



WINTER 2019



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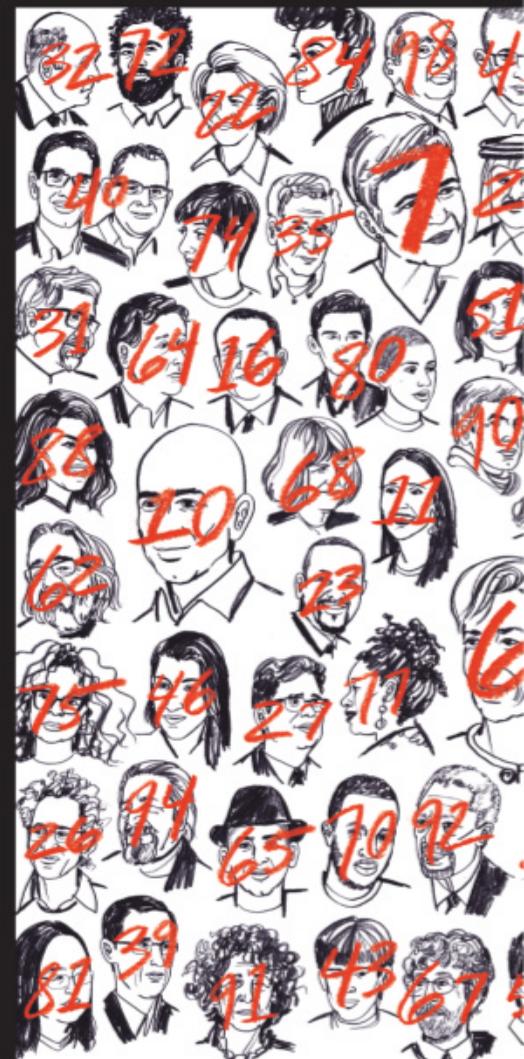
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insights

A Jury of Peers
How Ireland used
a Citizens' Assembly
to solve some of its
toughest problems.
By Susan McKay



insights

IN MAY 2018, the Irish people voted overwhelmingly to amend the country's constitution to allow the government to legalize abortion. A bill that made it legal up to the 12th week of pregnancy has passed both houses of the Irish parliament and, at press time, had been sent to the president to be signed into law. It will bring an extraordinary end to a bitter, decades-long national fight over one of Ireland's most divisive issues.

This seismic change was made possible in large part because of a unique experiment in Irish democracy: the Citizens' Assembly, a 99-person panel of randomly selected citizens (plus a chairperson) who were assigned to thrash out contentious policy issues and offer recommendations for action to the government. The assembly's work offered the legislature a means of tackling thorny issues that politicians might have otherwise shied away from and gauging actual public opinion rather than allowing clashing activists to drown out mainstream views. It's a model that other democracies facing controversial social debates can, and should, adopt.

Democracies are increasingly resorting to referendums to increase public engagement, awareness, and accountability. Yet a referendum alone can produce greater disorder—Brexit is a case in point—rather than resolution. As Ireland's constitution can be changed only by referendum, the country has discovered that targeted and preemptive deliberative processes among selected groups of citizens, who stand in for the public, can enable better societal reflection before referendums—and thus produce a more orderly and widely accepted outcome.

The Irish Citizens' Assembly organized a conversation among citizens about public issues, rather than just a hasty, ill-considered vote about them. As in a court of law, the members of the assembly were provided with information from a range of reputable sources, addressed by experts from across the spectrum of opinion, and given the opportunity to question them. They then took part in small group discussions moderated by a facilitator, and a senior judge presided over the proceedings. Lawmakers could then decide to create legislation based on the assembly's recommendation, offer a constitutional referendum up to the rest of the populace, or ignore the findings.

The Citizens' Assembly took inspiration from two previous public forums for direct democracy, one in the Canadian province of British Columbia in 2004 and the other in the Netherlands in 2006, both of which tackled the issue of electoral reform. The Irish political scientist David Farrell had observed the Canadian example up close



THE FIX

PROVEN
SOLUTIONS
TO THE WORLD'S
BIGGEST
PROBLEMS

and was impressed by its structured debate, use of evidence, and capacity to engage citizens in technical policy discussions. He, the political scientist Jane Suiter, and several other colleagues decided to export the model to Ireland. In 2011, with a grant of more than \$900,000 from Atlantic Philanthropies, they launched We the Citizens, a nongovernmental public assembly focused on policy issues including electoral reform. Participants were selected randomly. Its success prompted the government to set up a second, larger consultative assembly in 2012 called the Irish Convention on the Constitution. Its primary purpose was to tackle the issue of same-sex marriage. One-third of the convention's members were politicians selected by the political parties in proportion to their standing in parliament; the rest were citizens recruited randomly by a market research company. The aim was to broadly represent Irish demographics in terms of age, gender, social class, and geography. As with the



PREVIOUS SPREAD: People celebrate the results of the Irish referendum to overturn the country's abortion ban in Dublin on May 26, 2018. ABOVE: Handwritten messages of support for an end to the abortion ban paper a Dublin memorial to Savita Halappanavar, who died in Galway in 2012 after being denied an emergency abortion, on May 27, 2018.

convention's predecessor, the resulting recommendations had no formal legal standing until legislators acted on them.

The convention invited the public to submit opinions on selected themes—including same-sex marriage, lowering the voting age from 18 to 17, and removing the offense of blasphemy from the constitution. Meetings were held near Dublin; some were publicly broadcast. Its first recommendation was that the government should hold a referendum to introduce same-sex marriage. The legislature agreed. Despite strong opposition from the Catholic Church and conservative groups, the referendum found that 62 percent of Irish voters favored allowing same-sex couples to marry. The government duly enacted

legislation, enabling Ireland to become the first country in the world to legalize same-sex marriage by popular vote. And the issue was laid to rest.

In 2016, the new government decided to replace the convention with the Citizens' Assembly model, dispense with politicians on the panel, and create a body made up entirely of ordinary citizens. The assembly was established by law that same year, given a budget of approximately \$2.3 million from the legislature, and tasked with sitting down within six months to assess issues including climate change, referendum procedures, and the thorny issue of the country's abortion ban. The assembly met 12 times from October 2016 to April 2018; five meetings focused exclusively on abortion.

Throughout the 20th century, abortion was banned by law in Ireland, which is an overwhelmingly Catholic country. But in the early 1980s, conservative lawmakers pushed for a referendum to have the ban affirmed by a constitutional amendment; it passed in 1983 by a two-thirds majority.

Since 1980, some 170,000 women had voted with their feet by leaving the country (mostly for England) to obtain abortions abroad. This trend—plus a series of tragic cases involving pregnant women, and sometimes children, who were denied abortions—made the ban ever more unpopular. In 2018, polls showed that 65 percent of Irish people favored repealing the amendment.

The debate took a dramatic turn in 2012, when Savita Halappanavar, a 31-year-old dentist, entered a hospital with a dying fetus. She was denied an abortion; the slow-moving miscarriage killed her. Her death galvanized the women's movement, which held mass demonstrations. In 2016, the government turned the issue over to the Citizens' Assembly.

After the deliberations on abortion were complete, the chairperson, former Supreme Court Justice Mary Laffoy, held four ballots among the assembly's participants. Sixty-four percent of the members recommended legalizing the termination of pregnancy before 12 weeks. They called for the government to put the matter to a referendum.

The legislature accepted the assembly's recommendation and convened a special parliamentary committee to iron out detailed legislative provisions; the results mirrored the assembly's sentiment. Sixty-six percent of Irish voters agreed that the ban on abortion should be overturned.

With the resulting bill signed into law, debate on one of Ireland's most contentious social issues will finally be closed. The backlash from anti-abortion groups has been limited, and Irish society has broadly accepted the outcome.

