

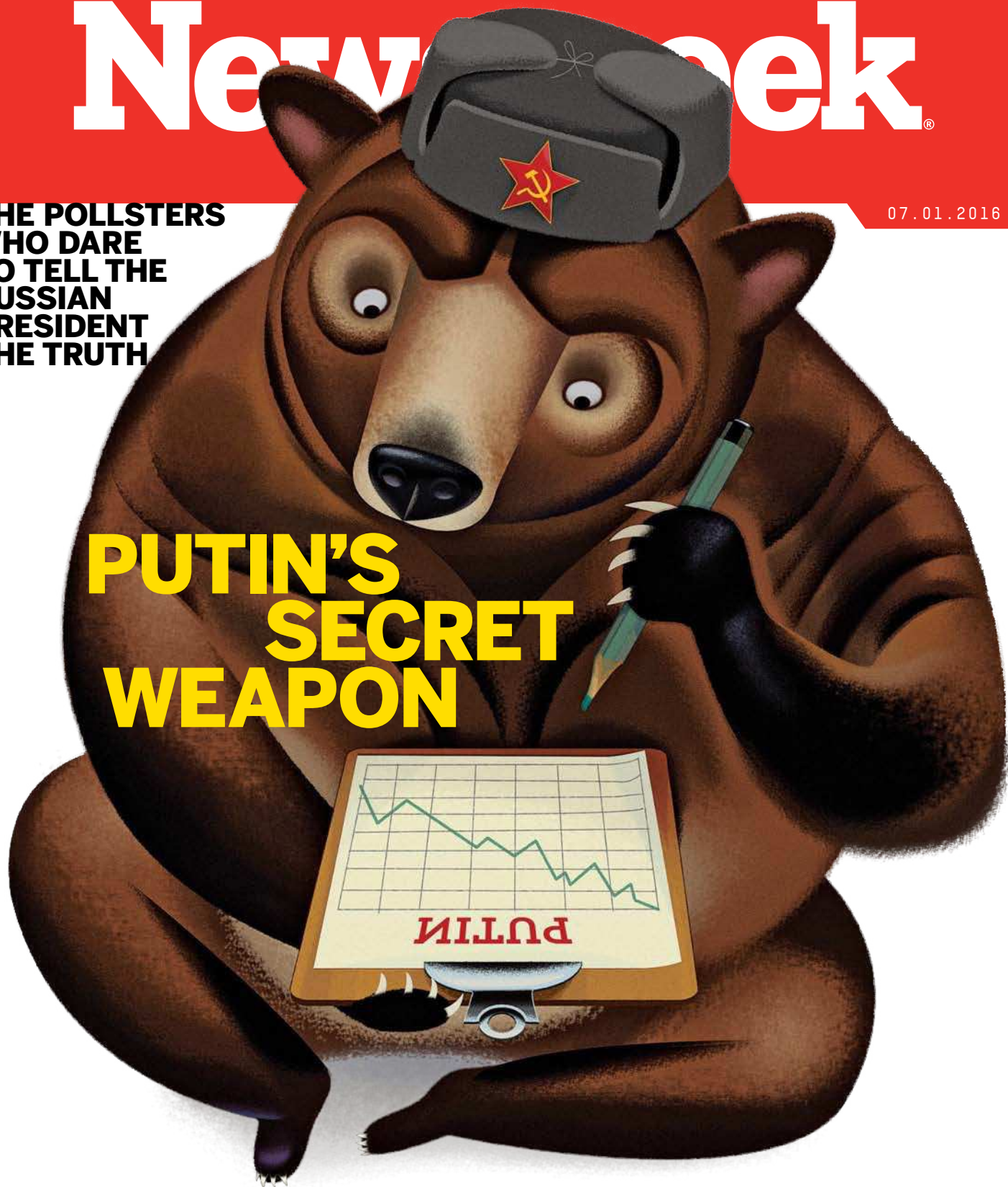
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**THE POLLSTERS
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TO TELL THE
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THE TRUTH**

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JULY 1, 2016 / VOL. 166 / NO. 25



FEATURES

26 **Putin's Secret Weapon**

Inside the small cadre that dares to tell the Russian president the truth.

by Owen Matthews

34 **All the President's Men**

Hillary's biggest challenge if she makes it to the White House: figuring out what to do about Bill. *by Nina Burleigh*

COVER CREDIT: ILLUSTRATION BY NIGEL BUCHANAN

DEPARTMENTS

BIG SHOTS

- 4 **Birstall, England**
Brexit Murder
- 6 **Port Saint Lucie, Florida**
Father's Day
- 8 **Fallujah, Iraq**
Block by Block
- 10 **Nochixtlán, Mexico**
Coop de Grace

PAGE ONE

- 12 **Politics**
The Trump Whisperer

+ BACK TO THE FUTURE: Hillary and Bill Clinton embrace at a New York rally. She has joked that she was tempted to make her husband her running mate, but the former president isn't "eligible under the Constitution."

- 16 **Doctors**
The Doctor Won't See You Now
- 19 **LGBT**
The Worldwide War Against LGBT

NEW WORLD

- 44 **Innovation**
Here Comes the Sun Patch
- 46 **Whales**
Wax Eloquent
- 50 **Anorexia**
WastingAway.com

DOWNTIME

- 56 **Tennis**
Perfect Match
- 61 **Literature**
Two Questions With John Jeremiah Sullivan
- 62 **Style**
Survival of the Fitted
- 64 **To-Do List**
Your Week Made Better



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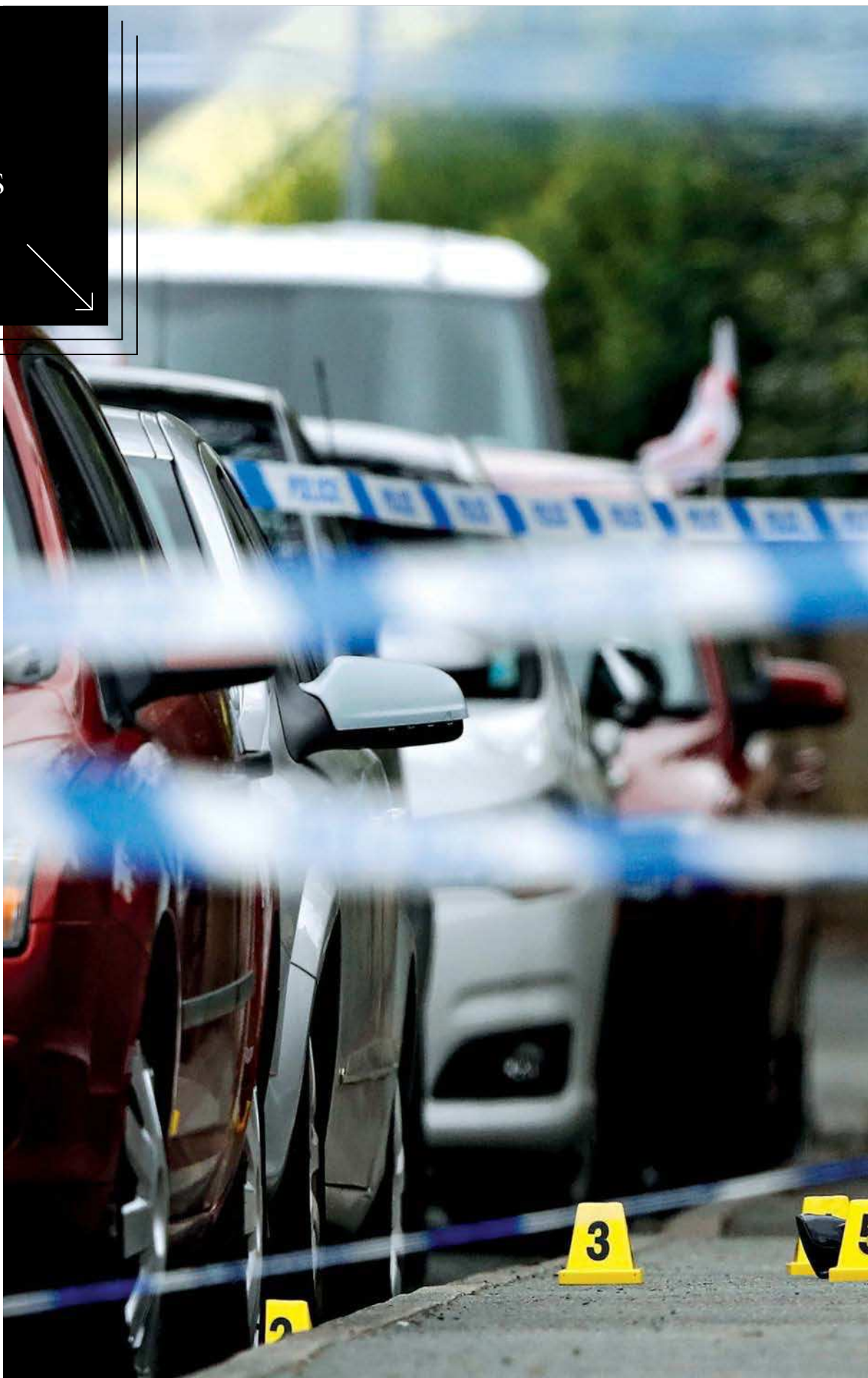
ENGLAND

Brexit Murder

Birstall, England—
A police forensics officer examines the scene of the murder of Jo Cox, a British member of Parliament who was shot and stabbed on June 16 by a man who witnesses say shouted, “Britain first!” The killing prompted the suspension of campaigning for the June 23 referendum on whether Britain should leave the European Union, which has focused on divisive issues such as immigration. Cox was a backer of remaining in the EU. When asked his name during a court appearance, the suspect, Thomas Mair, responded “death to traitors, freedom for Britain.”



PHIL NOBLE





USA

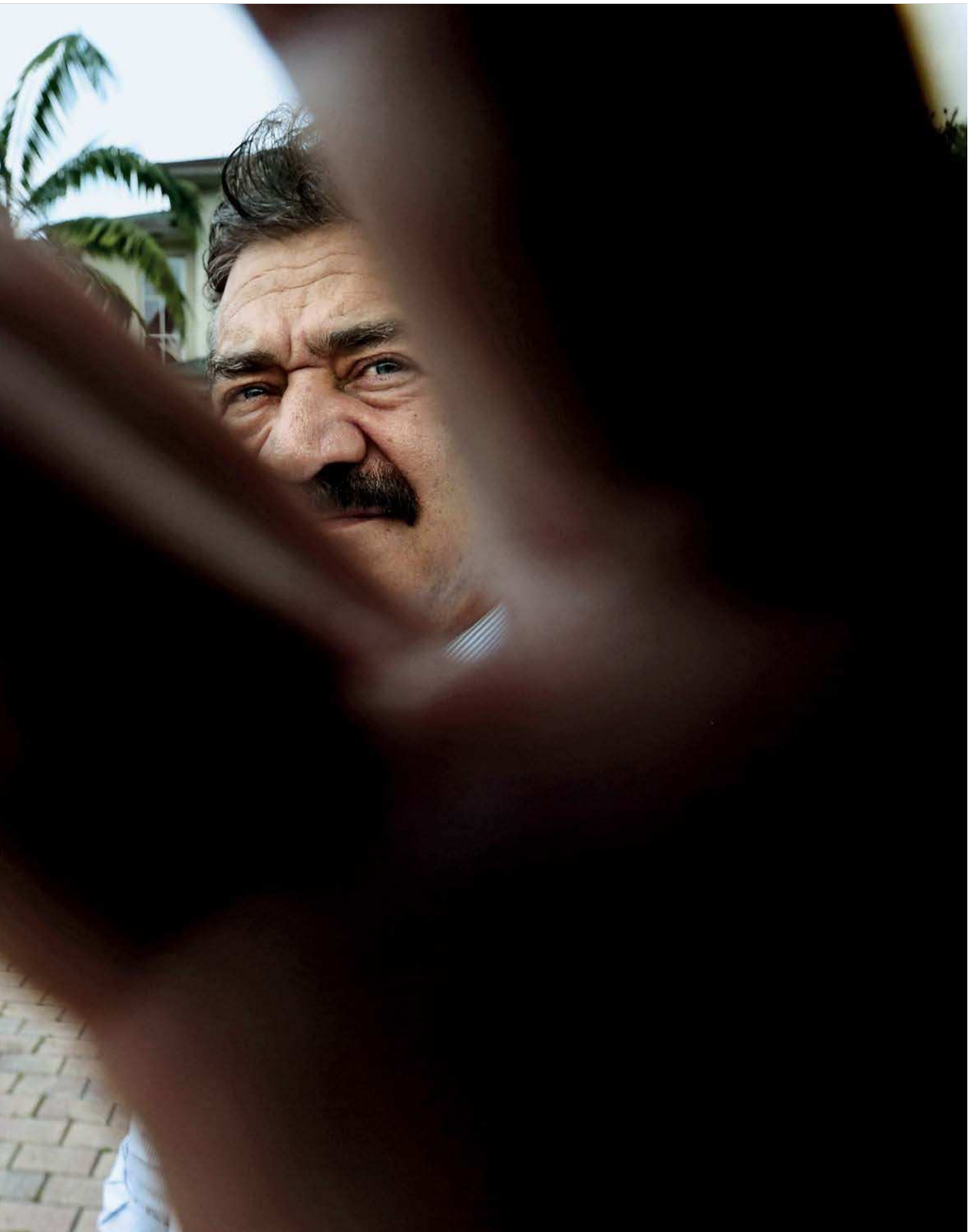
Father's Day

Port St. Lucie, Florida—Seddique Mateen, the father of the gunman who killed 49 people at a gay club in Orlando, grabs a photojournalist's lens outside his home on June 14. He has repeatedly said he does not know why his son, Omar Mateen, carried out the massacre and apologized for the attack, but he also said in a Facebook video, "God himself will punish those involved in homosexuality." After it emerged that the gunman had been on a terrorist watch list, Democrats brought a bill to the Senate to stop people on such lists from buying guns, one of four proposed gun control measures before that chamber.



CARLO ALLEGRI





IRAQ

Block by Block

Fallujah, Iraq—Iraqi security forces evacuate an injured soldier during heavy fighting against Islamic State (ISIS) militants on June 15. The city was a bastion of the Sunni insurgency against U.S. forces after the 2003 invasion, and ISIS took it over in early 2014. Tens of thousands of civilians have fled since Iraqi government forces, backed by Shiite militias and U.S. airstrikes, launched an assault to retake Fallujah in late May. Security forces entered the city center on June 17, but they continued to battle ISIS militants in parts of the city in the following days.



ANMAR KHALIL





MEXICO

Coop de Grace

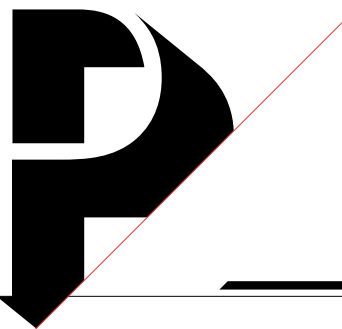
Nochixtlán, Mexico—A truck that was carrying chickens burns during clashes between riot police and members of a teachers union who were blocking roads in protest against President Enrique Peña Nieto's education reforms, northwest of the state capital, Oaxaca City, on June 19. Six people were killed and dozens injured in the latest in a series of protests by teachers unions, which followed the arrest of several union leaders. The Associated Press said its journalists saw riot police firing on the protesters, but police said the shots were fired by people outside the blockades.



JORGE LUIS PLATA







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THE TRUMP WHISPERER

Jeff Sessions, the first senator to endorse the Donald, may be the only pol he listens to

JUNE MARKS THE beginning of summer, but it hasn't been a vacation for Donald Trump. The presumptive Republican nominee has seen his negative poll numbers rise higher than one of his skyscrapers: Seventy percent of Americans have a dismal view of the mogul, according to the ABC News/*Washington Post* poll that appeared in mid-June. Trump needs to be generating enthusiasm among Republicans, especially the elected officials he'll have to lean on as surrogates and allies come autumn.

He's trying to right the ship. On June 20, the mogul parted ways with his campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski. The little-known New Hampshire operative, notorious internally for his temper and running afoul of other Trump officials, was probably most recognizable to the public for his altercation with a young reporter that led to battery charges that were later dropped. After Lewandowski's departure was announced coldly—he was said to be “no longer working” for the campaign—a Trump adviser tweeted, “Ding

dong the witch is dead.” It's unlikely that Lewandowski's departure will end Trump's standoff with GOP leaders. After the Orlando, Florida, massacre, an exasperated Trump told Republican leaders to “be quiet” and that he could win “alone.”

The senator who has stayed closest to Trump is Jeff Sessions, the first in the chamber to endorse him. He offered only a gentle rebuke for Trump's criticism of the Mexican-American judge overseeing one of the suits against Trump University. “Well, it would've been nice if it...had not been said, for sure,” Sessions told NBC News. That was the extent of his criticism and that was the point: stay close to Trump and help stomp out the fire.

The Alabama lawyer and Manhattan mogul make for an odd couple. Sessions is as courtly as Trump is brash; as Southern as Trump is New York City. His full name couldn't be more Dixie: Jefferson Beauregard Sessions III. And he's as maritally stable—47 years to his wife, Mary—as Trump has been peripatetic. What brought the two men together is their views on immigration.

BY
MATTHEW COOPER
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MARK WALLHEISER/GETTY

HE'S ALL HAT: Sessions joined Trump onstage at a huge rally in Mobile, Alabama, early in the primary season that showed how powerful a draw the mogul was on the campaign trail.

Sessions has fought against any path to citizenship for those in the U.S. illegally, and he wants to curtail legal immigration, just like the wall-building Trump. Sessions knows that making the economic case against immigration is going to be a lot more helpful than conflating immigration issues with a judge's ethnicity.

Does this mean Sessions could be the reality-TV star's running mate? It's unlikely Trump, 70, would tap the silver-haired, 69-year-old Sessions. That would make for the oldest ticket in American history. Besides, Sessions is not a world-class orator and lacks the attack-dog instincts most nominees want in a veep. Sessions's value to Trump is that he is arguably the closest thing the fiercely irascible and independent developer has to a wise man.

THE WORKING MAN'S FAVORITE PRIVATE JET

Last August, the Trump campaign was just two months old, and the punditocracy was dismissing the *New Yorker's* presidential bid as the summer infatuation of disgruntled voters—one that would end in September, when Republicans snapped out of their dour mood and embraced a staid, established pol like Jeb Bush. But one event that month began to shake the consensus that Trump's campaign was a mere blip. It was a rally in Mobile, Alabama, where an estimated 30,000 supporters piled into Ladd-Peebles Stadium. Save for Mardi Gras, "it was one of the greatest events Mobile ever put on," the city's deputy mayor said. As the crowd waited for their candidate, loudspeakers directed the throngs to look up as Trump Force One did a circle over the stadium. The place erupted.

When Trump mounted the stage not long afterward, the crowd was surprised to see Sessions on the dais. They again cheered wildly. Sessions is popular in Alabama, having run unopposed in 2014 for his third term in the Senate. When Trump touched on *anchor babies*—the pejorative term for children delivered in the U.S. just to gain citizenship—the crowd howled. The spectacle showed that Trump had a base and a powerful bat to swing.

In Alabama, Sessions's Trumpesque stand on immigration is popular with rank-and-file voters, although businesses dependent on unskilled labor (such as agriculture) or more

highly educated immigrants (the aerospace industry around NASA's Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville) have been disappointed by him. But Sessions has made it clear he won't budge on immigration. Good at bringing home money to Alabama, he's able to take the hit on this issue. That can partly be explained by the fact that while his immigration stance isn't very different from Trump's, his pitch isn't as belligerent, not nearly as off-putting. Sessions is less inclined to portray immigrants as a cultural threat than he is to stress economics. A surplus of immigrant labor is "sapping the wages" of Americans, he says, be they white, black or Hispanic.

