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09.30.2016 / VOL. 167 / NO. 12



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You can't secure America with just one demographic. *by Abigail Jones*

COVER CREDIT: ILLUSTRATION BY DELIZA/SHUTTERSTOCK

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## BIG SHOTS

USA

### Chelsea Blast

New York—  
Passers-by stand behind police lines after a homemade bomb in a dumpster injured 29 people in Manhattan's Chelsea neighborhood on September 17. Police found a second device made with a pressure cooker four blocks away. There was no immediate word on a motive for the attack, which came the same day as a pipe bomb exploded before a running race in New Jersey. The following day, a number of pipe bombs were found in a backpack on top of a municipal garbage can in Elizabeth, New Jersey. About 36 hours after the Chelsea blast, police announced that they had arrested a suspect.



SPENCER PLATT

SPENCER PLATT/GETTY







## SYRIA

## No End in Sight

Douma, Syria—Wounded children receive care at a makeshift hospital in the rebel-held town of Douma after an airstrike on September 12. The attack was blamed on government forces and came on the day the cease-fire brokered by Russia and the United States went into effect. A few days later, the truce appeared close to collapse after U.S. forces accidentally bombed Syrian army troops instead of an Islamic State (ISIS) target and following continuing violations by other parties in the conflict.



ABD DOUMANY





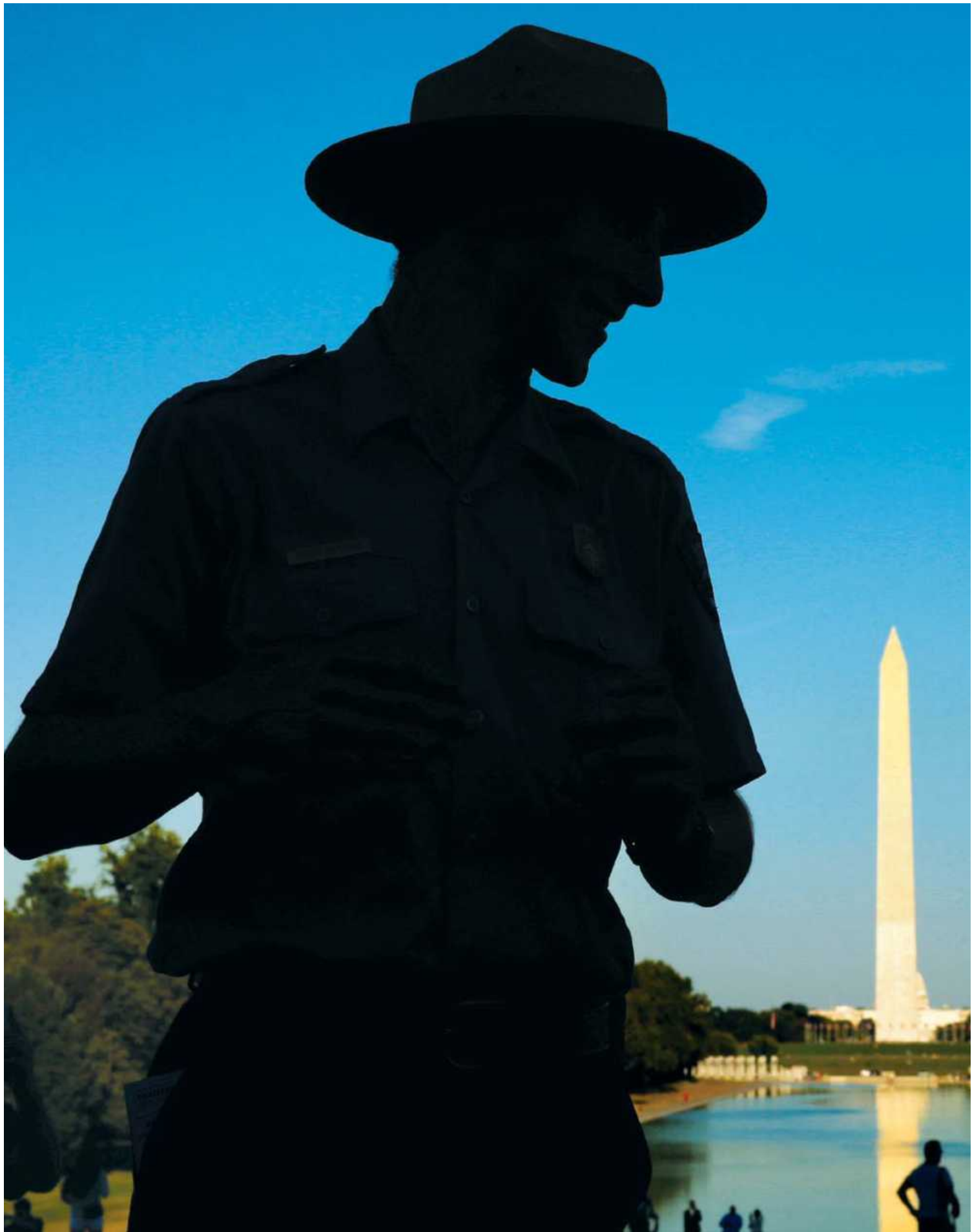
USA

## Stand-In

North Las Vegas, Nevada—Bill Clinton speaks at a campaign event on September 14 while his wife, Hillary, the Democratic presidential nominee, was recovering from pneumonia. The former president was due to preside over the Clinton Global Initiative's meeting this month but has promised to step away from the Clinton Foundation, which the CGI is part of, if Hillary is elected president. The foundation has been rated one of the most effective global charities in providing medical care, food and development assistance around the world, but Republicans claim it creates a conflict of interest.



ETHAN MILLER





JONATHAN ERNST/REUTERS

USA

## Monumental Changes

Washington, D.C.— Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi visits the Lincoln Memorial on September 14 during her first trip to the U.S. capital since her party won elections in Myanmar. President Barack Obama said the United States was ready to lift sanctions on her country, although human rights groups remain concerned about the situation there, particularly for the Rohingya ethnic group, who are not recognized as citizens. Suu Kyi has been criticized for not doing enough to help the Muslim minority.



JONATHAN ERNST



# P A G E O N E

HUNGARY

**POLITICS**

REFUGEES

PROSTITUTION

RUSSIA

ECONOMY

THE SCOOP

## BLIND TRUST ISSUES

You'd have to be very gullible to buy Donald Trump's claim that his global business deals won't jeopardize national security

**LIKE A POLITICAL** Elmer Gantry, Donald Trump goes from city to city, proclaiming that only he can save America, spinning outrageous statements and spewing lies before heading off to his next revival meeting. Serious questions about his candidacy for the presidency are left unanswered or buried under a flurry of deceit.

Confronted with the recent *Newsweek* cover story detailing numerous potential conflicts of interest between his foreign business dealings and American national security should he be elected, Trump and his children responded with a litany of nonsensical claims. There would be no conflicts, he said, because he would put his company, the Trump Organization, into a blind trust. Then he said he would sever his connections with the business. With both answers, though, he said his children would run the company. Then his daughter, Ivanka Trump, a

fashion designer and former model, jumped in with her goofy explanation, saying she and her siblings would figure out how to avoid deals that might raise conflicts of interest for their father.

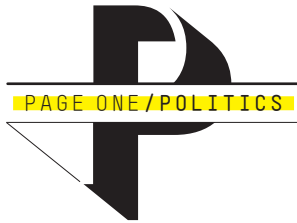
The onslaught of words, to the uninformed, may have sounded persuasive. Voters could be excused for thinking the Trumps had solved the problem. They haven't. Worse, if the Trumps believe what they are saying, there is no question a President Trump would be America's most conflicted chief executive, forcing the United States to confront a problem that would be unprecedented.

The *Newsweek* article dug into the deals of the Trump Organization, a private entity with a global web of financial ties. The company—which made its name as a real estate developer and a (failed) casino operator—has not been in either business for years. Instead, it sells two things: the Trump

BY  
**KURT EICHENWALD**  
[@kurteichenwald](#)



**CARDBOARD TIGER:**  
Trump's claim that he'd put his company in a blind trust if elected suggests he has no idea how such arrangements work.



name and, until he began his national campaign, the reality television show *The Apprentice*, for which Trump was host and executive producer.

The global conflicts that could undermine national security are in Trump's branding business. He has many overseas partners with undisclosed ties to factions within their governments; a troubling number of them are criminals or under indictment. All of them are paying, have paid or about to start paying millions of dollars to the Trump Organization for the privilege of putting his name on their buildings.

So, if Trump gets into the White House, the president of the United States will be in a business deal with an Azerbaijani billionaire whose father is a prominent government official identified by American intelligence as a money launderer for the Iranian military. The Trump Organization's partners in India would place America's crucial but shaky alliance with Pakistan at risk. Relations between Trump and Turkey's government are deteriorating in part because of his business connections there, and that country's president has told people close to him that he will not allow a Trump-led America to use a military base that has been a critical staging area for the bombing campaign in Syria against the Islamic State group, known as ISIS. In other words, all these entanglements would imperil the national security of the United States.

These conflicts cannot be resolved with the simpleminded solutions offered by the Trump family. Start with Trump's "blind trust" argument. Politicians using a blind trust hand over their investment portfolios to independent third parties that make trades of stocks and bonds without seeking permission or informing the politician. As a result, the politician doesn't know what is in the trading account, thus eliminating the danger that financial interests will influence governmental decisions.

The lunacy of Trump's argument is evident. If someone drops a huge curtain in front of Trump Tower, will Trump no longer know the building is there? And Trump *already knows* who his overseas partners are, so unless he suffers from an

illness that cripples his memory, the conflicts will not be resolved just because those deals are in a blind trust. Another obvious problem here: It will be awfully difficult for Trump not to know what the Trump Organization is up to if, on a state visit to Russia, he sees "Trump Tower Moscow" on a high-rise there. Lastly, a blind trust is not blind unless the person managing it is independent of the owner, and Trump has said his children will manage the company if he wins in November.

Trump says he will "sever" his relationship with the Trump Organization, and his *children* will be running the company and will be its primary financial beneficiaries. In a true blind trust, the beneficiary continues to receive the financial rewards of the investment. So will money keep flowing to Trump? He won't say. And it doesn't matter, because it is clear he could easily enrich his kids and "their" company from the Oval Office.

Before anyone recites Trump's "America is more important than the Trump Organization" shtick, take a look at what he has done during his candidacy: Repeatedly, he has shown that he is more concerned about his company than he is with either his campaign or the international economy. When a majority in the U.K. voted in

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## IF SOMEONE DROPS A HUGE CURTAIN IN FRONT OF TRUMP TOWER, WILL TRUMP NO LONGER KNOW IT IS THERE?

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favor of leaving the European Union, the value of the pound collapsed. On that day, Trump was in Turnberry, Scotland, presiding over the opening ceremony for a new Trump golf course. Asked about the vote to leave, known as Brexit, Trump spoke not of the global economic chaos set off by the event, but of the benefits to his golf resort. "When the pound goes down, more people are coming to Turnberry," he said.

Earlier this month, when Trump abandoned his yearslong effort to prove the risible claim that President Barack Obama was born in Kenya, he made the statement at his new hotel in Washington, D.C. He devoted just one sentence to recanting his birther lie and spent the rest of the time praising his new hotel. Once again, Trump business trumped truth.

Finally, there was the explanation of this blind trust ruse advanced by Ivanka Trump on *Good*



*Morning America*. Regarding the *Newsweek* article, she said, “There’s something so much bigger than our business at stake, and that’s the future of this country. As a private business, we can make decisions that are not in our best interest.... We can say, ‘You know what? We’ll do less deals,’ and, ‘Not going to do that deal, even though it’s a fine deal.’ It’s economically reasonable because it could create a conflict of interest, and we’ll act incredibly responsibly.”

Let’s unpack this stunning statement. First, note that it contains an admission that Trump Organization deals would create multiple conflicts of interest for a President Trump. Second, we should just trust the Trump children to figure out which deals they pursue could affect American national security. Unless Ivanka Trump is

suggesting that she and her brothers will be in the White House for foreign policy and national security briefings, or that their dad will give them occasional phone calls to discuss classified information, how will the Trump children know how to steer clear of U.S. foreign policy? Her argument here suggests she would not do well on the reality show *Are You Smarter Than a Fifth Grader?*

The conflicts of interest between the Trump Organization and American national security, should Trump become president, cannot be fixed. The dangers created by having a president whose decisions could be based on his own and his children’s financial interests are unprecedented. The Trumps have a choice: They can sell the Trump Organization, or Donald Trump can be president. They cannot have both. **N**

**DOUBLE-BLIND BIND:** Trump knows what buildings and partners he has, so even a blind trust would not prevent him from favoring both in the White House.

OZAN KOSE/AFP/GETTY





## MY HOOKER HAS A FACE!

# How some sex workers are defying stigma and the cops

**WHEN DELILAH** began work as an escort last year, she chose to blur her face in the photos she posts on her website and Twitter profile. The Ottawa, Ontario, college student made the decision to hide her features to keep her sex work from her conservative Muslim family and so she can transition smoothly and without stigma into a different career when she graduates.

But hiding her face has its drawbacks. “I would certainly get a lot more clients. And no one would be in for a shock when they saw me,” says the 23-year-old, explaining that her baby face can surprise new clients. “I wish we lived in a world where I could show my face.”

An escort’s decision to reveal or obscure his or her face online sheds light on the complicated issues sex workers navigate as they seek to balance profits and competition, their plans for the future and potential attention from law enforcement. Several escorts also told *Newsweek* they show their faces in hopes their “coming out” will help strip the shame from sex work and add momentum to their work toward decriminalization—a focus of media and non-profit attention this year.

Hilary Holiday, a Minneapolis escort, says she covered her face in photos when she began sex work in the early 2000s. Then, about six years ago, jealous competitors began posting in online escort forums that she must be hiding her face because she was hideous, and Holiday grew frustrated. She finally posted photos to prove them wrong. “My income, like, doubled

when I showed my face, so I kind of got addicted to showing,” Holiday tells *Newsweek*, explaining that her annual earnings spiked from \$150,000 to \$300,000.

Now Holiday posts photos with her face uncovered, both for the money and because she’s proud of what she does and what she’s accomplished. “Everybody knows I do this with integrity. My kids have gone on nice trips; we have a hot tub in the yard. I’m a good provider,” says Holiday, who doesn’t see smokers or men under 35. But she warns new sex workers that covering their faces in online photos doesn’t guarantee their protection or privacy. “You’re probably eventually going to get outed, so you should really be comfortable with it,” she says.

Sex work can also put an escort at a disadvantage in a custody fight, especially when an angry ex-partner uses it to argue the sex worker is an unfit parent. “As soon as there’s a dispute with an unscrupulous partner, the partner just says, ‘Your honor, my ex is a sex worker!’ And what do you think happens?” says escort and sex work advocate Maggie McNeill. She adds that her decision to show her face was made easier by the fact that she doesn’t have children and doesn’t plan on a future career that could “potentially be bombed” by her long history of sex work.

McNeill, who blogs as “the Honest Courtesan,” says new escorts weigh multiple factors when deciding how open to be with their images online. “I tell young girls, ‘You might want to really consider whether you want to show your



BY  
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**WITH INTEGRITY:** Minneapolis escort Hilary Holiday says she's able to provide for her family through her work in the sex industry.

face or not," McNeill says. "You may get married, you may have children. Even if your family of birth is cool with it, how do you know your in-laws will be cool with it?"

Prostitution has been a center of conversation in the media this year, with *New York* magazine running a cover story, "Is Prostitution Just Another Job?," in March and *The New York Times*

*Magazine* doing the same in May, with "Should Prostitution Be a Crime?" Then, later in May, Amnesty International published its policy on protecting sex workers from abuse, which recommended the decriminalization of consensual sex work. "This is based on evidence that these laws often make sex workers less safe and provide impunity for abusers, with sex workers often too scared of being penalized to report crime to the police," the organization said.

Like other issues surrounding prostitution and decriminalization, choosing whether to reveal one's face online is a bigger concern for

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**"MY INCOME, LIKE, DOUBLED WHEN I SHOWED MY FACE, SO I KIND OF GOT ADDICTED TO SHOWING."**

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well-off escorts who charge \$400 an hour and have their own websites and Twitter profiles, while poor and marginalized prostitutes have other, more pressing worries.

Escorts still risk arrest. Posting their faces online can help law enforcement investigate and prosecute sex workers. "Having your face on Twitter could be an opportunity for police to reach out to you and entrap you," says Philadelphia escort Mike Crawford, who calls himself a "full-time queer, part-time cashsexual" on his Twitter profile. "If you have the same image on your Facebook page and on your ads, an investigator could quickly use Google search to match them up." (When Holiday was arrested on prostitution charges in 2013, police said they matched photos on her escort website to her driver's license.)

Still, Crawford says his decision to show his face is cemented by his work as an advocate for sex workers and decriminalization. He and other advocates believe sex worker rights today are evolving but are at the point where gay rights were in the 1950s, where coming out can jeopardize a person's job and family ties.

"I've had sex workers apologize to me for not being out," says McNeill. "And I'm like, 'Oh honey, don't apologize to me! You have a life. I made my decision. If I were 30, I might not make the decision to show my face.'" 