Critics point out that Ireland's Citizens' Assembly was purely advisory. But the Irish experience shows that if a government is receptive, an assembly can not only deliver quite dramatic policy recommendations on issues that once seemed intractable but also allow citizens to air differences in a noncombative setting, fostering learning and gradual social acceptance. The model could be widely adapted, including for a potential second Brexit referendum. Ireland is already considering convening another assembly to address antiquated gender roles ensconced in the Irish Constitution. Citizens' assemblies don't seek to replace traditional government institutions. They can, when judiciously used, make them work better. ■

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Street Smart

Why South Africa's formerly segregated townships are still central to its imagination. *By Eve Fairbanks*

"YOU NEED TO SEE MY FRIEND'S GUN," Mophethe Thebe said in a gas station parking lot in Soweto, the famous swath of townships southwest of Johannesburg. He promised this was a good way to understand the meaning of a South African word coined more than a half-century ago: *ekasi*. Today, the word—sometimes rendered as *kasi*—serves as the name for bars and restaurants, finds its way into hip-hop lyrics, and makes up the moniker for one of Johannesburg's top radio stations. But *ekasi*'s ubiquity isn't simply cultural; its fluid definition mirrors political debates about South Africa's future.

Technically, *ekasi* is just the Zulu term for "township," a segregated neighborhood where black people were forced to live under apartheid. But it also functions the way the word

"soul" or "home-cooked" does in front of "food" in American vernacular. The word suggests authentic, real, and the heart of black South Africa.

At its heart are paradoxes. It's a term of affection, even as it connotes the negative, even shameful, sides of contemporary black South African life; in this way, it works a little like the English word "ghetto." *Ekasi* represents the swagger and boastful flamboyance that often accompany the crime that plagues contemporary South African townships—whether the sleekness of Thebe's friend's gun or the weekly party where his other friends do wheelies in the Audis they've stolen from richer, white neighborhoods.

Another paradox emerges from *ekasi*'s origin. It originated from a word in Afrikaans, the language of the largely Dutch-descended white minority that ran apartheid South Africa until the

DECODER

INTERPRETING
THE ESSENTIAL
WORDS THAT
HELP EXPLAIN
THE WORLD

arrival of majority rule in 1994. From the start of the 20th century, when the first segregated townships were formed, speakers of Afrikaans tended to refer to any given one of them simply as a "location," or *lokasie*. A form of this word was eventually adopted into Zulu.

Older black South Africans, those who were adults during the late stages of apartheid, didn't hear ekasi uttered as much by their own peers. In that period, ekasi was associated with those who were considered "relaxed"—a pejorative for black people who didn't seem to care enough about the liberation struggle. Using the term was associated with seeking favor with the Afrikaner oppressors.

The hatred bottled up in such language choices was unleashed in the 1976 Soweto uprising, a huge protest against the forcible use of Afrikaans in schools that helped hasten apartheid's unraveling. When apartheid did end in the early 1990s, one of the main promises made by the country's new leaders was that black South Africans would finally be able to get out of the townships—or that they would be transformed into more livable places.

Yet South Africa's first black democratic leaders, wary of repeating the failures of previous post-colonial African presidents, focused less on transforming the lives of the country's poorest citizens than on keeping life relatively easy for the wealthy whites who lived in leafy suburbs far from the townships. The measure of black success became making it in the white world: acquiring a corporate or cushy government job, speaking in a so-called "posh" or English accent, even eating organic salads instead of kota—a quarter loaf of white bread stuffed with processed meat and cheese, French fries, and sometimes a hot dog—in other words, what black South Africans ate when they didn't have the money or time for anything else.

But few black South Africans were fully able to make this transition. Around half of the country's black adults still

live in townships today, and a quarter of South Africans, virtually all of them black, live in conditions that meet the United Nations' threshold for extreme poverty. It was partly in response to this failed transition that the word previously associated with oppression began to make its way into young people's vocabulary as a celebratory, even defiant, slang term. "Living ekasi meant everything" to him growing up, Thebe said. "The way we love. The way we talk. The way we dress. You have lived under harsh circumstances. You have survived."

The power of this cultural ideal, at once transgressive and backward looking, becomes especially clear at a secondary school in a township near Johannesburg called Tsakane. Marooned 30 miles southeast of the city's business center, the school is encircled by mine dumps and fields of cattle; many of the school's 10th-grade students live in corrugated aluminum shacks. This is an NGO-run school for aspirational kids, all of whom aim to get away from ekasi life—to a reputable university in Cape Town or Johannesburg or an Ivy League school in the United States.

Yet when asked to talk about the clothing style implied by the word ekasi, a few students screamed with excitement, pumped their fists, and stood up to describe it: Converse shoes, Dickies pants, a leather jacket, gold chain, tattoo, and a *chiskop*—a shaved shiny bald head. Their parents, they said, frowned on such "criminal" outfits, but the students exhibited the joy of explaining something that was already theirs, not simply a dream.

Meanwhile, even wealthier black South Africans have discovered that moving into the formerly white space of elite society comes with unexpected losses. Some have found that white neighbors or bosses still view them with distrust no matter how culturally acceptable they have become; at least in the ekasi, they had felt as if they belonged.

And so, for black South Africans across

the social spectrum, township experiences once considered purely tragic began to feel noble, even cool: the vibrant street life created by the lack of transport, the kindness often generated by mutual want, the hustling and crime necessitated by the lack of opportunities and the enduring racism, and, increasingly, the contempt directed at them by many of the wealthiest black elites.

A quarter-century after apartheid's end, South African politics and society are still driven by a sense of being stuck within a binary: follow a Western, consumerist, so-called white development and cultural path or turn away from that toward something more just, inclusive, and authentic. But there are fears around the latter route, a suspicion that black South Africans' truest identity is a reaction to their centuries of oppression and that the black experience might still be dangerous to embrace—a resistance that has anger at its heart.

This tension warps South African political debates. Focused steps in the direction of land redistribution, affirmative action, and changes to the Western-focused education system are clearly necessary to make the post-apartheid society more sustainable and fair. There remains an anxiety, however, that such policies would be motivated less by a desire to improve the lives of all citizens than to destroy the privileges of the advantaged and would thus represent giving in to the dark side of ekasi—a hunger for money, a tolerance for disorder, a taste for destruction—that lurks behind its nostalgic, affectionate connotations. One boy at the school in Tsakane, the far-flung township, said he wondered whether the way he and his friends used ekasi kept black South African culture alive but then added, "It's also pushing us back."

"If I pulled a gun on you now, it's ekasi," he said, smiling. "But it's also the dumbest thing." ■

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The Small War That Wasn't

Why the Kosovo conflict still matters today.

By Cameron Abadi

THE YEARS BETWEEN the collapse of the Soviet Union and the 9/11 attacks are largely thought of as a footnote to history—one eventually interrupted by Islamist terrorism, economic crisis, and genuine geopolitical competition from China and Russia. The meager legacy of Washington's military intervention in Kosovo is a case in point: It is seen as a brief, successful, and low-stakes war, remembered as insignificant when it's remembered at all—which it rarely is by Americans, even as the war's 20th anniversary approaches in March.

The consensus, however, is wrong. The Kosovo war was short (just three months), but it wasn't small. In fundamental ways, it was a turning point for international politics.

The crisis pitted military forces led by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, already infamous for his murderous actions in the Bosnian conflict, against ethnic Albanian Kosovar insurgents, who resented growing repression in the province. In March 1999, fighting intensified, Kosovo's neighbors were flooded with refugees, and the West got involved. When Milosevic ignored demands for a negotiated solution, NATO used force. After 78 days of bombing, Serbian troops withdrew, and NATO ground troops moved in.

The war started a conversation about humanitarian intervention that continues to this day. The agonized policy debates in recent years about entering Syria and Libya to oppose brutal dictators are reprisals of concerns first raised in the Balkans.