It's an argument he was making long before Trump called for that free wall. In 2013, Sessions was the most outspoken Senate opponent to the bipartisan immigration bill favored by the likes of Florida Senator Marco Rubio and cheered by the Obama administration. It would have given those

BEDFELLOWS: His friends say the genial Sessions couldn't be more different in personality and personal life than the bombastic billionaire he's backing for president.



SID HASTINGS/AP

in the country illegally a path to legal status, and Sessions, the ranking member on the subcommittee with jurisdiction over the issue, dug in against what he said were elites who favored cheap labor. “We were not elected to clamor for the affections of Washington pundits and trendy CEOs,” he told his fellow Republicans. The immigration bill passed the Senate but died in the House.

The debate helped strengthen ties between the glitzy Trump and the generally quiet and genial Alabaman. The two met in 2005 after Trump was quoted lambasting the high cost of refurbishing the United Nations headquarters in New York. (Naturally, Trump said he could do it cheaper.) The two kept in touch, and when Trump began his presidential bid a year ago, they began to speak often. In February, six months after that big rally in Mobile (which helped Trump going into the slew of Southern primaries), Sessions became the first senator to back him and one of the few who haven’t hemmed and hawed in recent months.

Sessions’s support isn’t just perfunctory: His allies are advising the campaign, and one of his top staffers, Stephen Miller, is a top policy adviser for Trump who also serves as a warmup act at some Trump rallies, putting the crowd into the properly angry mood by reciting bleak statistics on the manufacturing situation in their local community. “I have tremendous respect for Senator Sessions. He is a terrific person, a great leader, and I am so grateful for his support,” Trump told *Newsweek* via email.

THE FIGHT FOR THE NONCOLLEGE WHITE

No one looking at Sessions’s up-from-rural-Alabama life story probably would have guessed that he’d end up the pol closest to the Manhattan tycoon. “In another life, he wouldn’t care about Donald Trump, but he is enjoying it this time because he and Trump agree so strongly” about immigration, says an old friend of Sessions’s, who thought the senator would object to his talking to reporters. He also noted that the soft-spoken lawyer’s backstory is very different from Trump’s. Sessions grew up the son of a shopkeeper in rural Alabama, attended a small Methodist college and was settled into a career as a federal prosecutor when Ronald Reagan tapped him to be the U.S. attorney for southern Alabama in 1981. Five years later, the Gipper nominated Sessions to be a federal District Court judge, but controversies—from alleged racial slights to his subordinates to his prosecution of civil rights workers on charges of voter fraud—turned a routine judicial appointment into an alley fight. Led by Joe Biden, then the ranking Democrat on the Senate Judiciary

Committee, the panel voted against Sessions’s confirmation. Two Republican senators joined the Democrats in voting against him, although one of them, Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania, later said he regretted that vote.

Ironically, Sessions went on to become a colleague of some of the folks who blocked his judicial appointment. He won election as Alabama’s attorney general, and in 1996, a decade after his nomination was poleaxed, he won the U.S. Senate seat vacated by retiring Democrat Howell Heflin, who fought his becoming a judge.

Now, increasingly nervous Republicans on Capitol Hill hope Sessions will help Trump right his campaign, although they know Trump has no Rasputin and values the opinions of a precious few, his daughter Ivanka among them. That latest ABC News/*Washington Post* poll had

INCREASINGLY NERVOUS REPUBLICANS ON CAPITOL HILL HOPE SESSIONS WILL HELP TRUMP RIGHT HIS CAMPAIGN.

some ominous news about Trump’s support among white working-class voters, the backbone of his support in the Republican primaries and an essential bloc if hopes to be competitive this fall. The survey found that Trump’s favorable rating among noncollege whites has gone from a plus-14 in May to negative minus-7.

Still, that’s a group Sessions knows how to reach. It might horrify liberals that Sessions, rated the fifth most conservative member in the Senate, could help dig Trump out of this hole by helping to hone his jeremiad on immigration. But it’s hard to find anybody else willing or able to do what’s needed to make Trump if not great then at least viable again. **N**



THE DOCTOR WON'T SEE YOU NOW

Refugees in Turkey depend on illegal medical centers, but the Syrian physicians who run them are fleeing

FOUR MONTHS after Dr. Rami opened the doors of his illegal medical clinic in Istanbul, he has yet to find enough doctors to staff it. An Arabic-language poster at the entrance says the clinic provides pediatric care, dentistry and a pregnancy unit. He still hasn't crossed out that last service, despite the fact that his Syrian gynecologist and obstetrician both left Turkey just after the clinic opened in February—traveling across the Aegean Sea to Greece, and then on to Germany.

Rami and his seven colleagues are all refugees from Syria, where dozens of hospitals have been bombed and doctors have been shot at and kidnapped during the past five years of war. But for most refugee doctors in Turkey, the only way to practice medicine is to find employment in an illegal clinic like Rami's. Rami, an eye surgeon who fled his hometown of Deir Ezzor in eastern Syria four years ago and lived in southern Turkey until last year, estimates Syrians have set up about 100 such facilities across the country, and there are five in Fatih, Istanbul's historic heart.

In May, when I visited, Rami and his colleagues were putting the final touches on the cramped apartment in Fatih they had transformed into a well-equipped health center. The smell of fresh paint hung in the corridors, and there was a pile of discarded tiles at the bottom of the stairs. Sporadic drilling shook the floor; Rami and his colleagues were busy expanding into the abandoned hairdresser's salon next door.

Rami—who asked *Newsweek* not to publish his last name out of fear Turkish authorities would arrest him—says his Syrian neurologist left before the clinic even opened. He doesn't blame his fellow doctors for leaving Turkey, usually for Europe. (Turkey is currently hosting some 2.7 million registered Syrian refugees, many of whom are unable to work and live in difficult conditions.) "If Syrian doctors have a chance to go to any other country, they go," he says. "We are unlicensed. At any moment, the municipality can come and close us down. If this happens, I will either return to Syria or take the boat to Europe."

Syria's health care system was once one of the best in the Middle East, and its doctors were among the highest-paid professionals in the country. In exile, however, Syrian physicians struggle to earn a living. If a Syrian doctor wants to work legally in Turkey, he or she has to go through a lengthy bureaucratic vetting process. First, the Turkish Education and Health ministries must approve a doctor's medical certificate—but to do so, they need their Syrian counterparts to confirm its authenticity. The Syrian government rarely responds to such requests, and even if a doctor overcomes this hurdle, he or she then needs to apply for a work permit.

In January, Ankara introduced work permits for Syrians, a move lauded by European Union officials who hoped this would encourage refugees to remain in Turkey rather than make the

BY
ZIA WEISE
@ZiaWeise



HELPING HAND: Syria's health system has been ravaged by more than five years of war, and many doctors have fled the country. In Turkey, most Syrian doctors are not licensed to practice.

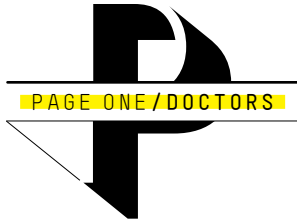
perilous crossing to Greece. But five months later, just 3,800 Syrians have received permits.

In the meantime, illegal clinics are springing up across Turkey, driven not just by out-of-work doctors seeking employment but also by a growing demand among Syrian refugees for health care services that cater to them in Arabic. While Turkey offers free health care to Syrian refugees, that applies only to the 2.7 million registered with the authorities. Not even the International Organization for Migration (IOM) knows how many unregistered Syrians are in the country; the total is generally thought to be far higher than official numbers suggest. And the World Health Organization warns that even registered Syrians often encounter difficulties in accessing health care.

"They come here because Turkish hospitals don't treat Syrians fairly, and because we speak their language," says Abdullah, the manager of

"TURKEY COULD BENEFIT FROM SYRIAN DOCTORS, BUT THEY'RE MAKING IT HARD FOR US TO WORK."

another clinic in Istanbul. (He also asked that his last name be withheld.) Husna al-Muhamed, a woman lining up to see a Syrian psychologist at Abdullah's clinic, says her 5-year-old has not been able to walk or speak since their home in Aleppo was bombed in February by Russian or Syrian government jets. "I went to a Turkish



hospital for help, and they told me to accept my son like this," she tells *Newsweek*, adding that they wouldn't even try to assist him.

For now, the Turkish state appears to tolerate the many makeshift centers run and owned by Syrians. Officials from the Ministry of Health declined to comment, but Abdullah says the government permits the clinics to run because they relieve the burden on Turkey's health services. "They turn a blind eye because we only treat Syrians. Refugees treating refugees," he says.

Abdullah and his colleagues say the Turkish government would be better off employing Arabic-speaking doctors to care for refugees, rather than spending money on translators in hospitals. "Turkey could benefit from Syrian doctors," he says. (Turkey's health minister has said that the country needs an additional 30,000 doctors to staff its hospitals.) "But they're making it hard for us to work."

One exception to the work permit rule is made for Syrian doctors employed with nonprofit organizations providing medical care to refugees. At Bezmialem University Hospital in Fatih, 10 Syrian doctors and nurses take over from their Turkish colleagues at 5 p.m. every day. By the time they arrive, the corridor is already packed.

Arwa al-Rajeh, the hospital's gynecologist, used to have her own clinic in Aleppo. When the front line inched closer, she began treating women in her home, but she left when her son narrowly escaped an airstrike. In November, she began working at Bezmialem. "The women here couldn't believe that there was finally a Syrian doctor treating them," she says. "It makes such a difference, the language especially."

But such projects are rare and difficult to establish. Even this small clinic, overseen by Doctors Worldwide and the IOM with funding from the EU, has to reapply for a license every six months. Most Syrian doctors in Turkey therefore end up working unlicensed, either in backstreet clinics or at home.

Although the majority of the doctors in these illegal clinics treat only fellow refugees, some also help Turks who do not have health insurance. The Fatih clinics charge patients a flat fee of 20 liras (about \$7)—the price of a takeout

pizza in Turkey. Several neighborhood pharmacists accept prescriptions issued by Rami's clinic and even sell discounted drugs to Syrians. They tell *Newsweek* they are motivated out of pity or a sense of solidarity with their Syrian "brothers." (Turks can get most prescription drugs on state health insurance.)

Turkey's medical associations worry about the many unregulated doctors. "It's a problem. None of them have had any medical education in the past five years," says Selcuk Erez, the head of the Istanbul branch of the Turkish Medical Association, which represents 80 percent of Turkey's doctors. "I'm sure there are some who work with fake diplomas as well."

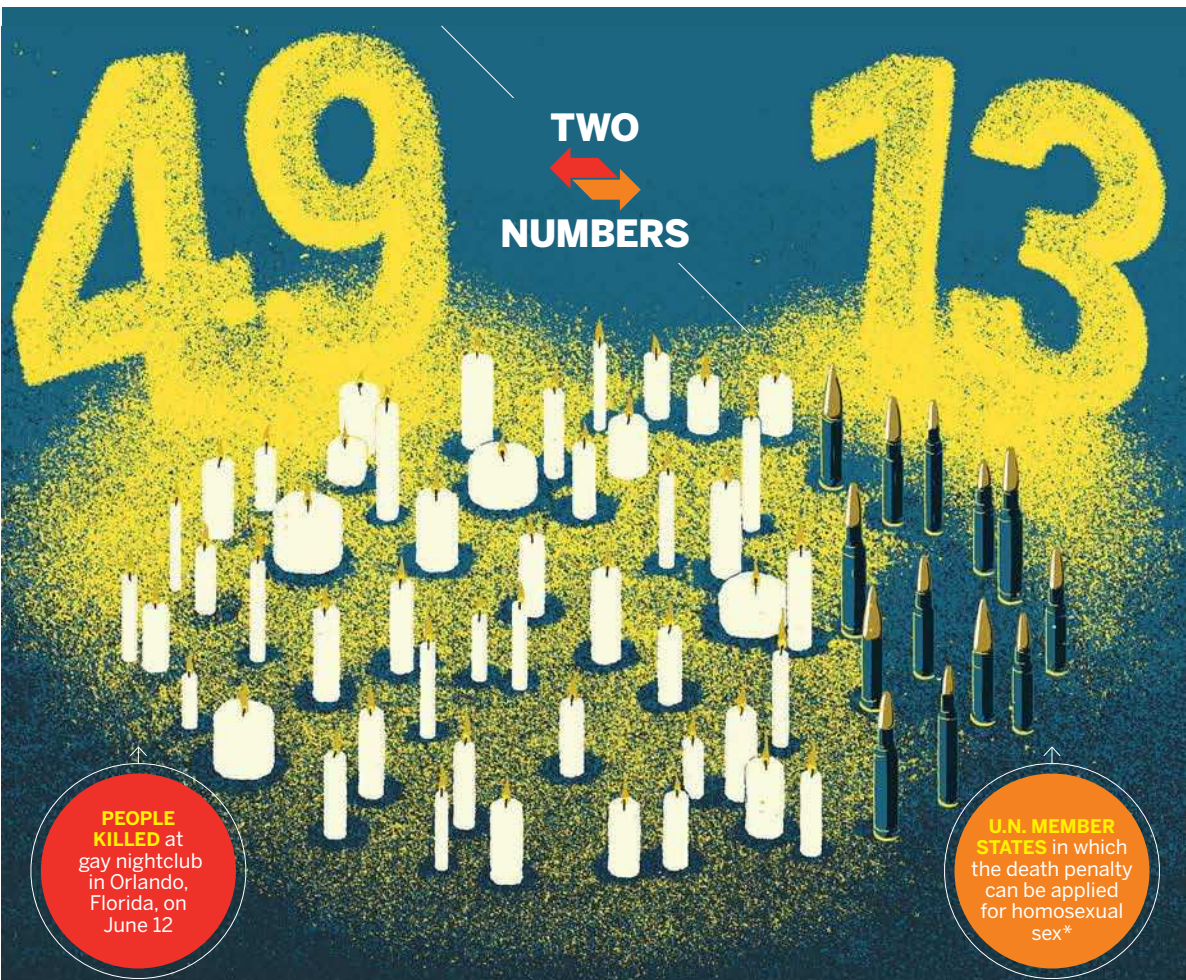
Doctors like Rami say there's a simple way to make sure Syrian doctors in Turkey are qualified. "If they wanted to, they could solve this easily. Just test us, have us sit for an exam," says Rami, pulling his certificates and submissions to *The BMJ* from a folder. "All staff here are real doctors."

Real doctors or not, they can hardly get by on their meager salaries. Rami has spent his life

"IT'S A PROBLEM. NONE OF THEM HAVE ANY MEDICAL EDUCATION IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS... I'M SURE THERE ARE SOME WHO WORK WITH FAKE DIPLOMAS."

savings on buying secondhand equipment for his clinic. He secretly performs eye operations at a private Turkish hospital to earn money on the side. Ayman, a doctor who works in Abdullah's clinic, specialized in gastrointestinal endoscopy at a Damascus hospital. His colleagues revere him as a "star doctor" who is among the best in his field, but he does not earn enough to pay his son's kindergarten fees.

With so many barriers facing them, it's no surprise that many Syrian refugee doctors have left Turkey—despite a desperate need for their expertise. "We get paid maybe 20 percent of what a Turkish doctor gets. Most of my colleagues left. They went to Germany, Iraq, Saudi; one works in a textile factory here," Ayman says. "And those that haven't left yet are thinking of running away." ■



PEOPLE KILLED at gay nightclub in Orlando, Florida, on June 12

U.N. MEMBER STATES in which the death penalty can be applied for homosexual sex*

The Worldwide War Against LGBT

GAY PEOPLE ARE BEING ATTACKED AND KILLED IN HUGE NUMBERS AROUND THE WORLD

The four men beat Daniel Zamudio with bottles and rocks, burned him with cigarettes, cut off part of his ear and used broken glass to carve swastikas into his body. He died from his injuries 25 days after the March 2012 attack in a Santiago, Chile, park. Investigators believed he was targeted because he was gay.

After the worst mass shooting in U.S. history, at a gay nightclub in Orlando, Florida, on June 12, a U.N. official said that huge numbers of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people are targeted for assault and murder across the globe each year. “Un-

fortunately, [that shooting] is a little glimpse into a deep well of hatred that exists in societies across the world,” said Charles Radcliffe of the U.N. Human Rights Office.

FBI statistics show that the total number of homophobic attacks is second to the number of racial attacks in the U.S., he added, even though gay and transsexual people make up a small share of the population. “We also know that those statistics are probably just the tip of the iceberg because much of this crime goes unreported.”

Globally, the violence ranges from aggressive

bullying to assault and murder—and even includes “corrective” rape, in which men rape women thought to be lesbians trying to “cure” their homosexuality, according to Free & Equal, the U.N. campaign for LGBT equality.

Targeted violence against homosexual and transsexual people in the U.S. also occurs regularly, from famous tragedies like that of Matthew Shepard, who died after he was tortured and tied to a fence in Wyoming in 1998, to lesser-known attacks like the 2013 fatal shooting of a gay man in New York’s Greenwich

Village by a man who had taunted him.

Zamudio’s murder was sadistic, but it forced reform. Chile adopted new laws on homophobia and discrimination after his death, according to Free & Equal, and last year, the conservative country legalized same-sex civil unions.

At least in most countries the violence is not state-sanctioned. In 13 countries, people who have gay sex may face the death penalty.

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*SOURCE: INTERNATIONAL LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, TRANS AND INTERSEX ASSOCIATION

EASTERN PROVINCE

Visionary leadership key to Eastern Province's economic transition

H.R.H. Prince Saud Bin Naif Al-Saud prioritizes partnerships, cooperation and job creation to usher in new era for the beating heart of the Saudi economy

Home to 25% of the world's oil reserves, the Eastern Province is the economic engine room of Saudi Arabia, accounting for more than half of the Kingdom's oil production and about 7% of total global output.

With a population of 4.1 million, including 1.9 million foreigners, the vast territory represents 27.6% of the whole area of the Kingdom (450,000 km²), making it the largest region in Saudi Arabia and a prominent gateway to and from the country.

Its more than 700km of shoreline on the Arabian Gulf, in addition to its strategic location on the frontiers of Bahrain, Qatar, UAE, Oman, Kuwait, Iraq and Iran, means that Eastern Province and its bustling ports are key trading posts for the entire Middle East.

The proof of the province's huge contribution to the Saudi Arabian economy is in the numbers. Accounting for 60% of the country's GDP, over the past two years alone the Eastern Province has brought in approximately \$150 billion in industrial investments. Such an influx of capital has been largely down to the presence of Saudi Aramco in addition to other international companies.

Operators of the province's Ghawar oil field – which with estimated reserves of 70 billion barrels is the largest field anywhere on the planet – Aramco also owns and develops all other energy resources based in the Kingdom and is said to be the world's most valuable oil and gas firm, with an estimated market value of \$10 trillion.

Saudi Aramco has become a reliable supplier for consuming countries in times of crises and has been able to meet growing demand by reaching a record high production of 10.19 million barrels per day. Aramco's operations in Eastern



H.R.H. Prince Saud Bin Naif Al-Saud, Governor of Eastern Province

"The Eastern Province has the door open for investors. We have always been at the heart of the Kingdom's economy and are determined to play our part in taking the economy forward towards a more sustainable model of diversification"

Province will continue to be the focal point of the Kingdom's strategy to maintain its dominance of global energy, despite the growth of alternatives and competition from other rival oil producers.

The Eastern Province, with its flourishing petrochemical,

light and heavy industries, is considered as the incubator of the government's efforts towards economic diversification – a reality not seen in most other oil-dependent countries.

"The Eastern Province has the door open for investors. We have always been at the heart of the Kingdom's economy and are determined to play our part in taking the economy forward towards a more sustainable model of diversification," says ruling Prince of Eastern Province, H.R.H. Prince Saud Bin Naif Al-Saud.

Appointed in June 2013, the Prince is considered one of a new generation of Saudi leaders who have taken it upon themselves to transform the economy and

Since February 2015, Globus Vision's Idil Demirel has been travelling around Eastern Province: the main driver of Saudi economy; home of the world's biggest oil reserve; center of the largest petrochemical; heavy and light industries; and a gathering point for international businessmen and investors.

guide the country through a new era of development.