## IN GOD WE BUST

# Inside Russia's new crackdown on religion

ON A RECENT Sunday morning, Donald Ossewaarde, a Baptist preacher from the United States, hosted an informal Bible study group at his home in Oryol, a small city 225 miles south of Moscow. Most of the dozen or so people there had been coming to Ossewaarde's weekly gatherings for years, and they were looking forward to an hour of Christian song, prayer and discussion.

But as the lesson began, three police officers walked into Ossewaarde's house. They waited silently until the lesson was over, then started questioning everyone, before insisting that Ossewaarde and his wife, Ruth, accompany them to the local police station. Police told Ossewaarde a woman had filed a complaint against him, saying she was outraged that "foreign religious cultists" were allowed to operate in the city.

At a court hearing within hours, a judge found Ossewaarde guilty of illegal missionary work and fined him 40,000 rubles (about \$600). For Ossewaarde, a Russian speaker who has lived in Oryol since 2002, the ruling was shocking. "We had been perfectly free all these years to give out literature, to talk to people on the street," he says. "People have either been friendly or indifferent."

Not anymore. In July, President Vladimir Putin signed a law that cracks down on missionary work and evangelism. Among other things, it mandates that people share their religious beliefs only at state-registered places of worship. Critics say the law, which was approved as part of a swath of "anti-extremism and terrorism" legislation, contradicts Russia's post-Soviet constitution, which guarantees citizens and foreigners the right to disseminate their religious beliefs. "Soviet history



shows us how many people of different faiths have been persecuted for spreading the word of God," wrote Sergei Ryakhovsky, head of the Protestant Churches of Russia, in an open letter to Putin. "This law brings us back to that shameful past."

The law comes at a time when the Kremlin is

BY  
**MARC BENNETTS**  
[@marcbennetts](https://twitter.com/marcbennetts)

**CHURCH AND STATE: A new law targeting missionary work has affected minority "foreign" religions such as Jehovah's Witnesses and Mormons.**



pushing a major anti-Western propaganda campaign, from accusing the U.S. and U.K. of plotting to overthrow Putin to boasting about Moscow's ability to reduce the U.S. to "radioactive ash." So far, the law has exclusively affected members of minority "foreign" religions—the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness, Jehovah's Witnesses and Protestants with Baptist, Pentecostal and Seventh-Day Adventist roots. Believers of these religions have frequent problems gaining state permission for churches and temples, and they often have little choice but to gather informally at the homes of their congregants.

The Russian Orthodox Church, a powerful Kremlin ally that has traditionally been hostile to minority faiths, has not been affected, and Orthodox officials have dismissed criticism of the law, saying it does not prevent believers from sharing their faith. Russia's Muslims, who make up some 10 percent of the population, seem divided, with regional muftis split on whether the law is a gross violation of human rights or a necessary step in the fight against Islamic extremism.

Ossewaarde believes it's the former. Two days after his conviction, he received a warning from his court-imposed lawyer, Andrey Butenko; if he and his wife chose to stay in Russia, the lawyer said, they could be in danger. Concerned that Butenko's warning was an indirect message from authorities, Ruth Ossewaarde flew to the United States on August 22. Donald Ossewaarde remained in Oryol to appeal his conviction.

Butenko tells *Newsweek* he was not acting on anyone's orders and says his warning was inspired by genuine concern for the couple's well-being. "All religions except traditional Russian faiths are being slowly forced out of Russia," he says. "The state will do whatever it thinks it needs to do in order to achieve this. This is how the security forces work. If they need to, they could do something bad to him."

The Ossewaardes are not the only ones who have been affected. In late July, police officers detained Ebenezer Tuah, a student from Ghana, as he carried out a baptism at a swimming pool in Tver, a small city near Moscow. Tuah and a group of Ghanaese nationals had rented the pool for their Protestant group for the day, and there were no Russian citizens present. The officers handcuffed Tuah and held him overnight. He was later fined 50,000 rubles (about \$780) for "conducting religious rites and ceremonies" without the necessary documents. (He declined to comment.)

"They treated him like a common criminal," says Konstantin Andreev, a lawyer at the Slavic Center for Law and Justice, which has filed appeals

against the convictions of both Ossewaarde and Tuah, and others charged under the new law.

Andreev, who is also a Protestant preacher, believes the legislation is part of a broader crackdown on civil liberties since Putin became president for the third time, amid mass protests, in 2012. He says the courts and police enforcing the law are doing so with a flawed understanding of it, as it technically concerns only members of organized religious groups attempting to convert those who do not share their faith. In reality, critics say, the authorities can label almost any religious activities not carried out in state-registered churches as missionary work or evangelism.

"This law has been joyfully welcomed by nationalist-minded people, who say at last we have a means of fighting against those who are not Russian Orthodox Christians and do not share our ideas," Andreev says.

Mormons in particular have had problems since the law came into effect. In August, Russian authorities deported six Mormon missionaries for violating compulsory registration requirements. Although the deportations were not directly linked to the law on sharing beliefs, analysts say the expulsions are part of a new intolerance for

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**"ALL RELIGIONS EXCEPT TRADITIONAL RUSSIAN FAITHS ARE BEING SLOWLY FORCED OUT."**

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foreign religions in Russia. "Lawmakers have decided that missionaries are dangerous people," says Roman Lunkin, a religion analyst at the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow.

Some in the Orthodox Church have also criticized the legislation. "This law plainly contradicts the Gospels," wrote Karina Chernyak, who runs an Orthodox youth club in Moscow, in an article for the Sova Center, a nonprofit that monitors religion and Russian society. "It is the mission of every Christian to go and teach his or her belief to others. In many ways, this is the essence of belief."

Back in Oryol, Ossewaarde is preparing for his appeal. For now, he has shuttered his Bible study group. A Russian-language notice on the door of his home reads: "Dear friends! Until further notice, there will be no meetings here. There is an official assertion that these activities are illegal. Sorry for the inconvenience. Donald." ■

## QUOTA APPROVAL

# Voters in Hungary look likely to reject an EU plan to settle refugees in the country—delivering another blow to European unity

**VIKTOR ORBÁN**, Hungary's prime minister, is not taking any chances. On state television, advertisements warn of a growing migrant menace. Billboards proclaim that Brussels plans to relocate a city's worth of potential terrorists to Hungary. And lawmakers from the ruling right-wing Fidesz party are calling on supporters to go to the polls on October 2 to make sure Orbán gets the answer he wants to the following referendum question: "Do you want the European Union to be able to order the mandatory settlement of non-Hungarian citizens in Hungary without Parliament's consent?"

The latest polls suggest at least two-thirds of the electorate will vote "no." That probable outcome will be in part because Hungary, like its neighbors in the former Soviet bloc, has almost no experience with immigration. The country remains overwhelmingly white and Christian. But people will also be voting "no" in reaction to recent events. A year ago, Hungary was the epicenter of Europe's refugee crisis. Keleti train station in Budapest became a giant open-air refugee camp as thousands of asylum seekers poured into the country across the southern border and stayed in the capital before eventually heading west to Germany. In response, Orbán's government built fences on its southern borders with Serbia and Croatia. "If we let the Muslims onto the continent to compete with us, they will

outnumber us," Orbán said last year. "It's mathematics. And we don't like it." Many Hungarians agreed with him.

Now, as he rallies the country for a "no" vote, Orbán is also pushing back against another perceived threat to Hungary's identity—the European Union. Under the terms of the European Council's Emergency Response Mechanism, adopted last September, member states agreed to relocate 160,000 people under a quota system (those asylum seekers are currently living mainly in Greece and Italy). Hungary was penciled in to take 1,294 refugees, but, along with Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Romania, it was hostile to the quota system from the start and voted against it. So far, Hungary has accepted no refugees under the plan. Instead, it has joined with Slovakia in challenging the plan in the European Court of Justice.

Hungary may be resisting the decision-makers in Brussels, but, for now, nobody is talking about a Huxit—a Hungarian exit from the EU. The referendum is not legally binding, nationally or internationally. But neither can the EU stop it or sanction Hungary. "There will be a lot of cluck-clucking in Brussels but nothing serious," says György Schöpflin, a member of the European Parliament for Fidesz. "This is about strengthening the government's position when

BY  
**ADAM LEBOR**  
@adamlebor



**BORDER FORCE:** Hungarian police detain a Syrian family in August 2015 after they entered the country from Serbia.

it is negotiating with Brussels.”

With the EU weakened by Brexit—Britain’s upcoming exit from the union—many in central Europe believe now is the time to roll back the liberal immigration policies favored in Western Europe. As pressure builds, old political fault lines are re-emerging. The Visegrád Four—Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia—often supported by the Baltic nations, are increasingly confident and vocal. Orbán and his Polish allies are open about their aim: to destroy what they see as a liberal consensus among Western European nations on the benefits of immigration. “We are at a historical cultural moment,” said Orbán in early September, appearing with Jarosław Kaczyński, the leader of Poland’s ruling party. “There is the possibility of a cultural counter-revolution right now.”

In Hungary, Orbán’s opponents say he’s stirring up dangerous nationalist feeling by holding the vote. “The referendum will feed anger and intolerance here,” says Viktor Szigetvári, co-chair of Together, a liberal opposition party. “It will further undermine the cohesion of our society.”

Orbán’s allies disagree. “Hungary’s referendum will reinforce the position of other states that have grave doubts about the quota, not just the Visegrád countries,” says Schöpflin. “A lot of people are uneasy about compulsory quotas, and the mood has darkened after the attacks in Paris, Brussels and the events in Cologne. People are saying, ‘Yes, we are generous and open, but maybe there is something in the argument that some people,

including the second generation of migrants, are committed to destroying our way of life.’”

Critics in Europe and across the globe have slammed Orbán’s policies. In September, Zeid Ra’ad al-Hussein, the U.N. high commissioner for human rights, lumped Orbán in with the Islamic State militant group (ISIS) and right-wing populists such as Donald Trump and Marine Le Pen, the leader of the French National Front, accusing them of peddling “half-truths” and “oversimplifications.” Such leaders, he said, “seek in varying degrees to recover a past, halcyon and so pure in form, where sunlit fields are settled by peoples united by ethnicity or religion—living peacefully in isolation, pilots of their fate, free of crime, foreign influence and war. A past that most certainly, in reality, did not exist anywhere, ever.”

Al-Hussein’s remarks angered Hungarian officials. Péter Szijjártó, the Hungarian foreign minister, said it was “unacceptable and outrageous that an unelected U.N. bureaucrat should compare a democratically elected European politician to the ideology of the Islamic State.”

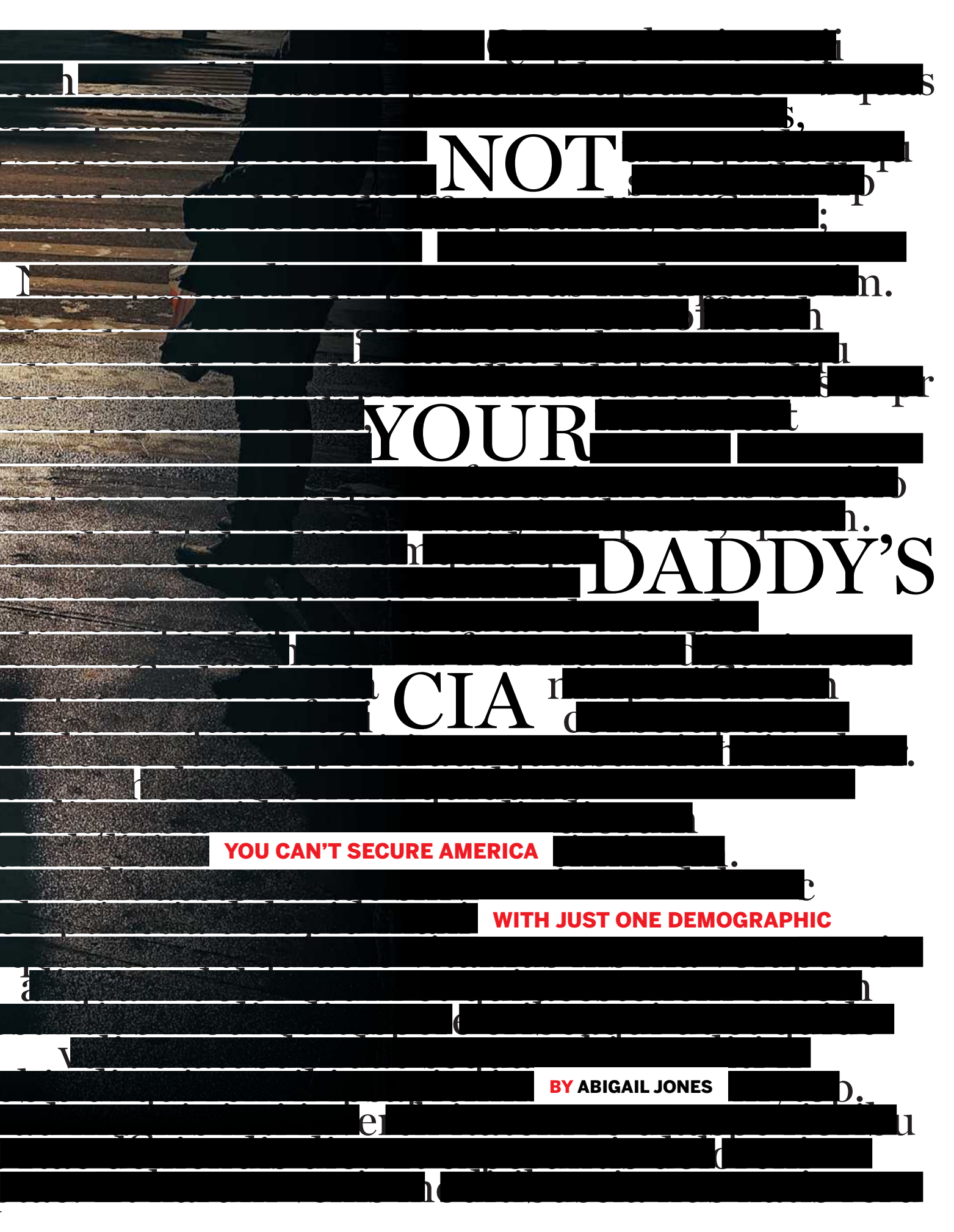
As tensions build between Hungary’s right-wing administration and more liberal governments and institutions outside the country’s borders, the reality on the ground has changed. Each day, only a handful of refugees try to enter Hungary before being turned back; in the summer of 2015, thousands crossed the border every day. Orbán has promised to reinforce the frontier fences he ordered built last year—just in case

## ORBÁN IS PUSHING BACK AGAINST ANOTHER PERCEIVED THREAT TO HUNGARY’S IDENTITY—THE EUROPEAN UNION.

another influx of refugees reaches the country’s borders. “Technical planning is underway to erect a more massive defense system next to the existing line of defense, which was built quickly,” he said on August 26. “Then, if it does not work with nice words, we will have to stop them with force, and we will do so.” EU leaders are unlikely to ever receive such threats from Orbán—but on October 2, they’ll likely get another strong indication that, like the British, Hungarian voters are becoming increasingly hostile to Brussels telling them what to do. **N**







NOT

YOUR

DADDY'S

CIA

**YOU CAN'T SECURE AMERICA**

**WITH JUST ONE DEMOGRAPHIC**

**BY ABIGAIL JONES**



“MY FIRST [REDACTED] SON [REDACTED] I.  
[REDACTED] WAS MY 1993 [REDACTED] WORLD TRADE  
[REDACTED] CENTER [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] BOMBING BABY,” [REDACTED],  
[REDACTED] SAYS GINA BENNETT,

a veteran CIA analyst who has spent her career tracking down the perpetrators behind some of the worst international crises in recent memory. Bennett, a divorced mother of five, can match the birthdate of each child by the bad guys she was pursuing at the time. She calls her second son her “Khobar Towers baby” (born shortly after the 1996 bombing of a military housing complex in Saudi Arabia); her third child, a daughter, her “African embassy bombing baby” (she arrived a few weeks before the 1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania); and her fourth, another son, her “9/11 baby.”

Bennett was in the early stages of her pregnancy during that attack, and despite all of her morning sickness,

“most people didn’t know I was pregnant,” she says. Her fifth child, a girl, was her “Fallujah baby.”

We’re sitting in the CIA’s Office of Public Affairs, surrounded by framed posters of blockbuster thrillers like *Patriot Games*, *Clear and Present Danger* and *Spy Games*. Ever since British secret agent James Bond appeared on film in the 1960s, Americans have been entranced by covert spies leaping onto moving trains moments after bedding exotic babes, or military-grade muscle men slicing through society’s criminal underbelly with the latest guns and gadgets.

We don’t picture Bennett: a woman, a mom.

Bennett wrote the first report warning of Osama bin



**A MOTHER'S WORK:** Bennett wrote the first report warning about Osama bin Laden and briefed Secretary of State Rice about it while in labor.

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Laden in the early 1990s, years before 9/11, and she was one of the six women in the CIA's "band of sisters" that tracked down bin Laden and inspired the 2012 thriller *Zero Dark Thirty*. She briefed Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice while in labor and has brought newborns to the office so she could lend her expertise during crises. (After the Africa embassy bombings, Bennett's boss, who loved babies, whisked away her 3-week-old daughter for hours while Bennett typed up a cable. It wasn't until weeks later that

she learned her daughter had been in the CIA director's office for a meeting about President Bill Clinton's order for a retaliatory bombing raid on Afghanistan.)