At the time, British Prime Minister Tony Blair openly described the intervention in Kosovo as "a battle between good and evil; between civilisation and barbarity; between democracy and dictatorship." But the story was hardly so pure. The case for humanitarian intervention under inter-

national law was based on preventing more Serb atrocities, but in practice that meant supporting the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA)—a group that U.S. officials had previously described as terrorist. It was fighting for full independence rather than Washington's more limited goal of political autonomy. U.S. officials were aware that moralistic rhetoric cloaked political risks: Intelligence agencies privately warned that the KLA was trying to provoke Serbian massacres in hopes of persuading NATO to support its bid for independence.

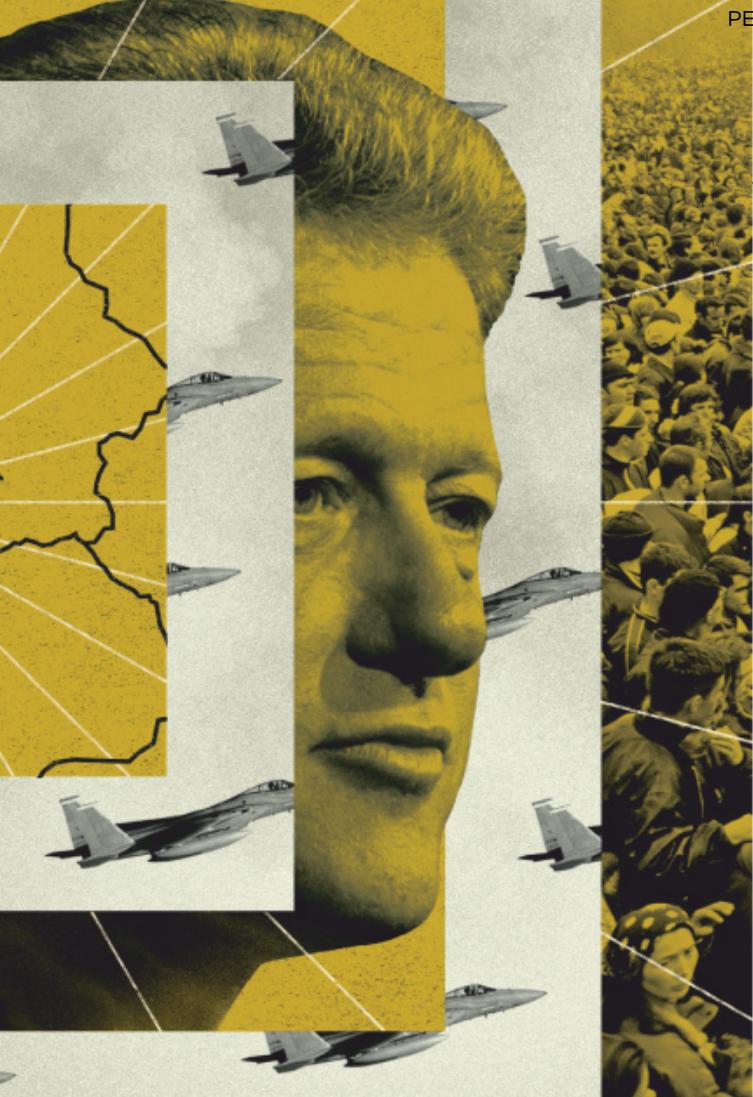
Kosovo also raised serious new concerns about NATO's military utility that echo loudly today.

NATO's European members hindered the war effort even from its earliest stages. When Gen. Wesley Clark, NATO's top commander at the time, briefed allies in July 1998 on the plan drawn up by the U.S. military, which included going after the "head of the snake" by bombing Belgrade, skittish European officials believed it was "too large, too threatening" and demanded more limited options. NATO settled on only a small number of military targets in Kosovo itself—and Europeans at the highest levels of national governments



DEBUNKER

CONVENTIONAL
WISDOM,
UPENDED



insisted that they be allowed to sign off on the targets.

Milosevic then seized the advantage to ramp up the ethnic cleansing of Albanians. Only when the United States, two months into the war, insisted on a change in strategy—bombing targets deep in Serbian territory—did the momentum shift. Americans also picked up an increasing share of the operational slack, not least because of the wide gap in capabilities between U.S. and other NATO air forces. By the war's end, the United States had conducted about two-thirds of all sorties while undertaking the majority of reconnaissance, suppression of air defenses, and precision-guided strikes.

For the United States, NATO's contribution to the war was mostly political—it helped create and maintain public support among Americans for the campaign. In military terms, however, the allies were mostly dispensable. This experience laid the groundwork for later instances of unilateralism, including the George W. Bush administration's decision to forgo seeking NATO's backing before its invasion of Iraq and President Donald Trump's outright threats against Europe for its overreliance on

the U.S. military for its own defense.

The Kosovo war also foreshadowed the return of great-power politics, spurring the rise of revanchist nationalism in both Russia and China that the West contends with today.

Although Russia has traditionally been a Serbian ally, the Kremlin initially positioned itself as the West's partner in finding a solution to the crisis. The bargain was both instrumental (Russia's economic troubles made it dependent on foreign assistance) and strategic: President Boris Yeltsin believed Russia could cooperate with Western institutions in maintaining global order. Russian diplomats even communicated to their Western counterparts that, although they would veto any U.N. Security Council resolution approving a war, they had nothing against airstrikes. As Richard Holbrooke, a U.S. diplomat, once said, "For them, it was all about respect."

By that measure, the war was a disaster. Russian public opinion turned against the airstrikes as they targeted the capital of Russia's Serbian ally and Russian attempts to negotiate peace were unceremoniously rejected by U.S. officials. As Yeltsin faced increasingly irate opposition in parliament, Russian officials' rhetoric became more bitter and their behavior more obstinate. After Milosevic's capitulation, Russian military forces violated the peace agreement by rushing into Kosovo and capturing Pristina's airport on June 12—a move that nearly led to a direct confrontation with U.S. forces. It wasn't clear whether Yeltsin ordered that operation—but six months later, he would resign, making way for Vladimir Putin.

The Kosovo war was also a teachable moment for Beijing about the power of domestic nationalism. On May 7, U.S. B-2 stealth bombers largely destroyed the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade, killing three Chinese nationals and injuring 20 others. NATO insisted the incident was an accident (the result of the CIA providing the wrong coordinates for a

nearby Serbian military target). The Chinese government declared it a "barbaric attack" and seemed to encourage, and even help organize, the protests that erupted across China. Thousands of Chinese threw rocks at the U.S. Embassy in Beijing, trapping officials inside for days, while protesters tried to set fire to the U.S. consulates in Chengdu and Guangzhou.

When President Bill Clinton and U.S. State Department officials formally apologized for the attack, Chinese state-run media did not broadcast the news for several days as demonstrations continued. It was a strategy of stoking domestic victimization that the Chinese would return to for years afterward, most notably in the 2012 territorial disputes with Japan over islands in the East China Sea.

The Kosovo war officially ended in June 1999, but violence continued unabated in the immediate aftermath, as Kosovar refugees returning home took vengeance against Serbs. The United Nations and NATO spent years trying to figure out how to pass on the responsibility for governing the territory. Now, as the United States struggles to extract its troops from Afghanistan and Iraq, decades after first sending them there, the relevance of that earlier experience speaks for itself.

It's tempting to dismiss the events in Kosovo as the epitome of America's short-lived unipolar moment—a war of choice marginal to the interests of major powers, including the United States. The premise is mostly correct but the conclusion false. Washington's intervention was a war of choice, but that made it a mirror of its foreign-policy psyche—one that magnified America's ambitions and its blind spots and affected the world accordingly. The world indeed became stormy after 9/11—but storms always gather force in the calm that precedes them. ■

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arguments

A member of the U.S.-backed Syrian Democratic Forces takes down a tattered Islamic State flag in Tabqa, Syria, in April 2017.



The New Face of Terrorism in 2019

Forget the Middle East—it's time to prepare for attacks from the former Soviet Union. *By Vera Miranova*

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THE WAY WESTERNERS THINK ABOUT ISLAMIST TERRORISM has grown dangerously outdated. For decades, officials have focused on attacks launched by Middle Easterners. Today, however, the real threat increasingly comes from further east. In the former Soviet states and beyond, militants who once harbored mostly local grievances are turning their attention to the West. They will be the menace to watch in 2019.