Along with the setting up of policies to ensure that security, safeness and stability thrive in the province, H.R.H. Prince Saud Bin Naif Al-Saud's aim is not only to maintain the competitiveness of the commercial and investment sectors, but also oversee the economic diversification that will allow the Kingdom to reduce its dependence on oil revenues and generate thousands of high-quality jobs.

In order to achieve his vision of a diversified economy, H.R.H. Prince Saud Bin Naif Al-Saud has concentrated on opening up the province to foreign investment, promoting cooperation between foreign investors and local partners, and introducing programs to stimulate entrepreneurialism and small and medium-sized enterprises.

"We have always been at the heart of the Kingdom's economy and are determined to play our



part in taking the local economy forward, now and in the future, towards creating an economy with a more sustainable model of diversification, international investment, entrepreneurialism and high-quality job creation," he says.

H.R.H. Prince Saud Bin Naif Al-Saud's commitment to this is demonstrated by his presence and continuous supervision on all projects in the province, both in the planning, development and operation stages, as well as following up with all parties concerned to ensure efficiency and effectiveness. Indeed, the size of industrial investments attracted to the province since the Prince took office also tells its own story.

Notably, the Saudi government's strategy for the Eastern Province under the leadership of H.R.H. Prince Saud Bin Naif Al-Saud has concentrated on the development of alternative industries by establishing a chain of industrial cities. The biggest and most important of these is located in Jubai Industrial City, which has become a global hub for the petrochemicals industry and is home to the Saudi Basic Industries Corporation (SABIC) – a diversified manufacturing company, active in chemicals and intermediates, industrial polymers, fertilizers, metals and other products.

Today around a quarter of all the Kingdom's factories – more than 1,500 – are situated in Eastern Province. Aside from Jubail, there are other thriving industrial cities, including Dammam 1st Industrial City, which contains around 120 factories and 14,000 employees, and the Dammam 2nd Industrial city located on the Dhahran-Ahsa Highway, which contains 340 factories and 75,000 employees. Building materials, paper, electrical materials, furniture and medical supplies are just some of the products manufactured there.

In 2011 General Electric established its Energy Manufacturing Technology Center at the 2nd Industrial City, one of the company's largest world-wide operations, while other major investors in the industrial sector include Boeing, Halliburton, Dow Chemical, Alcoa and many more international companies.

Heavy industry and manufacturing are not considered the only vehicles of economic diversification in the province, however. Agriculture plays a significant part with



Eastern Province, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

25%

Eastern Province is home to a quarter of the world's oil reserves

60%

Accounts for almost two thirds of Saudi Arabia's GDP

\$150m

Value of industrial investments over the past two years

1.9m

The number of foreigners living in Eastern Province

the cultivation of various types of dates, fruits and vegetables forming a large segment of Eastern Province's economy. Every year, thousands of tons of crops are harvested from the giant oases of Al-Ahsa due to its fertile lands suitable for all types of cultivation. The Eastern Province also has a large and diverse fishing industry.

In other sectors, the government has invested massively into infrastructure, including air, road, rail transport and seaports, as well as commercial, residential and tourism real estate developments, universities, schools and hospitals. Business and investment opportu-

HRH Prince Saud bin Naif is considered one of the new generation of Saudi leaders who have taken it upon themselves to transform the Kingdom's economy and guide the country through a new era of development

nities in these sectors across the Province are also being driven by the government's proactive approach to spread wealth across the country, especially for its citizens, generating new demand among Saudi's increasingly affluent population, made up of residents and visitors from all over the world. This is particularly luring for international companies who are looking for a share of a booming market.

Tourism, both business and leisure, and real estate in particular are seen as areas with great potential, and doors are opening up to a slew of development opportunities. With the recent slump in oil prices, investment has been channeled into the Saudi property market – something which has also been powered by sky-high demand. Such demand

has led to practically all the major international real estate developers to set up or expand operations in the Eastern Province, including large companies such as JLL Colliers, Sotheby's and Century 21.

Demand is particularly high in Eastern Province, which boasts the longest history of Westerners living and working in Saudi Arabia and where the sprawling satellite towns of Dammam and Al-Khobar are located. Al Khobar is considered especially prosperous and modernized due to its adjacent borders with other GCC countries – most notably the King Fahad Causeway which connects the Eastern Province to the Kingdom of Bahrain with a 25km long bridge. The Causeway plays a key role in commercial and tourism transactions, witnessing a record 233,954 travelers during one week alone in 2015.

Going forward, the administration of H.R.H. Prince Saud Bin Naif Al-Saud, with its excellent vision and huge experience, will continue to develop the area – especially after forming the High Commission for Development of Eastern Province, which is set to play a very important role in attracting further investment. Indeed, under the supervision of H.R.H. Prince Saud Bin Naif Al-Saud, Eastern Province certainly seems to be primed for continued foreign investment and is ready to lead the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's transition into a more diversified, and more sustainable economy.

The Prince himself extends an invitation to the international business community regarding the opportunities that await. "I invite international companies and investors to visit the Eastern Province," he says. "The Kingdom in general and Eastern Province especially, is wide open for all companies, investors and businessmen. They are welcome in their second home away from home."



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#EasternProvince

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Part 2 of this report will
feature the oil industry

PRODUCED BY
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Saudi bourse opens doors to foreigners

Qualifying investors are now able to buy up to 10% of the shares of any listed Saudi company



In June of last year, the Saudi stock exchange – the Tadawul – finally opened to foreign investors. With a capitalization of \$576 billion and trading averaging of about \$2.4 billion a day, it is one of the largest bourses in the world.

Long awaited by the international business community since the Tadawul was established in 1994, the move signals the determination of Saudi authorities to boost non-oil sectors of the economy with the contribution of the private sector. The new rules stipulate that qualified foreign investors with at least \$5 billion in assets under management and a five-year investment record will be able to buy up to 10% of the shares of any listed Saudi company.

"This is a promising country and now that we have opened the stock exchange, there are huge opportunities for investment," says leading Saudi industrialist, Tariq Al Tamimi, chairman of the eponymous Tamimi group – a private holding company based in Dammam.

"Saudi Arabia is very stable for business, with a comprehensive and safe regulatory environment for investors, which is why we have here some of the world's major companies such as GE, Shell and Halliburton. They know their investment here is sound. There are massive public investments, top-notch infrastructures, and a

number of free zones. Furthermore, apart from the oil, we have important petrochemical and minerals sectors. You name it, we have it."

Indeed the Saudi market – which has grown by 50% since 2011, overtaking most stock exchanges worldwide and easily outperforming the region – offers great opportunities in diversity. Whilst other regional markets are dominated by just a small amount of sectors, mostly finance and real estate, the Tadawul is home to over 165 companies across 15 economic sectors, ranging from telcoms and retail to cement and petrochemicals.

In fact, while most associate Saudi Arabia solely with oil, energy firms are conspicuous by their absence on the Tadawul, with the top five companies coming from banking, petrochemicals, telecommunications and power.

Aside from offering diversity, Saudi's macro-economic position is also enviable. With reserves of more than \$700 billion, the government is investing big in infrastructure development – the multiplier effects of which are creating huge benefits across the economy. Demand for services, meanwhile, is regularly outstripping supply in the retail, transportation and tourism industries, while demand for greater private investment – as well as the transfer of expertise – is obvious.

Tamimi Group, which was established in 1953 and has grown to become one of the leading diversified businesses in Saudi Arabia, with interests in the building and contracting, trading, manufacturing, catering, operations, maintenance and retail sectors, is an example of a Saudi company keen to add value to its products by bringing in high quality and professionalism from abroad. Occupying a distinguished position, thanks to strong and stable solvency and vast experience in a variety of industries, Tamimi Group has formed strategic partnerships with a number of globally renowned companies, including from the U.S. and Europe.

"We are working with almost 30 companies," says Mr. Tamimi. "If they know there is potential and good profit to be made here, they will come. These companies are not coming here just to waste their time."

Aside from seeking out foreign partnerships, in order to maintain its success and continue its expansion within and outside the kingdom, the group recently went through a massive restructuring plan, which has resulted in higher productivity and work efficiency. The group has also succeeded in setting up operations in several new sectors, including marine services, industrial services and power. Having recognized that good governance, general transparency, and – in particular – ongoing financial transparency are critical to long-term success, Mr. Al Tamimi also decided to apply corporate governance rules and regulations throughout the group's companies, which include Tamimi Markets, one of the fastest-growing supermarket chains in Saudi Arabia, and Al-Tamimi Trading and Contracting Company, a leading company in a variety of fields, including industry, power, water, oil, and gas.



"This is a promising country and now that we have opened the stock exchange, there are huge opportunities for investment. Saudi Arabia is very stable for business, with a comprehensive and safe regulatory environment for investors."

Tariq Al Tamimi,
Chairman, Tamimi Group

As highly profitable diversified businesses like Tamimi Group have shown, the key message to be taken from Saudi Arabia is that huge potential remains for further investment and growth across the whole economic spectrum. What's more, it is hoped that the opening up of the Saudi Stock Exchange will facilitate imaginative new ideas to merge with established expertise within the kingdom's strong economic base, thus, not only maintaining long-term growth for the non-oil economy, but also further integrating the country into the global investment community.

On this note, Mr. Al Tamimi encourages more foreign investors to come to the country. "Do not listen to the media or other people who have misconceptions about Saudi Arabia. We are very hospitable and transparent. We have a lot of potential for growth, and we cannot do this alone. This is a very promising country as there are solid laws, rules and regulations, which is the most important thing for investors."



Amjad Al Nouh,
Chairman of Al Nouh Real Estate

With a significant real estate boom going on in Saudi Arabia at the moment – one which has made the world's top property players sit up and take note – it comes as no surprise that Eastern Province, the country's major industrial center, happens to be right at the very core of it.

According to a recently published report by JLL, availability of low cost fuel and political and government support are just two of the major drivers of the soaring demand for industrial property in the province. Indeed, a defining feature of the Eastern Seaboard real estate market is the importance of the in-

Province drives real estate boom

Sky-high demand is creating a plethora of opportunities for developers such as Al Nouh Real Estate

dustrial sector, with large areas of land having been allocated for the future development of this sector in both the Dammam Metropolitan Area (DMA) and Jubail.

However, there is also a significant shortage of residential accommodation in the province, with demand creating numerous opportunities for both foreign and local developers. One such company who is looking to take advantage is Al Nouh Real Estate, one of the province's leading property firms.

"We have been working in real estate in the area for more than 20 years," explains chairman Amjad Al Nouh. "But in the last five years, we've expanded our investment because we believe our nation is facing a very big boom regarding housing, and the government has allocated a huge budget for housing projects under its program to provide houses for citizens."

As a result of this extra investment, Al Nouh Real Estate is now on the verge of completing the infrastructure of Danat AL-Ramis in Qatif City, which contains 3000 lots and will provide more than 6000 housing units, ranging in category from affordable to high-end properties.

"We will also shortly start to develop another neighborhood in Siyhat and Khobar in the eastern province, as well as our many other small projects in the area," says Mr. Al Nouh. "However, we are working to develop a new strategic plan for the next five years considering the new economic situation."

This changing dynamic – which combines the factors of a growing, more affluent population, an expanding expatriate community and numbers of international visitors, as well as rising employment and investment levels in the area – is expected to increase both sale prices and rentals in some sectors of the market over the next few years.

Potential growth segments include the office market, which although remains limited to oil

companies at the moment, is likely to develop over time as real estate demand moves downstream. Tourism is another segment of the market with huge potential. The Saudi government, for instance, is proposing to develop the Al-Uqair area of the Eastern Province as a major tourist destination with new hotels, residential, retail and extensive recreational facilities. Retail market growth, meanwhile, is likely to be in line with further increases in population and tourist arrivals.

Regarding Al Nouh, which plans to expand its investment as these new opportunities arise, the chairman of the real estate firm reveals that his company has its doors open to any foreign partners wanting to invest in the area.

"We in Saudi Arabia are open to all outside investors," he says. "We welcome expertise and new ideas regarding our major work in real estate and housing construction." "We believe the world is like a small village, we have to work together to achieve development and progress for our countries and our people."

Sustainability and Saudization

Sustainable growth and Saudization – the process of providing more high-quality jobs to natives – seen as key to diversification efforts

Saudi Arabia seeks to become one of the world's top-ten economies, and to build a robust diversified industrial base; thereby reducing its reliance on the hydrocarbon sector. As the economic powerhouse of the country and the center of its booming petrochemical industry, the Eastern Province plays a key role in this endeavor. The Eastern Province is also home to numerous other industries in sectors as varied as mining, metals, food, automotive and building materials.

And hence no wonder that sustainability has become the keyword among Saudi policymakers. How to ensure prosperity for future generations after the oil bonanza? How to ensure that the economy remains in the

hands of Saudis? These are two of the main challenges behind the drive towards diversification and Saudization.

With a predominantly young population eager to find a place in the sun, the Saudi government has invested heavily in education over the past few years. "Human capital is the most important factor to ensure sustainable growth," comments Abdullah Al Fozan, chairman of Al Fozan Group, the eponymous conglomerate specializing in retail, manufacturing, real estate and trading, which is headquartered in the Eastern Province. "The kingdom needs to encourage and develop talents and calibers that are able to compete in the international arena."

"Another factor will be to diversify the economy from oil and oil-based industries into other areas and the government has been trying and will continue to encourage this initiative. Saudi Arabia in general and the Eastern Province in particular have

made great efforts to diversify the economic base and improve the investment environment. This takes the shape of economic reform to raise competitiveness of the Kingdom internationally. Saudi has to provide the opportunity for the young to play a major role in the future of the country's development."

The government has recently earmarked four priority areas for sustainable growth: education, infrastructure, health and social services. And it has clearly indicated that in order to make an impact, private investments will be solicited to complement the massive public investments already planned.

"With the fact that oil is a finite resource and subject to price volatility, the private sector has to play an important role in providing sustainable growth to the kingdom," says Mr. Al Fozan.

"This is evident in the government's privatization initia-



Abdullah Al Fozan,
Chairman of Al Fozan Group

tives for existing and new projects. There are many untapped areas where the private sector can provide value additions. First, it needs to expand and invest in value adding initiatives that will provide benefit to the economy as well as job opportunities to Saudis. Second, the private sector has to emphasize social responsibility by providing initiatives that will support the society and improve the quality of living for Saudis."



Abdullah Al-Othman, Chairman, Takween Advanced Industries

As Saudi Arabia's petrochemicals capital, Eastern Province, undergoes a process of economic transformation, the focus is now firmly on global expansion, industry innovation and modernization and the development of partnerships between Saudi companies. One such company, Takween Advanced Industries, is leading the way.

Founded in 1993 in Al-Ahsa, the plastic processing pioneer

Technological Advancement through Acquisitions and Partnerships

Under the stewardship of Abdullah Al-Othman, Takween is pioneering the modernization of industry through partnerships such as the recent acquisition of a packaging company

has recently completed a major acquisition. This important deal integrates two of the biggest plastic companies in the region and presents the Takween group with opportunities for both diversification and international growth. According to observers and experts in the field of packaging, this acquisition is one of the most important integrations in Saudi Arabia in recent years.

As the group chairman and founder, Mr. Abdullah Al-Othman notes, "The acquisition is extremely significant in that it transforms Takween into one of the largest plastic industries in the Middle East and North Africa. Part of the significance comes from the

diversification offered by the acquisition, in that it is heavily involved in the film sector, a new business for Takween, and it also brings an international dimension through its foreign subsidiary."

This deal continues a trend of impressive group growth and industry integration for the Takween group. In 2010, it acquired majority stakes in both Advanced Fabrics (SAAF) and the UltraPak Manufacturing Company.

"The Takween Group of companies principally benefits from relatively close proximity to a high-class and reliable source of raw material," says Mr. Al-Othman, referring to the fact that Eastern Prov-

ince is where the vast majority of Saudi Arabia's basic petrochemicals are derived, namely methane and natural gas feedstock.

"While this cannot be considered a particular competitive advantage for Takween – as all the other plastic producing companies in the Kingdom also enjoy a similar benefit – the result of our recent acquisition means that we will benefit from economies of scale.

The acquisition opens the door for "radical future development", according to Mr. Al-Othman, and will help position Eastern Province and the kingdom as a pioneer in the packaging and bottling industries, both regionally and internationally.

Tax-free advantages add to international appeal

Funds hold outstanding opportunities for international investors, according to Damman's corporate finance solutions provider BMK

The six economic cities currently under construction and the opening up of the Saudi Stock Exchange (Tawadul) in June to foreign investors bear testament to the kingdom's push for greater diversification and international participation in its economy.

"There is depth now offered in the Saudi Arabian stock market that you do not see elsewhere across the Middle East, and you can see more funds coming," says Mohammed Ahmed Rashed Al Dossary, Chairman of Bait Al Mal Al Khaleeji (BMK).

"They are investing in different sectors like heavy industry, chemi-

icals, real estate development, and agriculture. Every day we see new funds coming to the market. This is the only country in the Middle East where you see business families that have been in the market for 50, 60 or 70 years."

The government is making it easier than ever for foreigners to invest. Mr. Al Dossary advises that funds are an especially advantageous method for international investors to be a part of the largest free economy market in the Middle East. "A good thing about Saudi Arabia is that most foreigners do not pay any tax if they go through funds. This really is an outstanding opportunity," he explains.

Rising incomes and a rapidly expanding youthful population are driving expansion in the country's built environment in particular, with increasing demand for real estate and infrastructure.

There has been relatively little research into the real estate market of Eastern Province itself. But a report released in November 2014 by JLL, the world's leading real estate investment and advisory firm, states, "There is a significant shortage of high quality residential accommodation in the Eastern Seaboard at present, particularly expatriate compounds. Strong demand is creating opportunities for the development of both additional expatriate compounds and further labour and staff accommodation,"

BMK's Real Estate Investment Funds Dept. targets the exceptional opportunities for maximum returns in this burgeoning sector as part of the company's comprehensive asset and portfolio management services it provides investors. "We have never lost in real estate," the chairman comments.



Mohammed Ahmed Rashed Al Dossary, Chairman of BMK

The Damman-based financial institution also offers a raft of premium corporate finance, custodial and advisory services. "International firms are now looking at Saudi as the future," Mr. Al Dossary adds. "As a company, as a group, we develop opportunities in France, Morocco, the Far East, etc., but we have never found anything like Saudi Arabia in terms of rates of return."

A model of diversified business

One of the country's largest and most successful conglomerates, Almajdouie Group is also one of Eastern Province's biggest success stories

If you were to look for a stand-out example of a business contributing to Eastern Province's – and indeed Saudi Arabia's – economic diversification drive, then you would need to look no further than Almajdouie Group.

Since buying his first truck in 1965 to support his fledgling start-up, which involved clearing goods in Dammam Port, Shaikh Ali Ibrahim Almajdouie has gone on to build one of the country's most successful conglomerates, representing diverse interests from logistics, trade and manufacturing to automotive, real estate, retail, food and steel.

"Having a diversified business is a challenge and opportunity at the same time," says president of the group, Abdullah Almajdouie. "It is challenging in a way that you have to keep excellence and exceptional service in all these diversified businesses, and it is an opportunity in the way that it helps the company to balance out. If some business drops, then others may compensate."

Today Almajdouie Group operates all over the Kingdom as well as in the Middle East, North America, Europe, the Far East and Africa, employing a total of more than 6,000 people. The key factor to the group's success, says Mr. Abdullah Almajdouie, is not just ensuring all companies work in harmony together, but "having the right people in place and having a business working environment that keeps them continuously challenged and motivated."

Almajdouie Logistics – the largest company in the group – has become the Middle East's biggest asset-based logistics service provider, offering distribution, transportation, customs clearance, freight forwarding, heavy-lifting and warehousing to its global client base, and serves industries critical to the Saudi economy, including oil and gas, petrochemicals, power and utilities, fast-moving consumer goods and infrastructure.

