the 20th century," she says. In *Secondhand Time*, a rather different picture emerges of the former general secretary of the Communist Party. He is a generally unpopular figure, though one who above all remains misunderstood. "Gorbachev is no pygmy; he's no toy in the hands of circumstance, and he's not a CIA agent...but who is he?" wonders that anonymous Kremlin official.

Looking back on that era, Alexievich says she does not think Gorbachev wanted to destroy socialism but rather to improve it, and that this desire was shared by most of the people in the Soviet Union. "I traveled a lot around the country, and I talked to thousands of people," she says, "and the feeling I got from them was that nobody had wanted the country to become capitalist."

THE SPECTER OF JOSEF STALIN WAFTS IN AND OUT OF THE BOOK LIKE BANQUO'S GHOST.

Stylistically, *Secondhand Time*, like her other books, produces a mosaic of overlapping voices, both complementary and dissenting. In his introductory Nobel speech, Sara Danius, permanent secretary of the Swedish Academy,

SOVFOTO/UIG/GETTY

INTERNECINE: ***Secondhand Time*** **tells many horrific stories of ethnic violence following the breakup of the Soviet Union, including the civil war in Tajikistan.**

noted that Alexievich "removes everything superfluous to the core. She adds nothing: She subtracts. We are told people's names, their ages and what they do, little apart from that."

Alexievich says she never prepares questions for her interviews and is quite happy to let her subjects ramble on. "Of course, there is a lot that needs to be discarded or cleaned up afterward," she says. Many of her subjects have become her friends, and the interviews—or "conversations," as she prefers to call them—often continue over several years. "I understood early on that every man and woman I talk to is more than just the subject of my research, be it World War II, the war in Afghanistan or Chernobyl."

While Alexievich's books contain accounts of tragedy, they are also leavened by a typically Russian gallows humor. "*Democracy*! That's a funny word in Russia," says one Russian. "'Putin the democrat' is our shortest joke."

The books are also deepened by extraordinary stories of love and perseverance. Among them: Maria Voiteshonok, a 57-year-old writer whose parents had died when she was young, explains how her illiterate aunt spent six months asking strangers to write to orphanages in Siberia before finally managing to locate and rescue her.

Equally moving stories unfold not only in *Secondhand Time* but in her other works. "What I try to deal with is...the kind of history that is normally omitted by historians who look into major events," she says. "For me, what is important and interesting is the way history has been reflected in people's everyday lives."

THE THIN SINS

It's not just female models who are sexually exploited and pushed into anorexia

"**TAKE OFF** your top and show me your torso."

I was exhausted after 14 hours of castings, so I did what I was told—I removed my undershirt. After a quick glance, the casting director, a Dutch man in his 50s with a large paunch, muttered to his stylist, "He's beautiful, but he's fat." I felt humiliated. I had walked the catwalk twice at Paris Fashion Week and worked with talented photographers and stylists, but this wasn't the first time I had been called overweight, despite my jutting rib cage and hips. On one shoot, a stylist who had started drinking vodka at 9 a.m. told me I was "handsome" but needed to "stop being lazy and do some fucking crunches."

When most people think of exploitation in modeling, they picture young women with protruding hips and angular shoulders, or celebrity photographers coercing young women into sex acts. Muscle-bound male models with perfect cheekbones and fat paychecks do not seem like obvious victims, but, as I found during my short career, they too are often subject to sexual harassment and, like their female counterparts, are under intense pressure to have just the right kind of body. Want to look like *that*? It will likely make you sick.

It turns out that being really, really, *really* good-looking—as Ben Stiller's male model character Derek Zoolander describes himself—does

BY
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PAY DAY GROANS: Modeling for men has all the dangers faced by female models, and the pay isn't nearly as good.

PAUL MORIGI/WIREIMAGE/GETTY

not guarantee you wealth, health or security.