The threat posed by Middle Eastern terrorists has been shrinking for some time. Even during the war against the Islamic State, Russian speakers from former Soviet countries were already committing many of the major attacks in the West. Those included relatively simple lone-wolf events, such as the 2017 truck strikes on pedestrians in New York and Stockholm—both conducted by Uzbeks—but also more complicated operations, such as the 2016 suicide bombing of

Istanbul's airport—which was allegedly organized by a Russian national—and the 2017 attack on a nightclub in the same city, led by an Uzbek.

There are several reasons for the relative increase in anti-Western terrorism coming out of the post-Soviet world. For starters, in recent years Middle Eastern jihadis have been too preoccupied with local conflicts in Iraq, Syria, and Yemen to head elsewhere. The pull of the Islamic State, meanwhile, has faded after its almost total defeat in Iraq and Syria.

At the same time, the wars in the Middle East have transformed

militants from Russian-speaking areas, who previously focused on fighting repressive governments at home, into global terrorists. By 2017, at least 8,500 fighters from former Soviet republics had flocked to Syria and Iraq to join the Islamic State. That experience gave many of these jihadis their first taste battling U.S. and NATO troops, and it left them looking for vengeance, convinced that future operations should be aimed at the West.

Ahmed Chataev, for example, who allegedly organized the attack on Istanbul's airport, apparently first cooked up plans to strike Western targets while fighting in Iraq and Syria. A phone conversation leaked last year between Chataev and another Russian-speaking terrorist, Islam Atabiev, revealed that the two were planning to collect intelligence on several U.S. consulates and restaurants popular with Americans in Turkey and Georgia.

The same dynamic has played out further east, where battle-tested jihadis from the post-Soviet world can travel far more easily than Arabs who hold Iraqi, Syrian, or Yemeni passports. As the persecution of Muslims in Asia grows, so do opportunities for grievances to turn international. When I was in Bangladesh in July 2018, I came across at least two separate groups from the Caucasus providing religious aid in Muslim Rohingya refugee camps. A leader of a Russian-speaking group affiliated with militants in Syria said he had likewise planned to send some of his people to Bangladesh. Such contact could boost the capabilities of local jihadis already conducting anti-Western operations in the area, including those who in 2016 stormed a bakery in Dhaka that was popular with expats. And it may win

more Rohingya over to the idea that they're involved in a global struggle for Islam, not just a local fight for their own survival.

In the coming years, the terrorist threat from Russia and beyond will only increase. With the fall of the Islamic State, Russian-speaking terrorists were mostly able to flee Iraq and Syria with more ease than Middle Eastern foreign fighters and are now back in hiding in the former Soviet sphere or in Europe. Having escaped the reach of the U.S. military, they may find it easier to bring their plots to fruition. Local sympathies will help. Government neglect and outright repression have made religious Muslims in Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan attractive targets for radicals looking for new recruits. Several popular sheikhs from the Middle East, including the Saudi cleric Abdulaziz al-Tarefe, now have significant Russian- and Arabic-language followings on social media.

As the locus of terrorism changes, the United States and its allies will have to update their strategies for fighting it. Over the last two decades, Washington built up a huge bureaucracy around Middle Eastern terrorism. Untold millions of dollars were poured into finding and training Arabic-speaking researchers and analysts. According to data from

a critical language scholarship program run by the U.S. government, out of 550 university students who will be admitted in 2019, 105 will be studying Arabic and only 60 Russian. And according to professors with whom I've spoken—from top policy schools such as the Harvard Kennedy School, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and Texas A&M's Bush School of Government and Public Service—the overwhelming majority of college students who plan to work in counterterrorism still minor in Middle Eastern studies or Arabic. There's also a dearth of experts who've specialized in Central Asia and can teach a new generation of analysts.

Reorienting the West's focus will also involve political challenges, since the United States will have to find a way to cooperate with Russia and its neighbors. Over the last several years, for example, U.S. companies have gotten good at deleting jihadi propaganda from U.S.-based social media platforms, but the same propaganda is still widely available on Russian-language apps such as VK and OK, which are popular across post-Soviet states. Telegram, which was founded by a Russian national, has likewise become a major communications tool for terrorists of all backgrounds, and cell phones captured from the Islamic State revealed

The United States and its allies need to recognize that future attacks are more likely to come from the East than the Middle East and that there is no other option than to cooperate with Russia and its neighbors to stop them.

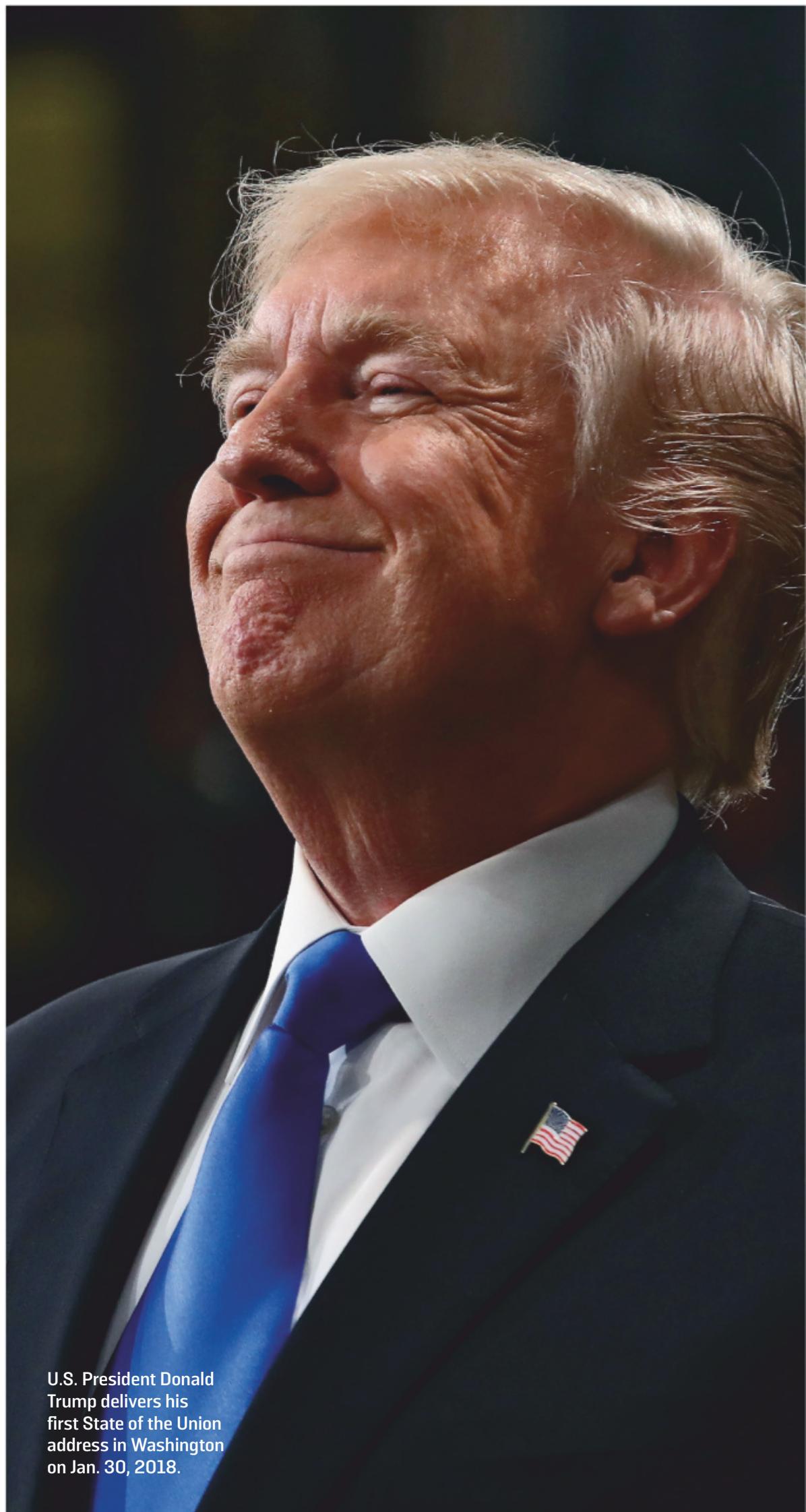
arguments

that they were operating on Ukrainian SIM cards.