In 2012 the company became a Guinness world record holder for the "Heaviest Item Moved by Road Freight" and has also been awarded the global Hyundai best distributor in 2010 and 2014, the Saudi Saafa Award for transparency (2012) and the Saudi Index's No. 1 Business Sector Innovator.

Mr. Abdullah Almajdouie says that the success of the Eastern province region in leading Saudi Arabia's industrial



Abdullah Almajdouie,
President of Almajdouie Group

development and economic diversification owes a lot to H.R.H Prince Saud Bin Naif – the governor of the region – who has been instrumental in allowing businesses like Almajdouie Group to flourish.

"He has always been supportive to continuous communication between different parties and encouraging the private and public sectors to develop Eastern Province."

'Respect the human element'

Developing Saudi Arabia's human capital and building a knowledge-based economy is key to the future of the kingdom, says Faisal Abdulla Fouad

With a young and fast expanding population, aside from economic diversification one of Saudi Arabia's greatest challenges is in how to develop the potential of its human capital.

Of course, the issue of economic diversification itself is also closely linked to this conundrum: how can the country successfully establish a knowledge-based economy which will lead the country away from its historic reliance on hydrocarbons?

The answer in the most part is, undoubtedly, through education. Indeed Saudi Arabia's education sector is facing a new, exciting era with \$579 billion of investment having been filtered into education and training in 2015, a 3% increase from 2014. Besides edu-



Faisal Abdulla Fouad,
President of Abdulla Fouad Group

cation however, the private sector also has a huge part to play in driving the Kingdom's human capital, particularly in the knowledge and technology industries. Saudi's new Economic Cities, for instance, are being constructed as part of an ambitious public investment campaign to bring knowledge-intensive industries to the Kingdom, providing foreign organizations with an opportunity to enter the market.

Domestic companies, too, are also key to providing more training and employment – witnessed

notably in the government's 'Saudiization' policy which aims to fill the workplaces of Saudi enterprises with a greater amount of Saudi nationals (currently 81% of jobs in the private sector are held by expats).

Companies like Abdulla Fouad Group, a Dammam based business with diversified activities in the energy, healthcare, information technology, industrial, construction and consumer & real estate sectors, is leading the way in this regard.

"Our chairman has always said 'respect the human element'," says Faisal Abdulla Fouad, president of the group. "It is therefore not surprising that at Abdulla Fouad we consider our people the most valuable resource and encourage a learning culture across the organization. We invest heavily in developing their knowledge and skills because we believe this is essential for achieving sustainable growth."

The group, which is one of the most successful organizations in the Gulf region, has over 1200 employees from over twenty-five countries. Its employees are what

"make the difference," says Mr. Faisal Abdulla Fouad.

Despite the company's good example, the Abdulla Fouad Group president stresses that there is still a lot more the business community in Saudi Arabia could do in coordination with the government to "develop a highly skilled workforce and fuel sustainable economic growth for generations to come." One such way is through greater collaboration of the private sector and education sector.

"Some of the initiatives that come to mind are better alignment between educational institutions and the business community in identifying the qualifications and skills gaps that exist today, and those that will be required in the future," he says. "Also, opening more technical colleges, offering a broader choice of technical education and apprenticeship programs, and possibly, developing new incentives, rather than penalties, for the private sector to hire, train and develop an active and productive local workforce."



PUTIN'S SECRET WEAPON

INSIDE the small cadre that dares to tell the Russian president the truth

BY OWEN MATTHEWS



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EVERY DAY, the red line ticks up and down. Some weeks it trends higher, others lower. It measures the most important vital sign of Russia's body politic: the popularity of Vladimir Putin. In the Kremlin they call it the *reiting*—the Russian pronunciation of *rating*—and the reiting rules supreme over all the nation's political and economic decisions.

When it stands—as it did in late May—at a comfortable 82 percent, Russia's elite breathes easy. When it dips as low as 62 percent—as it did in 2011 when Putin announced his return for a third presidential term—every resource is scrambled to reverse the trend at any cost. In recent times, that has meant anything from staging a lavish Olympic Games to taking the country to war in Ukraine and Syria.

The reiting is compiled from many sources, including a vast new monitoring body created by the Kremlin with the aim of spotting and crushing discontent. But the one that's most trusted is run not by Putin loyalists but by a tiny, beleaguered team of glasnost-era liberals. It's called the Levada Center, after its late founder, Yuri Levada, and is the last independent pollster in Russia. It was launched in 1988 at the suggestion of former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, and the center's job was to report the truth, however uncomfortable—amazingly, a role it still fulfills a generation later in a very different Russia.

“The Soviet government had no adequate way to understand what was happening in society—they needed to answer the question ‘What are the people thinking?’ if they were to survive,” says Natalia Zorkina, a member of Levada's original team when the center was founded. “The study of public opinion was meant to become an institution on which a democratic society could be built.”

UPS AND DOWNS: When Putin returned to the presidency in 2012 after a spell as prime minister there were protests both for and against him, and his popularity dipped as low as 62 percent.



SERGEI KARPUKHIN/REUTERS
PREVIOUS SPREAD: STEFAN WERNOTH/REUTERS



**“PUBLIC OPINION began as
a foundation of democracy
but is now a tool of
authoritarianism.”**



It didn't work out that way. The administration of former President Boris Yeltsin that inherited the collapsing Soviet economy quickly discovered, thanks to Levada's meticulous polling, that by the mid-1990s what most Russians were thinking was that Yeltsin and his reformist bums should be thrown out. There was panic in the Kremlin and talk of canceling elections, but a small group of media moguls, editors and self-described "political technologists" convinced the Kremlin to take a different course: Instead of bowing to the pressure of public opinion, they offered to shape it.

"All politics is information politics," says Gleb Pavlovsky, one of the original political technologists, who was a key architect of the alliance of pollsters and media owners that eventually brought Putin to power in 2000. "There is no difference for us between facts and perceptions."

And so the magical thinking that blossomed into today's Putin regime was born: Public opinion was something to be controlled and shaped, not something to be listened to. "By the mid-1990s, the Kremlin began to give up on winning any kind of political debate in a public forum," says Zorkina. "The character of power changed. The basis of the Kremlin's legitimacy changed...from people making a democratic choice between different political visions to getting as many people as possible to back the national leader. Public opinion began as a foundation of democracy but is now a tool of authoritarianism."

The story of the Levada Center, then, is also the story of Russia's transition from flawed democracy to a kind of consensual autocracy. And at the heart of the system was the methodology Yuri Levada thought would bring Russia freedom—the careful monitoring of what ordinary Russians think about everything, from the price of cheese to American imperialism, from pensions and trash collection to nuclear missiles and God.

PUTIN'S MAGIC CIRCLE

THE LEVADA CENTER occupies two suites of cluttered offices at the back of a former pre-revolutionary hotel not far from Red Square. Wilting spider plants and leaning bookcases fill the corridors, and the older employees have the earnest, scruffy look of late-Soviet-era intellectuals. On chunky computers, a 50-strong team at headquarters coordinates a nationwide network of 3,000 pollsters, who spend their days questioning ordinary Russians by phone, internet and in person. The center is registered as a nongovernmental organization (NGO) and pays its way with a mix of commercial market research and political and economic surveys for universities and media organizations. About 2 percent of its revenue comes from foreign clients.

"The Levada team are 'former people,'" says one veteran Russian TV anchor, using the term that Bolsheviks once used for aristocrats and bourgeois who had no place in Soviet society. "They believe passionately in getting the real data, not just telling the people who pay them what they want to hear. They are important for anyone who cares about seeing a real picture of Russia, not the one that appears on the television screen." (The anchor requested anonymity because he still works for state television, which increasingly disapproves of Levada.)

Putin's Kremlin also believes passionately in getting data on public opinion—though the methods it uses are questionable. Last December, the Kremlin appointed Irina Makiyeva, a former state bank executive, to head a massive new polling service to monitor Russia's political temperature in minute detail. Under the direct aegis of the Federal Guard Service—Russia's equivalent of the U.S. Secret Service that is charged with the president's personal security—it deploys thousands of state employees to scan local press and social networks for signs of discontent.

"We conduct constant monitoring, especially in the problem cities," Makiyeva promised the Russian Cabinet, unveiling a classification system—green, yellow and red—to warn of potential political or social unrest. The state also controls the All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center, or VTsIOM (the original name of the Levada Center before a Kremlin takeover in 2003 forced the core team to leave and start over), as well as the Public Opinion Foundation (FOM), which attempts to do a similar job.

The problem is that such state-backed polls "have become a form of propaganda in themselves," says Pavlovsky. "The questions are presented as: Do you agree with the norm, the majority?"

A recent example was a poll in Crimea—which Russia annexed in 2014—ordered by Putin and conducted by VTsIOM in January. Crimean Tatar activists had blown up electricity pylons, and the government of Ukraine, on which Crimea entirely relies for its energy, refused to restore service unless Russia acknowledged that the territory remained part of Ukraine. The Kremlin's pollsters called home telephone numbers and asked people whether they preferred to sit in the dark or agree to accede to Ukraine's demands.

According to VTsIOM, 96 percent said they preferred to suffer in the dark—a result widely trumpeted by Russian state TV as a sign of the locals' willingness to undergo hardship in order to stay part of Russia. But in reality, Pavlovsky says, "this is not an opinion poll, it is an invitation to prove your loyalty.... We are seeing lately that for the first time [since the fall of Communism], people are afraid to answer questions, especially in small provincial towns. They believe they will suffer consequences from giving a disloyal answer."

Nonetheless, such government-run polling is a



ALEXEI NIKOLSKIY/KREMLIN/RIA NOVOSTI/REUTERS



+
WHAT CRISIS?
Amid fears of food shortages in 2009, Putin's team released pictures of him touring a supermarket.

“THEY APPROACH NEWS like a TV serial—the stories may be exaggerated, but they are convincing.”



mainstay of the Kremlin's decision-making process. According to Mikhail Zygar, former editor-in-chief of the opposition channel Dozhd TV and author of the best-selling book *All the Kremlin's Men*, a study of the Putin regime, “Every [Kremlin] action is based absolutely on this polling.... These polls confirm that everything they're doing is right, that Putin is popular and the people love him.”

Pavlovsky knows the system well: He was one of its designers. “Today, they keep to the same arrangement that was set up in the late 1990s,” says Pavlovsky, a former dissident who spent three years in exile in Siberia for anti-Soviet activity. Every Thursday, Kremlin Deputy Chief of Staff Vyacheslav Volodin chairs a meeting that includes leaders of the official United Russia party, senior members of the administration and poll-

sters Valery Fyodorov and Aleksandr Olson, the directors of VTsIOM and FOM, respectively. “They report on the state of public opinion on a range of threats, everything that could potentially affect Putin's level of popularity,” says Pavlovsky. “They decide on how to work with this challenge.”

Under Yeltsin and in the early Putin years, this weekly meeting was also attended by the heads of Russia's TV channels. Today, the TV bosses—including Channel One General Director Konstantin Ernst and Oleg Dobrodeyev of the All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Co.—have a separate meeting with Volodin on Fridays, after he has presented his summary of the pollsters' report personally to Putin and his inner Cabinet.

“The television plan for the coming week would be

decided,” recalls Pavlovsky, who attended such meetings from autumn 1995 until he resigned as a senior adviser to the presidential administration in 2011. “The Kremlin gives the general direction but not the details, then Dobrodeyev and Ernst are the executors. They approach news like a TV serial—but it is very professionally produced. The stories may be exaggerated, but they are convincing.” Television news, he says, “is the new form of agitprop”—the Stalin-era system of agitation and propaganda that aimed to shape the consciousness of the proletariat.

The system is a kind of magic circle: Opinion polls shape official television coverage, which in turn shapes public opinion.

THE REITING TSAR

IT WAS UBER-OLIGARCH Boris Berezovsky who first understood the political might of television when he took over Russia’s main TV channel, now known as Channel One, and turned its influence into money and power. But it was Putin, in the first year of his rule, who gathered that power to the Kremlin, kicking out all potential rivals (including Berezovsky) and quickly shutting down all non-state media. The result, says Levada’s Zorkina, is that the Kremlin has unprecedented control over what Russians see, hear—and think.

“Public opinion does not exist as an independent entity in Russia as it does in the West,” she says. “In Russia, people have completely decoupled themselves from the political process. They don’t believe that they can change anything. Even in the 1990s, only a tiny proportion of people, perhaps 2 or 3 percent, were politically active. Now it is even less.”

The lack of an alternative leader, or of any real political debate, helps to explain one of Levada’s strangest recent findings—that Putin’s popularity remains sky-high, even as Russians’ standard of living has plummeted. Since 2014, the ruble has lost half of its value, inflation has hit double digits, spending on health and education has been cut, and Russia has unilaterally banned the import of U.S. and European food. Yet the Kremlin has apparently succeeded in defying the laws of political gravity: Putin’s personal reiting has become decoupled from the unfolding economic disaster over which he presides.

The secret, of course, is as old as politics itself. If not quite bread and circuses—the Kremlin’s been desperately short of bread over the past two years—then certainly war and circuses. When Putin returned to the presidency in 2012 after a term as prime minister, his rating dipped as low as 62 percent, and 100,000 people came onto the streets of Moscow in protest. The Kremlin’s response was to throw \$48 billion—back then, with oil at \$140 a barrel, it could still afford

it—at the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics (according to the Anti-Corruption Foundation, an NGO), making it the most expensive Olympics ever staged.

In 2014, as oil prices crumbled, Putin annexed Crimea and backed rebels in eastern Ukraine, filling TV programming with news flashes from the front and fostering a surge of national pride. According to Daniel Treisman, a professor of political science at the University of California, Los Angeles, “‘Occupy Crimea’ was at least in part an impulsive response to both ‘Occupy Maidan’ and ‘Occupy Abai’”—the popular protests staged in Ukraine’s Kiev and Moscow, respectively, that deposed Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich and badly rattled the Kremlin.

“All the peaks of Putin’s popularity have been as a result of wars,” says Zorkina. “Chechnya in 2000, Georgia in 2008, Ukraine in 2014, Syria in 2015.”

Another part of the formula is also age-old: create enemies. In the early 1990s, a series of Levada surveys found that significant majorities of Russians admired America’s culture and values—and 43 percent were willing to admit that all of the USSR’s problems were home-grown. In January 2015, Levada found that 81 percent of

**“THERE IS NO difference for us
between facts and perceptions.”**



Russians had a negative attitude toward the U.S. What’s more, 63 percent of respondents this year blamed their country’s economic woes on “outside enemies.”

Small wonder: Since 2014, Russia’s media have blamed the U.S. government for everything from backing a fascist junta in Ukraine to mounting an “information attack” on Russia by planting stories about top Putin cronies’ Panamanian offshore accounts and systemic doping of their Olympic athletes. Last November, Dmitry Kiselev, Russia’s most influential TV anchor, suggested that the Islamic State militant group (ISIS) was an American creation.

“They have re-created the Soviet siege mentality, the complex of being surrounded by enemies,” says Zorkina. “Putin has also rekindled the old Russian imperial idea, with its superiority complex and the idea that we are on some special historical path.”

The idea is that Russia is at war and that therefore its citizens must be ready to face hardship and sacrifice for the Motherland. Never was that logic clearer than when a Russian charter plane was blown out of the sky by an ISIS bomb soon after taking off from the Egyptian resort of Sharm el-Sheikh on October 31, 2015. All 224 people on board, mostly Russians on vacation, were

killed. It was a direct response to Russia launching an air campaign in Syria in support of Bashar al-Assad's regime. For any Western leader, such an attack would be a devastating blow. Yet Levada showed that Putin's all-important reiting actually climbed in the aftermath of the bombing—while support for the Syria campaign remained at a buoyant 60 percent (though down from 72 percent at the war's outset).

"Frightened people want a strong leader," says Dmitry K., one of Levada's Moscow-based pollsters, who works the phones and conducts focus groups. (The center keeps the identity of its polling staff confidential to avoid possible corruption.) "When you are in a

"THEY HAVE RECREATED the Soviet siege mentality, the complex of being surrounded by enemies."



war situation, anyone who criticizes the leadership is a mutineer. In other words, a traitor."

The allegation of treachery has become the Levada Center's most pressing problem—its mission often involves reporting things the Kremlin doesn't want to hear. For instance, one recent Levada poll found that one in four Russians with a college degree is contemplating emigration. "These are the most secure social groups, people [who have] achieved success, recognition and wealth in Russia," the center's current director, Lev Gudkov, wrote in an analysis of the results. "[They] understand that they will not be able to live under growing authoritarianism."

Another unwelcome finding came last December, when Levada reported that faith in Russian television news—the central plank of Kremlin control—had fallen to just 41 percent, down from 79 percent in 2009.

No one was surprised when Russia's prosecutor's office began cracking down on the Levada Center. The attacks began in May 2013, when Levada's posting of poll results and analyses was deemed to be "political activity" because they "influence public opinion." Prosecutors demanded that the center register as a "foreign agent"—a term synonymous with spying in Russian—because of Levada's small number of international grants and clients. Agents from the prosecutor's office rifled through the center's files and impounded computer hard drives—but eventually suspended the case.

"Their aim is to keep us in a state of uncertainty," says Zorkina. "Just so we know that we are under their eye."

Levada has been spared—for the moment—because it seems that a dwindling number of the Kremlin's current generation of political technologists still respect

reliable polling, however unwelcome the results. But the fact that Levada is under pressure is a dangerous sign that Putin is retreating into his own echo chamber. Putin "orders up all this propaganda—but he is also the main target of it," says Pavlovsky.

"The older undemocratic regimes become, the more mistakes their leaders tend to make.... Cutting themselves off from accurate information is one of the most common—and most self-destructive," argues UCLA professor Treisman, author of *The Return: Russia's Journey From Gorbachev to Medvedev*. "Surprisingly often, authoritarian governments collapse less because of well-organized opposition than because of their own errors. Overconfident and misinformed, leaders stumble into danger and lack the skill and vision to get out."

The Levada Center can't predict the future. But its body of polling is the clearest insight anyone can have into how the Putin regime might end—or, as Zorkina puts it, "where the cracks run" through the foundations of Kremlin power.

"Society is full of such cracks—from poor health care to unemployment to rising prices—but there is no sense of solidarity, no interest in participation in politics. The only thing that unites Russian society is its support for Putin," says Zorkina. "There are no forms of social unity, no political parties or social organizations or trade unions. They have all been suppressed, so there is no way people can legitimately express their protest.... The most likely scenario for Russia's future will be a slow descent into chaotic discontent, the continued collapse of society and the strengthening of security organs."

Already, part of her prediction is coming true. Earlier this year, Putin created a new National Guard, a super-agency directly run by the Kremlin and employing 400,000 paramilitary police and troops, as well as helicopter gunships and tanks. The new unit—a modern-day equivalent to the Roman emperors' Praetorian Guard—is led by Putin's former personal bodyguard Viktor Zolotov and has been specifically authorized by the Duma (the principal legislative assembly) to fire on civilians in cases of civil unrest. In February, Putin said the new unit was designed to "fight terrorism"—and in the next breath warned that Russia's "foes abroad" were preparing to "interfere" with the parliamentary elections on September 18 by organizing mass protests, thereby labeling any opponents foreign-backed fifth columnists.