I entered that world at the age of 20 because it seemed like easy money and a shortcut to joining a glamorous elite. But after a year of modeling, I realized it was making me miserable. I had to cope with relentless pressure to keep my weight down, and my agency bookers expected me to attend castings for up to 17 hours a day in the run-up to fashion week. And the money was lousy. I felt exploited, as did many of my peers, and yet all of us felt we couldn't speak out because getting a reputation as being "difficult" could kill your career. So we kept posing, and we kept quiet.

A SLAP ON THE BACKSIDE

To be a model is to accept that you are a product as well as a person. You are also a target for sexual predators. Sexual advances are often framed as jokes, allowing the powerful figures who make them—photographers, editors and casting directors—to dismiss them as such should they be declined. In September 2013, while shooting a music video, a fashion consultant in his 60s spent the day making inappropriate comments and asking me if what was "down there" was as "intoxicating" as my "handsome face." As he slid past me, he stroked his hand across my lower back and slapped my backside.

A few weeks later, an editor offered to shoot me for the cover of his magazine, with the caveat that I pose naked and join him for a "romantic" dinner that evening. I said I wasn't interested, but he messaged me regularly throughout the year. His messages became increasingly graphic, including sending me links to porn videos. In June 2014, a photographer tried to make me commit to orgies while on a shoot, with the promise of getting me "exposure."

These powerful men behave with a remarkable sense of impunity: While I was conducting research for this article, one powerful fashion designer, high on cocaine, repeatedly sent me unsolicited naked videos when I attempted to arrange an interview.

"In fashion, it is always older people controlling younger," says René Habermacher, a Swiss-born photographer who works regularly for Japanese *Vogue* and other leading titles.

Sara Ziff, founder of the Model Alliance, a New York City nonprofit advocating for greater protection of models, says, "I don't think I've ever spoken with a male model about the Model Alliance without them talking about sexual harassment."

'UNDERAGE AND UNDERFED'

At my last show, the Andrea Crews collection shown in Paris in January 2016, I shared a cigarette with a youth backstage whose tousled hair, slender body, boyish features and full lips made him look delicate and androgynous. "How old are you?" I asked him. "Fifteen," he said, looking nervous. "I don't really know what I'm doing here."

Critics and commentators have long criticized the use of very young male models, and the current trend for a boyish or androgynous appearance has intensified that criticism. The androgynous look pushes male models to lose muscle mass and women to lose their natural curves. One model, Jack—a pseudonym—says there's even increased competition between men and women for the same shows. (At Gucci's menswear show in January 2015, boyish female models walked alongside waifish men.)

> "THE BIG, MUSCULAR GUYS ARE NO BETTER OFF. THE MEN WHO HAVE 2 PERCENT BODY FAT ARE STARVING THEMSELVES TOO."

In stark contrast to the many androgynous waifs on the catwalks are the muscle-bound male models typified by the perfectly sculpted British model David Gandy. But beneath those hypermuscular builds are often serious health problems. "The big, muscular guys are no better off," says a British photographer whose work is regularly featured in American *Vogue* and *GQ France* and who requested anonymity. "Men who are that big, who go to the gym that often and have 2 percent body fat—they are starving themselves too." Researchers and mental health experts have coined the term *bigorexia* to describe muscle dysmorphia, a distorted perception of the body as too weak and lacking muscle that fuels obsessive workouts even

among the most toned men and bodybuilders.

Almost every one of the 15 insiders who agreed to speak to *Newsweek* said Saint Laurent's recently departed creative director, Hedi Slimane, spearheaded the rise of the ultra-skinny male model. Karl Lagerfeld, creative director of Chanel and one of fashion's most powerful designers, wrote in *The Telegraph* in 2004 that "Slimane's fashions, modelled by very, very slim boys, required me to lose at least six of my 16 stone."

Slimane defended his preference in an interview with Yahoo Style last year, explaining that he was bullied as a teenager for not having a traditionally masculine build: "I was precisely just like any of these guys I photograph.... Jackets were always a little too big for me. Many in high school, or in my family, were attempting to make me feel I was half a man because I was lean."