Monitoring these systems and others will require deep cooperation and intelligence sharing with Russia. But such cooperation does not seem likely in the immediate future. There may simply be too much animosity between Washington and Moscow to allow for effective collaboration. There's also the problem of the quality of intelligence. Many of those who end up on domestic terrorist watchlists and even Interpol lists throughout the region are actually members of the domestic opposition. Meanwhile, lots of known terrorists are never singled out: Russia is well-known for providing passports to radicals from the Caucasus on the grounds that letting would-be jihadis leave the country is easier than dealing with them at home. Intelligence from the region has become so politicized—and is used so much more often to violate the human rights of religious citizens than to stop real terrorist attacks—that it is hard to know what the United States would do with it.

The West should have recognized this shift long ago. It didn't, but that doesn't mean that it should sit on its hands now. The United States and its allies need to recognize that future attacks are more likely to come from the East than the Middle East and that there is no other option than to cooperate with Russia and its neighbors to stop them. If the United States fails to do so, it could soon see the effects in either a surge of attacks on the United States or the rise of a new post-Soviet-dominated terrorist group in one of the world's many war zones. ■

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U.S. President Donald Trump delivers his first State of the Union address in Washington on Jan. 30, 2018.

Welcome to the World's Least Ugly Economy

Despite inequality, debt, and a tariff war, the U.S. economy is still the strongest.

By Michael Hirsh

ECONOMIC COMPETITION AMONG NATIONS is more of a beauty contest than a footrace. In reality, every economy performs under its own spotlight. By that reckoning, as the new year dawns, it's already obvious which economy is likely to be crowned Miss World 2019.

Yes, it's last year's pageant winner, the still-booming U.S. economy. Despite problems with income inequality, debt, market turmoil, and policy paralysis—and the tariff war launched by President Donald Trump—most economists say the United States is far outpacing all rivals in growth and stability.

At the very least, “the U.S. keeps coming out tops in the least ugly contest,” said Adam Posen, the president of the Peterson Institute for International Economics (PIIE). “It gets uglier all the time, but it's still winning.

“The world will be a worse place under many of the things the Trump administration is doing, and the environment for private sector investment will get worse for everybody, including in the United States. But the United States will maintain a relative lead for some time to come.”

A quick survey of other major economies around the world explains this simple reality: Everyone else's situation is much uglier. Britain is beset by Brexit, and Europe is grappling with an exploding budget crisis in Italy (its fourth-largest economy), along with governance issues so deep that they verge on existential. China, burdened with a dangerous amount of corporate debt, is slowing to such a degree that most experts see it as a likely flash point in the year ahead. Japan's super-slow growth rate—an annual expectation now because of its shrinking population—isn't causing it too much trouble (1 percent growth can be adequate if fewer people are

producing), but Tokyo is still saddled with high public debt.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development is still holding to its assessment from last fall that the United States is set to grow faster than the other G-7 countries in 2018 and 2019, and the differences among them are only widening. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is forecasting close to 3 percent growth, though that could go as low as 2.5 percent because of the escalating tariff war and the waning effect of Trump's 2017 corporate tax cut stimulus.

“If you just look at growth rates, the length of the expansion, the level of unemployment, and very subdued inflationary pressures, all those things look good,” said Gian Maria Milesi-Ferretti, the deputy director of the IMF's research department. Europe, by contrast, “looks like it is slowing more rapidly than we had envisaged.

“Now, of course, you also have a very substantial fiscal stimulus in the system, an unprecedented one for an economy at full employment.”

Some economists are more pessimistic. Late last year, the bond yield curve became inverted: Some longer-term bonds began paying less than shorter-term bonds, suggesting widening market fears that a U.S. recession could loom sometime in the next two years. Goldman Sachs's chief economist, Jan Hatzius, predicts that after enjoying 2.5 percent and 2.2 percent growth in the first two quarters of 2019, the fading tax cut stimulus and tightening by the Federal Reserve will drive U.S. growth down below 2 percent in the last two quarters. But even a deceleration of that magnitude would still leave the U.S. economy looking a little less ugly than Europe's or Japan's.

arguments

Trump is all too familiar with beauty contests, of course. (He once co-owned Miss Universe.) And the president is now taking all the credit for guiding the United States to the world crown, saying his tax cut “unleashed an economic miracle.”

In fact, apart from the sugar high that his tax cut and deregulatory moves gave to an already surging economy, little that Trump has done has made much of a difference. (Indeed, his trade war is creating new headwinds.) Corporate profits are up, and even long-stagnant wages are starting to rise.

All this offers yet another lesson in how a society and its politics can sometimes seem diseased—in America’s case, viciously divided by hatred and violence, political paralysis, and a widely unpopular president—without affecting the rude health of the underlying economy. As Adam Smith once noted, “There is a great deal of ruin in a nation.” In other words, it takes a lot of screwing up by political leaders to disrupt an economy.

The reality is that Trump is perhaps one of the luckiest presidents in decades because he is reaping the unique benefits of a host of recovery policies put in place during the preceding eight years. Together, these policies have generated one of the longest periods of continuous economic growth in U.S. history, in which January would mark the 100th straight month of job creation. That is the longest stretch since records have been kept.

Harvard University’s Kenneth Rogoff, who co-wrote what is widely considered the definitive book on financial crisis recovery, *This Time Is Different*, said the very factors that made the 2008 crash so devastating and enduring in impact are now helping to extend the recovery.

“You’re going to see that the next 10 years will be better than the last 10 years.”

Part of the reason the boom has been so sustained is bound up with the 2008 crisis itself. Serious financial crises lead to a particular kind of recession (usually more severe, according to Rogoff and his co-author, Carmen Reinhart) and a particular kind of long-term recovery. In a normal recovery, when demand bounces back, people start to buy a lot of goods. But after a financial crash, people take a long time to deleverage and improve their personal, business, or local government balance sheets.

Thus, recoveries come slower and less robust at first, but there is a longer-term payoff in stable growth.

“Once people finally have their balance sheets in a good place and their confidence up, they start to spend and invest and hire more. I think that is what we have seen here,” said Gene Sperling, who led the National Economic Council under former President Barack Obama. “Every single positive thing Trump wants to brag about was just a continuation of a trend that had been in place for years under Obama.”

Many economists, such as Posen and Rogoff, foresee problems for the U.S. economy due to social and political upheaval tied to income inequality, which is barely being addressed. “We’ve made a lot of longer-run compromises,” Rogoff said. Apart from corporations, the tax cut benefited mainly the rich, for example, while tariffs and cutting back on immigration will hurt the economy in the long run. What the U.S. economy is doing under Trump is “closer to taking steroids than sugar,” Rogoff said. “You feel good for many years until eventually things catch up with you.”

Even so, there is a broad consensus that the real economic crises in the fore-

seeable future lie abroad. According to Adam Tooze, a professor at Columbia University, China and other emerging markets are the “central driver of global growth right now,” but there are serious questions about whether Beijing’s autocratic and increasingly inward-looking leader, Xi Jinping, and his bureaucracy can handle the growth slowdown or unwind the “extraordinary buildup of debt” in Chinese companies. Faced with a barrage of Trump tariffs, China’s estimated growth for 2019 has been reduced to 6.2 percent, according to the IMF. That’s good for most economies, but the authoritarian Chinese government has generally required faster growth to satisfy a restive population.