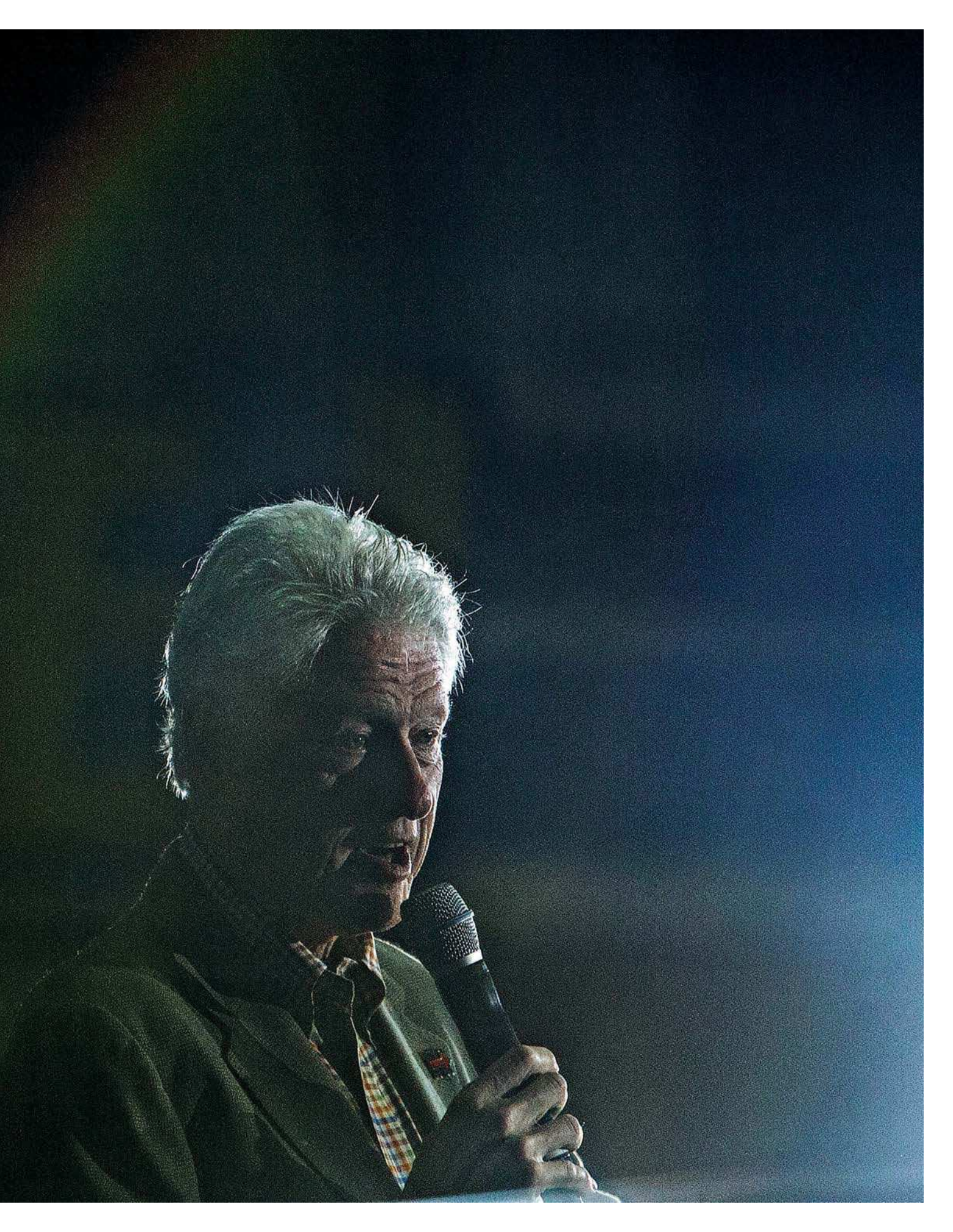
As Putin and his allies dig in to defend their hold on power, Levada is preparing to chronicle the discontent in its usual meticulous detail. "What we are doing is phenomenal, a unique experiment," says Zorkina. "We are conducting opinion polls in a totalitarian society. Imagine if someone had been able to do that in Nazi Germany." **N**

*All the
President's Men*

HILLARY
CLINTON'S
BIGGEST
CHALLENGE IF
SHE MAKES
IT TO THE
WHITE HOUSE:
FIGURING OUT
WHAT TO DO
ABOUT **BILL**



BY *Nina Burleigh*



It could go this way: The FLOTUS office has been converted to a man cave. The boudoir-peach paint is covered with dark paneling. Heavy green drapes block out the sun, the better to channel-surf on that huge flat-screen. Sometimes there's a sweaty towel draped over the treadmill, since the first man exercises at odd hours and the staff can't keep up. There's a dog bed in a corner, and an antique brass spittoon welcomes the ashes of anyone who fires up a cigar (the host stopped lighting up years ago but keeps some Cohibas around for his bros).

There's beer in the mini-fridge and Scotch and a bucket of ice on the trolley. He can often be found jawing in this dark den with congressional leaders who need a little Southern charm to get them behind the Hillary Clinton stimulus package, or sharing dirty jokes with Putin, Erdogan, Hollande and any other male world leader eager to chill after his official meetings with the no-nonsense president of the United States.

Or it could go like this: The peach paint stays. The first man eases himself behind the desk where Jackie Kennedy once penned thank-you notes. (He picked it because of his admiration for JFK.) He runs his eyes down a briefing paper on the day's activities: photo ops with the wives of the leaders of the Caribbean Basin, a vegan lunch at a middle school for his Childhood Obesity Awareness Initiative, some spinning time (he took Michelle Obama's spot at the gym) and finally an evening at the Kennedy Center to honor the last performance of the American Ballet Theatre's retiring prima ballerina. Despite his reputation, the first man is an abstemious and quiet fellow now and enjoys checking the lists the White House social secretary sends him to sign off on—menus and floral arrangements, although he refuses to be involved in the negotiations over the new White House china pattern.

Hillary Clinton has already made history as the first woman who will be nominated by a major party to run for president. It's a historic challenge, but if she wins, she instantly confronts another vexing dilemma: What does her husband do for the next four years? Will he be a White Hausfrau or a POTUS without portfolio? The enormous question of "What to do Bill?" has been hanging over Hillary's campaign for the White House since it started. No one knows the answer. The only sure thing is that Bill will be the most powerful first spouse in American history. And very possibly the most successful, or the most destructive.

As popular as Bill is in many parts of America and the world, most of Hillary's baggage—besides Benghazi and those pesky emails—bears the WJC monogram. President William Jefferson Clinton's welfare reform made life worse for the poor. His criminal justice reforms threw a generation of black men behind bars. His cash-raking Clinton Foundation has an appearance of conflict of interest. And the whole sex addiction *thang*, the Gennifers and Monicas and those post-presidential joyrides on the babe-filled

private jets (one nicknamed "Air Fuck One")—she has been made to answer for all of it. And will surely be flayed for it many times by the Republican nominee during their full-contact debates.

Donald Trump already has the answer to this question: Husbands should not let their wives work. But Bill and Hillary have never been traditional, and they have never listened to Trump, except when cajoling a donor check out of him.

If Hillary wins in November, everybody will be making it up as they go along in the first gender-flipped White House. The conundrum of "What to do about Bill?" is so controversial and complicated that it needs its own flowchart—and probably, somewhere in the basement of the Brooklyn HQ of Hillary for President, a team of consultants is working on that right now.

Protocol **WHO PICKS THE FLOWERS?**

NO ONE IN Washington even seems to know what to call him, other than "Bill." What will the official announcers at state dinners intone when the Clintons walk into the room? Ladies and gentlemen: Madam and Mr. President of the United States? President Clinton and former President Clinton. Or how 'bout just Mr. and Mrs. President Clinton.

Bill has jokingly suggested he be called Adam, as in the first man, inspiring tweeters to suggest that the moniker would give him the right to "go forth and multiply," so maybe not.

"Once you've served as president, that is your title for life," White House historian William Seale says. "I would think in business and out in public he would be Mr. President, as he's certainly earned it. And in connection with her, they would be President Clinton and Mr. Clinton."



+ DYNAMIC DO-OVER: During Bill's tenure as president, White House aides knew that he consulted his wife constantly and never made a big decision without getting her input.

Once they figure out what to call him, there's the question of where to put him. White House real estate is limited, and it has always been men in the West Wing, ladies to the East. Those who know him can't imagine Bill being content in the traditional East Wing spousal office. But he can't take the office that abuts the Oval Office—it goes to the vice president.

Once the Clintons are settled in, everyone agrees it's highly unlikely Bill will be “managing the house,” that big, traditionally female (and socially delicate) job that includes many official and unofficial activities—from greeting the wives of visiting leaders to planning and hosting state dinners and hosting the myriad tiny official events in the garden or mansion—that fill a first lady's calendar.

“The first lady role is a huge job, and it has evolved over time and is likely to evolve even more in the years ahead,” Melanne Verveer, Hillary's chief of staff in the 1990s, tells *Newsweek*. But the job of managing the White House has not always been a woman's gig. The job title “first lady” didn't come into use until after Mary Lincoln and only became truly popular during the Kennedy administration, even though Jackie Kennedy

Hillary has said she was tempted to make Bill her vice president.



despised it. Until President William Howard Taft, the president's secretary, always a man, tended to White House staff and social engagements, according to Searle. Perhaps Hillary and Bill will get themselves a super-high-level butler.

There's one other possibility: Hillary might just end up multitasking, like so many other working women. “I think she's feminine enough to want to check the flowers,” says Elaine Kamarck, who served in the Clinton White House as a senior adviser to Vice President Al Gore. “It takes less time to do that than it takes for a man to watch a basketball game.”

Power Sharing IN THE CROSSHAIRS OF A TRIANGLE

HILLARY HAS said—only half in jest, it seems—that she was tempted to make Bill her vice president. “He would be good, but he's not eligible



under the Constitution,” she told *Extra*’s Mario Lopez. But she added, “It has crossed my mind.”

Whoever she picks to be her vice president better be ready for some Olympic-level triangulation. Before Bill and Hillary even moved into the White House back in 1993, Gore often found himself the odd man out. During the transition, Gore and Hillary regularly competed for Bill’s attention, and she invariably won. He wasn’t even consulted when Bill appointed Hillary to come up with a national health care plan. The Clintons didn’t exactly ignore Gore, but from the beginning everyone understood that Bill didn’t decide anything without consulting Hillary. Back then, the White House staff jokingly referred to Hillary as “the Supreme Court.”

“We’d always say, ‘Has the Supreme Court been consulted?’” Bill’s press secretary Dee Dee Myers says. “Whenever Bill said he was going up to the residence, the staff knew he was going to talk to Hillary and might come down with a different plan.”

“They really were a partnership,” White House Counsel Bernard Nussbaum told author Sally Bedell Smith. “She was the absolutely necessary person he had to have to bounce things up against, and he was that for her. I sensed a tremendous need for each other. They didn’t have to see each other, but they would talk continually every day.”

In a Hillary White House, there would again be three very powerful people at the top, with their own staffs and competing agendas. But longtime Clinton consultant Paul Begala

+ GOOD OLD ENVOY: Some speculate Bill could take on an important mission; perhaps another run at peace in the Middle East—which he negotiated for with Yasser Arafat 20 years ago.

says this won’t be an issue because presidential spouses *always* wield power. “President Clinton and Hillary have worked this out over decades: first with her as supportive spouse and irreplaceable adviser, now with HRC as the secretary of state and soon as president. The truth is, he is a pretty easy guy to get along with, and Madam President’s VP and staff will find that to be the case. Having so much talent on your team is, as WJC himself would say, ‘a high-class problem.’”

The two-for-the-price-of-one pitch backfired on Hillary in Bill’s first campaign for president, and she has been vague this time around on what she would do with her spouse, but she definitely plans to “take him out of retirement,” as she put it. There’s disagreement on whether giving him an official job is a good idea. Says Kamarck, “It’s generally conceded that giving her a defined project [in his administration] was a mistake, and I hope she would exercise the same caution as the last two presidents [did] and not give the spouse a job.”

“You can’t fire your spouse.”

Projects

PEACE ENVOY OR MR. FAT-BUSTER?

HILLARY HAS spoken a few times of her plans for Bill if they get back to the White House, always in passing and always keeping it vague. Most recently, she suggested she will put him to work helping Americans get jobs. During the Kentucky primary in May, she suggested he would be “in charge of revitalizing the economy. Especially in places like coal country and inner cities and other parts of our country that have really been left out.”

In South Carolina last year, she said Bill would be among “the very best advisers that I can possibly have.” Asked whether he’d have a specific role, she said that because of “what was accomplished under my husband’s leadership in the ’90s—especially when it came to raising incomes for everybody and lifting more people out of poverty than at any time in recent history—you bet.”

Bill left the country in great economic shape, with a balanced budget, 22.7 million new jobs and 7.7 million fewer people in poverty than when he took the oath of office. And he has genuine concern for people hurting for work. As governor of Arkansas, he did a lot of smokestack chasing. “Whatever people think of the Clintons, maybe they believe that he can bring jobs to Appalachia,” says a former Clinton White House aide. “Almost everyone admits he cares about people without jobs.”

Ron Fournier, the *National Journal* writer who has covered the Clintons since their Arkansas years, doesn’t think anyone should take such talk seriously. He thinks Hillary mentions Bill’s possible role as a play for votes in states where he is beloved. “I think they looked at their internal polling and saw she was losing Kentucky, and he’s always done well there. And now we’ve forgotten she even said it.”

Hillary has also suggested Bill will be dispatched on “missions... because he’s just unique in the world in being able to do things for our country.” Some Clinton insiders who talked to *Newsweek* suggest Bill would make a great Middle East envoy, giving him a second chance to craft a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which eluded him after intense efforts in his second term. But that presumes he still has the boundless energy required for black belt shuttle diplomacy.

Other special missions could benefit from his post-presidential experience at the Clinton Foundation fighting AIDS, helping victims of natural disasters like those in Haiti and post-tsunami Indonesia, or even working on global climate change and the environment. Although Gore is more often associated with that topic, President Bill issued a regulation prohibiting commercial logging and road construction on almost a third—58 million acres—of America’s forests in his administration’s waning days, prompting historian Douglas Brinkley to say that after Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin Roosevelt and Jimmy Carter, “he’s probably our greatest environmental president.”

Fixing the Middle East or the U.S. economy could be an overwhelming task for Superman, much less a man of 70 who is looking increasingly frail. If Bill wanted to watch his blood pressure, he could devote himself to a more traditionally first lady-ish “awareness” campaign with which he is already involved: fighting

childhood obesity. In 2005, after his triple bypass, Bill announced he was partnering with the American Heart Association to create programs to do just that. He knows whereof he speaks: At age 15, he weighed 210 pounds and was only 5 feet 9 inches, and while running for president, he weighed as much as 226 pounds. As Arkansas governor, and even in his presidency, he was a Big Mac Daddy, famous for making pit stops at Mickey D’s during his morning jogs in Little Rock.

If he wants to scare overweight kids “straight,” he can show them the photos the press ran of him back then, his flabby, pasty thighs on display in his too-short running shorts.

Pin Money

WORKING OUTSIDE THE (WHITE) HOUSE

IF HILLARY’S elected, the White House is going to look a lot like homes in elite America: double income, white and wealthy. The Clintons are part of a new breed, the global power couple, where the husband is as likely to be an ambassador as the wife is to be in the CIA, or the wife is running a desk at Goldman Sachs while her husband runs for a presidential nomination.

Bill has been raking it in since he left 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. He earned more than \$104 million from speeches between 2001 and 2012 and founded a global charity that has hauled in \$3 billion in a decade. That foundation has done tremendous good fighting AIDS, educating women and girls in impoverished nations and helping people after disasters like the Haiti earthquake. Bill has said he will turn down paid speaking gigs while his wife is in the White House, but neither he nor Hillary have suggested that he will relinquish his role at the Clinton Foundation.

If he maintains a job outside the White House, he will be the first presidential spouse in history to work outside the home. But many first men all over the world—and in governors’ mansions in the United States—do not become stay-at-home dads or leave their day jobs to garden and shake up cocktails for their wives after work. Margaret Thatcher’s husband, Denis, was a businessman and millionaire who financed her training as a barrister and spent his years at 10 Downing Street as a well-known right-winger who advised his wife on financial issues. German Chancellor Angela Merkel’s husband, Joachim Sauer, is sort of the anti-Bill, a chemistry nerd and full professor at Humboldt University of Berlin who reportedly watched his

“I sensed a tremendous need for each other.”



wife's inauguration from inside his lab.

They won't like the comparison, but the Clintons are most like some of the husband-wife teams in South America. Back in the 1940s and '50s, Argentina's Juan and Eva Perón were a true political team: While he was president, she ran the Ministries of Labor and Health, then founded the first large-scale female political party and ran for president, before dying of cancer at age 33. Argentina's last president, Cristina Elisabet Fernández de Kirchner, followed her husband, Néstor Kirchner, into the presidency.

The husbands of America's female governors have kept working and are mostly kept out of sight. In Michigan, former Governor Jennifer Granholm's husband, Daniel Mulhern, a Harvard-minted lawyer and an author, had a successful leadership company, the Mulhern Hastings Group, which he left when she became governor in 2002. Nikki Haley's husband, Michael Haley, shipped out for a yearlong tour of duty in Afghanistan as a captain in the South Carolina National Guard in January 2012, while she was that state's governor. In Helmand Province, his fellow soldiers nicknamed him FGOSC (for "first gentleman of South Carolina" and pronounced "fuh GOSK," like FLOTUS). Todd Palin took a leave from his 18-year job working on BP's oil fields to avoid a conflict of interest when Sarah Palin was elected governor of Alaska.

The prospect of Bill maintaining his position at the Clinton Foundation makes some Hillary supporters nervous, while foes can't wait to call for investigations if the Clintons get back in the White House. The foundation's \$3 billion haul is rife with appearances of conflict of interest and dubious associations with leaders who laugh at human rights. Some major donors to the foundation are private businessmen who benefited enormously from the doors Bill opened for them in resource-rich developing nations.

Bill can legally keep running the foundation if Hillary's elected—he is not a federal employee (and being the spouse of one wouldn't matter). But a few American companies have been charged under the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act for doing exactly what the Clinton Foundation asks wealthy donors to

do: make donations to charities connected to politicians. Pharma giant Eli Lilly, which donated to a charity in Poland connected to the health minister, was charged under the FCPA and settled.

"He has protested that he has to pay the bills," Peter Schweizer, author of *Clinton Cash*, a comprehensive summary of some of the troubling ties, tells *Newsweek*. "I think they are in a financial position where they can pay their bills. The Clinton Foundation needs to be turned over to independent management, with no Bill involvement in fundraising or programmatic issues."

A former Clinton White House aide agrees. "They need a clean break. Even their daughter might have to break [from the foundation]. I would simply cut all family ties to it. It's the only sane thing to do."

But others think Bill should keep on keepin' on. "The foundation and its work must continue," says Begala. "It is keeping millions of people with HIV/AIDS alive in Africa. You may see Chelsea continue to assert more leadership at the foundation, but

it would be a tragedy if the foundation's work were to be curtailed because of cheap political attacks."

Body Politics

'WOULD YOU HOLD IT AGAINST ME?'

SPENDING THEIR golden years together in the White House looks like a picture-book ending to a long and stormy tale for Bill and Hillary. Bill did say that when he married her, he disappointed his mother, who had hoped for a beauty queen, but he couldn't imagine growing old with anyone else without getting bored. He's talked about his "endless conversation" with Hillary, and if she's elected they will be having it from rocking chairs at the top of the world. Whatever the cynics say, they were once in love. A friend from their early years told author David Maraniss that young Hillary adored him "with a romantic, poetic, teenage love."

But when they left the White House in early middle age, Bill was the first president impeached for having sex with an intern, and his other infidelities were the subject of litigation. Hillary stood by her man, like some egghead Tammy Wynette, but she was fuming. There were numerous reports of epic screaming fights in the White House, rows in which she wounded him. She once threw a briefing book at Bill but missed and hit a Secret Service agent in the head, says author Ron

Kessler. In her book on White House staff, former White House reporter Kate Andersen Brower reported that staffers found blood all over the couple's bed in 1998, around

the time of the Monica Lewinsky scandal. (They believed Hillary had bounced a book off the president's head, requiring stitches. He claimed he had run into the bathroom door.)