For many fashion insiders, his reasons for casting choices are hardly relevant; what matters is the impact Slimane had on models—and even men outside the fashion world. Slimane created an aesthetic that he sums up as "underage and underfed." Saint Laurent and Slimane declined repeated requests from *Newsweek* for comment.

The booming Asian fashion market also prefers ultra-skinny models. Combine that with culture shock, long work hours and isolation from their families and friends, and young male models there face even more dangers. Asia offers financial opportunities that seem ever scarcer in Western markets and in an industry where men earn far less than their female counterparts. According to *Forbes*, from June 2012 to June 2013, the top 10 highest-earning female models made a combined $83.3 million; over roughly the same time, the top 10 men made $8 million. The best-paid female model, Gisele Bundchen, made $42 million; Sean O'Pry, the highest-earning man, made $1.5 million.

There's a gender gap lower down in the market too, with salary data firm PayScale reporting that female models can expect an average yearly income of $41,300, compared with the *Forbes* estimate of male earnings around $28,000 in recent years. That's about $2,000 short of the New York living wage as calculated by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

TRUST US

France, Spain, Italy and Israel have all passed legislation requiring all models to possess a medical certificate that declares them fit to work. The French law stipulates that models' health must be "assessed...in terms of body mass index," or BMI, but makes a nod to more holistic methods of assessment, including body shape and well-being. An agency booker who fails to adhere to the law risks a fine of about $83,000 and up to six months in prison. The law also requires agencies to signal when photos have been retouched to alter a model's body shape. Fines of up to about $11,000 and one year in prison can await individuals "provoking people to excessive thinness."

In the fashion world, these laws have few fans—even among the models. The three male models interviewed for this story all expressed support for the idea of limiting the weight pressures they faced but questioned the accuracy of the BMI scale. Industry insiders also attacked the inaccuracy of the BMI when applied to those under 25 and the idea that it might penalize

> HE ASKED IF WHAT WAS "DOWN THERE" WAS AS "INTOXICATING" AS MY "HANDSOME FACE."

models afflicted by eating disorders. And then there's this: The majority of the countries in the world where models work have no legislation protecting these young people.

One prominent casting director, Noah Shelley of AM Casting, says he bears some responsibility for the pressure to be skinny. "If we were to sit down and round table and say there's blame to be had, then I would definitely deserve some," says Shelley. "Nonetheless, I don't feel on a daily basis that I'm responsible for unhealthy body ideals, but I'm not naïve enough to suggest that couldn't be happening without my intention, and I have to take responsibility for that."

Yet Sebastien Meunier, creative director of the Paris-based cult fashion house Ann Demeulemeester, denies that designers are doing anything wrong. "We are not doing anything shocking: We're making clothes that are perfectly decent and acceptable," he tells *Newsweek*. "At the end of the day, [models] are adults. There's no problem here."

TWO QUESTIONS WITH ANTHONY BOURDAIN

The celebrity chef talks about his iron stomach and what it's like to eat raw meat in Africa

WATCHING ANTHONY Bourdain eat can make you cringe, at least when he's doing it on CNN's *Parts Unknown*. Much of what he stuffs down his gullet is either unidentifiable or looks disconcertingly alive. At some point, even the most adventurous among us have to turn away and gag. So how come no one on the show seems to get sick?

Now in its seventh season, Bourdain's show continues to entertain with its focus on the gastronomically obscure and grotesque. *Newsweek* spoke with the celebrity chef about the show's lack of foodborne illnesses and what the rest of us can do to avoid getting the runs.

How do you avoid getting sick? Or do you edit those parts out?