Women have been central to American spycraft since 1776, and they continued to play important roles in the World War II-era Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the CIA's predecessor. Even so, the agency has a long history as a chauvinistic old boys' club rife with sexism, where men do the spying and women shuffle papers. "People treat it as only men have a calling to serve their country and it's unnatural for women to do it," Bennett says. "Women have been extremely involved and integral! It burns me up to no end. Women in intelligence is not new. We've always been important, and there's nothing strange with us wanting to do this role."

Hollywood hasn't prepared us for women like Bennett—or, say, Maja Lehnus, the CIA's deputy chief financial officer, who's been married for 29 years, has two children and was the first woman to hold six different leadership positions at the agency, including serving as the first female chief of the center responsible for combating the spread of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons.

"I lived in a world where every day we talked about

incredibly nasty foreign weapons developments," Lehnus says. "There's reason to be afraid. There's reason to be afraid all the time!" She laughs. "People would say, 'What keeps you up at night?' And I'd say, 'I've got a list of nine, and I rotate through them,' because there were just so many bad things that could happen, whether it's a loose nuclear weapon or North Korea deciding they are gonna lob one over.... So I say, 'My job is to worry for you.'" She laughs again. "It's a bad world. We've got bad things going on out there."

At a time when the country may be just weeks away from electing its first female president, many Americans still have no concept of who's keeping them safe—and that women play a critical role in that effort. Some may think CIA women were confined to the counterterrorism unit that pursued Osama bin Laden, which gained extraordinary attention after his death. In fact, women are operating at unprecedented levels on every floor of CIA headquarters and throughout its far-flung global outposts. Perhaps hoping to combat this misconception, the CIA granted *Newsweek* access to seven women from all parts of the agency, including a clandestine operations officer, a bombing expert and a weapons and space analyst. A handful of them are undercover and cannot share their names because of the sensitivity of their work (their names appear here in quotes). Some are married and have children. Two

are single mothers. One was the first CIA officer to come out as gay and not get fired for it. And if you found yourself sitting across from any of them on the New York City subway, she'd look more like a tourist from the Midwest than a master spy.

Despite their extraordinary accomplishments, these women have faced double standards and sexism, and for some, success has come at great personal cost. As former covert CIA Operations Officer Valerie Plame says of many women she

worked with, "They were smart and ambitious and funny, but to be very honest, they had stepchildren. They had not raised their own children. Or they were divorced. Or they went home to cats. They had really paid a personal price."

"The work can break you," says "Vivian," a scientist and explosives expert. "It is 24/7. It is always at a high pace, and if you don't step outside of it every once in a while, it will eat you alive."

### **'CHIEF OF STATION OF NOBODY'**

**HOLLYWOOD HAS** convinced us all that women in the CIA belong to a sorority of badass bitches who stab by day and seduce by night. From *Homeland*'s Carrie Mathison to *State of Affairs*'s Charleston Tucker, we

**"MY JOB IS TO WORRY FOR YOU. IT'S A BAD WORLD. WE'VE GOT BAD THINGS GOING ON OUT THERE."**

have become so accustomed to this repository of interchangeable female CIA screwups and honeypots, and their unstable, erratic behavior, that we forget that the job involves saving lives and preventing atrocities, and you must be able to compartmentalize your emotions at precisely the most horrifying moments. Thanks to Hollywood's clichés, the American public has been largely kept in the dark about Virginia Hall, who joined the OSS in 1944, organized sabotage operations across France, mapped drop zones, and helped POWs to safety—all while disguised as an elderly female farmhand and with a prosthetic leg she named Cuthbert. The Gestapo considered her “the most dangerous of all Allied spies.”

“It was easier to be a woman in the OSS than in the CIA in the early days,” says Toni Hiley, the CIA Museum director. Eloise Page was one of 4,500 women who served in the OSS. She began her career as the secretary to General William Donovan, head of the OSS, and ended it as the third-highest ranking officer in the CIA's Directorate of Operations, the home to case officers who carry out covert assignments and recruit spies. Page, who was known among some colleagues as “the Iron Butterfly,” also became the first female station chief, the highest-ranking job for case officers abroad, and the first woman to head a major intelligence community committee. Before Julia Child introduced American families to French cuisine, she, too, worked for General Donovan and the OSS.

“In the early days, it was benign neglect. There were more men than women. They didn't even think about [us],” says former clandestine officer

Suzanne Matthews, who joined the CIA in 1975 as a secretary. When she entered the operations training course, the precursor to becoming a case officer, she was one of “three or four” women in her class. “Some of the instructors down there misbehaved and made sexual advances to the students—and they were rebuffed, of course—but the students were just trying to get through this very intense program,” she says.

“They tried to push all the women into becoming analysts. Or reports officers. That was acceptable,” says Janine Brookner, who joined the CIA in 1968. “I insisted on going into operations.” She says she was one of six women in her 66-person officer training program. When she landed her first job as a case officer in Asia, her station chief saddled her with “ridiculous” paperwork and assignments. “In the meantime, I went out and met people. I used my training and background. By the time my next chief of station got there, I knew people from the presidential palace all the way to the Communist Party. I was in my 20s—this little blond woman. No one ever sus-

## THE GESTAPO CONSIDERED VIRGINIA HALL “THE MOST DAN- GEROUS OF ALL ALLIED SPIES.”

pected who I worked for,” she says.

When a new boss came on board, Brookner wrote a memo summarizing her contacts and their access to information. He was impressed. “He was one of the few men in the agency in those days where it didn't matter whether you were a man or a woman; if you could do the job, he would use you. He gave me my opportunity. Not only did I do well there but he made sure everybody at headquarters knew about me.”

Brookner once made a deal with a division chief: She'd work in his station for a couple of years, and if she did well, he'd make her a station chief. When it came time for that promotion, he offered her one of two undesirable positions in Latin America, where she'd have no chance of being promoted and no operations to oversee. “I'd be chief of station of nobody! I said to him, ‘What will I do there?’ He said, ‘You could go shopping.’”

Brookner ended up accepting a station chief position that “none of the guys wanted...because of the dangers and problems in the station and in that country. But it was the only one I could get, and at least we had operations and a staff.” (While she cannot say where she was posted, *The New York Times* reported that she was the station chief in Jamaica. It was “the CIA station from hell,” according to the *Los Angeles Times*. “Jamaica had a notorious reputation as the agency's dumping ground, a dead-end post for misfits and losers.”)

Another time, Brookner was close to recruiting a critical target she'd been developing for six months when her station chief was removed. The new chief arrived and wanted someone else to recruit the target. “When that happens, you don't lose your cool. You say, ‘Let me think about it.’ Then you come back in calmly and say, ‘I thought about it, and this is why I think I should make the recruitment.’ He was still reluctant, but when I did it, I succeeded—and it made him look good,” she says. “Over the years, almost all the time, especially as a woman, you had to start at square one again and prove yourself. There were very few of us who succeeded.”

Yet Brookner did succeed—she infiltrated the Communist Party, recruited a Soviet bloc agent and became one of the CIA's first female station chiefs—until subordinate officers (including her deputy chief of station, whom she had reported for abusing his wife) accused her of being a lush





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**A LEADER AMONG MEN:** Lehnus, who has claimed the “first woman to...” title six times in the CIA, interviewed all the senior women in the directorate during her early days. “Didn’t take me long,” she says. “There weren’t that many.”

who sexually harassed men and wore provocative clothing. It was 1992, and Brookner was, at that point, a 24-year veteran of the clandestine service. She vehemently denied their claims, sued the CIA and won. In December 1994, the agency settled for \$410,000. Brookner resigned soon after. Today, she’s a lawyer in Washington, D.C., specializing in cases against the CIA and other federal agencies.

As women continued to fight for more opportunities in the 1990s and 2000s, legal troubles plagued the CIA. In 1995, it paid \$1 million in a class-action case accusing the CIA of blanket sexual discrimination. In 2007, a group of women filed a class action alleging that female officers were punished more severely than their male colleagues for having affairs with foreigners. Brookner brought the case to the Equal Employment Opportunity

Commission, but a judge dismissed it for not having enough women in the class, so she filed individual cases for the women and won settlements for each of them.

Today, women make up 45 percent of the CIA workforce and 34 percent of senior leadership. Between 1980 and 2012, female representation increased from 9 percent to 44 percent of midlevel to upper-midlevel positions, like team chiefs or deputy team chiefs, according to a 2013 report led by former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. But as of 2012, just 19 percent of agency officers promoted to executive-level jobs in the Senior Intelligence Service (SIS) were women. The report sounded the alarm for “significant reforms” and said that “not maximizing women’s talents and expertise directly and negatively impacts the mission.”

Since 2013, the agency says, it has “produced tangible progress.” In the past three years, for example, there’s been “a minor increase in the percentage of women”

who take key leadership courses critical to being promoted to the SIS. Women also hold the No. 3 and No. 4 positions at the CIA: Meroe Park is the executive director, and Carmen Middleton is the deputy executive director. In 2013, Avril Haines became the first female deputy director; she's now deputy national security adviser to the White House.

Still, problems persist. A woman has yet to hold the agency's most prestigious job, head of the Directorate of Operations. Women are more likely than men to decline high-profile assignments—which are critical to advancement—because they require long, unpredictable hours. “I have about seven years out of my career when I could not take certain assignments that were high-profile, incredibly demanding and involved travel,” Bennett says. “So naturally, when you look at my depth and breadth of experiences compared to a man of my rank and age, you will see a disparity. You won't see any points for the skills I gained being the mother of five.”

She also rattles off anecdotes about female colleagues who've been told they talk too much, or have sharp elbows, or are too pushy or too emotional. Once, a col-

league was told she needed to show more executive presence and should stop dominating meetings. “You can act like a man, but you'll be judged like a woman,” Bennett says. “If you act like a woman and try to get into executive leadership, you're shamed. Every woman here believes they're being measured by behaviors of professionalism defined by white men decades ago.

“I'm so sick of the deputization of women. Deputy is the worst thing you can be. You're carrying out the vision of someone else. It's not a glass ceiling; it's a wall.”

## THE FIRST TO DIE

THE CIA'S visitor center looks more like the waiting room for a car wash than the portal to America's foreign intelligence service: gray chairs, fluorescent lights, a TV hanging in the corner, the *Today Show* on mute. A man sitting behind a large glass wall slowly issues guest passes. I hand him my driver's license and take a seat next to a stack of hunting magazines. Outside, three men in dark suits linger on the sidewalk, talking. I pick up a copy of *Outdoor Life's* Meat Issue and wait.





**A WOMAN'S PLACE:** Julia Child was a spook before she taught America how to cook. Below, the agency's Memorial Wall, which has 117 stars for officers killed in the field; 11 of those stars are for women.

After I'd read more than I'd planned to about hunting, butchering, freezing and feasting on often adorable forest creatures, the man behind the glass wall finally calls my name, hands me a guest pass and returns my ID. Why had it taken so long? Was he doing a background check? Kali Caldwell, my main contact from the CIA's Office of Public Affairs, says the agency doesn't do that kind of thing. "I wish I could tell you I knew what elementary school you went to, but I don't," she says, adding that she did "a little research" on my writing, mainly to confirm I wasn't a conspiracy theorist.

I then drive into the belly of the CIA's 258-acre campus, passing joggers, leafy vistas and seemingly endless stretches of parked cars. If Hollywood gets one thing right, it's the awesomeness of this place. In the lobby of the Original Headquarters Building, the CIA's famous granite seal is emblazoned on the floor, 16 feet in diameter, with an eagle, shield and 16-point compass star surrounded by the words "Central Intelligence Agency United States of America." Off to the left, there's the OSS Memorial, a single star honoring officers who died in World War II. And on the right, Memorial Wall, where 117 stars are carved into marble, honoring agency officers who've died in the field. An American flag hangs on one side, the CIA flag on the other.

I stand there committing the scene to memory (iPhones and cameras are not allowed in here) when I suddenly realize that a handful of very official-looking men are walking straight for me. Was I in the wrong place? I riffle through my purse, looking for my guest pass, when I hear a woman's voice calling my name. I look up. The men are getting closer, but there's that voice again. A woman emerges from the left. I wave. The men retreat. She introduces herself as Toni Hiley, the museum director, then ushers me over to the Memorial Wall.

"Where you are standing now is where every new agency officer, on that first Monday of their career, swears the oath to serve our nation," she says. She points at the

117 stars and explains that only 11 are for women. One honors Barbara Robbins, who joined the agency in July 1963 as a secretary-stenographer and was killed two years later when terrorists bombed the U.S. Embassy in South Vietnam. She was the first female CIA officer to be killed in the line of duty, and, at 21, she remains the youngest. Another star is for Monique Lewis, who was just hours into her first day as a CIA officer when a suicide bomber attacked the U.S. Embassy in Beirut in 1983. Her husband, James Lewis, a paramilitary officer there, was also killed.

Another star honors Jennifer Matthews, a top Al-Qaeda expert who was killed in 2009 when a Jordanian double agent blew himself up at a CIA base in Khost, Afghanistan. The deadly incident, which took the lives of six other CIA officers, ignited a debate over Matthews's field experience, her role in the tragedy (she'd been the base chief) and the fact that she had a family. "Being a mom and a wife really has nothing to do with it," says Suzanne Matthews (no relation to Jennifer). "There are lots of moms serving in areas like that. Nowadays, if you expect a promotion, you have to serve in war zones, whether you're a man or a woman."

**"IF YOU EXPECT A PROMOTION, YOU HAVE TO SERVE IN WAR ZONES, WHETHER YOU'RE A MAN OR A WOMAN."**

"There were a lot of people criticizing her for being there because she had three kids at home, but no one criticized the men," Bennett says. "It was such a low point for us. We realized people still thought that way, even in *our* organization!"

### **'NICE TRY, ABBY, BUT...'**

**THERE'S** A sexy myth about how people join the CIA: mysterious phone calls, taps on the shoulder, strangers telling you they've been watching you for years. And then there's reality.

"Abby" saw a sign posted on campus during graduate school. "It said, 'The agency is here to interview. Please drop your résumés in this packet.' Right next to it was a sign that said, 'Department of State is here to interview. Drop your résumés in this packet.' And so on and so forth," she says. "It's easier to tell the 'tap on the shoulder' story. It's a bit more sensationalistic."

Abby, Caldwell and I are sitting at a long, rectangular table in a nondescript conference room while a couple of more women sit in chairs against the wall, listening and taking notes. After each interview, one of them collects my recorder, dumps out the batteries and stores all the parts in a ziplock bag, which she returns to me before the next interview.

"I was born in South Asia," Abby says tentatively, ghost-doodling circles on a white legal pad with an unopened pen. "I grew up overseas." She's nervous, and Caldwell explains that she should be: Abby is the first first-generation, naturalized female case officer from a certain South Asian country to join the CIA. She's also a Muslim-American, and her work often takes her to what Caldwell calls "the tip of the spear" in America's fight against terrorism.

"I agreed to do this [interview]—" Abby stops short. "You should know this: Really, case officers do not speak to the press. There aren't that many like me here. It would be very easy to identify me if I gave you enough, even minor details."

Here's what she can say: After attending "high-performing, rigorous" high schools, she arrived in the U.S. with two suitcases, \$400 and an acceptance letter to college. Eventually, she moved to New York City to work in women's rights. In 2000, four years after being naturalized, she joined the CIA.

"There's the opportunity. I reach for it. I did it. Now I'm in, and now it's catching up to me. I can't talk about it! I can't tell anyone! My family—these are the people who are, like, 'Go do something benign, and then we'll support you!'"

Abby went straight into the CIA's secretive operational-training program, which we've come to know as the Farm (a nickname the agency is still reluctant to acknowledge). Abby is reticent to share

details. It's "quite a few months" long, has a high failure rate...and very few women. "What I felt in the first few days [after joining the CIA] was fear. I was just scared out of my mind. If I was scared before, the Farm was a whole different level of 'Oh shit, what have I gotten myself into?'"

The Farm isn't the only subject that's off-limits. Vivian, the explosives expert, can't describe her work in any detail: "Nope. Sorry." Asked to explain what she does as a nuclear expert, "Julie" ends a rambling minute-long explanation with "I'm not doing a good job of explaining this." (She was right.) Asked if she travels for work, she replies, "Different people travel differently," then laughs at the absurdity of her answer. There comes a point when so many of the women have described their work as putting together a 1,000-piece jigsaw puzzle with only 200 of the pieces that Caldwell pipes up and says, "We don't coordinate [our answers]!"

As a case officer, Abby wasn't solving puzzles; she was recruiting spies. "Dozens" of them. "It is everything that's in the movies," she says. "We're meeting with people who are giving us information that would definitely get them; jailed or killed or their families tortured. And I

hope I've demonstrated that I'm not being dramatic. This is real.... You are on a dark street corner. You are passing something in the middle of the night or in a crowded train station. All those things are true, but it's not a guy who's doing them; it's me. But behind me back at headquarters is a whole bunch of people looking to see how I did it...and a whole bunch of guys ready to go do the same thing!" She laughs. "So if I didn't do it correctly, it's 'Hey, Abby, nice try, but we're gonna send John.'"