In a book to be published later this month, former Secret Service agent Gary Byrne, in the Oval Office during Bill's presidency, calls Hillary "erratic, uncontrollable and occasionally violent" and writes that Secret Service agents had discussions about the possibility that they would have to protect Bill from his wife's attacks. Byrne described a 1995 fight between the Clintons that left a light blue vase "smashed to bits" and Bill sporting a "real, live, put-a-steak-on-it black eye."

But it's Bill's behavior, not Hillary's reactions to it, that worries some now. Americans view sexual harassment and sexual assault much dif-

Secret Service agents discussed the possibility that they would have to protect Bill from his wife's attacks.





ferently than they did in 1992, and Clinton foes can't wait to paint the old Hound Dog as a more powerful and better-protected Bill Cosby. *The Clintons' War on Women*, by political operative Roger Stone, is their playbook, laying out the many allegations, some involving aggressive seduction and even rape. The book includes a quote from no less a psychological expert than former President Gerald Ford, who once said, "He's sick—he's got an addiction. He needs treatment."

After leaving the White House in January 2001, Bill and Hillary basically went their separate ways—she spent more time in D.C. attending to her Senate duties while he worked out of New York. At first, he maintained his aging-player lifestyle, flying around on bachelor billionaires' private jets stocked with nubile young women, including the aircraft that tabloids called the "Lolita Express," owned by convicted pedophile Jeffrey Epstein.

Then he had a triple bypass in 2004; he was hospitalized for related complications in 2005 and hospitalized again in 2010. On the campaign trail, he has looked frail, leading to dire-health rumors, none of which can be substantiated.

Bill has slowed down and is now a vegan, but he's still far from monkish. His close friendship with his Chappaqua, New York, neighbor Julie Tauber McMahon, a wealthy divorced mother of three, has been tabloid fodder for years. Secret Service agents dubbed her "the Energizer" and told Kessler that she hangs around the Clinton house when Hillary is out of town. Bill has publicly denied there was anything improper in a \$2 million grant the Clinton Foundation gave Tauber for a green energy initiative.

+ **DON'T CRY FOR ME, ARKANSAS:** Some compare the long and ambitious political partnership of Bill and Hillary Clinton to that of Juan and Eva Perón in Argentina.

It's a good bet that female interns in a Hillary White House will be vetted for any predilection for flashing a thong strap, but would the first man even be up for wolfing this time around? "I can't imagine he'd do that, but then again, we couldn't imagine Monica," says a former Clinton White House aide. "His frailty, everyone watching for it—it is difficult to imagine it being a problem. And age takes care of this with men, even with Viagra."

The feminist dream would have been Hillary ditching Bill and riding into the White House alone, proving that, to paraphrase Gloria Steinem, a woman president needs a first man like a fish needs a bicycle. But she stayed with him and she suffered for it, personally and professionally, a role that for women is as old as the Bible. It's ironic that this long-married rich white couple—the very embodiment of traditional and conservative—might be the architects of a radically new post-gender White House. Whatever Hillary decides to do with Bill will be revolutionary, even though she—the suburban, Methodist grandmother from Park Ridge, Illinois—really is not. **N**



Albania

A valued partner for peace and security

The nation's capital, Tirana, welcomed hundreds of delegates from 28 member countries around the globe to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly Spring Session this May

Located on the western side of the Balkan Peninsula—across the Adriatic Sea from Italy, north of Greece, and bordered by Montenegro, Kosovo, and the Republic of Macedonia—Albania is home to 2.9 million people, over a quarter of whom live in its capital, Tirana. Since the end of socialism in 1991, the World Bank says the nation “has made enormous strides in establishing a credible, multi-party democracy and market economy.”

“A lot has been achieved, but we need to do more,” Ilir Meta, the Speaker of Parliament, believes. “Our main focus now is to advance reforms, particularly in the justice system. This will strengthen rule of law, improve the functioning of our institutions, and help in the fight against corruption and crime. A professional, transparent justice system will improve the business environment and increase the confidence of foreign investors to consider Albania as a country of opportunities.”

Big-name players from overseas are already active in the Albanian market. Norway's Statkraft, through its Devoll Hydropower subsidiary, is building two huge hydropower plants 70 kilometers east of Tirana. With a total investment of €535 million, the Banja and Moglice facilities should come on-stream later this year and in 2018, adding 17% more electricity to the Albanian grid. And, this February, Royal Dutch Shell bought out joint-venture partner Petromanas' assets in Albania where it is exploring close to the Patos Marinza oilfield, the country's largest.

Albania has also served as a bulwark for Western security throughout history. Since the fall of socialism, it has reinforced its role as a force for stability in the region. The newly democratic Albania joined NATO's North Atlantic Cooperation Council in 1992 and was one of the first Eastern European nations to sign NATO's Partnership for Peace in 1994. The country provided vital support to Allied forces during the conflict in neighbouring Kosovo at the end of the 1990s and entered NATO's Membership Action Plan in 1999.

Public support for NATO membership was exceptionally high, with 95% of the population in favour, and Albania started



Ilir Meta,
Speaker of Parliament

Edi Rama,
Prime Minister of Albania

accession talks in 2008 that led to the signature of protocols in Bucharest that July. The country became a full member of NATO in April 2009 and has participated in peacekeeping missions to Afghanistan, provided personnel to the International Security Assistance Force, and serves on the European Union's Operation Althea in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

When Albania's President, Bujar Nishani, visited NATO headquarters this April, the Alliance's Secretary General, Jens Stoltenberg, praised the country for its contribution to security and stability in the Western Balkans, highlighting its role in the Global Coalition against ISIL in Iraq and its support for NATO's Open Door policy: “Albania's political and practical efforts help to keep NATO strong, as we face the most challenging security environment in a generation,” Stoltenberg said.

In May, Tirana hosted the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, a real feather in the cap for Albania in light of its continued commitment to the Alliance: “The event was an excellent platform to discuss common security challenges, highlight the constructive role we are playing in the region, and contribute to boosting [our] international image,” Meta feels. “NATO and our partners can benefit from Albania's strategic geographical position by further integrating our infrastructure into secure Western networks.”

A respected career politician, Meta served as Prime Minister from 1999-2002 and has held various ministerial roles under administrations of both stripes. He got involved in politics as part of student protests that ushered in democratic government, was first elected to Parliament in 1992, and has been returned ever since. Meta founded the Socialist Movement for Integration in 2004 and has won a reputation as Albania's king-maker at recent elections, including those that brought Prime Minister Edi Rama to power in September 2013.

In tandem with developing a liberal, free-market economy, Albania has made a concerted effort to strengthen ties with international institutions in recent years and Meta has frequently been a vocal advocate for greater European and regional integration. After a decade of discussions, the country became an official candidate for European Union accession in June 2014, joining Montenegro, the Republic of Macedonia, and Serbia on the waiting list: “Having the Balkans as part of the EU would make the community both more safe and secure,” Prime Minister Rama insists.

“Albania has been... almost a model NATO country, [showing] what its participation can be in the broader European community,” agrees Michael Granoff, the Chairman of the Albanian-American Enterprise Fund and the Albanian-American Development Foundation. “It has proven to be responsible, a good-partner, and has the potential to play a stabilising role.” ■

Aleat

Securing Albania's identity

Albania is known for many things, but possibly not for having one of the most secure identification documents in the world. Behind it is the fruitful collaboration between French multinational Morpho (Safran) and the Albanian-American Enterprise Fund.

"Working with the Fund has been an outstanding cooperation," explains Jean-Alain Jouan, CEO of the Aleat joint venture in Tirana.



Jean-Alain Jouan,
CEO, Aleat

"We succeeded in setting up the structure locally and supplying Albanians with state-of-the-art identity cards within just a few months, prior to the elections in June 2009."

In 2010, Aleat's passports were also among the main stepping-stones that helped Albania gain entrance to the European Union's visa-liberalization scheme. Aleat and the Albanian government have since extended the mandate to produce Albania's ID documents and passports until 2023 to further improve services, but it doesn't stop there:

"We are working very hard to develop e-services using the ID card, both for e-government as well as the private sector for operation activities and security improvements," Jouan says.

The next step for the government is to implement the regulatory framework. But Albania is already ahead of most EU countries, as Jouan points out: "For seven years, Albania has had ID cards with two chips that are capable of this range of e-services. Albania has given us the opportunity to create and develop new services as Trusted Digital Identities, which is a major plus for us." ■



► www.morpho.com

Made in Albania

While Albania may not be famous for its branded goods quite yet, Italian fashion labels, among others, have long relied on the country to supply much of its high-quality manufacturing. Now, a new generation of Albanian businesses are starting to sell their wares, from traditional products to innovative services, beyond the nation's borders, creating value and building their own brands.



Meat Processing Industry

Port of Durres

Developing Mediterranean maritime connections

"Albania is not only a Balkan nation, but also a Mediterranean country," notes Speaker of Parliament Ilir Meta. "It is important to highlight this maritime dimension and make better use of our geostrategic advantage. [We] can be pivotal to improve connectivity between East and West."

The country's biggest harbour, the Port of Durres, handles 78% of national maritime trade, but operates at just 60% of capacity, providing significant scope to reinforce Albania's role as the gateway to the landlocked states of Kosovo and the Republic of Macedonia in its hinterland. According to the Durres Port Authority (DPA), the facility handled nearly 3.5 million tonnes of cargo in 2015, but a raft of improvements should see that figure rise exponentially in coming years.

"The development of the Port of Durres is a matter of strategic importance for Albania," insists Minister of Transportation and Infrastructure Edmond Haxhinasto. Among the government's plans to develop the port is a €22-million dredging project, larger container berths, a new rail link to the national railway network, the construction of a logistics hub, and more streamlined customs procedures.

Integrated into the pan-European Transport Corridor VIII, Durres comprises a 67-hectare artificial basin formed by two moles and 79 hectares on land, with 2,200 metres of quayside and four terminals:

the general cargo West Terminal, operated by the DPA, passenger and Ro-Ro, container, and dry bulk cargo terminals, all operated by private-sector concessions under agreements signed in 2013.

The DPA's Director General, Gazmend Shalsi, hails from the private sector and was appointed last February. He says his priority is the dredging project, which is still pending a decision on a €15-million loan from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, requested in 2013. Once completed, it would provide a depth of 11 metres throughout the port, allowing it to handle deeper draft vessels and increase throughput traffic. ■



Edmond Haxhinasto,
Minister of Transportation
and Infrastructure



Gazmend Shalsi,
Director General,
Durres Port Authority

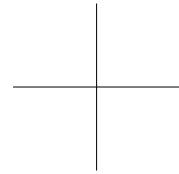




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OVER EXPOSURE:
L'Oréal's My UV
Patch can be worn
anywhere you
don't mind getting
a small heart-
shaped tan line.



NEW WORLD



ANOREXIA

— INNOVATION —

TECHNOLOGY

WHALES

MEDICINE

ENVIRONMENT

GOOD SCIENCE

HERE COMES THE SUN PATCH

A new wearable is like a second skin that warns you when UV exposure turns risky



SUMMER'S HERE, and that means it's skin cancer season. Over 75,000 new cases of melanoma will be diagnosed this year in the U.S., predicts the American Cancer Society, and many of those incidents are directly due to the high summer sun. The risk isn't just in the hunt for the perfect golden tan—it's also in the ultraviolet radiation we are exposed to throughout the summer months even when we're not at the beach. UV light is incredibly deceptive; even a cloudy day can deliver potentially cancerous rays.

A new wearable device accurately tracks your daily UV exposure, protecting you from the sun without messing up your beach day outfit. The My UV Patch sticks to your skin like a temporary tattoo, stays on after a swim or shower and is so thin—just 150 microns thick, thinner than a human hair—that it wrinkles like your own skin, making it less obtrusive than any other UV-reading wristband or patch on the market, according to manufacturer L'Oréal.

The tech behind the wearable is remarkably simple: It has photosensitive blue squares that change hue when exposed to sunlight. You snap a photo with your phone, and an app reads the changes in the image. You put the patch anywhere you worry about getting too much sun, like the back of the neck or hand, and it'll last for days.

L'Oréal debuted the wearable at this year's Consumer Electronics Show in Las Vegas, and it was released to the public in June. CES may seem like a strange place for a makeup company, but L'Oréal has had an incubator for some time now, and in 2011 the company hired biophysicist Guive Balooch to run it, with the mandate to create new products at the speed of a tech startup.

"Our focus is on educating consumers on sun care," Balooch says. To that end, the company is giving away the patches and the app to use them for free. Of course, if you're shocked by the results and looking to protect yourself from the sun, L'Oréal sells products for that too. **N**

BY
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LA ROCHE-POSAY

WAX ELOQUENT

The stuff that builds up in a whale's ear can teach us much about the changing Arctic

A **PHYSIOLOGIST** with wide-ranging interests, Stephen Trumble studies everything from rats to zebrafish, but these days whale earwax is taking over his Baylor University lab. There are already 30 pieces of it lined up, each requiring about a year's worth of analysis—and he hopes to obtain five times as many. He's doing this because hidden in all that wax is information that could tell us how life has been changing for whales and the Arctic in the past 100 years or more.

For decades, cetologists, the marine scientists who study whales and dolphins, have had to gather data from dozens of different sources to reconstruct the life story of a specific sea mammal. For example, studying the scars in the ovaries could reveal the number of pregnancies a female whale had experienced; the bristly, filter-like baleen used to feed could give scientists information on what sorts of contaminants might have entered the whale's food source in the most recent decade or two. Whale earwax has long had some use in this accounting.

Earplugs—the scientific term for the lengths of wax that accumulate in the ears of some whales—grow in annual layers like tree rings, revealing the number of years a whale has lived.

But Trumble's team has discovered that much more can be learned from the aquatic mammal's earwax—a veritable one-stop shop for all the whale data they've been dreaming of. Using the foot-and-a-half-long earplug from one bowhead



BY
MATTHEW BERGER
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whale, Trumble and his lab collaborators were able to obtain the whale's history, including its age, migrations and pregnancy. That small piece of wax—at 2 pounds, it's 1/100,000th the size of a typical bowhead whale's body—has also given Trumble and his team a history of the buildup and decline of pesticides like DDT in recent decades, as well as today's rapidly growing carbon concentrations in the Arctic.

A research group with unlimited resources could attempt to track a whale throughout its life, showing up every year to take a skin sample. That'd provide great information on where the whale had been and what sorts of things it had been exposed to. But the logistical and financial costs of that sort of project make it essentially impossible. Trumble's work offers a realistic way to obtain all that Arctic intelligence.

Since U.S. and international regulations protect whales—even when they wash ashore dead—fresh earplugs are hard to come by, so Trumble's project is at least as much about searching for earplug samples as making sense of them. Evolutionary biologist Hans Thewissen

says he happened to be in Barrow, Alaska, the day that bowhead was brought ashore in a traditional, tightly controlled annual subsistence hunt. (Native communities in the region can take at most 67 bowheads in a year.)

Every animal harvested during such a hunt is towed back to the beach, and the meat is divvied up for the community; then wildlife managers begin taking measurements for research and extracting body parts to learn more about the whale population. At that point, "the scientists stand around, and when there's an organ they want they ask for permission to sample it," says Thewissen, a professor at Northeast Ohio Medical University. He had his eye on the earplug because Trumble had told Thewissen how much information this tiny piece of whale might hold.

Trumble describes extracting the earplug of a beached whale as "a crazy amount of work." The dead whale needs to be turned the right way, and bones and tissues—particularly their massive jawbone—might be obstacles. Heavy-duty construction equipment like front-end loaders are sometimes used. And that's assuming the whale has an earplug. Not every species does, and sometimes within a species some individuals do and others don't—an apparent randomness researchers don't fully understand. "It's like humans," says Thewissen. "Some people have more earwax than others."

Trumble has been traveling all over the world to raid museum collections for earplugs, and

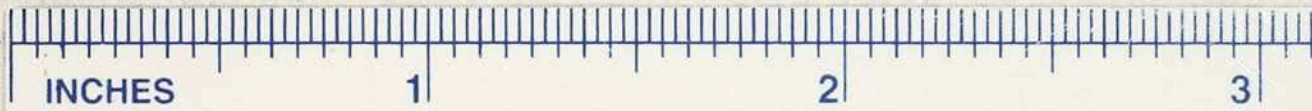
THE WHALE WAX ACTS AS A RECORD OF WHICH POISONOUS CHEMICALS PRODUCED IN THE U.S. AND OTHER MORE SOUTHERLY LATITUDES MAKE THEIR WAY UP NORTH.

the backlog of work is growing at his lab. The analysis is labor-intensive; it takes about a year to separate each wax layer from adjacent ones. Researchers then run numerous tests to determine chemical composition. Each layer becomes its own sample, its own record of that year in Arctic living, and requires its own extensive tests and calculations. It adds up, but

SAY WHAT? Trumble's team studied a foot-and-a-half-long earplug from a bowhead whale like this one to learn about the buildup of pesticides and rapidly growing carbon concentrations.

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LABORATORY APPARATUS. FURNITURE
SCIENTIFIC INSTRUMENTS & CHEMICALS



Trumble says “it’s cheaper than taking skin samples each year for 30 years from a live whale in the wild.”

The bowhead from Barrow, the team determined, was 65 years old. Each layer of its earplug was further divided into two sections, one dark and the other light—the color change was due to the different prey the whale found and ate in the two seas it migrated between every year. Differences in the levels of the pregnancy hormones progesterone and estradiol in the earplug layers revealed she had been pregnant between 11 and 14 times, approximately every

three to four years after reaching sexual maturity. Trumble says that his lab found a huge spike in the stress hormone cortisol during her first mating-and-pregnancy experience. By measuring nitrogen isotopes left by the whale’s plankton prey in the layers of wax, researchers could determine when and where she was feeding, and thus her movements. This whale, it seems, spent most of her decades moving between the Bering and Beaufort seas.

Scientists already know the Arctic Ocean accounts for a disproportionate amount of the carbon dioxide that is absorbed by the world’s

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FAMILY TREE:
 Whale earplugs—the scientific term for earwax—grow in annual layers like tree rings. This specimen at Baylor University was cut longitudinally to reveal the layers.



oceans—gases dissolve more easily in colder water. But most of what they know about the effects and extent of that increased carbon dioxide is only about specific, localized parts of the Arctic. The wider effects, and even whether the Arctic Ocean’s ability to absorb carbon dioxide is increasing or decreasing, are still a matter of scientific debate. Bowhead whales spend at least some part of every year of their lives—sometimes as long as 100 years—in that changing Arctic, and their earplugs are something of an Arctic scorecard. The bands of wax extracted from a whale’s ear chart, year by year, carbon



and nitrogen isotope levels.

The whale wax also acts as a record of which poisonous chemicals produced in the U.S. and other more southerly latitudes make their way up north, and how long that trip takes. Trumble’s team was able to figure out that approximately 10 years passed between the time now-banned pesticides like DDT, hexachlorobenzene and chlordane were produced in the U.S. and when they showed up in the whale. The same was true of PCBs, carcinogenic chemicals previously used in things like electrical coolant but banned in the U.S. since 1979. Though not much can be done to

TRUMBLE HAS BEEN TRAVELING ALL OVER THE WORLD TO RAID MUSEUM COLLECTIONS FOR EARPLUGS.

remove these chemicals from the Arctic waters now, pinpointing the exact lag time could inform future regulatory decisions on pesticides and other synthetic compounds.

In addition, all of this information can inform how native Alaskans manage their annual subsistence hunts. Eventually, global earplug analysis could help other regions set more sustainable rules for their traditional hunts—like that of minke whales in the Faroe Islands—since it can nail down with near certainty how frequently female whales can and do give birth. “If they can have a baby every year or every two years, that really affects how fast the population can grow,” says Thewissen. That information—as well as knowledge of what contaminants are affecting the whales and when—can help regulators make better decisions regarding ship traffic, oil exploration and all the other human activities that interfere with whales’ lives and have the potential to irrevocably damage the Arctic. ■

WASTINGAWAY.COM

Pro-anorexia sites and social media offering a safe haven for sufferers have exploded in recent years

IN 2010, Alex Chernik told his younger sister Natalya, “You got fat.” In most situations, that sort of thing would have ended there, a little teasing between siblings. Natalya and Alex were close; though not biologically related, they were both adopted from Russia by the same family living in bucolic Cheshire, Connecticut, and they teased each other all the time. But that particular jab was to be the last thing Alex said to his little sister. Soon after, when Natalya was 15, Alex killed himself. He was 18.