While India and countries in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations appear stable, Latin America is “struggling,” said Milesi-Ferretti, the IMF economist. Argentina is slowing, growth in Brazil and Mexico is subdued, and Venezuela is a catastrophe.

Meanwhile, the refusal of the Italian government to bow to budget-cutting demands from the European Commission has led to the latest existential crisis in the EU, where demands for austerity by Germany, the largest economy, have put it in a seemingly permanent state of conflict with other economies.

“In the current context,” added Posen, PIIE’s president, “where there is so much anti-Europe sentiment and economic nationalism—look at Hungary, Poland, and [Marine] Le Pen continuing to snipe at [President Emmanuel] Macron’s heels in France—you have to conclude: Yeah, maybe, once again, we’re still the least ugly.” ■

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GLOBAL THINKERS

FOREIGN POLICY'S 10TH ANNUAL LIST OF SOME OF THE WORLD'S MOST INFLUENTIAL MINDS

THE TOP 10 OF THE LAST 10 YEARS: THE STRONGMAN | ANGELA MERKEL | BARACK OBAMA | JACK MA

THE WOMEN OF THE #METOO MOVEMENT | CHRISTINE LAGARDE | MARGRETHE VESTAGER | FAREED ZAKARIA

BILL AND MELINDA GATES | JEFF BEZOS | **40 & UNDER:** JACINDA ARDERN | YUE XIN | KIM JONG UN | MOHAMMED BIN SALMAN

SEBASTIAN KURZ | LEO VARADKAR | ALEXANDRIA OCASIO-CORTEZ | RONAN FARROW | STEPHEN MILLER | TAMIM BIN HAMAD AL THANI

DEFENSE & SECURITY | QASSEM SULEIMANI | URSULA VON DER LEYEN | OLGA SÁNCHEZ CORDERO | ABIY AHMED

GWYNNE SHOTWELL | ALEX KARP | ELIOT HIGGINS | VLADISLAV SURKOV | SHEIKH HASINA | SUSI PUDJIASTUTI

ENERGY & CLIMATE: AMITAV GHOSH | JERRY BROWN | CHARIF SOUKI | KATHARINE HAYHOE | FRED KRUPP | MIKE ZIMMERMAN

FRANK BAINIMARAMA | LISA MURKOWSKI | PETE MCCABE | UMA VALETI AND NICHOLAS GENOVESE | **TECHNOLOGY:** YUVAL

NOAH HARARI | KAI-FU LEE | JANN HORN | SUSAN FOWLER | ALASTAIR MACTAGGART | LINA KHAN | MUKESH AMBANI

MACIEJ CEGLOWSKI | LU WEI | IAN GOODFELLOW | **ECONOMICS & BUSINESS:** GINA MILLER | MICHEL BARNIER | ADAM TOOZE

GITA GOPINATH | DONALD TUSK | ROBERT LIGHTHIZER | BABA RAMDEV | DOUGLAS IRWIN | YI GANG | CHRYSTIA FREELAND

SCIENCE & HEALTH: LEANA WEN | MICHELE DE LUCA | CARLO ROVELLI | JOHN CARREYROU | ROOPAM SHARMA

GREGORY ROCKSON | WAYNE KOFF | MARY-CLAIRE KING | ATUL GAWANDE | BRIAN GITTA | **ACTIVISM & THE ARTS:** BOBI WINE

DONALD GLOVER | LENA WAITHE | MENAKA GURUSWAMY | RUTH E. CARTER | SHAWN ZHANG | N.K. JEMISIN | WA LONE AND

KYAW SOE OO | COLIN KAEPERNICK | THE PARKLAND STUDENTS | **READERS' CHOICES:** AUDREY TANG | JOEY JOLEEN MATAELE

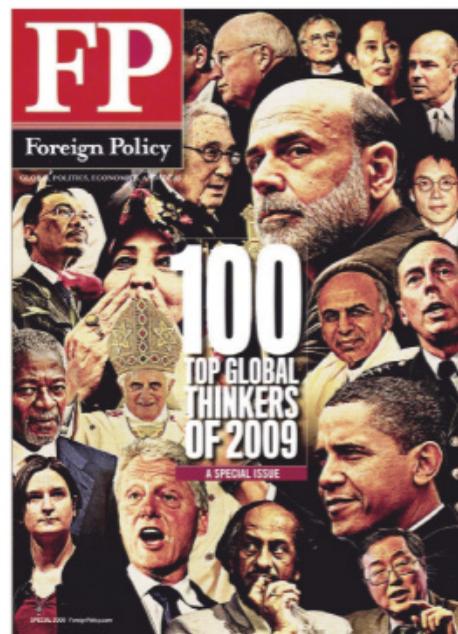
MOON JAE-IN | JANELLE MONÁE | MICHELLE BACHELET | PETER NAVARRO | JORDAN PETERSON | MICHELLE OBAMA

IMRAN KHAN | NABEEL RAJAB | **THE DEPARTED:** MARCELINE LORIDAN-IVENS | KOFI ANNAN | JAMAL KHASHOGGI | V.S. NAIPAUL

KOKO THE GORILLA | STEPHEN HAWKING | WINNIE MADIKIZELA-MANDELA | BERNARD LEWIS | ANTHONY BOURDAIN | JOHN MCCAIN

Bios written by Ravi Agrawal, Elias Groll, Elizabeth Miles, and Jefcoate O'Donnell.

EDITOR'S NOTE



WELCOME TO FOREIGN POLICY'S 10TH ANNUAL SPECIAL EDITION OF GLOBAL THINKERS. A decade ago, in launching the series, FP's then-editors wrote: "In a year of worldwide economic crisis and dangerous wars, of radical innovation and newfound realpolitik, street revolution and blunt rhetoric, we could think of no better way to make sense of it than through the big ideas of those who shape our understanding of the world."

That insight works just as well now as it did 10 years ago. (And the description of the world is also almost as apt today as it was in 2009.) So this year we decided that there was no better way to explicate our current, wildly complex moment—and peer into the year ahead—than to focus once more on the thinkers and doers who had a profound impact on the planet in the last 12 months. The idea is not to honor do-gooders (though we feature plenty of them) but to shine a spotlight on some of the most influential people in the world—for better or worse.

Since this is the 10th anniversary of Global Thinkers, we decided to split this year's list of 100 into 10 groups. To start things off, we singled out 10 nominees who—by our highly scientific calculations—have had the greatest impact on the past decade. After that are people 40 and under, followed by the most influential minds in the areas of defense and security, energy and climate, technology, economics and business, science and health, and activism and the arts. Since we're sure that you will disagree with some of our inclusions and omissions, we added a category of Global Thinkers chosen through an online readers' poll. And since so many amazing people died in 2018, we featured some of them as well, in a category we call The Departed.

Of course, part of the fun of assembling a list such as this is the opportunity to ask its members questions and to ask other prominent thinkers to write about our Global Thinkers. Robert Kagan (Page 20) kicks things off by explaining why 2018 was the year of the strongman—and 2019 may be too. Asked what we should anticipate this year, **Fareed Zakaria**, who was first named a Global Thinker in 2009, responds with an essay (Page 28)



GLOBAL THINKERS

THE TOP 10 OF THE LAST 10 YEARS



Springtime for Strongmen

The world's authoritarians are on the march—and the West helped pave the way.

By Robert Kagan

THE YEAR 2018 was springtime for strongmen everywhere. It was the year Xi Jinping put an end to collective leadership in China, made himself president for life, and put a final nail in the coffin of U.S. Sinologists' credibility as predictors of Chinese behavior. (They've been prophesying liberalization for decades.)

Elsewhere in Asia, North Korea's Kim Jong Un won the admiration of U.S. President Donald Trump because of the high quality of his dictatorial control. Poland's dubiously democratic government became a favorite of Trump's, as did Hungary's proudly illiberal prime minister, Viktor Orban. Orban even got a hero's welcome in Israel, where the prime



minister's son Yair Netanyahu called him the "best leader in Europe." In Nicaragua, Daniel Ortega solidified his position as the new Anastasio Somoza, whom he overthrew in the name of the people four decades ago.