Yet Abby did excel, so much so that she's now a senior manager overseeing a team tackling the Islamic State group (ISIS) and other militants in the Middle East. She also works on one of the most critical issues for the White House and policymakers (she can't say which one). "My friends, average New Yorkers, I think even they can't fathom that I would have the amount of responsibility I do here," she says.

Caldwell explains that most people from South Asian backgrounds are recruited to the CIA as linguists or support officers. "That's about as far as they go," she says.

"Being a linguist is incredibly critical, but you wouldn't be a manager in cutting-edge policy. You're swimming in the deep end there," Abby says. "That's the big deal. If I was doing all of this in Silicon Valley, they'd be writing this up like crazy: 'Oh my God, look at what she's achieved!'"

Abby adds that her success has come with a cost: She's single. "My male colleagues are all married. They have kids. Interestingly, it's only the single women who are here until 9 p.m. Do we carry more of the water? Sure. Are we willing to do it? Yes. Are we complaining about it? No. Because God, it's delicious!"

Case officers face a unique set of problems when it comes to dating and raising children. They often live overseas, move to a new city (or country) every few years and have a cover identity to protect. The work really isn't family-friendly, and there's little time for a personal life. "Typically, you do a cover job all day, then you're out doing CIA work all night. Not great if your baby sitter cancels," Plame says. "When I left [the CIA] in 2007, I still found it very hard to find a female mentor who had achieved great ops success who also had something resembling a family life. That was very telling, right? You want to find someone that you feel like, 'I can emulate this career. I can do this.' I found it impossible."

Abby says her female friends in the agency are financially independent, drive "the best cars" and have "amazing homes" decorated with "the best stuff from around the world. We have really succeeded. But what do you do when you retire? You're by yourself. It takes a bit to process that."

### **'ON A TERRORIST HIT LIST'**

**ONE OF** the worst experiences that Lehnus, the CIA's deputy CFO, ever had with sexism at the agency was when a supervisor implied she'd received high marks at her review because she'd been sleeping with her boss.

**"TAKE A  
GOOD LOOK  
AROUND  
THIS ROOM.  
WHEN WE'RE  
DONE, SOME  
OF US AR-  
EN'T GONNA  
BE HERE."**





“I sat there in stunned silence,” Lehnus recalls. “I didn’t react at all. I wasn’t equipped to deal with it.” She was a student at Virginia Tech at the time, studying electrical engineering while analyzing foreign weapons at the CIA. She was also the only female analyst in her group, and male colleagues routinely slung crude, inappropriate comments at her.

Since then, Lehnus has claimed the “first woman to...” title six times and received the National Intelligence Distinguished Service Medal, all while raising two kids and becoming that rare symbol of success for younger female officers looking for proof that they don’t have to sacrifice family for work.

In her early days, during a yearlong women’s executive leadership program, Lehnus had the chance to interview all of the senior women in the directorate. “There weren’t that many, and it didn’t take me that long,” she recalls. “What I took away was, most of ’em were single and a few were married, but none had children. So that

was really depressing.”

Lehnus and her husband, an electrical engineer, have two kids—a daughter, who’s a nurse, and a son in college. Growing up, they knew that Mom worked for the CIA. She took them to the agency’s family days and, when her son started playing *Call of Duty*, she introduced him to her unmanned aerial vehicle team. Once, he came home “talking a mile a minute” about an IMAX movie he saw about a moon launch. “I said, ‘Mom used to run the missile and space group!’ Suddenly, there was a new appreciation.”

But it was hard juggling work and family, Lehnus says. She was shuffling young kids to and from day care, staying on top of activities, grocery shopping and taking calls in the middle of the night on a secure line the CIA had set up at her house to discuss nuclear tests. She even

**MARRIED, WITH ASSETS:** Matthews and her husband were what the CIA calls a “tandem couple,” and raised their children overseas, sometimes in very dicey places.

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fielded calls from her hospital bed, right after giving birth to her daughter.

How female CIA officers navigate this muddy terrain depends on their jobs, their personalities and their support systems at home. "I've hauled breast pumps to more countries than I care to admit and gotten milk back from places that I don't think people thought you could get milk back from," Vivian says. "I love what I do, but I love my children more.... I could have every accolade from here, and if it's not working at home, it's not worth it, to me."

Suzanne Matthews and her husband, Jason, were a "tandem couple" (CIA-speak for married spies), and they raised their children overseas, moving to a new city every two or three years. It's easy to tout the benefits of raising kids abroad: They grow up understanding different cultures and are exposed to a wider, more fascinating world. But Suzanne admits that their work could be terrifying.

"We've been in places where my husband was on a terrorist hit list and had to drive an armored car," she says. A guard stationed outside their apartment "would walk around the car with one of those mirrors on a stick looking for bombs," she says. There were a lot of strays in the area, and when her children asked what the guard was doing, she told them he was "looking for cats who might have climbed under the car to sleep at night, so we wouldn't run them over."

In the late 1990s, Suzanne and Jason were stationed in an unstable Balkan country (she can't say which one). "We evacuated three times. I had to drive all the spouses five hours away. We did home-school in hotels and tried to keep the kids calm while we're just freaking out. Jason was the chief. It was a very stressful time."

When Lehnus became a second-level manager overseeing a "pretty large group. It was just too much," she says. Her husband scaled back his career to help out at home. "Not everyone has that," she says. "My husband is not threatened by my job. He always felt that my jobs here were important, and he was going to support me."

One of their greatest hurdles came when their young daughter was diagnosed with Type 1 diabetes. "I'm running a large organization at that point, and suddenly we had all these doctor appointments." Lehnus didn't miss one, not even when she was asked at the last minute to brief a new director about the "Iraq WMD Lessons Learned" report. (She sent a senior analyst instead.) To comply with a policy at her daughter's school, she and her husband also became permanent fixtures on field trips. "You've got this large number of people working for you, and they're saying, 'OK, tomorrow we have to do this and this.' I'm like, 'Oh, sorry! Going to the zoo!'"

**"THE FARM WAS A WHOLE DIFFERENT LEVEL OF 'OH SHIT, WHAT HAVE I GOTTEN MYSELF INTO?'"**

## OUR GAY SPIES

**"SARAH" KNOWS** about being one of the "onlys" at the CIA: She's a single mother and a black woman working in a largely male-dominated field—she's a weapons and space analyst, responsible for the technical side of what bad guys stash in their arsenals. In her first year at the CIA, a colleague started "ranting and raving" about the futility of having a day off for Martin Luther King Day, arguing that "there are other holidays that are far more important," she says. "I told him that his comment made me wonder whether he really wants me sitting next to him, because without the likes of Martin Luther King there would be no me sitting next to him. I would have remained a slave.... He was so quiet. He came back the next day and apologized."

Arguing for diversity in the CIA is ludicrous, verging on insulting. The CIA is a global organization, responsible for national security; how do you achieve a global perspective if you're all white men? "You really do need diversity of thought. You don't get that if you're hiring people who look like you, think like you, talk like you, walk like you—if you're only willing to promote your buddy—that's not gonna help anybody," says Sarah. "You can't secure this nation with one demographic."

The CIA admits it has a diversity problem. Since 2008, the percentage of minorities hired has fallen, according to the 2013 Diversity in Leadership Study. While racial and ethnic minorities account for 24 percent of the agency's workforce, they make up just 11 percent of senior executives. And after an increase in African-American officers reaching the highest rungs of the organization between 1984 and 2004, that progress has reversed in the past decade. Earlier this month, CIA Director John Brennan acknowledged this issue when he told students and dignitaries at Birmingham City Schools' Central Office that "I don't want the agency to





TOM WILLIAMS/ROLL CALL/GETTY; NIKKI KAHN/THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY

be full of individuals who look like me, talk like me, who have similar backgrounds and experiences. I do think if you all are looking the same and acting the same you tend to have a ‘group-think’ which does not help us understand all the complexities of this world.”

Before Lehnus became the deputy CFO, she was chief of the Diversity and Inclusion Office. “I gotta say, that was a really hard job. I said, somewhat jokingly—but not really—that protecting America from weapons of mass destruction was easier than leading diversity and inclusion.”

Over the past decade, Sarah has seen positive change, as well as frustrating setbacks. “You have someone come in, and they’ll be a champion for diversity. Then once that director leaves, you’ll see another shift, which typically goes back to the way things were,” she says. “I honestly believe it was better when I first started, in terms of diversity... There are still leaders who think white males should be leading the organization.”

Tracey Ballard, a technical analyst who joined the agency over 30 years ago, calls herself “the first vocal, visi-

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**COUPLES THERAPY: Plame was outed by the White House, which was angry at her husband, Joe Wilson, left, for his criticism of its narrative about Saddam Hussein's alleged weapons of mass destruction.**

ble, cleared person” to come out at the CIA. She was raised by her single mother in Bladensburg, Maryland, and joined the agency as a young, single mother herself. It was the mid-1980s, when being gay was considered a threat to national security. “We all knew you could be weeded out if you happened to be LGBT,” Ballard says. She quickly learned to live a double undercover life, not talking about work at home and hiding her true self at work.

By the time her daughter turned 5, she couldn’t keep up the lie any longer. “I was raising a girl in a society that already had limitations on young ladies,” she says. “It was important for me to be myself and stand up for myself so I could teach her to do the same thing.”

Ballard came out during a routine polygraph test and spent the next year and a half under investigation. Colleagues, including those who were gay, ostracized her. It was the most stressful time of her career. She considered



leaving, but “the more pushback I got, the more I realized it had to happen from here, and I needed to stay.”

Ultimately, Ballard wasn’t stripped of her security clearance, and she didn’t lose her job. “Later I learned almost everybody who’d [come out] prior to me had been dismissed from the organization.”

Ballard, who married her longtime partner two years ago, has become a pioneer for LGBT issues at the agency. In 1996, she helped found the CIA’s Agency Network of Gay and Lesbian Employees, or ANGLE. Three years later, the agency held its first pride month event. In 2012, two years after President Barack Obama repealed “don’t ask, don’t tell,” the CIA held the first-ever intelligence community LGBT summit. “When I [joined the CIA], basically LGBT were not welcome,” Ballard says. “We have done a 180. We do outreach into the LGBT community. We have a director who’s extremely vocal in his support, not just of LGBT but all minorities and people. We have allies at every level of our organization.... We are becoming a more inclusive organization.”

## **MOM’S A BADASS**

**BENNETT AND I** are eating lunch in the CIA’s dining room—a bright room with tall windows, floral tablecloths and white linen napkins folded like hats—when she says, “I want to tell you a story I haven’t told yet.” It’s an intriguing tease from a woman who’s been interviewed by many news outlets, including *The New York Times*, *Makers* and the 2015 documentary *The Spymasters: CIA in the Crosshairs*.

“A couple days after 9/11, Cofer [Black, then-chief of the Counterterrorism Center] brought us into the main CTC vault. This was just after approval for the war plan and the strategy for the agency’s role in the overall U.S. response to 9/11. Cofer said, ‘We’re going to war, and we’re gonna do our part our way,’” Bennett recalls.

“I remember looking around the room. Everyone was looking at Cofer, but inside, we all knew what he meant. Who knew better than us? We’d been there for over a decade fighting Al-Qaeda already. Al-Qaeda was new for the rest of the government and America, but not for us.



We knew to go to war with a terrorist network was not a conventional war. These were terrorists who use their wives and children as human shields. We knew the costs....

“Cofer said, ‘Take a good look around this room. When we’re done, some of us aren’t gonna be here.’ We all knew what he meant, and no one looked around.”

Bennett glances up, tears in her eyes. It’s a rare emotional moment for a woman who boasts that she’s become a master of apathy. The CIA stereotype is that operatives (Abby) are badass Jason Bourne types and that analysts (Bennett) are nerdy brainiacs, the ones sitting in front of computers calling paper cuts their war wounds. Yet the real cost of being an analyst is invisible.

“I’ve always felt very strongly that the toll taken on analysts comes from our need to be stoic and objective and unemotional in our analysis. That requires you, in situations that are very emotional, to shut emotion down, so that you are able to think very clearly,” Bennett says later. “You do it not just within these walls but within—” She stops talking. When she begins again, her voice cracks. “Within all of your relationships. I’m kind of experiencing that right now. Just within the last week, the love of my life is moving out, and this is part of it, because I don’t allow myself to feel when the feeling is most strong, because that’s precisely when I need to shut it down the most.

“When there’s 3,000 dead and everyone else in the world is freaking out, and you have to figure out how to stop the next attack coming in the next hour, you can’t afford to be emotional. Right when a human being should

be most passionate, you cut it off. You do it for as many years as I have, it becomes more than habit. It’s just default, and that’s not healthy.”

In moments of crisis, Bennett says, she knows how to “exist outside” herself. She feels cool. Calm. She’s unemotional and objective. Her work at the CIA may have demanded this skill, but she didn’t learn it there; it’s something she developed out of necessity—something that’s been ingrained in her since childhood, when she says she endured years of sexual abuse.

This kind of reaction is not uncommon among people who’ve survived early-childhood trauma, and Bennett harnessed her survival instincts and applied them heroically at the CIA. “From Pan Am 103, to the first World Trade Center bombing, to the [Khobar Towers] bombing in Saudi Arabia, to the African embassy bombing, to 9/11 and every single thing before and after, I had this ability to shut off fears, feeling and emotion and just stay very clearheaded. I always thought that was a great strength.

“What I didn’t realize was that I was reinforcing old

copying mechanisms for trauma that also created a wall in being able to feel in any environment: with my children, my ex-husband, my boyfriend, my friends,” Bennett says. “My colleagues and I know fully that sacrificing our life might be the ultimate price we pay but didn’t really pay attention to how we sacrifice our living—by suppressing emotion. We may stay alive in the end, but [it’s] potentially an empty life.... I don’t think the American people nor the agency ever expected that kind of sacrifice of me.”

Bennett’s kids didn’t either. Her voice softens as she describes her children admitting to her that she sometimes comes across as “cold and uncaring,” or emotionally unavailable. “Imagine how your children feel when they feel like nothing they do—or don’t do—affects their mother?”

Bennett never worked undercover, so she didn’t have to lie to her kids about her job. Their general understanding was this: Mommy works on the computer and helps the police find bad guys. Still, she treads carefully. When one of her sons was 3 and a half, she was working in terrorism

at the State Department. One weekend, she had to bring him to work. “I’m in this windowless vault with all these wanted posters and pictures of terrorist attacks. I had him playing with crayons. I was working on the computer. At one point, I had to take him to the bathroom, and we’re walking through the cubicle farm, and he says, ‘Why is that guy holding that gun to that woman’s head?’ It was a photo of a hostage. I walk by that every day and hadn’t thought about it. It hadn’t occurred to me the impact of that image on my son.”

When her eldest son graduated from high school, she made him an online photo album. “I didn’t remember a lot of those photos—birthday parties, field

trips. I got really sad. I felt I had missed so much of my son’s life,” she says. “He said, ‘That’s not what I remember. I remember you being at every baseball game I needed you to be at.’ Unfortunately, that [conversation] only happened when he turned 18 or 19. Up until that point, I did think that success at work took a greater toll on me than it does on a man. It did because I let it. It’s the mindset. How many men would have made that website for their son and felt remotely guilty?”

It wasn’t until Bennett’s children got older and read her book, *National Security Mom: Lessons for America*, that they grasped just what their mother’s job entailed. “My 11-year-old, my youngest, just read my book to do a book report at school,” Bennett says. “She thinks Mom is awesome and I’ve got the best job in the world.”

**“YOU DO A COVER JOB ALL DAY, THEN YOU’RE OUT DOING CIA WORK ALL NIGHT. NOT GREAT IF YOUR BABY SITTER CANCELS.”**

# GUATEMALA'S NEW PATH

**“Ave Indiana que vive en tu escudo,  
Paladión que protege su suelo,  
¡Ojalá que remonte su vuelo,  
más que el cóndor y el águila real!  
¡Y en sus alas levante hasta el cielo,  
Guatemala, tu nombre inmortal!” (\*)**

**G**uatemala is undergoing a period of profound change. Its national anthem, as though it were a metaphor for this juncture, alludes to the quetzal, the country’s national bird, which hopes will take flight and carry the country to the heavens vis-à-vis its neighbors: Mexico, Belize, Honduras and El Salvador.

The country recently lived through a watershed moment in the history of Latin America when Otto Pérez Molina went from being President of the Republic of Guatemala to being a common prisoner in a matter of hours. Guatemala’s Congress took away his immunity so that he could resign; the National Public Prosecutor asked for his detention and a judge made him declare in court in relation to a corruption case. He ended up going to jail charged with bribery, unlawful association and fiscal fraud related to the “La Línea” customs administration corruption case. Roxana Baldetti, Guatemala’s former Vice President, was also accused of leading a corruption ring and was charged with passive bribery, unlawful association and customs fraud.

This placed the Central American country and its protagonists – Guatemala’s civil society, public Administrations, and the International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala, CICIG, (an independent body working under the auspices of the UN and which has become the country’s main upholder of the law) – in the international spotlight.

Guatemala is one of the region’s strongest and most solid economies. American companies are aware of this and have continually trusted a country known for its hardworking skilled laborers, which are keen to improve their knowledge base and feel a great cultural affinity with the US.