In my 15 years in traveling around the world, I've missed three days due to stomach problems. The person on our crew most likely to get sick is the one who is sort of wary of street and local food. They always get sick from eating the breakfast buffet at the hotel. It's sitting there waiting for the dumb American to come along and order it. The people eating that three-day-old Bolognese sauce, they're going to get on a plane; they're going to be halfway across the Pacific, before they get sick. Nobody cares. The guy selling street tacos under a naked lightbulb in the street—they're serving food to their neighbors. Poisoning neighbors is not a good business model. I eat what locals eat.

Where were you traveling when you got sick?

I think in every case it was a tribal situation in Africa, where the food clearly was not wholesome; it was not fresh. They were very poor; they were doing the very best they can. They offered it to me in a communal situation, where everybody is eating out of one bowl with their bare hands, and everyone is looking at you. To be polite, you do what everybody else does, because to do otherwise would be incredibly rude.

When you're eating rotten meat in a situation where 20 or 30 people are all putting their fingers in a bowl and hygiene is not great and people are really poor, you have a pretty good idea of what is coming. Pepto-Bismol ain't gonna help. You're looking at a long course of antibiotics. [But] you just gotta take one for the team. The first order of business when making a show like I do is to be a good guest and to be polite and be grateful for what little people have. [Getting sick] three times in 15 years is a really small price to pay for all the really awesome food that I've had and the kind of relationships I've been able to have with people, largely based on the fact that I don't put my nose in the air. N

BY
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DAVID SCOTT HOLLOWAY/CNN

TINKER, TAILOR, SOLDIER, SPICE

Russian entrepreneurs have recently infiltrated the closed world of elite London restaurants

BOB BOB RICARD

BY
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RUSSIANS ARE taking over London. No, we're not talking high-end real estate or soccer teams. We're talking food and drink. Unlikely as it may seem, London's newest generation of restaurateurs comes from Moscow—and their restaurants are among the most innovative and popular arrivals on London's crowded food scene.

Most of these new restaurants don't serve Russian food, but let's start with the exception that proves the rule: Zima, the brainchild of Moscow chef Alexei Zimin. Zima's shtick is Russian street food. Truth be told, Russian street food isn't a thing—for pressing climatic reasons, Russians are strongly inclined to eat indoors for most of the year. "I wanted to create a place that would fit in among the new hipster-ethnic food places," says Zimin, whose rotund figure and luxuriant ginger beard give him the look of a Tolstoyan landowner. "But at the same time, I wanted it to be absolutely Russian in spirit." A Moscow take on a club sandwich, for instance, is made with Georgian-inspired spicy chicken *tabaka* and salted cucumbers, while the poached salmon comes with sweet beets and sour cream. You can also load up on real black Oscietra caviar in any quantity you can afford, and it's the real *malossol* kind, lightly salted and fresh, not like the pasteurized stuff that comes in tins.

Zima is reported to be inspired by Soviet *ryumochnaya*—literally, a shot glass joint—a kind of Soviet stand-up bar serving vodka and open-faced sandwiches. Late on weekend nights, the

ALL ABOARD: Leonid Shutov's restaurant Bob Bob Ricard has décor that is somewhere between a high-end American diner and a 1930s Pullman dining car.

place has a kitschy, raucous, speakeasy feel to it. This may have something to do with the staggering collection of infused vodkas, ranging from the familiar pepper and cranberry to horseradish, sea buckthorn and curry leaves. Concerning the last: We tried it so that you don't have to. Curry vodka is one cultural mashup too far.

While Zima is cheap and cheerful, Novikov does not attract the bargain hunter. Moscow restaurant king Arkady Novikov opened his 19,000-square-foot emporium four years ago—and now reports that it's turning over $36 million a year. It's not just bling that attracts the billionaire crowd. The food is stunningly well-executed: It includes umami-rich crispy moray eel, and hamachi carpaccio so fresh it almost swims into your mouth. Not that bling is absent, mind you—Novikov London's website features a "private jet and takeaway menu" offering marbled Australian Waygu beef at $105 a pop and Sicilian red prawns at $98.