And so the words quickly took on a disproportionate significance for Natalya. “My mentality was, I want to make him happy,” she says. “I’m gonna lose weight.” Natalya began restricting her calories, poring over nutrition facts on labels, and eventually what had been a healthy, disciplined diet turned into something that looked like starvation. She started visiting and then following Tumblr pages fostering a pro-ana lifestyle—a portmanteau that refers to anything that promotes or encourages anorexia. If she started to feel sick or hungry, she would visit blogs that flaunted lines like Kate Moss’s infamous mantra “Nothing tastes as good as skinny feels.” They motivated her, reminding her that she didn’t have to eat.

Three months after her brother’s death, her parents were taking her to mandatory weekly weigh-ins at the doctor’s office, where she would typically come in at around 90 pounds. She was eventually hospitalized, and doctors performed

an endoscopy to examine her digestive tract. When she came to after the anesthesia wore off, a feeding tube was in her mouth. She immediately started choking. She still remembers the words the doctor told her after pulling the tube out: “There is nothing physically wrong with you. You have anorexia.”

Anorexia is by many estimates the most lethal of all mental disorders. Studies show that those with anorexia are over five times more likely to die than the normal population. For comparison, individuals suffering from schizophrenia (which has a similar prevalence) are about two to three times as likely. Even more alarming, 15- to 34-year-old women with anorexia nervosa are 18 times more likely to die by suicide, compared with the general population of females that age. And it’s likely worse than we know, since we don’t have a national database on anorexia mortality. This is largely because death certificates rarely list it as a cause of death—girls who die from anorexia are more likely to have officially died due to heart failure, cardiac arrhythmia, respiratory collapse and, frequently, suicide.

Despite such grim statistics, until recently anorexia nervosa has remained one of the least discussed mental illnesses. Eating disorder research is badly underfunded; the National Institutes of Health allocates just \$1.20 in research dollars per eating disorder patient, compared with \$159 per patient with schizophrenia.

BY
MIKE MARIANI
 @mikesmariani



DEADLY CONDITION: Women and girls aged 15 to 34 with anorexia nervosa are 18 times more likely to die by suicide compared to the general population of that age group.

In the past few years, though, anorexia has begun garnering more attention because of two internet subcultures. In the early 2010s, hashtags like “Thinspiration” and “Thinspo” were gaining notoriety on social media as supposed motivational tools, but they were much more likely to propagate body image problems.

Concurrently, a less mainstream but potentially more pernicious niche was growing: Pro-ana and pro-mia (short for pro-bulimia) websites, blogs and forums, which had long offered a more explicit entry point into the world of extreme weight loss, spread. In these dark, private and propagating spaces, anorexia was becoming a lifestyle full of its own nuances and argot, just like those found among online communities of cosplayers or running aficionados.

Once castigated as the equivalent of “putting a loaded gun in the hands of someone suicidal,” as Holly Hoff, then-program director of the National Eating Disorders Association, described them

PRO-ANA BLOGS DEPICT ANOREXIA AS AN ACT OF EXTRAORDINARY WILLPOWER OR A CHANCE FOR RADICAL SELF-ACTUALIZATION.

in 2003, the forums are now viewed by some as among the only platforms available for sufferers to candidly discuss anorexia as a mental health problem. In some cases, that might be true. The difficulty, though, is that it can be impossible to distinguish between sites that are refuges from the ravages of anorexia and those that are bastions of recruitment for it.



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IN HIDING:
Many anorexia sufferers have at least one other mental health problem, such as substance abuse, depression, post-traumatic stress disorder or anxiety.

THEY BARELY FED ME

In the most recent edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, the criteria for anorexia nervosa includes significantly low body weight, intense fear of becoming fat and a disturbance in the way in which one's body weight or shape is experienced. None of that explains how someone develops the disorder, though some experts are starting to gain some understanding of how it emerges.

Angela Guarda, director of the Eating Disorders Program at Johns Hopkins University, explains that there are three levels of causality in anorexia. The first, predisposing factors, primarily refers to genetic predisposition and family history. "If you have a family member who has anorexia, you have somewhere around tenfold the risk of developing it," she says. Next are precipitating factors—basically a triggering moment, which could be going on a diet, starting a running routine or even, some clinicians think, the onset of estrogen production in the female body during puberty. Last are maintaining factors. These are in some ways the hardest to understand but arguably the most critical to successful treatment. Maintaining factors include beliefs about food, increasing obsession with body image and, perhaps most important, nearly intractable changes to the brain.

"I'm aware of disruptions in neuro-functioning among people with anorexia," says Suman Ambwani, a psychology professor at Dickinson College. "When you've been starving your brain for an extended period of time, that can have very significant and real effects on how your brain is functioning."

Prolonged brain starvation comes with significant cognitive deterioration, including poor judgment, concentration problems and rigid thinking. This severely compromised intellectual state makes it more difficult to recognize and break negative patterns, meaning those with anorexia are woefully ill-equipped to retrain their brain to escape the vicious cycles.

Pro-ana websites, it turns out, may have an impact alarmingly similar to those maintaining physiological factors that tighten anorexia's grip. Emma Bond, an associate professor at England's University Campus Suffolk who did extensive research on pro-eating disorder websites for her 2012 report titled "Virtually Anorexic—Where's the Harm?," describes a chain reaction that occurs when sufferers begin feeling isolated by their illness and then discover the websites. "The more socially isolated they become, the more they actually use the sites, and the more depressed they become,



and the more that becomes normalized."

What distinguishes anorexia from almost all other mental disorders is the language and repertoire of illusions that entrench and romanticize it. Many pro-ana blogs and websites depict anorexia as an act of extraordinary willpower or a chance for radical self-actualization. Very rarely will someone in the throes of a crippling depressive episode vigorously defend its virtues or the thrill it gives her. But anorexics often see their disorder as the key to unlocking happiness and are privately ecstatic over their emaciated figures, growling stomachs and protruding bones.

Almost all of the young women I spoke with (the vast majority of those affected by anorexia

A PATHOLOGICAL ATTITUDE TOWARD A PATHOLOGICAL BEHAVIOR IS ACCESSIBLE 24/7 ON HUNDREDS OF WEBSITES.

are females in their teens and 20s) cited at least one other major co-occurring problem, ranging from substance abuse, depression and suicidality to post-traumatic stress disorder and anxiety. For some of them, anorexia was (or is) a byproduct of a primary disorder. One girl spent much of her childhood shuttled among abusive foster families, one of which, she says, "barely fed me," causing her to feel guilty about eating.

For others, says Erin Kleifield, director of the Eating Disorders Program at Silver Hill Hospital in New Canaan, Connecticut, an eating disorder is developed to escape from the primary problem, a way to regain the control and emotional satisfaction relinquished to the depression or anxiety. "The eating disorder becomes a way of solving that problem. So they're very depressed, they have low self-esteem, feel disconnected, don't



feel good about themselves. “This is my answer. This is a way I can feel better about myself.”

Natalya’s anorexia, of course, was a way of dealing with the feelings brought on by her brother’s tragic death. Even after the revelation in the hospital blindsided Natalya and then stripped her of her denial, the anorexia still had her in its throes. She endured multiple hospital admissions and couldn’t get her weight above 90 pounds. “It consumed my entire life. Every second of every day, I was thinking about food and how little I could eat and still live.” Natalya recalls feeling that her life was “so out of control” and that her body was the only thing she could regulate. Pro-ana blogs and Tumblr pages were “definitely a negative influence on me,” she says. Whenever she began questioning her unhealthy behavior, she visited pro-ana sites to validate it.

These sorts of behaviors have unfurled exponentially in the social media age. Whereas in 2010 all young people had was Facebook and MySpace, today the language, motifs and compulsions that accompany the disorder can be made explicit on blogs, forums and Instagram posts. A pathological attitude toward a pathological behavior—one of anorexia’s defining features—is now accessible 24/7 on hundreds of sites.

Many researchers are finding these pro-ana and pro-eating disorder (pro-ED) websites and social media to be inimical to recovery. “There is evidence of harm. I don’t think that’s even debatable,” says Kristin von Ranson, a psychology professor at the University of Calgary. A systematic review she published in 2010 looked at 27 previous studies on pro-ED websites and found several recurring risks, including reinforcement of disordered eating and resistance to recovery.

Leah Boepple, a University of South Florida doctoral student whose 2016 analysis of images on thinspiration websites was published in the *International Journal of Eating Disorders*, concurs. “I think this content has the potential to be both a precipitating and a maintaining factor,” she says. “I think research will eventually suggest that [pro-ED sites] do have the ability to maintain anorexia symptoms.”

A 2010 study published in the *European Eating Disorders Review* found that after female college

students with a normal body mass index were exposed to pro-ana websites for just 1.5 hours, their food intake decreased the following week by almost 2,500 calories. Perhaps most worrying is that the study exclusively recruited healthy girls. “Imagine what hours might do for a more vulnerable individual,” says David LaPorte, the Indiana University of Pennsylvania psychology professor who co-authored the study.

Many of the girls suffering from eating disorders offer a much different perspective. A 26-year-old from California, who didn’t want her name used, describes pro-ED forums as “some of the kindest and most supportive places available to me.” Another young woman says the forum she frequents “encourages recovery for those who are ready for it,” and if she did choose to get better, she would still browse the forum “because the sense of community is comforting.”

As pro-ana sites grow in prominence, there is some evidence that the prevalence of anorexia nervosa is increasing. Hospitalizations for eating disorders increased 24 percent in the U.S. from 1999 to 2009 and nearly doubled in the U.K. from 2010 to 2013. But because of the constantly

A 26-YEAR-OLD FROM CALIFORNIA DESCRIBES PRO-EATING-DISORDER FORUMS AS “SOME OF THE KINDEST AND MOST SUPPORTIVE PLACES AVAILABLE TO ME.”

evolving nature of the web and social media, and the inextricability of other factors that precipitate anorexia, tying a rise in hospitalizations to pro-ana is next to impossible.

Still, it’s obvious that for regular visitors of pro-ana websites, the net effect is harmful. “They’re finding a subculture that is reinforcing or justifying what they do,” Guarda says. “Idealizing it, perhaps, in a way that’s dangerous.” As Kleifield points out, people suffering from clinical depression or borderline personality disorder do not cultivate a reciprocal relationship with their disease. They do not lyricize it, obsess over it or project fantasy and aspiration onto it. “We don’t see pro-depression sites,” Kleifield says. “We don’t see pro-anxiety sites.” **N**

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Serena Williams needs one more Slam to equal Steffi Graf's record haul. Can her controversial coach help get her over the line?

+ SLAM-FEST: Williams has been on a phenomenal run since hiring Mouratoglou as her coach.

AT 34, Serena Williams is old for a tennis champion. The cartilage in her knees has started to wear away, so the bones rub against each other when she runs. In June, she lost the French Open final to a relative newcomer, 22-year-old Spaniard Garbiñe Muguruza, after struggling with a thigh injury. At this stage in a career, most professional players retire, at peace with the idea that they can't continue competing for Grand Slam titles.

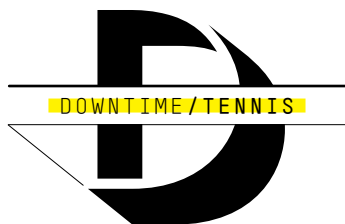
But Williams, the top-ranked woman in the world, isn't thinking about retiring. Instead, when she steps onto the grass courts of Wimbledon for her first match of this year's tournament in late June, she will likely be thinking of a woman who hasn't played professional tennis for almost 17 years. On August 13, 1999, Steffi Graf ended her career at the age of 30, having won a record 22 Grand Slam titles, including that year's French Open. No woman has won

as many Slams since professional players first went up against amateurs in 1968. Less than a month after Graf retired, 17-year-old Williams won the U.S. Open, the first of her 21 Slams. Two more and she'll be, on paper at least, the greatest women's player in history. Williams's body might be begging her to let go of that dream, but she isn't listening.

To overtake Graf, Williams will need something special. Or someone special. Williams's coach, Patrick Mouratoglou, believes he is that someone. Mouratoglou, a wealthy Frenchman who had not coached a big-name player before he took over from Williams's father, Richard, as her coach in 2012, tells *Newsweek* he can help Williams be the best in the world for several more years. But Mouratoglou is a controversial figure, and many in the game say his coaching record prior to Williams was average and his current

BY

MIRREN GIDDA
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success is purely because she is an extremely talented and driven athlete. That criticism makes Mouratoglou more determined to help Williams get over the line. If she does win two more Grand Slams, Mouratoglou will go into the record books with her, perhaps finally quieting the naysayers who have plagued him his entire career.

The relationship between any professional tennis player and his or her coach is easily broken because players hire their coaches directly, paying their salary as they would for any other employee. The coach is cast in the role of mentor and taskmaster—but both parties know that the coach is really just the help. And many do not survive very long. Brad Gilbert, Andre Agassi's longtime coach, whom the former men's world No. 1 described as "the greatest coach of all time," stayed just 16 months with the current men's No. 2, Britain's Andy Murray. Failing to elevate a player's ranking can cost a coach his or her position. Ivan Lendl, a former No. 1 player turned coach, said of the dynamic that it helps to be "independent of needing the job." Lendl, of course, can afford to be fired.

Before Williams hired Mouratoglou, she'd had only two coaches—her mother and her father. The latter was the more involved, a disciplinarian who could stand up to his sometimes irascible daughter. (In 2009, the Grand Slam Committee, made up of the heads of the four Slams, put Williams on probation for two years after she threatened to shove a ball down a lineswoman's throat.) So when Williams decided she wanted a new coach, Mouratoglou knew he had a difficult job. "[Do you] think it's easy to deal with Serena?" he asks, sitting near the clay courts at his new tennis academy in Nice, France. "Do you think it's easy to find a way that Serena follows you?"

In 2012, Williams needed help finding her way; she was in a slump. She had won two Grand Slams in 2009 and two more the year after that. But in 2011, she missed half the season due to a foot injury and blood clots in her lungs. In the U.S. Open final that year, she again lost her temper, saying to the umpire, "You're a hater, and you're just unattractive inside." Williams ended the year without a Grand Slam title and

slid down the women's tennis rankings from fourth in the world to 12th.

Over the first five months of 2012, her dip in form continued. At the Australian Open in January, she lost in the fourth round to Ekaterina Makarova, then the women's No. 56 and the lowest-ranked player of the 16 athletes remaining in the tournament. In May, Williams crashed out of the French Open in the first round, losing to Virginie Razzano, ranked 111th in the world.

After that tournament, Williams went to Mouratoglou's academy in Paris, the precursor to his school in Nice. At the time, Mouratoglou was relatively unknown, serving as coach to Grigor Dimitrov, then ranked No. 37 for men. He says Williams was in Paris, needed somewhere to practice and vaguely knew of him. On her first day at the academy, Mouratoglou says, he watched Williams practice for 45 minutes and then gave her his assessment. "You lack balance. Every time you hit, you're off balance, which makes you miss a lot," he says he told her. "Also, you lose power because [your] body weight doesn't go through [the shots], and you're not moving up, so your game is slow. Usually, you play fast."

Mouratoglou says Williams said, "Incredible, my father says exactly the same. Let's work on it."

Mouratoglou and Williams trained for the rest of the week before she returned to the U.S. Then, the week before Wimbledon, she called Mouratoglou and asked to try him out as a coach during the tournament. She hadn't won a Grand Slam in two years, she said, and, convinced that her career would soon be over, she wanted to win just one more.

Mouratoglou agreed, and Williams has been nearly unbeatable since. That year, aged 30, she won Wimbledon, an Olympic gold medal and the U.S. Open. In February 2013, she regained the No. 1 ranking, becoming the oldest woman to hold the top spot, and won the French Open and the U.S. Open. In 2014, she was still No. 1 and again won the U.S. Open. In 2015, she won the Australian Open, the French Open and Wimbledon.

Mouratoglou isn't shy about taking credit for Williams's fight back and says his strictness with her was pivotal. In his 2015 autobiography, *Le Coach*, he recounts once slapping Williams's hat with his hand when she was ignoring him, telling her that if she wanted him to coach her, she would have to show him respect. "I think it's important to be firm and to have personality," he says. "[Players] want someone strong next to them, because you give [them] confidence like this."

Part of Mouratoglou's willingness to stand up to Williams may stem, like Lendl, from not needing the job. His father, Pâris Mouratoglou, is the

+
DISS SERVED COLD: Haters say Mouratoglou is lucky to be working with such a talented player, and that all the credit for Williams's success goes to whoever taught her to serve.



former chairman of EDF Énergies Nouvelles, and in 2011 he sold his 25 percent stake in the company. Despite hoping that his son would follow him into the business, he gave the 26-year-old the money to set up his own academy in 1996. Mouratoglou was able to hire veteran tennis coach Bob Brett to head the school and give it legitimacy. It was Brett who taught Mouratoglou how to coach.

The academy now hosts more than 2,000 players a year, enticing many with its star, Williams. She is the only person Mouratoglou coaches, and their association is believed to extend beyond the courts. It is rumored that they have been romantically involved, something that

Williams's former rival Maria Sharapova publicly hinted at in 2013. Following a *Rolling Stone* article in which Williams seemed to take a dig at Sharapova and her then-boyfriend, Grigor Dimitrov, the Russian player, who was recently banned for two years after failing a drug test, commented, "If she wants to talk about something personal, maybe she should talk about her relationship and her boyfriend that was married and is getting a divorce and has kids."

Photographs of Williams in 2012 with her hand in the back pocket of the then-married Mouratoglou's jeans had already prompted rumors about their relationship. Mouratoglou claims he has not seen the photos, although he does not deny he and Williams were, or are, a couple. "Maybe she didn't know where to put her hand," he says. A representative for Williams declined to comment.

Whatever the nature of Williams and Mouratoglou's personal relationship, it has run parallel with the most successful period of her career. And that has made Mouratoglou famous. The coach

"HE THINKS HE'S THE GOD OF TENNIS."

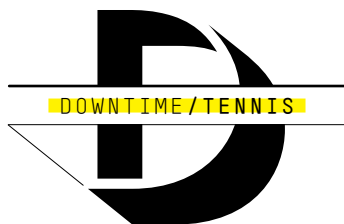
now likes to compare himself to Manchester United's new manager, José Mourinho, one of the most successful soccer coaches of his generation. But Mouratoglou's critics—and there are many—say coaching Williams is hardly difficult.

"Coaches who have taken players from 25th in the world to the top five—that's coaching," says someone involved in the industry, who asked not to be named for fear of jeopardizing his professional relationships. "Credit to whoever taught [Williams] how to serve, but that's it." (Commentators consider Williams's serve, which her parents helped her develop, her greatest shot. Graf said of it, "I think that's the biggest weapon there has ever been in the sport.")

Such criticisms clearly irritate Mouratoglou. "I think to work with her or Novak [Djokovic] or Roger [Federer]—I think there are three guys in the world who can do that," he says.

Mouratoglou's critics see his unwavering self-belief as arrogance. "He thinks he's the god of tennis," the source says. "Coaches [who] think they're the stars—there's only one star, and that's the player. But you do the math: Look at his coaching record before Serena."

Before he met Williams, Mouratoglou's most



successful partnerships were with the mid-ranking players Marcos Baghdatis, Anastasia Pavlyuchenkova, Yanina Wickmayer, Aravane Rezaï, Jérémy Chardy and Grigor Dimitrov. Only Pavlyuchenkova lasted with him beyond a year, and, apart from Wickmayer and Rezaï, all achieved higher rankings once they left Mouratoglou.