(\*) “Indian bird that lives on your seal,  
a Palladium protecting your soil,  
May it fly higher  
than the condor and the royal eagle!  
And may its wings take to the heavens,  
Guatemala, your immortal name!”

# A Government for Change

**Jimmy Morales was elected the country's 50th president during the 2015 General Election and he has spent nine months as the head of a Government intent on bringing about change.**

**W**ith hardly any political experience, his fifteen years as a comedian on television had made him a well-known household name, something which helped him to obtain 68.23% of the run-off vote. At the time he said he felt ready to face the political challenge and took over the leadership of the FCN party, even though he was advised against it because it could “ruin his career, reputation, and his good name.” His presidential campaign centered around traditional values such as dignity and honesty and his campaign slogan, “Neither corrupt nor a thief,” was forged in a climate of civil unrest. During the election he put forth one request to the electorate: “Do you want a different Guatemala? Then stop being indifferent.”

Jimmy Morales said that he would like to be remembered as the country's best President, or, given the country's current circumstances, “a XXI century reformer of Guatemala, a country with its arms wide open to anyone who wants to get to know this beautiful and friendly land!”

**Question: Tell us about your Administration's achievements in the past nine months.**

**Answer:** We've had positive results. We are working on five great axes with a budget geared towards strengthening our judicial system, criminal investigations, health, education and national security. We have contributed directly in this way to the concurrent investigative processes of the National Prosecution Service and the CICIG. The fight against corruption has produced a savings of 1.2 billion Quetzals, (\$158.9 million) in the first half of 2016, something that will be reflected on the national budget and will be passed on to the Justice, Health, Education and Security branches of Government.

Furthermore, our Tax Administration (SAT) has focused on investigating tax



Jimmy Morales, President of Guatemala

and fiscal offenses, something that's ensured year-on-year tax collection is up by 7.6%.

The U.S. Embassy in Guatemala published a communiqué describing positively what our Administration has done in its first six months. At an international level, Moody's has raised our credit rating precisely because of our fight against corruption and our administrative measures.

**“GUATEMALA IS A COUNTRY WITH ITS ARMS WIDE OPEN TO ANYONE WHO WANTS TO GET TO KNOW THIS BEAUTIFUL AND FRIENDLY LAND!”**

**Q: How would you rate your relationship with the U.S., a destination for thousands of Guatemala's citizens?**

**A:** It is very good. We have requested Vice President Joe Biden for a TPS (Temporary Protected Status) designation for Guatemala. We have also asked United States Secretary of Homeland

Security, Jeh Johnson, for this twice. Recently we have even asked President Obama. These are the people who could, at a certain point in time, award a TPS designation to those citizens from Guatemala who had to travel outside our borders looking for a better future. The immigration issue is something we have to work on because it represents several interests which criss-cross each other on the way. The U.S. has a need to decrease the wave of immigration and Guatemala needs to ensure there are no more migrants because we are losing our human talent, the most important asset any nation has.

As a sovereign state, Guatemala has the responsibility to strengthen its socioeconomic system so as to craft more opportunities and create a “Guatemalan dream,” something more modest and austere than the “American dream,” but a dream which can guarantee children growing up healthy, with a good education and in a strong family environment. Furthermore, we have been working alongside the Alliance for Prosperity Plan on regional and continental security issues, as well as economic matters, to boost our commercial ties. We have also worked very closely with AMCHAM, the Guatemalan-American Chamber of Commerce.

## THE AMCHAM

Guatemala is part of the Alliance for Prosperity Plan—alongside Honduras and El Salvador—an international body which works alongside the U.S. to reactivate and strengthen their economies, as well as to, in some way, diminish the amount of U.S.-bound local immigration.

**Juan Pablo Carrasco** is a lawyer, a partner at the firm Central Law, and vice-president and speaker of AMCHAM. He defines it as the country's most important bi-national Chamber, and points out that the U.S. is Guatemala's main commercial partner, as well as its biggest investor. Therefore Guatemala's bilateral relations with the U.S. are very strong for political, economic, social and historical reasons.

AMCHAM's strength lies in the representation it has on several different committees—such as Energy, Customs, Foreign Investment, Intellectual Property, Labor—and it is constantly developing activities with Government members on commercial, judicial, and training issues, as well as lobbies related to legal initiatives.

# Guatemala, a Reforming Country

Guatemala, with a population of 16.34 million and inflation rate of 2.4%, is Central America's largest economy. In 2015 it grew by 4.1% and its GDP reached \$64 billion.



Rubén Morales Monroy, Minister of Economy

**Rubén Morales Monroy** is Guatemala's Minister of Economy and he is interested in promoting strategic investment, stating that he means “items like ports, airports, roads, irrigation systems, industrial and technological zones. We are looking for public-private investments to identify and boost these projects. Our efforts are geared towards boosting those investments and making them happen so they can help our country's development and productivity”.

**Acisclo Valladares Urruela**, PRO-NACOM's (National Competitiveness Program) Presidential Commissioner, is pleased with the Government's projects and policies, which place Guatemala as one of the world's most reforming countries within the World Bank.

Foreign exchange earnings from remittances to the end of March 2016 reached a total of \$1.7 billion, following on from the recovery of economic activity in the U.S.

The U.S. represents around 30% of Guatemala's foreign investment total, and the diplomatic relations between both countries are at the forefront of Guatemala's foreign policy. Acisclo Valladares stated that the American Government “as well as Govern-

ment-backed institutions such as MCC (Millennium Challenge Corporation Guatemala) and USAID” are giving a lot of support.

**Amador Carballido Oriols**, General Manager of Agexport, a private business development institution highly focused towards Guatemala's export offerings, said that businessmen “have a diversified offer because 75% of exports are made up of a wide variety of products. Leading Guatemala's list of non-traditional exports are clothing and textiles, followed by agricultural goods and, lastly, manufactures, food, canned goods, and light manufacturing.”

According to **Julio Héctor Estrada**, Guatemala's Finance Minister, the country's biggest challenge is to have a Competition Law as a basis for the country's progress and economic growth.



Julio Héctor Estrada, Minister of Finance

“More investment is, indeed, necessary. I preside over ANADIE (Guatemala's National Partnership Alliances for the Development of Economic Infrastructure Agency) and during the second half of 2016 we will boost investment,” adds the Minister.

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# Guatemala

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# Tourism, a State Policy

Guatemala is the heart of the Mayan world and it is one of the most beautiful countries in the Americas. Visitors are transported back in time when visiting its colonial cities, and become impressed by the natural beauty of its volcanoes, lakes, and landscape.

The country turned its “Sustainable Tourism Master Plan 2015-2025” into official state policy, ensuring that the path to development surpasses individual administrations and that different sectors of the economy pool their efforts to boost the development of Guatemala’s tourism industry. Another Government policy is to enhance business tourism and it is looking to push the building of a conventions district in a move designed to lead the hosting of corporate meetings and reunions in the region.

Carlos Velásquez Monge, General Director of the Civil Aeronautics General Directorate (DGAC), stated that: We recently inaugurated a new terminal at Retalhuleu and, aside from further improvements at La Aurora and Flores, we expect a large investment to go towards the aerodromes at Quetzaltenango and Puerto Barrios.”

He also stated that tourism “is one of Guatemala’s pillars and we are working on aerial connectivity at a national level which will boost tourism and Guatemala’s internal development through the excellent coordinating efforts of the head of INGUAT (Guatemalan Tourism Institute), Jorge Mario Chajón.”

Jorge Mario Chajón has been in charge of INGUAT since February 2016, Guatemala’s governing body for the tourism industry. As such, the institution is in charge of promoting and positioning the country’s tourist sites and of coor-

dinating all the public and private actors operating in the industry such as airlines, tour operators, hoteliers, etc.



Jorge Mario Chajón, Director General of INGUAT

Having an official state policy based on a master plan, and with its upcoming legislation, Guatemala will have a new institution but that is why “we have to improve infrastructures, connectivity issues and solve the country’s operational, functioning and legal issues that are still outstanding,” said Jorge Mario Chajón.

**Question: What would you highlight about the Master Plan?**

**Answer:** The Master Plan encompasses

all of what we are doing: legislative changes, promoting archeological and natural sites, investing in infrastructure and a Conventions Center in Guatemala City in an area of about 160,000 m2, which will have a shopping center, parking, and a hotel.

**Q: How important are visitors from the U.S.?**

**A:** Very important. The U.S. has traditionally been one of Guatemala’s main partners when it comes to commercial, tourist, and, even, cultural issues. Our cultural influences have been more American than European. Guatemala’s businessmen have a very American mentality.

**Q: What sets Guatemala apart from its neighbors?**

**A:** More natural and cultural resources than most people can imagine. Guatemala has the Maya Biosphere Reserve and it is one of the 17 most biodiverse countries in the world. It is home to the most important Mayan cities, located in Petén, including “El Mirador”, the largest pyramid on Earth, Tikal, Uaxactún and Piedras Negras. Culturally speaking, we can feel and live those cultures because they are still alive. You can see real Mayan ceremonies. Another great strength we have is our diversity, with over 23 different languages and around 25 different ethnic groups which give Guatemala a wealth of cultures, languages, customs and a unique gastronomy.



### CAMINO REAL

Camino Real Corporation is Guatemala's strongest hotel group. It has three hotels in Guatemala City, one in Antigua, and two in Petén, two tourist destinations par excellence. It also has three hotels in Belize. According to Juan Gurrola, General Manager of the Westin Camino Real, this is a group that "recognizes and grows its human talent, an innovating and entrepreneurial group."

The Corporation is a strong performer in business tourism and boasts an International Convention Center with 29 halls and a capacity for 5,000 people. It supports INGUAT's efforts to attract this sector and they are part of Guatemala's Conventions Bureau.

This year they are celebrating their 57th anniversary. Camino Real opened its doors in November 1959 and, according to Juan Gurrola, is characterized by "its commitment to customer care". Aside from Westin, the Corporation also holds the Holiday Inn franchise.

### IRTRA, the best thematic and water parks in the region

Ricardo Castillo Sinibaldi has been the president of IRTRA -Guatemala's Private Enterprise Workers Recreational Institute- for the past 46 years. It is an institution financed and administered by the business sector to offer their workers leisure and recreational activities.



Ricardo Castillo Sinibaldi, President of IRTRA

It is made up of five parks: Xetulul, Xocomil, Peta-pa, Amatitlán and Aguas Calientes. These high-level recreational parks are open to everyone. IRTRA's parks are members of IAAPA (International Association of Amusement Parks and Attractions) and have been the recipients of IAAPA's biannual "APPLAUSE AWARD," which is given to the best parks in the world. Their parks are the only ones in Latin America to have received this distinction.

They have plans to launch Xejuyup in 2017, a theme park where there will be no mechanical rides and everything will be natural; it will have a lagoon, horse rides, and a farm and will be surrounded by woodlands, with guest accommodation to be built on trees. Ricardo Castillo Sinibaldi hopes that the impressive parks he has "the honor of managing" will become a welcome addition to the country's growing leisure opportunities.



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# TIGO GUATEMALA, CENTRAL AMERICA'S LARGEST CELL PHONE OPERATOR

**GUATEMALA, WORLD LEADER IN CELL PHONE COMPETITIVENESS.**

**The country offers a regulatory frame with clear investment laws in the technological sector, which is interested in attracting long-term investment. Guatemala's Government plans to tender a large phone spectrum to cell phone operators, following the forecast set out by the International Telecommunication Union for 2020, where cell phone operators will require from 1340 to 1960 MHz for mobile phones.**

**M**ario López Estrada is a Civil Engineer who graduated from San Carlos de Guatemala University. His career started as a public employee at the Municipality of Guatemala as well as the National Government. He got his professional training in the construction of homes and roads and decided to change professions when he became interested in cellular telecommunications, a practically unknown discipline in Guatemala and one he saw as a long-term opportunity. That is how Tigo Guatemala, one of the country's leading companies –and one which has greatly contributed to its development– was born. With 9 million clients trusting it for their telecommunications, the company is the largest cell phone operator in Central America and is present in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Paraguay, Colombia and Bolivia and is a data provider in Nicaragua and Costa Rica.

**Question: Guatemala has more cell phones than it does people. How would you explain this phenomenon?**

**Answer:** What explains this is Guatemala's Telecommunications legislation because it allows for free competition. The World Economic Forum declared Guatemala as the most competitive country in the telecommunications sector, as well as naming it the country with the world's highest rate of cell phone penetration. It has grown so much because competition forces you to use your imagination and all necessary efforts to get customers. A few years ago we witnessed the arrival of the smartphone and we knew they were the future. People started to communicate through data (Whatsapp, Twitter, etc.). We decided to make a large investment in the procurement of smartphones for our clients, giving them a large subsidy. At present we are selling around 130,000 to 140,000 cell phones per month. With concurrent sales figures we expect that most of our clients will have a Smartphone in the next two years.

**Q: A list with the richest men of Central America was recently published. Yours was the first name on the list. What is the key to your success?**

**A:** There is no formula. Some may think that success comes about because of intelligence, but the fact is that nothing substitutes hard work. In other words, in order to succeed you need 5% inspiration and 95% perspiration. Success must not be measured in how much money you can earn but, rather, in how many lives you can improve. The human aspect is probably the most important factor leading to success, which is why in our companies we try to turn ordinary people into extraordinary people. If we succeed, these extraordinary people will also do extraordinary things. Any company wishing to be successful and sustainable in the long term needs three things. First, it needs to make a profit. Second, part of that profit needs to be distributed through benefits and services among its employees so that they are happy to work for the company and feel like they are an important part of it. The third thing it needs, and this is probably the most important of all, is to serve the community where it is based, and not just benefit from it.

**Q: Tell us about the work of the 'Tigo Foundation'**

**A:** In the past few years we have tried to give back to the community part of what it has given us with its support, that is why we created the Tigo Foundation. I have been its president from

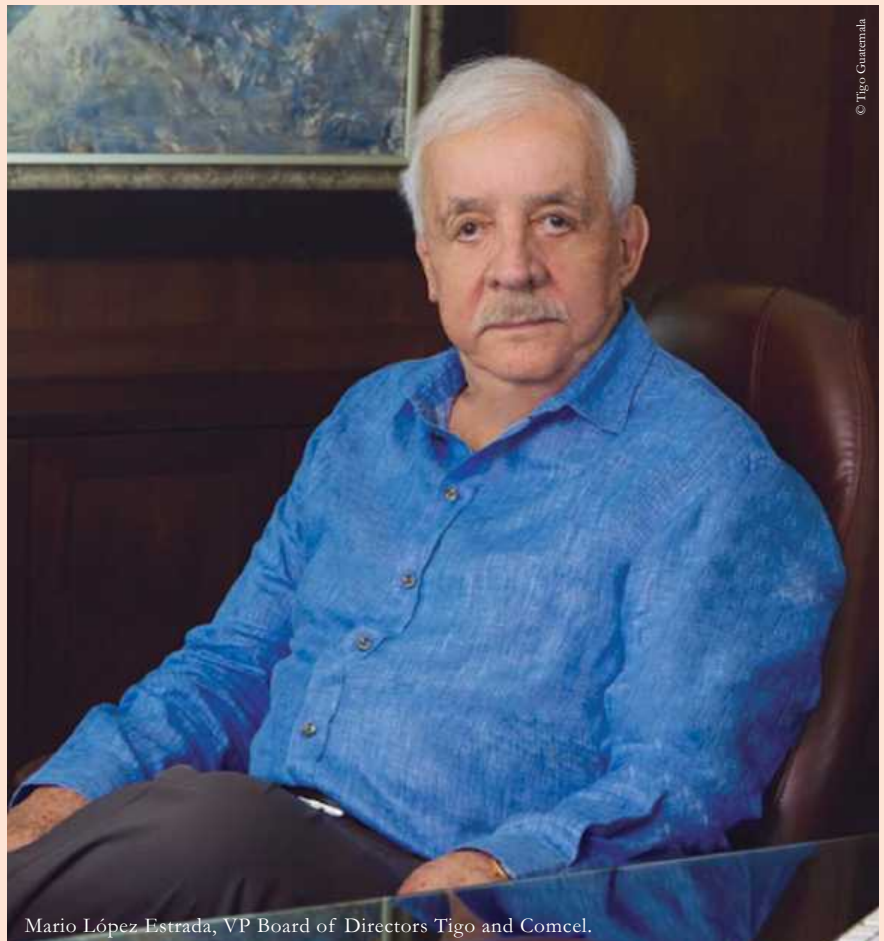
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**“THE HUMAN ASPECT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR LEADING TO SUCCESS”**

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the start and I have overseen all of the Foundation's investments towards those parts of society which are most in need, focusing primarily on Education. Thus far we have built 300 of what we call 'ABC' schools -the acronym stands for the Spanish words for Classrooms, Restrooms and Kitchens (Aulas, Ba-

ños, Cocinas)- which have been fitted with computers and the necessary furnishings, and where around 100,000 children have already benefitted. We have also concentrated on Health initiatives and have worked alongside several companies, as well as the Government of Guatemala, to develop a hospital for children diagnosed with cancer, where we are the project's largest financiers. This health facility has the latest state-of-the-art equipment, the most up-to-date drugs and the best-trained doctors and specialists which have made possible to cure around 75% of all the children who have gone there. Everything they need to get their health back they receive for free. Furthermore we have also created an alliance with the U.S. Embassy to work together on the Alliance for Prosperity Plan. We are very committed to undertake all actions needed to try and help the poorest members of society living in the northwestern part of the country.