The financial crisis in Russia has accelerated restaurateurs' westward move. Ginza Project began the expansion of major Russian restaurants overseas six years ago with branches of its unashamedly nostalgic Mari Vanna—decorated like a Soviet communal apartment and serving traditional Russian food that a babushka would make—in New York, Washington, Los Angeles and, since 2012, in London. But since 2014, the ruble—and with it, Russians' purchasing power—has fallen by half, devastating Moscow's upmarket restaurant scene and accelerating their owners' quest for profit abroad. Novikov has diversified into London, New York and Dubai. And Andrei Delos, whose $55 million Turandot broke records in Moscow when it opened in 2005 as the world's most expensive new restaurant, is expanding to London later this year with Café Pushkin, a Russian nobleman's palace transported to Mayfair.

Russia's uncertain business climate is also a factor. "A lot of Russian restaurateurs want to have a base outside Russia for safety reasons," says Leonid Shutov, who sold his advertising business in Moscow and moved to London. "Part of it is ambition—they are at the top in Russia and want to prove themselves internationally." Shutov's London restaurant, Bob Bob Ricard, is a deliriously strange mix of high-end American diner and 1930s Pullman dining car. The booths are fitted with conical lamps and brass rails, and each features a button labeled "Ring for champagne." The staff wear livery of bright pink and green, making the place look like a party scene from a Terry Gilliam film. The food is Russo-British, with a phenomenal wine. "BBR has personality and weirdness that is very hard to come by," says Shutov. "At the top end of the restaurant market, the risks of deviating from a tried-and-tested formula are greater, so most restaurateurs aren't willing to do eccentricity."

Part of the success of Russian restaurateurs in London is delivering something brilliant and strange that no British entrepreneur, with bankers monitoring the books, would ever be crazy enough to attempt. Hedonism Wines in Mayfair, for instance, is the diametric opposite of old-school West End wine shops. Hedonism, an enormous glass-floored space, is a bar with stools carved out of giant tree stumps, banks of chandeliers made of wine glasses and a children's play area with soft toys. It was opened by Evgeny Chichvarkin, a Russian cellphone tycoon who moved to London in 2009. "Lots of Russians who did business in the 1990s are no longer needed in their homeland," says Chichvarkin. "I understand why business owners want to leave the thieving regime—it's a kleptocracy run by parasites."

> "BBR HAS PERSONALITY AND WEIRDNESS THAT IS VERY HARD TO COME BY."

Less odd, but in its own way just as revolutionary, is Moscow entrepreneur Mikhail Zelman's Burger & Lobster chain, conceived and born in London. Burger & Lobster's unique selling point is offering just the eponymous menu items—burger, lobster, lobster roll—each for a flat price of $29. Zelman has even penned a "mono-product manifesto," arguing that specialization is the way forward; Londoners line up down the street for the privilege of enjoying a Soviet-style lack of menu choices. Zelman's Global Craftsman Group now sells over 5,000 lobsters a day in 13 Burger & Lobster restaurants and even owns a Canadian lobster fishery to keep up with demand. His business has expanded to include Goodman steak houses, Smack Lobster Roll, Rex & Mariano, Zellman Meats and Beast—a super-high-end joint specializing in steak and giant king crab.

"When I opened Goodman, no one believed that Londoners would eat American meat cooked in Spanish ovens and brought to the table by Russians. It's the positive effect of globalization," says Zelman. "The strength of modern London is that people can come in with ideas that seem crazy for England—and succeed."