In Venezuela, Nicolás Maduro managed to hang on, despite being the only dictator in the world the Trump administration seemed not to like. And in the Middle East, the year's best drama came when one autocrat, Turkey's Recep Tayyip Erdogan, exposed another, Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, for apparently ordering an assassination worthy of *Goodfellas*.

Mohammed bin Salman will probably be just fine—the easily distracted U.S. media is already forgetting about the grisly killing of Jamal Khashoggi and so will Congress, just as it overlooked for years Saudi brutality in Yemen. U.S. newspapers and television scarcely even cover the equally murderous Egyptian military dictator Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, who gets the red-carpet treatment whenever he visits the United States. The Trump administration, like the Obama administration before it, sees Middle Eastern dictators as essential bulwarks at a time when both administrations sought to reduce the United States' involvement in the Middle East as much as possible.

Autocracy flourished in 2018 because when Washington pursues a so-called realist policy of global retrenchment, it

GT The Strongman

looks for dictators it thinks it can rely on. This was Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger's strategy in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The famous Nixon doctrine, which aimed at reducing U.S. commitments overseas, put all of Washington's chips on the Shah of Iran and the Saudi monarchy. One produced the Iranian revolution that still bedevils the region today; the other produced rampant Wahhabism and 15 of the 19 hijackers who attacked the United States on 9/11.

Today, academics who urge retrenchment in U.S. foreign policy argue that Washington should accommodate "diversity" in the world—perhaps a nice mix of tyrants and would-be tyrants to go along with the dwindling

number of democracies. As Harvard University's Graham Allison puts it, America needs to adapt "to the reality that other countries have contrary views about governance and seek to establish their own international orders governed by their own rules." Don't worry. It has.

Autocracy is making a comeback because too many in the West act like late 19th-century racial imperialists; they think Arabs and others lacking so-called Judeo-Christian traditions can't handle democracy. For decades, of course, Americans did not believe Catholics were fit for democracy either, because they supposedly obeyed the authoritarian dictates of Rome; then it was Asians with their Asian values; now it is Muslims, who can't be allowed to choose their own leaders because Americans don't like their choices. So Washington prefers that they be ruled by strongmen. Order first, liberty later—as Samuel P. Huntington and Jeane Kirkpatrick argued back in the 1960s and 1970s.

Authoritarianism is also on the rise because dictatorships have money to throw around. And unlike democratic leaders, they don't have to tell anyone where the money is going. So even poor African nations, such as Zimbabwe and Egypt, can spend millions of dollars to hire top Washington lobbyists to make their cases and fend off pesky congressional pressures. The oil-rich Persian Gulf potentates, meanwhile, already practically own Washington, feting the powerful in their palaces and effortlessly landing top-level meetings. Rumors abound about what benefits senior Trump officials may have received from the Saudi crown prince. After all, the cash of Russian and Ukrainian oligarchs that flowed into the accounts of the now convicted Paul Manafort and his associates, as well as to top law firms lending a hand to the cause of Ukraine's corrupt former strongman, has now been mostly revealed. Imagine what has not been disclosed.

The Chinese dictatorship has had the best run of all. It barely had to spend a dime on lobbying; corporate America did the heavy lifting. Desperate to gain access to the Chinese market, U.S. corporations lobbied hard to grant China "most favored nation" status and entry into the World Trade Organization. They hired former cabinet officials; they endowed chairs at universities and think tanks across the United States; they convinced local chambers of commerce to approach members of Congress—all in the hope of convincing Washington and the public to view Beijing as a peaceful liberalizing partner. And they've succeeded so completely that it may soon be too late to do anything about the militarizing totalitarian power that emerged instead.

Finally, autocrats are on the march because even Americans are not so sure how they feel about democracy. U.S.

politics are polarized. Congress is stalemated. Bureaucrats are incompetent. While the rest of the world has been taking the United States to the cleaners, Americans are starting to notice: Look how efficient the Chinese are! Look what a strong leader Vladimir Putin is! Maybe what the world needs, maybe what America needs, is a strongman who can cut through all the nonsense and just get things done. This widespread sentiment was among the factors that led to the rise of Adolf Hitler in Germany, made Benito Mussolini popular in Italy and abroad, and is now being revived around the world as faith in democracy recedes.

Finally, autocracy has been succeeding because it is just as natural to humans as democracy. People may seek recognition, as Francis Fukuyama argues, but that is not the only thing they seek. They also yearn for the security that comes from family, tribe, and nation. At times, they don't want the freedom to make choices but prefer giving authority to a strong leader who promises to look out for them. That's why it's always potentially springtime for dictators.

Indeed, whether autocracy continues to be a growth industry in 2019—and there are worrying signs even in once lionized democracies such as India and Brazil—depends on whether those who believe in liberalism and democracy decide to make a stand.

After the end of the Cold War, Americans and Europeans thought they could sit back and enjoy an open road toward a post-historical world. It turns out that we have to keep fighting constantly if democracy is to survive. The jungle grows back. ■

ROBERT KAGAN is the author, most recently, of *The Jungle Grows Back: America and Our Imperiled World*.

GT: THE TOP 10 OF THE LAST 10 YEARS


GT Angela Merkel

CHANCELLOR OF GERMANY

During her 13 years in office, Angela Merkel has held together the European project through canny pragmatism and force of will. Where other politicians might have buckled, she navigated the hazardous eurozone crisis and stood up for the rights of refugees. Along the way, Merkel also crafted a new strategic role for Germany as the political and moral leader of a fractured West. Now, in the autumn of her political career, the chancellor finds herself buffeted by rising nationalism—raising the question of whether her legacy will be celebrated or discarded.


GT Barack Obama

FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Barack Obama's eight years in the White House showed what an intellectual can and cannot achieve in the world's most powerful office. His much-maligned but deeply deliberative approach to decision-making helped steer the global economy through its worst crisis since the Great Depression. His renewed emphasis on diplomacy secured a nuclear agreement with Iran, a global compact on climate change, and a fresh arms reduction treaty with Russia. To be sure, Obama's presidency had many flaws—most notably its failure to adequately address the Syrian civil war. But the importance of Obama's accomplishments, and of the eloquence and dignity with which he went about his day-to-day work, grows more evident every time his successor holds a press conference or types a tweet.


GT Jack Ma

CO-FOUNDER AND EXECUTIVE CHAIRMAN, ALIBABA

Few people can claim to have transformed an entire society. Jack Ma can make a credible case. Alibaba, the e-commerce company he founded in 1999, has enabled businesses to reach once inaccessible consumers, bringing a generation of Chinese citizens into contact with domestic and international markets and helping to fuel China's breakneck growth. Through its innovations in supply chain logistics and its leading role in Chinese research on artificial intelligence, Ma's Alibaba symbolizes how a company can give an entire generation access to online business opportunities—and help turn a once poor country into a superpower.

#MeToo Goes Global

THE ME TOO MOVEMENT started more than a decade ago, when the activist Tarana Burke began using the term in her work with vulnerable girls and women who had experienced sexual assault. The hashtag #MeToo went viral in 2017 thanks to a tweet from the actress Alyssa Milano, who was responding to exposés by the *New York Times* writers Megan Twohey and Jodi Kantor and the *New Yorker* writer Ronan Farrow about the Hollywood mogul Harvey Weinstein's alleged history of rape, sexual assault, and harassment. In the 15 months that followed, the campaign spread and broadened, taking on systemic predation against women, often by wealthy and powerful men. #MeToo has also jumped to countries across Asia, Europe, and Latin America, as more and more women (and some men) have described their ordeals with male leaders in the worlds of media, business, academia, film, and politics. Discomfort and anger sometimes turned into direct action: The Nobel Prize for literature was canceled in 2018 after the husband of a member of the Swedish Academy was accused of sexual assault. (He was later convicted of rape.) Here is a sampling of countries where #MeToo took off in 2018 and the countries to watch in 2019.—*Sarah Wildman*

GT The Women of the #MeToo Movement

CHINA

For years, Chinese authorities have tried to quash the country's nascent feminist movement, but that didn't stop #MeToo from growing bolder and louder in China in 2018, when it appeared at universities and factories, in newsrooms and on film sets, and within the NGO community and activist groups. Using the online messaging platforms WeChat and Weibo, tens of millions of women began to spread word of experiences of harassment. Stories appeared and were disseminated faster than the censors could keep up. Men in industries across the country were accused of sexual harassment and assault—by women so emboldened that they even dared to use their real names when they stepped forward.