Mario López Estrada, VP Board of Directors Tigo and Comcel.



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Manuel Gordo, President of Allied Global

**ALLIED GLOBAL**

**Manuel Gordo** started with a small Call Center and 50 employees in 2005. Today he heads Allied Global, has a staff of over 7,500 and operates in five countries (Guatemala, Honduras, Belize, the U.S. and Canada). Allied Global is a communications company offering Call Center support and BPO offerings such as IT Services and Quality Assurance. It also offers Back Office solutions such as 3D modeling, Data

**CALL CENTERS – from Guatemala to the World**

**GUATEMALA HAS POSITIONED ITSELF AS ONE OF CENTRAL AMERICA'S MOST IMPORTANT MARKETS WHEN IT COMES TO ATTRACTING BPO INVESTMENT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONTACT CENTERS FOR MULTINATIONAL COMPANIES.**

Analysis, etc. Allied Global is a young and dynamic company which is taking advantage of its proximity to the U.S., the largest Service Industry market there is. According to Manuel Gordo, the company has three core elements: to be a 'people first' type of company; to do an excellent job at all times; and to always create value.

**Question: Where is Guatemala as a BPO and Contact Center hub?**

**Answer:** Guatemala represents the most important hub in Central America and the Caribbean. It has the largest population. Guatemala City, with a population of almost four million people in its metropolitan area, is the largest source of human resources in Central America. The country also benefits from having around 250,000 graduates entering the labor market every year.

**Q: You also work alongside AGEXPORT's BPO & Contact Center Commission. How does the guild work?**

**A:** It is an association which comes under Agexport because it exports services. We have focused on a report by Tholons which analyzed the necessary elements to ensure this industry grew in the country and the main conclusion was that the teaching of English is a priority.

Allied Global founded its own English academy in 2007 to teach people with an insufficient level of English so as to be able to hire them after graduation. Allied English Academy is the only teaching institution offering a salary to strengthen a worker's language skills and represents a \$2 million investment per annum for us. Other companies have followed our model and we are very proud to have been able to teach English to around 5,000 people in the past six years.

**Q: What are your short to medium term expansion plans?**

**A:** We have recently expanded into Belize

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where we hope to create around 1,000 jobs next year. We will also launch a customer service center in Guatemala, which will create 1,200 new jobs. In the U.S. we have just launched centers in Denver, Colorado, and Wichita, Kansas, with the intention of expanding our business in the country. Towards the end of the year we will also launch a center in Tegucigalpa to add to the one we already have in San Pedro Sula, thus doubling our presence in Honduras. Allied Global's original idea is not to say that we are a services provider from Guatemala but, rather, that we are a globalized company which can provide services anywhere you want it to. If you don't want to take a job out of the U.S. because your client is very sensible to this type of change, we can provide you with a service within the country itself.

## GUATEMALA'S INSURANCE MARKET

**GUATEMALA'S INSURANCE SECTOR IN 2015 HAD A TURNOVER OF \$795 MILLION IN HEALTH, MOTOR AND DAMAGES DIRECT WRITTEN PREMIUMS. IT IS A SECTOR CHARACTERIZED FOR HAVING A HIGH ASSET SOLVENCY AND REPRESENTS 1.26% OF THE COUNTRY'S GDP. GUATEMALA'S INSURANCE MARKET HAS BEEN STABLE IN 2016 AND SHOWS OPTIMUM FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL INDICATORS.**

### SEGUROS UNIVERSALES

Seguros Universales covers all kinds of insurance and, although it also caters to large companies, its market is made up primarily of SMEs.

Seguros Universales is one of the companies with the most international certificates and awards in Guatemala, including first place in Great Place to Work®'s "Best Place to work in Central America Award" for 2016. Furthermore, seven years ago it achieved ISO certifications for all its processes and certificates awarding its external and internal customer care.

**Felipe Sicilia**, General Manager of Seguros Universales, went to University in the U.S. and did an MBA at UCLA. He has headed the company for the past 13 years and is one of the main executives of the investment group. Since he joined the insurance company he has



Felipe Sicilia, General Manager of Seguros Universales

implemented changes to ensure it becomes more efficient as well as more customer and staff-oriented.



Over 50 years insuring the Guatemalan market.

## GUATEMALA'S BANKING SECTOR

ACCORDING TO FITCH RATINGS, GUATEMALA'S MOSTLY LOCAL BANKING SYSTEM HAS ONE OF THE LOWEST RATES OF LATE PAYMENTS IN THE REGION (1.4%), AND THE STRONGEST PORTFOLIO INsofar AS LOAN QUALITY IS CONCERNED.

**Question:** What is the key to the success of Seguros Universales?

**Answer:** We are a group that believes an open-door policy is fundamental, that gives power to upper and middle management and constantly trains all its staff. We worry about the wellbeing of our employees and we like to offer them economic incentives as well as flexibility with their working hours. We want them to balance positively their work and their families. Being a family-owned business we like to look after the health and wellbeing of all families.

**Q: What is Seguros Universales' star product?**

**A:** All three branches are very well balanced insofar as volume is concerned and we are the strongest aviation insurer. In the medical expenses branch we are the largest-growing company and the one that has obtained the largest number of new accounts, finding previously uninsured niche markets where we have been able to implement an insurance satisfying their needs.

**Q: What can you tell us about the company's future projects?**

**A:** There are plans in the pipe-line to cover the rest of the country since all 17 insurance companies operating in Guatemala do so in the capital, which is where the business is at. We have a network of ten branches in the country and we want to cover all 22 of Guatemala's Departments within three to five years.

**Q: What social engagement projects are you currently undertaking?**

**A:** We support ten, mostly local, foundations. We focus on people in need who have no way of making a living. We believe strongly in education and minimum health and housing conditions. We are also conducting several programs where we acknowledge those Guatemalan citizens which have stood out in their profession. You can learn more about this program on the website: [www.guatemaltecosilustres.com](http://www.guatemaltecosilustres.com)

### BANTRAB

Ronald García is a banker with over 25 years of experience behind him. BANTRAB is an organization created 50 years ago by decree law whose main objective is to give financial options to Guatemala's workers, giving economic support to their finances and savings.

He spoke proudly about keeping the rating Guatemala got from Fitch. When asked about the banking sector's strength in Guatemala he went on to say that: "The monetary, exchange and credit policy decisions which the Monetary Board has taken these past few years have been very successful. The stability shown in these decisions regarding the macroeconomic aspects has, in turn, given stability to Guatemala's banking system."

**"WE EXPECT TO DOUBLE OUR CUSTOMER BASE BY 2020"**

**Question:** BANTRAB is the country's sixth finance group. Are you comfortable with that ranking?

**Answer:** Our primary aim is to offer Guatemala's workers the best possible service because we are the best financial solution for them. We expect to double our customer base by 2020 and we want to become the leader within our objective market, which is consumer credit, through Guatemala's workforce. Nevertheless we also expect to grow developing and strengthening our business area.

**Q: What are Guatemala's competitive advantages when it comes to investment?**

**A:** Guatemala keeps a



Ronald García, Managing Director of Bantrab

stable exchange rate, which offers security to foreign investors, ensuring there will be no loss on their returns. Its judicial security and legal framework pertaining to foreign investment are a very attractive and positive issue. Its risk rating, although variable of course, is steady within a very stable margin, as are the country's macroeconomic indicators, inflation rate and economic growth.

www.bantrab.com.gt |   

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WE ARE THE BANK THAT GROWS ALONGSIDE THE WORKERS OF GUATEMALA



We are the most profitable Bank in Central America, with an efficiency rate of 27.7% in 2015 and earnings that grew 220% in the last five years.







Roberto Castañeda, President of Planesa

## GUATEMALA EXPORTS

**GUATEMALA'S AGRICULTURAL SECTOR ACCOUNTS FOR 13.7% OF GDP AND ITS MAIN EXPORTS INCLUDE SUGAR, COFFEE, FRUIT AND VEGETABLES.**

### PLANESA

**Roberto Castañeda** is the President, and owner of Planesa. He learned the business from his successful father and is now passing on his knowledge to his children, Roberto and Andrea, who are, what he calls, the company's "driving force." Planesa, a dynamic company which has grown exponentially and operates in four different countries, is mostly dedicated to the cultivation of berries as well as vegetables, among other crops. In the U.S. it operates un-

der the name 'Pure Fresh' and provides to the country's largest supermarket chains year round. Planesa has production centers in both Guatemala and Mexico. The company is a heavy investor in technology and agricultural research, and has an ongoing state-of-the-art genetics program.

**Question: As the largest exporter of berries in Guatemala. What does the American market represent to you?**

**Answer:** We currently have several partners and commercial deals with American supermarkets. Planesa guarantees year-round delivery of its products, and always with the highest quality. This is a demanding market where we manage well, complying with their requests and staying ahead of their needs. They are very happy with us.

**Q: What development plans for the U.S. can you tell us about?**

**A:** We will be exporting blueberries to the U.S. for the first time in Guatemala's history at the end of 2016. And we are trying once again to break into the raspberry market. We also wish to maintain our strong presence in organic crops. We have been working closely with a fast food chain, offering blackberries for one of their salads. Lastly, we are buying berries straight from producers in several states in the U.S. and we are looking into starting our own crops in the country.



## COFFEE: GUATEMALA'S STAR EXPORT

**Evelio Alvarado** is the General Manager of ANACAFE, Guatemala's National Coffee Association, a public service private institution founded under the auspices of the Coffee Law of 1960. Its main objective is to strengthen the national economy through the production and export of coffee and to represent Guatemala's coffee-growing sector—which encompasses 120,000 coffee growers all over the country— issue export licenses, develop and execute coffee-related policies, promote Guatemala's coffee and protect the country's coffee plantations which today number around 754,000 acres. Coffee crops make up 2.8% of Guatemala's surface and they are found in 21 of its 22 Departments. Coffee represents an annual income of \$666 million to Guatemala's economy, with an export volume of 3,816 million Quintals of gold coffee.

**Question: What would you highlight about Guatemala's coffee?**

**Answer:** Several international experts declared that Guatemala's coffee is one of the world's top three. Proof of this are the record amounts achieved at international coffee auctions, such as ACE (Alliance for Coffee Excellence), which is held annually and where the produce of "El Injerito"—one of Guatemala's coffee plantations— obtained the highest-ever price for a specialty coffee at \$80.20 per pound.

**Q: Is coffee part of Guatemala's Nation Brand?**

**A:** Of course it is. I would say that coffee is Guatemala's best Ambassador to the world since it started being grown in the country in the 1850s. The country was the largest producer in the region until 2011, and today it is the world's tenth coffee producer.

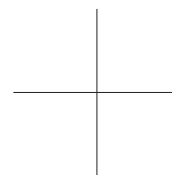




**BANK BYPASS:** In a country where many people don't have a bank account, M-Pesa allows residents to pay bills and make other payments via a text on their mobile phone.



NEW WORLD



MEDICINE

INNOVATION

AGING

TRANSPORTATION

BRAIN

ANIMALS

GOOD SCIENCE

## WET WORK

# Mobile banking helps spread basic services in Nairobi's slums

**IN KAYOLE**, a slum on the outskirts of Nairobi, Joab Omondi has been selling water from a cart since the government connected his neighborhood to the local water system. Two years ago, water was a scarce commodity here. Residents used to have to hunt around to buy a 5-gallon can of water for 30 shillings—about 30 cents. That's changed since the World Bank and the Nairobi City Water and Sewerage Co. started allowing residents to pay their water bills by mobile phone.

"This new initiative has really changed our lives," says Omondi. "Our water cannot be disconnected again, as it used to be. We can now request and pay our bills through our own mobile phones instead of queuing at the banking halls."

Kenyans often have to wait hours in line at banks to reach a teller and make a payment or conduct other business. Lack of running water and proper sewage disposal is a major impediment to economic development in East Africa. But now the water company is more confident it will be able to collect revenues, it is working to connect water to every household throughout Kenya.

Customers receive bills via M-Pesa, a mobile payment service that uses texts to transfer money between customers, banks and companies. Since its adoption, around 100,000 Kayole residents are regularly paying their water bills via their phone. "Almost every resident here has piped water...and we sometimes sell clean water to other neighbors who have not yet been connected," says Omondi.

According to Joseph Ambajo, the World Bank's water and sewerage program sociologist for Africa, the system works not only because it's convenient but because it makes it easy for customers to afford the startup cost associated with tapping into the water system. The cost of connecting a household to the water system in Kenya is around \$100, Ambajo says. Because defaults are now relatively rare, customers are allowed to pay that bill in increments over the course of a couple of years.

Cellphones have also helped expand access to electricity and spread health information. "The mobile technology has helped Kenyans in so many ways," says Rebecca Njeri, a Kayole resident. "We are now sure of getting basic services anytime."

BY  
**TONNY ONYULO**  
 @TonnyOnyulo

TREVOR SNAPP/BLOOMBERG/GETTY

## READY FOR THE L-POCALYPSE?

The shutdown of a major subway line in New York City could be a huge disaster—but an even bigger opportunity

LAST YEAR, Altamonte Springs, Florida, a suburb of Orlando, learned that it could not use the \$1.5 million it had designated for FlexBus, a bus service whose fleet would be dispatched according to user demand indicated via kiosks. The city had a SunRail commuter train station, but also the first-mile-last-mile problem many municipalities face: For residents who don't live next to the station, getting there was a commute. And if you're already driving a decent distance to light rail in Altamonte Springs, you might as well keep going and drive yourself to Orlando.

FlexBus would trade fixed routes for the needs of users, eliminating the prospect of steaming at a bus shelter in the Florida humidity. Although the idea fell victim to politics, the money had already been set aside, so officials decided that instead of expanding public transit, they would use the funds for one of public transit's main competitors: Uber.

Last spring, Altamonte Springs became the first municipality in the United States to make the ride-hailing company part of its mass transit infrastructure. It has done so by subsidizing 25 percent of all Uber rides to and from the SunRail station and 20 percent of any trip fully within city limits. "Our residents [and] our business owners like the fact that Uber puts transit options in their hands," City Manager Frank Martz told NPR. "They don't have to rely on public transit. They don't have to rely on the fixed schedules. They don't have to

change their lives to fit the transit model."

The integration of ride-hail companies like Uber and its main rival, Lyft, into the nation's public transit infrastructure is a sign of maturity for Silicon Valley darlings looking to both grow and grow up. Initially, these companies appealed to tech-savvy coastals, who didn't want to drive, or take a bus, or fumble with dollar bills in the back of an ordinary taxi cab. That made Uber extremely useful but not exactly necessary. Its pitch to urban planners indicates that the company wants to expand well beyond its base in cities like New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles—in other words, that Uber wants to be an essential service, not a luxury good.

"Welcome to Uberville," announced a headline on The Verge, in an article about the Altamonte Springs experiment. The article's author, Spencer Woodman, wrote that Altamonte Springs is a sort of test case, and that "it's possible to imagine ride-hail companies taking on the role of all-encompassing, smartphone-driven public transit providers, one town at a time."

But Altamonte Springs is a town of 43,000: more a quiz than a test. Uber and Lyft need to prove themselves in a big American city. And they're about to be handed that very opportunity, in the biggest city of all.

### HIPSTERS IN AERIAL GONDOLAS

Before the L train was terrible, it was horrible. By



BY  
ALEXANDER  
NAZARYAN  
@alexnazaryan

the time I arrived in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn in the very early 2000s, the L was running well beyond its original capacity, stuffed during rush hour like the Manhattan trains you'd moved to Brooklyn to avoid. Despondent hipsters stood on the platform at Bedford Avenue, waiting for a train into which they could squeeze their skinny, tattooed bodies. People said the train was good for people-watching, but the only sight you were likely to glimpse was the sweaty, pimpled necks of your fellow commuters.

But even inadequate L service is better than no L service. Soon the L train will be shut down to repair the tunnel beneath the East River it traverses. Announced this summer by the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, the plan calls for the suspension of L train service between Brooklyn and Manhattan, thus severing a crucial means of interborough commute (the L will continue to run through less-trafficked parts of Brooklyn). The shutdown, which will begin in early 2019 and last for 18 months, has already been given an ominous name: L-pocalypse.

The closure is still nearly three years away,

but just about everyone involved with mass transportation in the New York area is already desperately trying to come up with a solution. Some of the early proposals are fanciful. The construction firm AECOM, which is affiliated with early work on the Hyperloop transporta-

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## BEFORE THE L TRAIN WAS TERRIBLE, IT WAS HORRIBLE.

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tion system envisioned by Tesla impresario Elon Musk, has proposed a tunnel that would float on the East River, a sort of giant, translucent snake stretching between Brooklyn and Manhattan. It's a cool idea. Chance it comes to pass: zero. "Aerial gondolas" have also been suggested. That's also as likely as a Knicks championship. Sensible calls have come from Transportation Alternatives to make 14th Street more accessible to cyclists and pedestrians. No, that's not sexy or revolutionary, but this is New York City, where installing a curbside bike rack might take a decade and involve a dozen lawsuits.

No one, though, has been planning for the L shutdown more aggressively than Uber. The company has apparently embraced the famous admonition of former White House Chief of Staff and current Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel to "never let a serious crisis go to waste." At the very least, it has been much more bullish than Lyft, which tells me that it has "no concrete plans to share yet."