REWIND

50 YEARS

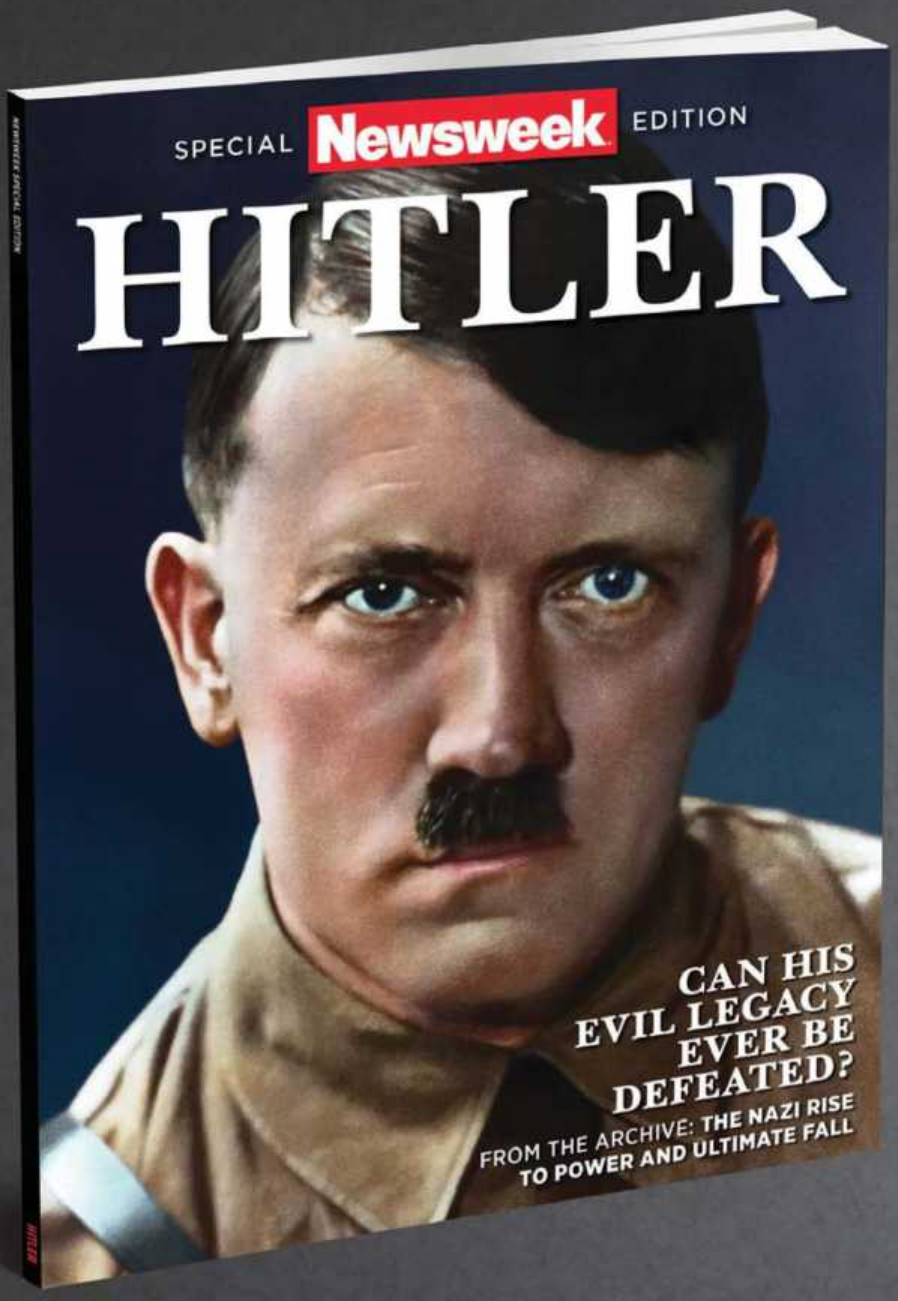
JUNE 20, 1966

ON A PROPOSAL TO BUILD A NEW ROAD "TO TRAVERSE THE WILDEST SECTION" OF THE GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS IN "RACE FOR (RECREATION) SPACE"

"You can tear down the Metropolitan Museum," says Georgia State College ecologist Charles Wharton, "and people will build another. But you can't re-create the Smokies. This form of art can never be re-created."

His Reign of Terror

Then and Now



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