Mouratoglou says he fired the players, with the exception of Dimitrov, who left when Mouratoglou began coaching Williams. "Most of the time, they were not prepared to do the extra effort to go to the next level, which is something I'm not judging. I'm fine with that," he says. "I just told them, 'Do what you want to do,' but my goal, I want to be at the top of the game as a coach, so I'm not going to wait. I'm going to do something else."

Most of Mouratoglou's former players did not respond to *Newsweek's* requests for comment or declined to respond. Rezaï, however, tells *Newsweek* that her relationship with Mouratoglou ended when the pair fought over his coaching style, which she found too demanding. "He gave me a diet to lose, I don't know, 6 or 8 kilos [of weight] when I was playing tournaments," she says. "The way that he was training me or other players, it was too extreme, too hard. Players never really worked with him for more than a year because the way that he worked. It's not compatible in the long term. He broke the players."

Mouratoglou doesn't dispute that his methods can be harsh. "Aiming for the top of the game is really tough," he says. "That is the reason why only a few can make it. Serena is willing to do it, and that is one of the things that make her different."

Rezaï disputes this, saying that Mouratoglou is not as severe with his star player because he's afraid of getting fired. But Williams still follows a fairly punishing training regimen. She and Mouratoglou train for about two hours a day on the court, with another four hours devoted to her overall fitness, physiotherapy, yoga and stretching. Days off, Mouratoglou says, are rare.

When Williams is not training, she likes to watch videos of the top male players and asks Mouratoglou to help her emulate their techniques. "She wants to improve," he says. "How

can she improve looking at women? She's the best in the world."

But that kind of focus and ambition can't overcome the physical decline that comes with age. Williams failed to win the last Grand Slam tournament of 2015, the U.S. Open, when she lost in the semifinals. In November, Mouratoglou made headlines when he said of Williams, "The [knee] cartilage is [almost] gone, not all of it but a big part. She has bone bruises, and if you keep on playing with this for too long, the next step is a stress fracture."

Mouratoglou now walks back that assessment. "There is no problem [with the knee], and if she wants to play for five years, she will play for five years," he says. But in January, Williams was forced to pull out of the Hopman Cup, a relatively minor tournament, after suffering from knee inflammation. Soon afterward, she lost in the final of the Australian Open. Although

"SHE WANTS TO IMPROVE. HOW CAN SHE IMPROVE LOOKING AT WOMEN?"

Mouratoglou says Williams and her team have found medical solutions to deal with her lack of cartilage—which he says Williams doesn't want made public—he eventually acknowledges that the bones in her knees "are knocking together. Doing sports every day for so many years, you know, your body gets old. Simple."

Williams's defeat in the final of the French Open, her third consecutive Grand Slam loss, may be a sign that her career is finally on the decline. After the match, Billie Jean King, a former women's world No. 1, said Williams didn't seem happy on the court. "She doesn't have the same vim and vigor. I don't know if it's physical, but something's not quite right," King said.

Mouratoglou thinks that pressure to equal Graf's record caused Williams to lose the match. "There is big pressure, and if we say there's no pressure, it's a lie," he says. "To be able to fight against it, you need to have confidence." After Williams's defeat in Paris, Mouratoglou reassured her that she did have the physical strength to win Wimbledon; she just needed to believe in her own capabilities. "I feel that we've found this," he says. "She's realized that there is nothing stopping her from winning the next Grand Slam." ■



TWO QUESTIONS WITH JOHN JEREMIAH SULLIVAN

The writer and David Foster Wallace fanboy on revisiting the icon's tennis fixation

BEFORE HIS DEATH in 2008 at the age of 46, David Foster Wallace was the intellectual's intellectual. Prolific as both a novelist and journalist, he was able to provide insight into his generation's condition with enviable precision. He also really, really loved tennis. He wrote about it often, most notably in his magnum opus, *Infinite Jest*, as well as in *Play*, the short-lived *New York Times* sports magazine, where he profiled Roger Federer in 2006 in what is widely regarded as the best piece of tennis writing ever.

But "Federer as Religious Experience" was only the most famous example of Wallace's tennis journalism, and to remind fans of the depth of his understanding of the subject, the Library of America compiled all of his tennis nonfiction into a collection. Titled *String Theory* after his piece on middling '90s pro Michael Joyce, the 138-page book, published in May, features an introduction by Wallace disciple John Jeremiah Sullivan, a much-heralded writer of literary nonfiction.



Like Wallace, Sullivan grew up playing and appreciating tennis. In 2006, contractual obligations forced him to pass on writing the Federer piece that would ultimately be assigned to Wallace. Though he surely would have done a fine job, the tennis world is thankful for whatever clause in Sullivan's contract prevented him from taking the gig.

Newsweek recently caught up with Sullivan to talk about the power of Wallace's writing and the parallels between the virtuosic novelist and the virtuosic tennis player.

What do you remember about experiencing Wallace's writing for the first time?

I just remember feeling the power...the way you

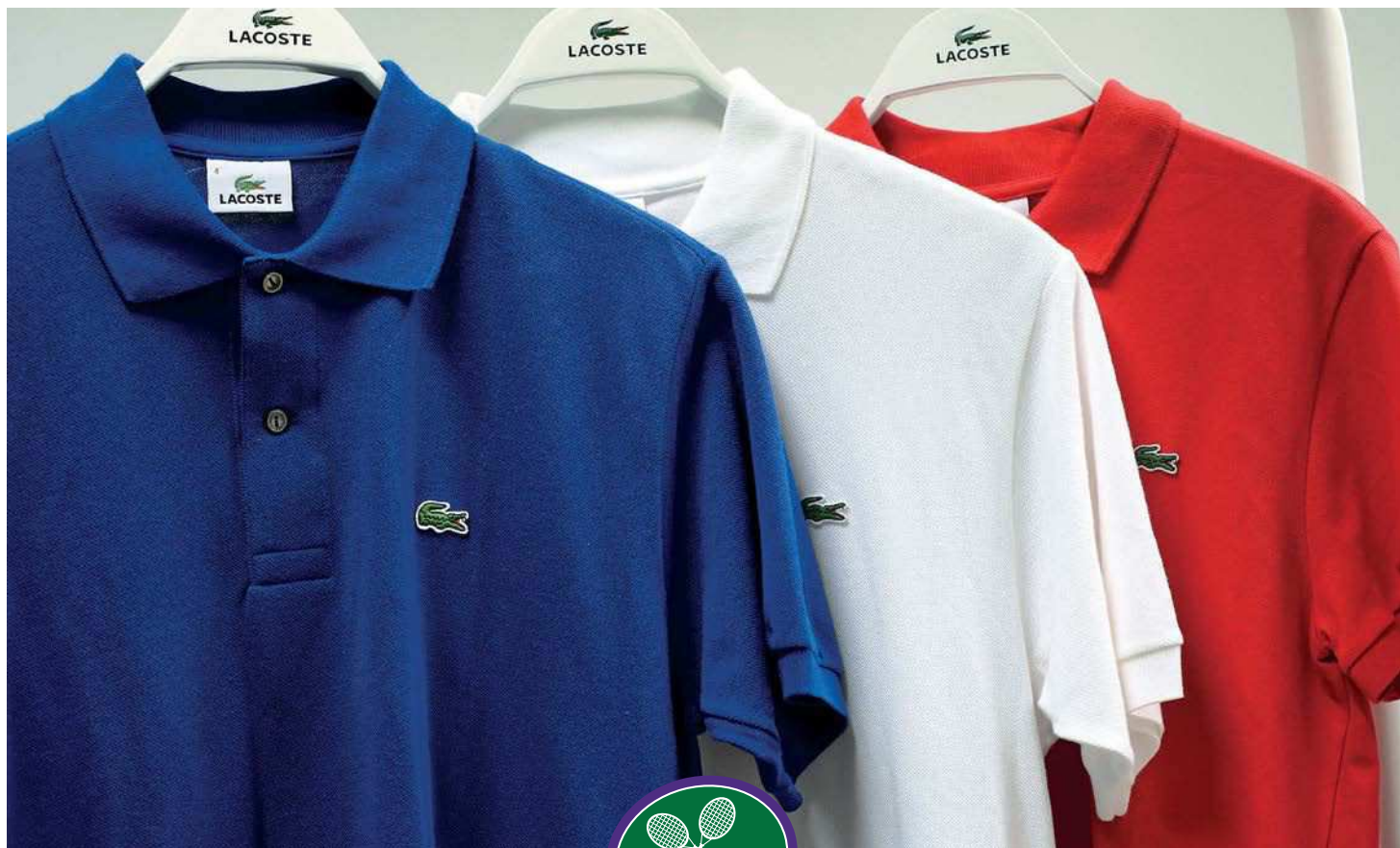
might feel after you turned on some machine that was a little more powerful than you were ready for. I think that's what [Jonathan] Franzen means when he talks about Wallace as a great rhetorical writer. The prose was operating at such a high level in every sense.

Did you discover anything new about Wallace as you went through all of his tennis writing?

I [did realize something] in one place very distinctly: his piece on Federer, "Federer as Religious Experience." I had never really liked it as much as everyone else. I had always felt like there was something I wasn't getting. I think it was because I loved his piece

about Michael Joyce so much, that to me he was rehashing a form that he had done perfectly. So it was good for me to be sent back to it and forced to read it more closely, and one thing that stuck out was how deliberately he was working the metaphor of...I won't say for Federer as himself—it wasn't simplistic or tasteless like that—but he was finding this metaphorical connection between a player who was in Federer's situation and the modern novelist. One is standing in a kind of wind tunnel of speed and spin, and the other is standing in a similar tunnel of information. There was this real, strange kind of empathy there that bounced back and forth between Wallace and Federer in that piece. ■

BY
RYAN BORT
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THE CURATED LIFE

SURVIVAL OF THE FITTED

Whether it's called a polo shirt or a tennis shirt, this short-sleeve garment is a fashion classic

IT IS hard to think of any item of sportswear as ubiquitous as the short-sleeve cotton piqué shirt with a placket and a small collar. Today, it slips, chameleon-like, between sporting disciplines with fluid ease. In the buggy and on the green, it is known as the golf shirt. Among the mallet-wielding, centaur-like sportsmen of Argentina—as well as those who shop at Ralph Lauren—it is known as the polo. And during what the British ironically refer to as “flaming June,” when first the Queen’s Club and then Wimbledon’s Centre Court become the focus of the nation’s attention, it is known as the tennis shirt.

But whatever you call it, the shirt is a universally accepted form of dress, worn by world leaders when they want to strike a note of—often awkward—informality. The corporate world too has embraced it: Along with the company-branded rucksack, the logo polo is a core component of the delegate welcome pack at most two-day seminars or annual business retreats. It is also one of the chief pillars in the summer wardrobe of “dad wear”—an inoffensive garment spotted at countless garden barbecues, where it is accessorized with a bottle of lager welded into the fist. Such is its ubiquity that, come Wimbledon, it is almost a

BY
NICHOLAS FOULKES

+ **CROCS:** The Lacoste logo may have been inspired by the nickname given to Lacoste after a bet involving an alligator-skin suitcase, though others say the name came from his boldness on the court.

surprise to be reminded that it was once a genuine item of sporting apparel.

Mirabile dictu, there was a time when exercise and the clothing that accompanied it were considered shockingly modern. “Exercise!” explodes Algernon, the wealthy, idle bachelor in Oscar Wilde’s *The Importance of Being Earnest*. “Good God! No gentleman ever takes exercise.” Wilde wrote that play in 1895, and yet by 1913 exercise—tennis, in particular—was center stage with *Jeux*, a ballet about a game of tennis, premiering in Paris, written for the Ballets Russes of Sergei Diaghilev. Costumes were by Diaghilev’s longtime collaborator Léon Bakst. In the fall of 2010, London’s Victoria and Albert Museum mounted an exhibition about the Ballets Russes. In the catalog essay, art historian John Bowlt wrote that “the monochrome, functional sportswear for the Tennis Players in *Jeux* was not so very far from the Constructivist *prozodezhda* (work clothing) of Liubov Popova and her close colleague, the avant-garde designer Varvara Stepanova.”

It seems that Diaghilev was determined to keep constructivist-style sportswear in the cultural vanguard. It was a major feature of *Le Train Bleu*, the famous one-act whimsical ballet (or danced operetta, as it was called at the time) developed with Jean Cocteau and named after the luxurious express train to the Côte d’Azur.

It was a significant cultural moment, not least because its dancers wore sportswear-inspired costumes designed by Coco Chanel that reflected the prevailing mania for pursuing vigorous pastimes such as tennis, golf and swimming.

Le Train Bleu premiered in 1924, the same year that a 20-year-old tennis player called René Lacoste won the French Open. While Chanel was causing a sartorial sensation onstage, Lacoste was about to do the same thing on the tennis court. He took training as seriously as a modern-day professional and adapted his clothing to suit his game. He discarded the impractical long-sleeve, button-up shirt for something that would give him an edge: a short-sleeve shirt with an unstarched collar and just a few buttons that was pulled over the head. Loose and comfortable, the shirt became a sensation when Lacoste wore it to the 1926 U.S. championships—and won. By the early 1930s, Lacoste’s design was being manufactured commercially by leading knitwear-maker André Gillier and advertised under the slogan “*Pour le tennis, le golf, la plage.*”

The fine mesh-and-honeycomb structure



of the jersey knit cotton piqué made it the perfect material: It stretched, and it was soft, light, comfortable and breathable. The design was similarly practical: The longer shirt tail at the back ensured that it would stay tucked inside the trouser waistband even when the wearer was exerting himself, while the ribbed collar could be turned up to protect the back of the neck from sunburn. The little crocodile logo on the breast was a touch of marketing genius, perhaps inspired by the nickname given to Lacoste after a bet involving an alligator-skin suitcase. (Others say he was nicknamed “the Crocodile” for his boldness on the court, or for his rather large nose). In any case, Lacoste wore the crocodile logo on his tennis shirts long before it became an international symbol of preppiness.

From being a sporting classic, the shirt rapidly metamorphosed into a fashion statement emblematic of a lifestyle choice. By the mid-

LACOSTE WORE THE CROCODILE LOGO ON HIS TENNIS SHIRTS LONG BEFORE IT BECAME A WORLD-RENOWNED SYMBOL OF PREPPINESS.

1930s, it was the official dress of the Riviera. Writing in 1935, one reporter commented: “Polo shirts have resulted in the oneness of the sexes and the equality of classes. Ties are gone. Personal touches, out. Individualism, abolished. Personality, extinct. The Riviera has produced a communism that would be the envy of the U.S.S.R.” That writer, whose name is lost to history, would surely have been pained by the knowledge that the polo shirt outlasted the Soviet Union—and continues to be as predictable a presence at Wimbledon as strawberries and cream, and rain. ■

To—the Do List



1 PITCH UP *At the Glamping on the Rock campsite (about \$256 per night) on the outskirts of Seoul, South Korea, campers can stay in luxury sleeping pods or wooden cabins made to blend in with the surroundings.*



2 LISTEN

Verbier's classical music festival in the Swiss Alps (tickets from about \$51) runs from July 22 to August 7 and includes performances from opera singers Bryn Terfel and Kate Aldrich.

3 SPARKLE

Each of the 34 pieces in Omega's Seamaster Aqua Terra 150-meter collection for women (from about \$6,867) has at least 11 diamonds in the place of the numerals.



4 SAVOR

Berry Bros. & Rudd Hong Kong is selling one of only 100 bottles of the world's most expensive sherry, the Barbadillo Versos 1891 (about \$11,525). It comes from a cask in the Barbadillo family's collection.

5 REVITALIZE

Goop, Gwyneth Paltrow's lifestyle brand, has released its first skin-care line (from \$90). The creams and oils promise to soften and hydrate skin.

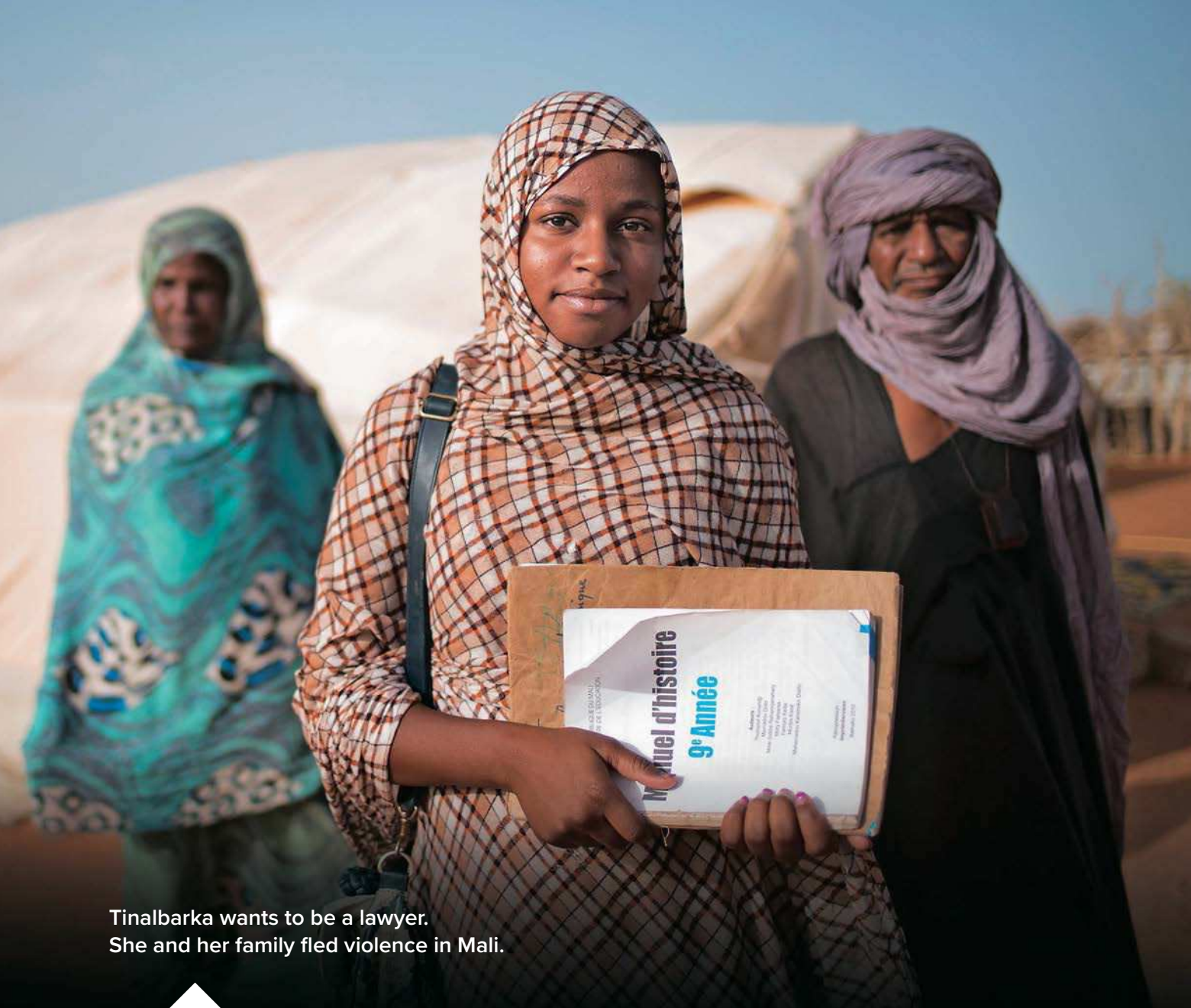


6 CHECK IN

Etihad Airways has opened a new first-class lounge and spa at Abu Dhabi International Airport in the United Arab Emirates. It includes a hair salon, fitness room and cigar lounge.



1. ARCHWORKSHOP; 2. VERBIER FESTIVAL; 3. OMEGA; 4. BERRY BROS. & RUDD; 5. GOOP; 6. ETIHAD AIRWAYS



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