Uber definitely has a plan. The question is, Will New Yorkers embrace it?

### THE MAGIC BUS-TRAIN

"Imagine if a driver commuting into Manhattan could open up the Uber app," wrote Uber New York General Manager Josh Mohrer in a *Newsweek* op-ed published earlier this month, "enter where they are going, and then be shown nearby riders who are going in the same direction—and get paid for bringing them along." Mohrer calls this plan Commute Together, a carpooling service that would quickly deputize New Yorkers who weren't previously licensed to operate a commercial vehicle as Uber drivers.

Mohrer's plan calls for Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) across the Williamsburg Bridge, which spans the East River from Manhattan's Lower East Side to Williamsburg, closely approximating the current route of the L. The BRT would have its own

**IF YOU CAN MAKE IT THERE: Shutting down the L train will force many thousands who commute daily from Brooklyn into Manhattan to find another ride.**

ANDREW BURTON/GETTY





dedicated lane and pre-board ticketing, making it a kind of train with four wheels.

Uber argues, however, that given the congestion on the Williamsburg Bridge, clearing a full lane of traffic would be tantamount to serving a formal dinner for 24 on the rush-hour 5 train. Mohrer says Uber could clear the way for BRT on the Williamsburg Bridge through Commute Together: “With enough participation, we could significantly reduce the 11,000 cars traveling over Williamsburg Bridge and carve out space for BRT.”

The plan has received the support of urbanists like Sarah Kaufman, a transit scholar at New York University who recently co-authored a report on the looming shutdown of the L. The report calls for expanded partnership between the city and ride-sharing companies (it also floats the aerial gondola idea, though that isn’t the report’s centerpiece). “Anything that expands transportation options for the public is beneficial,” she tells me. “Our subways are crowded, and we need some relief from that.”

#### CARPOOL KABUKI

Uber’s biggest nemesis is not Lyft, or the subway system, or a bike-share kiosk on every corner. Rather, its staunchest enemy resides in a 200-year-old Federal-style building at the foot

of the Brooklyn Bridge, in lower Manhattan: City Hall. In 2015, the city’s mayor, the alleged progressive Bill de Blasio, tried to set a limit on the number of vehicles Uber could operate in an attempt to stunt its growth. Uber fought back with a public relations effort led in part by Obama ’08 veteran David Plouffe, arguing that its drivers are often hard-working immigrants and people of color, and that they pick up riders in low-income and outer borough neighborhoods that the Yellow Cab industry (a major donor to de Blasio’s mayoral campaign) shuns.

Uber won the battle, embarrassing de Blasio in the process. Since his 2015 defeat, de Blasio has grudgingly conceded that Uber and Lyft will remain part of the city’s infrastructure, yet he is unlikely to make further concessions. To the contrary, he could use the L shutdown to exact revenge on Uber. Given the mayor’s well-known vindictiveness and pettiness, that would surprise almost no one.

Nor would it be difficult. Any driver picking up passengers for a fee would have to be licensed by the Taxi & Limousine Commission, a process that could take months. Mohrer’s op-ed calls for a “flexible” licensing approach from the TLC, but the agency cannot compromise on basic safety standards. Through a spokesman, the TLC tells

+ **TRAINING WHEELS:** Altamonte Springs has solved the last-mile problem for commuters by subsidizing Uber rides to and from SunRail stations.

me it wants to collaborate “with all of our licensed industries” but won’t provide details.

The taxi industry hopes that no such collaboration comes to be. Bhairavi Desai, who directs the New York Taxi Workers Alliance, sent me an email with 11 reasons why the Uber plan was wrong for New York City. She argues that Commute Together “would create more congestion” and that “there are more than enough professional drivers to meet the increased demand.” She notes that Uber vehicles are not wheelchair accessible and that use of the service requires a smartphone, which many people still do not have.

“Carpooling already exists without Uber,” she concludes. “If neighbors want to give each other rides, they don’t need to give Uber money to do so, and no special license is necessary.”

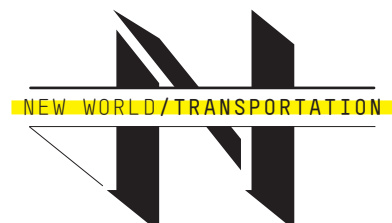
### UBER’S OVER-UNDER

“Is Uber destined to be just another app in a sea of sharing-economy choices used by a fraction of the population?” wondered David Spiegel of CNBC this summer. “Or will it instead retain its competitive edge and become the next company like Amazon or Xerox or GE—a company that starts with a core business model and through innovation, clever resource consolidation and smart execution becomes something much bigger and more important?”

Uber’s finances are impressive—but also deceptive. It is worth more than \$60 billion, yet it lost \$1.2 billion in the first half of 2016, which points to a troubling gap between perception and performance. Venture capital from Sand Hill Road can’t grow a company on its own; neither can the boundless confidence of Wall Street investors. You need the little guy, the ordinary American, to fall in love.

Uber is clearly aiming for Amazon-level relevance, which is why it is so eager to insinuate itself into the public sphere. Once there, it will be impossible to dislodge, as both supporters and detractors well know. Its current push extends beyond the experiment in Altamonte Springs or the Williamsburg Bridge proposal. Matt Wing, an Uber spokesman, points to uberPOOL, a ride-sharing service that has worked to close mass transit gaps in Boston, Seattle (uberHOP) and Washington, D.C. Commute Together looks as if it will be a close sibling of uberPOOL, if not an identical twin.

Despite these gestures of apparent altruism, Uber continues to struggle with perceptions that it is just another heartless corporation, one that exploits drivers by treating them as contractors and exploits riders through “surge pricing.” Though much smaller, Lyft arguably



enjoys a better public reputation. That might not matter to hedge funders, but it could make a crucial difference to municipal officials evaluating bids for service.

I asked Mohrer how he would ensure that drivers picking up riders through Commute Together were properly vetted. After all, Uber drivers have been caught (granted, very infrequently) driving drunk or sexually assaulting passengers—and those are the ones who’ve presumably gone through the company’s background checks, not the kind of expedited licensing Mohrer calls for in his *Newsweek* op-ed.

“We have a long time to figure this out,” he says. That’s both true and not. Things move very slowly in New York and then move very quickly. Soon enough, the whoosh of the L train will no longer blow stale air through the Bedford Avenue station. Thousands each day will want some way to cross the East River. Maybe they will do so via aerial gondolas or floating tunnels.

Or maybe commerce between Brooklyn and Manhattan will radically decrease as a result of the shutdown, the two boroughs reverting with

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## A SORT OF GIANT, TRANSLUCENT SNAKE WOULD STRETCH BETWEEN BROOKLYN AND MANHATTAN.

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astonishing speed to the separate cities they were before 1898, as if they’d simply been waiting for an excuse to divorce. This simply because city planners didn’t have the vision to prepare for the L-pocalypse, so that in future years, historians will cite 2019 as the moment in which New York’s dysfunction reached a new crescendo, the yuppified masses fled for the suburbs, as they had in the 1970s, and Greenwich Village became affordable again, though not quite for the right reasons.

Uber is hoping it won’t come to that. ■







THEATER

ART

MUSIC

INTELLIGENCE

MEDIA

FILM



## HARING, IMPAIRED

# The mysterious origin and uncertain fate of a forgotten Keith Haring mural

+ **RADIANT BABY:** Haring quickly jumped from graffiti artist being chased by the transit cops to being chased by gallery owners in Paris and Amsterdam.

**KEITH HARING** practiced making art quickly. In the early '80s, he would ride the New York City subway, scouting the stations for spots where sheets of plain black paper hung until advertisements replaced them. He'd saunter up, look around for police and fill the paper with cartoon-like figures. Sometimes, it got him arrested.

One Saturday evening, most likely in 1984, Haring walked into a building on 108th Street, passing under a small cross above the front door. The thin, bespectacled artist carried a coffee can filled with black paint and a thick brush, ready to cover the walls of the former convent. A friend invited Haring to tag the wall and got the approval of Gary Mallon, director of the youth center in the building. The leaders of the church that owned the building didn't know Haring was there.

Haring started at the bottom of the stairs and wound his way up to the third floor, crouching low and then almost reaching the ceiling in some spots. He painted outlines of figures walking,

running, jumping, embracing—limbs askew and vibrating with curved echo lines that gave the walls a feeling of constant motion. That night, dozens of teenagers were inside the Grace House youth center, which was run by the Catholic Youth Organization, and they trickled into the halls to watch him paint.

"I think it took about 40 minutes. It was so fast...and there was no sketch. It just flowed out of him," says Mallon. "He would paint [the figures] as he was moving. It was coming out of his head through the brush and onto the wall."

The spontaneous mural ends at the third-floor landing with a figure seeming to dive into a doorway, only its lower half visible. When the building was a convent, the door led to the mother superior's apartment, but in those years it was home to Mallon. "That's you, Gary," he remembers Haring saying, explaining that it was Mallon escaping into his apartment after a long day working with the kids. Back downstairs in

BERNARD GOTFRYD/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY

BY  
**STAV ZIV**  
@stavziv



the lobby, Haring added his archetypal “radiant baby” to an empty wall—an outline of a crawling child surrounded by sunny beams.

Just six years later, the world-famous artist died from AIDS-related complications at the age of 31. By then, he’d shown his work in more than 100 solo and group exhibitions across the globe; collaborated with artists like Grace Jones, Yoko Ono and Bill T. Jones; and painted murals in prominent spots, including hospitals, museums and the Berlin Wall.

Now, more than three decades after Haring painted his mural for the kids of Grace House, the church is emptying the building of tenants and “exploring its options,” which means a massive work by an art icon—extremely valuable and simultaneously priceless—could be destroyed.

#### **CRACK IS WACK**

The story of how the mural came to be is also the story of a Puerto Rican teenager from the

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## A MASSIVE WORK BY AN ART ICON—EXTREMELY VALUABLE AND SIMULTANEOUSLY PRICELESS—IS AT RISK OF BEING DESTROYED.

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South Bronx. Benny Soto, a self-described poor kid who was a regular volunteer at Grace House, had no exposure to any kind of fine art growing up; it was an interest in clubbing as a teenager that brought him into the art world. He discovered the Paradise Garage in the early '80s and quickly became a fixture at the SoHo discotheque, where he kept seeing pins and T-shirts featuring a mysterious glowing baby. Someone finally pointed him to Haring's show at the Tony



+  
**WALL OF FAME:**  
Haring slipped into the Grace House building late one night and painted his stairwell mural in less than an hour.

Shafrazi Gallery, where the artist had turned the basement of an annex around the corner into a “break-dance disco” with black lights, fluorescent paint, DJ equipment and a party every night. It was there and at the Garage that Soto befriended Haring, who eventually hired the teenager to be his studio assistant.

Soto can't pinpoint the exact moment he got the idea that Haring should paint at Grace House. Haring knew Soto and his friends spent a lot of time hanging out and volunteering there, and Soto remembers asking him several times if he would make something for the kids. Haring agreed and so did Mallon, who decided it was best not to ask the church for permission. And so, late on a winter night, Haring arrived with his coffee can. “Keith was such a nice, generous guy,” says Mallon, now a professor at Hunter College’s Silberman School of Social Work. “He wanted nothing in return.”

Soto remembers feeling the mural was a gift for all the kids, most of them poor, who found a safe space at the youth center. “There’s certainly a lot of movement and joy in the figures as you go up and down the steps. In an ultra-simplistic way, he captured it: That’s what Grace House felt like. There were always kids running up and down the steps.”

Soto worked as Haring’s studio assistant for about 18 months, running to the art supply store, buying lunch, delivering paintings, stretching canvases. But he also became friends with the artist, entering Haring’s social circle, which included Andy Warhol as well as pop stars Boy George and Madonna, who performed “Like a Virgin” for Haring’s birthday party in 1984, wearing an outfit designed by the artist, months before the single was released. Haring took Soto overseas for the first time when he had work in Amsterdam and Paris.



Working for Haring was an exhilarating experience, Soto says, until he “got wrapped up doing a lot of drugs and hanging out. I had to really take a step back and get myself together.... Keith was very, very supportive,” even after Soto stopped working for him.

It was Soto, in part, who inspired one of Haring’s most famous public works in New York City—the “Crack Is Wack” mural he painted in 1986 on the wall of an abandoned handball court uptown, on Harlem River Drive. “Now, there’s a very personal reason why I wanted to do this particular mural,” Haring is quoted as saying in a biography by John Gruen. “Back in 1984, I hired a young studio assistant. He was a Puerto Rican kid—very intelligent, top star of his school, and ready to go to medical school. He did volunteer work for a Catholic community center and he was just an all-around good and wonderful person. But, little by little, he became a crack addict.... I got really distressed.... But because he was also intelligent, he wanted desperately to stop. Finally, he was put on a program and, thank God, he was cured.”

Within a year after Soto got sober in the late 1980s, Haring was diagnosed with AIDS. Soto will never forget one of his last visits before Haring’s death in February 1990. The artist was changing his shirt in his studio before they headed out somewhere, and Soto saw lesions on his back. He knew what they were but didn’t want to believe it, so he asked. “Bennnnny, come on,” he recalls Haring saying, mimicking the impatience on his face and in his voice. “I have AIDS.”

The last time Soto saw Haring, he was no longer the same energetic man buzzing around the studio or dancing up the stairs as a mural poured out of his brush. “It was devastating to see.... You feel so powerless,” says Soto, who cried as he walked away from the studio that day. “It was so sad. He was so young and so talented. I think he would have done so much more.”

#### MOVING IN WITH THE MURAL

The Grace House mural went largely unharmed while the five-story building was used for various purposes over the past 30 years. It has been owned by the Church of the Ascension for nearly a century. From 1977 until 2008 or 2009,



the Catholic Youth Organization rented Grace House for retreats and other programs for kids. The building then became host to a hodgepodge of organizations and activities, some of which continued after the church started renting out rooms as apartments around 2013. Since then, a motley, multigenerational group, including artists, students and teachers, has lived there, sharing bathrooms and kitchens.

Robert Savina, a production designer for low-budget independent films, found Grace House while scouting locations. “When I first saw the mural, it was this immediate connection,” he tells *Newsweek*. He happened to be looking for a place to live, and when he heard there was a room available on the fourth floor, he says, “I knew this was home.” He’s been living with the Haring for over two years now. It “always energizes me. It’s a very uplifting piece of art. I notice something different about it each time I walk by,” like the spots where Haring must have started a brushstroke with a fresh load of paint, leaving a few drops trailing below the confidently drawn lines.

Like the rest of his neighbors, Savina received a letter in April asking him to move and a more formal legal notice in June requesting he vacate the premises by July 31. The only explanation was a brief mention of the church’s “financial health.” As the tenants scrambled to arrange for new housing, they worried about the mural. They feared it would be destroyed if the church leased or sold the property.

The church has yet to reveal its plans. Joseph Zwilling, director of communications for the Archdiocese of New York, tells *Newsweek*, “There has been no decision yet about the future of the building in question and therefore no decision about the mural itself.”

All but two of the tenants—Savina and a young woman on the fifth floor named Yana Sabeva—have moved out, even though lawyers believe they are protected by rent stabilization laws. Aaron Kratzat, an attorney at the Goddard Riverside Law Project, says the Grace House tenants should have the right to stay indefinitely, but a

judge denied Savina and Sabeva an injunction that would prevent the church from starting eviction proceedings, and now they’re waiting for the church’s next move.

In the meantime, the mural has caught the attention of New York City Councilman Mark Levine, who wants to ensure that it cannot be ruined and believes the “only rock-solid way to protect it is to landmark it.” He has approached the city’s Landmarks Preservation Commission about beginning that process.

Savina’s staying, at least in part because of the mural. He figures that no one can knock down the building while he and Sabeva are living in it.

#### THE FRIENDS THEY LOST

This summer, more than 30 years after he’d last hung out at Grace House, Soto went to see what he calls “the forgotten mural.” After Savina let him in, the pair showed each other around. When they reached the rooftop garden, they sat and talked for over an hour about New York City in the 1980s, about drugs and drinking, about AIDS and the friends they lost, and about the mural.

“Can we look at it one more time?” said Soto, now a promoter for electronic dance music events

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“THERE’S A LOT OF MOVEMENT AND JOY IN THE FIGURES. THAT’S WHAT GRACE HOUSE FELT LIKE. THERE WERE ALWAYS KIDS RUNNING UP AND DOWN THE STEPS.”

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and a DJ, and they meandered back downstairs. Beneath the right sleeve of Soto’s black T-shirt, there’s a tattoo Haring inked when the famous tattoo artist Hanky Panky was teaching him to use a tattoo machine in Amsterdam. It’s faded, but you can still make out Haring’s well-known “Batman” figure, with a cape spread behind him and an X on the belly.

As they lingered over their goodbyes by the front door, Soto said he thought Savina might save the Haring work. “You’re lucky to have the mural, but the mural is also lucky to have you.”

After Haring’s old friend walked away, Savina closed the door to Grace House and went to his room. Though it’s on the fourth floor, you can bet he took the stairs for one more look. **N**



  
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## GRUDGE GONE WILD

# Why Joe Francis's secret war against Gawker is still secret

**THE PLOT TO** take down Gawker was like high-stakes celebrity Mad Libs: A Silicon Valley billionaire teamed up with an aging wrestler to win a civil suit over a post about a sex tape. And it worked: Gawker.com is done, its former managing editor, Nick Denton, is bankrupt; and Hulk Hogan's been awarded \$140 million in damages. By any account, Gawker's enemies are very pleased.

But few know there was another disgruntled celebrity working to destroy Gawker: Joe Francis, the millionaire soft-core porn mogul best known for the *Girls Gone Wild* franchise. In several interviews with *Newsweek*, Francis boasted about his role, using language better suited to the voice-over for an action movie. "It was an all-out assault," he says. "I liken this operation to killing Osama bin Laden. And we did—we killed the most reckless, dangerous scumbag in the world: Nick Denton. Now, for the burial at sea, I'd like to see that too."

Denton (not the most dangerous scumbag in the world) did make a lot of enemies with his blog. Gawker enraged Lena Dunham, outed Peter Thiel and Shepard Smith, referred to Zoe Saldana's infant twins as "hipster scum" and once described Ted Cruz as a "noted skin-haver."

"They were really good at making enemies," says Nik Richie, a blogger who runs the gossip site *TheDirty.com*.

Which leads us to Francis. In 2009, the porno entrepreneur threatened to sue Gawker for calling him a rapist in a post that awarded him the title of Douche of the Decade. (Francis had been accused of rape in a *Los Angeles Times* profile but was never



convicted. Tax evasion and bribery, sure, but not rape.) In an email to Gawker titled "Hey Nick, Your Fucked" [*sic*], Francis claimed he had lost a \$10 million deal because of Gawker's post and wrote, "I am going to wipe you off the grid!!!!"

Wipe Gawker off the grid? That must have sounded pretty ludicrous in 2009.

BY  
**ZACH SCHONFELD**  
@zzzzaaaaccchhh

**THANKS FOR THE MEMORIES:** Francis's version of how he helped take down Gawker is colorful and at odds with the recollections of his own lawyer.



Francis had his attorney send a letter to Gawker, which amended “rapist” to “alleged rapist.” But his beef with the site deepened when it continued targeting him. When Gawker’s sister blog Jezebel mocked his girlfriend’s pregnancy announcement years later, he was infuriated. “They called my daughters ‘genetically modified! Number one, genetic modification is illegal.... But to, like, attack innocent little babies? It’s just horrible.”

Francis happened to be friendly with Hulk Hogan, and when Hogan was going through a divorce, Francis introduced him to his attorney, David Houston, who later advised the wrestler in his privacy suit against Gawker. (Houston, Hogan’s personal attorney, is not to be confused with Charles Harder, the Hollywood libel lawyer hired specifically for the case.) Francis, meanwhile, was in and out of jail after being convicted of false imprisonment and assault in 2013. As Francis tells it, he allied with Hogan and his lawyer to get Gawker. “I would call myself a peripheral player,” he says, “who did a lot of handiwork.”

According to his lawyer, Francis’s involvement was minimal, at best.

In 2012 or 2013, after Gawker published a clip from the now-infamous video of Hogan having sex with his best friend’s wife, Francis claims he convinced other sites to take down posts on the sex tape. “I worked the phones,” he says. “I called in every favor I possibly could.”

Houston tells the story differently: He had Francis call Richie because the two were friends and he wanted Francis to “facilitate an introduction” between himself and Richie so the latter would know Houston would be calling. Houston’s goal was to scrub his client’s sex tape from the internet. Richie confirms that Francis asked him to take down grainy stills from the tape, and two such posts were removed on May 8, 2013—shortly after Gawker refused a judge’s order to take down the video.

Francis rang other gossip rags too. “I sat on the phone for days, begging friends in the media: ‘Pull it fucking down.’ And calling off favors.” For whom? “TMZ, all these guys. I traded information too. Paid them off. Whatever I could do.”

Paid them off? A few days later, when asked to clarify that, Francis backtracked: Did he ask TMZ to take down the sex tape? “No comment.” Did any of these sites get paid off? “Nope.”

An email asking TMZ whether the site amended its coverage on Francis’s orders drew a hasty rebuke from a spokesperson: “No and you are completely off base.”

Houston says he contacted more than 80 sites after the sex tape broke. “All agreed to remove

the offending content or not publish,” he says. Only Gawker declined.

Francis also gives himself credit for Hogan’s secret benefactor—Peter Thiel—though there is scant evidence to support this narrative. Thiel, who made a fortune as the co-founder of PayPal, spent years plotting his revenge after he was outed by Gawker in 2007. In subsequent years, the blog mocked his business ventures and his rather bewildering comments on women’s suffrage. The Hogan suit provided Thiel with the opportunity he craved: He paid millions in legal fees to finance the lawsuit.

Francis says he had Houston threaten legal action against Gawker long before the Hogan lawsuit. Houston says he hadn’t even heard of Gawker before the suit was filed.

### THE MEDIA RUIN GREAT THINGS

Joe Francis is famous for running his mouth, and swearwords pour out of it at a dazzling speed. After his 2013 conviction, he called the jurors “retarded” and said they “should be euthanized.” But during a brief, final phone conversation with *Newsweek* on August 31, he was uncharacteristically taciturn, and he declined to share emails he’d said would confirm his role in the Gawker case. “I don’t know.... I don’t want to ruin this thing,” he

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“WE KILLED THE MOST RECKLESS, DANGEROUS SCUMBAG IN THE WORLD.”

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said. “I don’t want to hurt the judgment.” (He feared a court might use this information as a basis to overturn the ruling.)

“The media has a way of destroying great things sometimes,” he added.

The infomercial smut tycoon sounded hurried, saying he was on his way out with his wife and kids, but he offered to respond to some questions by email that night. He didn’t reply to that email. Nor a second one. Nor a third. And he stopped answering my phone calls.

His sudden reticence is perhaps understandable, even though Francis repeatedly compared his efforts against Gawker to the mission to take out the leader of Al-Qaeda. “I killed Osama bin Laden,” he said. “Or I was the CIA operative who assisted in the killing of Osama bin Laden.”

Or, perhaps, he’s just somebody who has watched *Zero Dark Thirty* too many times. ■



## SNOWDEN, A LOVE STORY

Oliver Stone's new film aims to humanize the infamous NSA leaker and convince viewers he's a hero, not a traitor

**BILL BINNEY** found a seat just inside the door of Washington's Chez Billy Sud, a chic Georgetown pub, as a happy crowd was pouring in after an advance screening of Oliver Stone's new film on Edward Snowden. The entrance was an appropriate perch for Binney, a lanky, 73-year-old former top National Security Agency official who's largely been overlooked in the flood of publicity about Snowden, the infamous electronic-spying leaker who now resides in Moscow.

Years before anyone had ever heard of Snowden, Binney, a gifted cryptologist and mathematician, was pushing back against the NSA's spying overreach. In October 2001, after more than three decades at the agency, he resigned rather than participate in a clandestine, overpriced and questionably legal electronic spying system code-named Trailblazer. By most accounts, Binney and his colleagues had designed a system with built-in privacy protections and higher efficiency than that one, called ThinThread. But the agency's boss at the time, General Michael Hayden, ditched ThinThread and poured at least \$1.2 billion into the coffers of contractor Science Applications International Corp. to develop Trailblazer, until the Bush administration terminated it. Ever since, Binney has alternated between grief and rage over his firm belief that ThinThread would have discovered the 9/11 hijackers before they struck. "It was just revolting and disgusting that we allowed it to happen," Binney says of the attacks.

Eventually, the government came after him and his fellow NSA dissidents, as well as a House Intelligence Committee staffer, Diane Roark, who had championed their cause. Their story is told in a deeply disturbing Austrian documentary, *A Good American*, due to be released in the U.S. in February. But on this night, Binney was thrilled by Stone's powerful biopic of Snowden, who astounded the world with his massive exposure of the NSA's global spying programs.

"I think it's great," Binney says of *Snowden*, a mostly hagiographic take on the largely self-taught computer expert's journey from patriotic, post-9/11 Green Beret volunteer (he washed out after breaking his legs) to CIA recruit to NSA contractor and eventually apostate and renegade. "It did what I hoped it would do. It shows the human side of surveillance and how it affects people."

For most people, he says, the technical jargon about how the NSA spying programs work, not to mention the complexity of laws that largely fail to control them, is too hard to understand. "With this movie...people can visualize and grasp things. I think it will help people understand what is really going on behind the scenes."

And that is? "That they are invading the privacy of everyone," he says. "They can turn on your cellphone and listen to you. They can turn on your camera and watch you. They can do the same with computers...[even] OnStar," General Motors Co.'s car communications system. "They can use radios

BY  
**JEFF STEIN**  
@SpyTalker





**THE LEAKER:** Joseph Gordon-Levitt, right, plays Edward Snowden in Oliver Stone's largely positive biopic about the NSA contractor.

in cars to do that. It's a total invasion of what you thought you had as a citizen as rights to privacy."

What the George W. Bush administration freed the NSA and other spy agencies to do after 9/11, he adds, has continued under Barack Obama, despite the president's promise to end the NSA's warrantless collection and storage of bulk phone-call data.

For the most part, Stone's version of events, based largely on *The Snowden Files*, a 2014 book by *Guardian* correspondent Luke Harding, tracks closely with the dissident's accounts of his growing alienation. His disaffection begins with his CIA posting to Geneva, when the spy agency exploits information collected by the NSA to manipulate and blackmail a foreign banker. Snowden, who joined the CIA to fight terrorists, hadn't signed up for that. Later, his illusions further evaporate when he learns how the NSA's secret partnerships with U.S. telecom companies have allowed it to vacuum up the personal emails, telephone calls and financial transactions of any American (not to mention foreigners) with a computer, without a warrant. His estrangement deepens in 2013 when James Clapper, the director of national intelligence, lies under oath during a congressional hearing about the NSA's spying programs.

Snowden had seen what had happened to Binney and other NSA executives who came under investigation and whose careers were ruined.

But those events proved to be too much back-

story for Stone's focus on Snowden's catharsis. So he invented a sequence in which a comically evil CIA official, apprehensive about Snowden's growing disenchantment, lets his erstwhile acolyte know he's spying

**"IT WAS JUST REVOLTING AND DISGUSTING THAT WE ALLOWED [9/11] TO HAPPEN."**

on him and his girlfriend. Stone, in a conversation with a journalist at the September 7 after-party in Georgetown, allowed that the scene is a cinematic device to explain Snowden's decision to download thousands of top-secret documents

and hand them over to reporters from *The Guardian* and *The Washington Post*. The decision will likely re-energize Stone's persistent, mostly right-wing critics, who have hounded the director for decades over his unconventional portrayals of U.S.-backed Salvadoran death squads, Vietnam atrocities, Wall Street greed and especially the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

But Stone hews far closer to the facts in *Snowden* than in his other films. The film climaxes with the whistleblower, charged with espionage, fleeing from Hong Kong to Moscow, en route, he hoped, to Ecuador, which has no extradition treaty with the United States. Instead, the State Department revoked his passport, stranding him in Russia.

Now, over three years later, a coalition of human rights groups is launching a campaign to persuade Obama to grant Snowden a pardon. It's not likely to be successful. Putting aside Snowden's depiction as a traitor in many quarters—even Hillary Clinton has said he needs to come home "to face the music"—Obama has shown no inclination to lessen, much less drop, the charges against him.

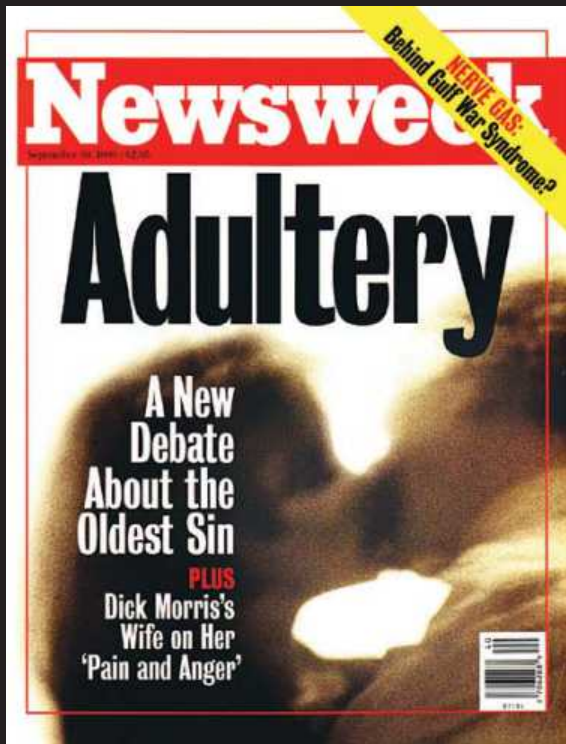
Binney, meanwhile, says the Obama administration has expanded the NSA's spying programs. "They are collecting vastly more amounts of information every year," he says, with plans to build a massive new data storage facility at Fort Meade, Maryland, besides the one that opened in Utah in 2014. "It's all for naught," he says, "because it doesn't help prevent terrorist attacks at all." **N**

# REWIND

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YEARS

SEPTEMBER 30, 1996

MASSACHUSETTS GOVERNOR WILLIAM WELD (NOW THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY'S VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE) BRAGGING TO THE PRESS DURING HIS DOOMED 1996 CAMPAIGN FOR SENATE



“I’m bemused to see so many senators leaving

Washington because they’re depressed by the pettiness of politics. I’m delighted by the pettiness of politics.”

# Inside the case that shocked the nation

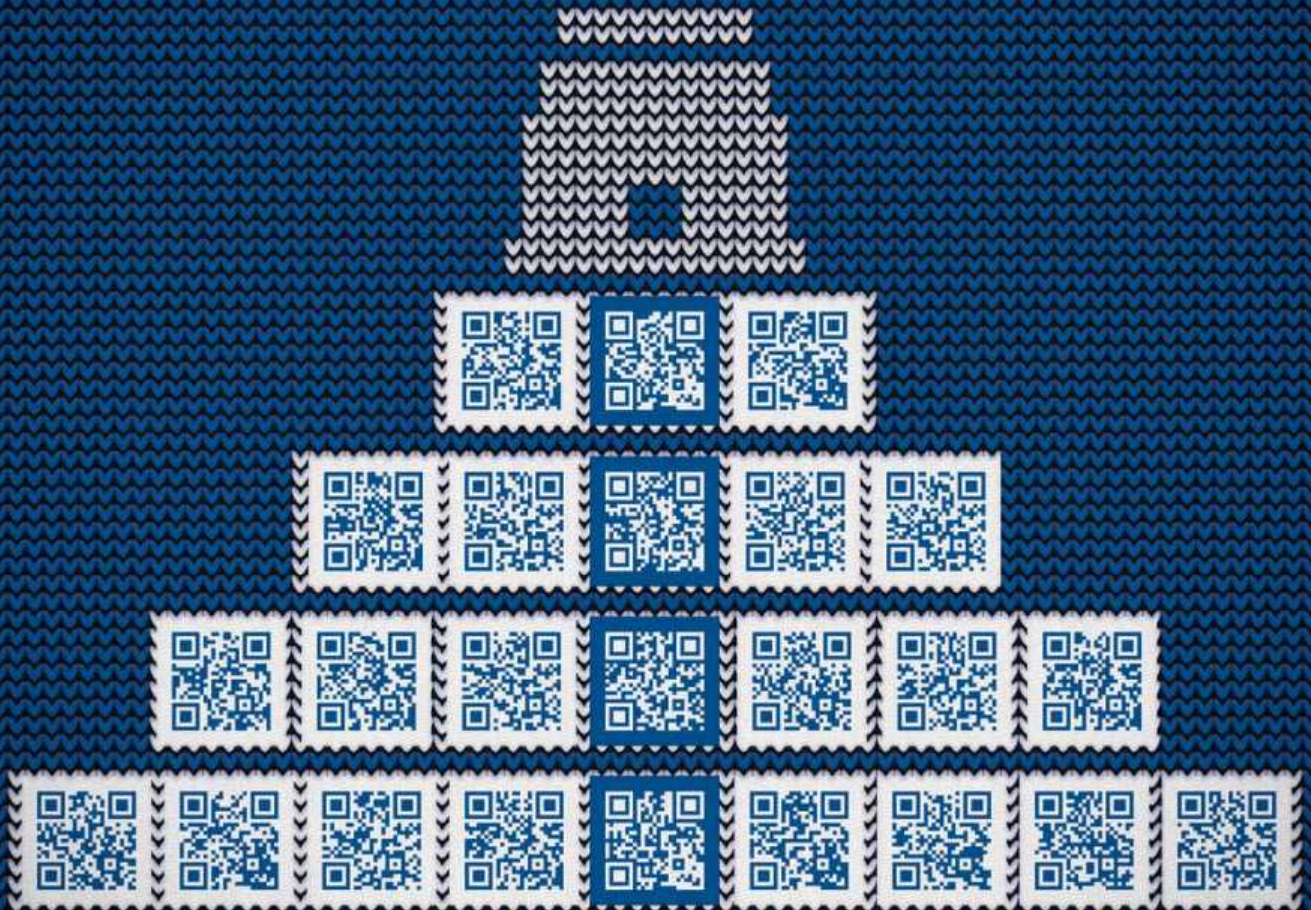


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