INDIA

In 2018, the actress Tanushree Dutta revealed that she was aggressively harassed on the set of a Bollywood film in 2008 and, as a result, left the film industry. The revelation triggered India's own #MeToo movement: Women have come forward to describe their harassment at the hands of men in other fields, including journalism. In October, the allegations reached Narendra Modi's government, when more than a dozen women accused M.J. Akbar, a former journalist and then the Indian minister of state for external affairs, of sexual assault and harassment. (One woman also accused him of rape.) Akbar denied all allegations and filed a defamation suit against one of his accusers.

JAPAN

A handful of Japanese women in industries including journalism and fashion came forward to describe sexual harassment and assault in 2018. In April, Junichi Fukuda, a vice finance minister, resigned after he was accused of making lewd comments to a female reporter. (He denied the accusations.) Though Finance Minister Taro Aso initially appeared dismissive of the incident, #MeToo slowly took hold: Female Japanese workers began to report widespread harassment. Influential groups, including legal scholars and the Japan Federation of Newspaper Workers' Unions, have become increasingly supportive of women's rights and angry over what they see as a lack of real legal protection for victims.

FRANCE

A new generation of French feminists embraced #MeToo in 2017 when the journalist Sandra Muller outed her harasser and called on others to do the same under the hashtag #BalanceTonPorc ("Expose Your Pig"). In August 2018, legislators passed a law levying fines for catcalling and street harassment—including rude language and gestures—sponsored by Marlène Schiappa, the minister of state for gender equality. But in October, the French radio station RTL published a poll showing that 53 percent of the French public felt #MeToo had accomplished nothing.



Is the World Prepared for the Next Financial Crisis?

New regulations and reforms have helped, but major threats still loom.

By Christine Lagarde

THE WORLD IN 2019 is still reckoning with the legacy of the global financial crisis, which is hardly surprising given its scale and lasting impact. Ten years on from the Lehman Brothers collapse, one question about the financial system keeps coming up: Are we safer than we were in 2008? The short answer is yes—but not safe enough. While there has

been marked progress, more needs to be done, including keeping pace with potential new risks from a rapidly evolving financial landscape.

First, the progress. Banks have bigger and better capital buffers and more liquidity. Countries have taken steps to address systemic risks posed by institutions seen as too big to fail. Regulation and supervision have been strengthened; many countries have stepped up their focus on monitoring financial stability, and many now also conduct regular stress tests to check banks' health. A substantial portion of trading in over-the-counter derivatives has shifted to safer central clearing systems.

For its part, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has improved its ability

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to analyze and monitor sources of systemic risk. It has partnered with national authorities to help them identify potential trouble spots, such as excessive consumer or corporate debt; develop tools to curb risks; and strengthen analysis of their financial systems.

What about areas where progress has been inadequate or where new risks have emerged?

Let's start with debt. Globally, nonfinancial debt ballooned to a record \$182 trillion in 2017—224 percent of global GDP, an increase of almost 60 percent over 2007. In the United States, investor demand for debt issued by highly leveraged companies has led to worryingly loose underwriting standards, increasing the risk of default by weaker borrowers. In emerging markets, public debt is at levels last seen during the 1980s debt crisis. And if recent trends continue, many low-income countries will face unsustainable debt burdens.

Nonbank finance, also known as shadow banking because it takes place beyond the perimeter of traditional bank regulation, is another source of risk. Regulators must develop and deploy new tools to address it, particularly in those emerging markets where it has expanded rapidly.

At the same time, new challenges have emerged, including the danger of cyberattacks on banks and stock exchanges. Financial innovation and technology hold out the promise of better, cheaper, and more accessible services but also pose risks for consumers, investors, and the economy's overall financial stability—risks that are not always easy to understand or anticipate.

And for all the progress to strengthen the financial sector, the revamped architecture remains untested. If financial conditions were to tighten sharply—for example, via unexpectedly higher interest rates or a sharp drop in asset prices—this could expose areas of vulnerability that have built up during a decade of record-low interest rates. In the last year, we have already seen some investors pull money out of emerging markets in response to a stronger dollar, rising U.S. interest rates, and trade tensions. IMF calculations show that with an abrupt tightening, there is a chance—albeit a small one—that capital outflows from these economies (excluding China) could reach \$100 billion. That would broadly match outflows during the financial crisis.

Looking at the economic context, there are several sources of risk that could shake investor sentiment. Global growth, while still strong, is leveling off. Support is waning for the open, rules-based international system that has fueled global prosperity, and trade tensions could escalate. Uncertainty about fiscal policy in Europe is reviving worries about the self-reinforcing nexus of government and bank debt that

shook the eurozone in the first years of this decade. Finally, central banks must navigate the end of an unprecedented monetary experiment. In the United States, the Federal Reserve may need to raise interest rates higher than currently anticipated if tax cuts combined with fiscal stimulus fuel faster-than-expected inflation.

So how should policymakers respond? First, they must complete financial regulatory reforms and, just as important, resist pressure to roll them back. Bank capital should be raised even further in places where buffers remain low. “Too big to fail” remains a problem as banks grow larger and more complex. More progress is needed on procedures for resolving, or winding down, failing banks, especially those that are active across borders. Regulators should encourage banks with weak business models and high levels of nonperforming loans to clean up their balance sheets.

Second, policymakers should rebuild their fiscal and monetary arsenals, which were weakened as they contended with the 2008 crisis and its aftermath. Doing so will require reducing budget deficits and gradually bringing interest rates back to normal levels as economic conditions permit. Governments should also work together to reduce excessive global imbalances in a way that supports sustainable growth. Flexible exchange rates can help absorb shocks. Steps to boost lagging productivity would counter demographic headwinds and raise growth, which in turn would support efforts to bolster fiscal and monetary room for maneuver.

Finally, as we consider the lessons of the crisis and the path forward, we must also recognize and confront more profound, longer-term risks to financial—and social—stability. Climate change is one that threatens all



GT Margrethe Vestager

EUROPEAN COMMISSIONER
FOR COMPETITION

By levying massive fines against Google, Apple, Facebook, and the like, Margrethe Vestager has positioned herself as the world's leading antitrust regulator. Her work at the European Commission has never been more important. With U.S. officials reluctant to punish American tech giants for their abuse of customer data, monopolistic tactics, and shady tax dealings, Vestager has taken a lonely stand for digital transparency and consumer rights—helping to launch a movement for reform that is now taking off in Europe.

of us, low-income countries in particular. Advanced economies must ensure that prosperity is more widely shared, by dealing with rising inequality and stagnant wage growth. All countries need to educate and train workers for automation and the fast-changing workplace of the future.

Many of the measures that might make the world safer than it was before the last crisis depend on international cooperation—on matters of trade and finance but also on a number of global public-good problems, including the environment and refugees. The stakes are just as high as they were in 2008. ■

GT Christine Lagarde

MANAGING DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

Since taking over the International Monetary Fund's top job in 2011, Christine Lagarde has spent her time in office dispensing tough love. The strict conditions she attached to bailouts for countries such as Greece and Ukraine haven't won her many friends but have helped calm international markets during a turbulent decade. In an era when skepticism toward international institutions is growing, Lagarde has time and again proved the importance of the fund's role as a lender of last resort, even while trying to retool it as a champion of progressive policies on climate change and inequality. Her aim: to prevent crises before they happen.

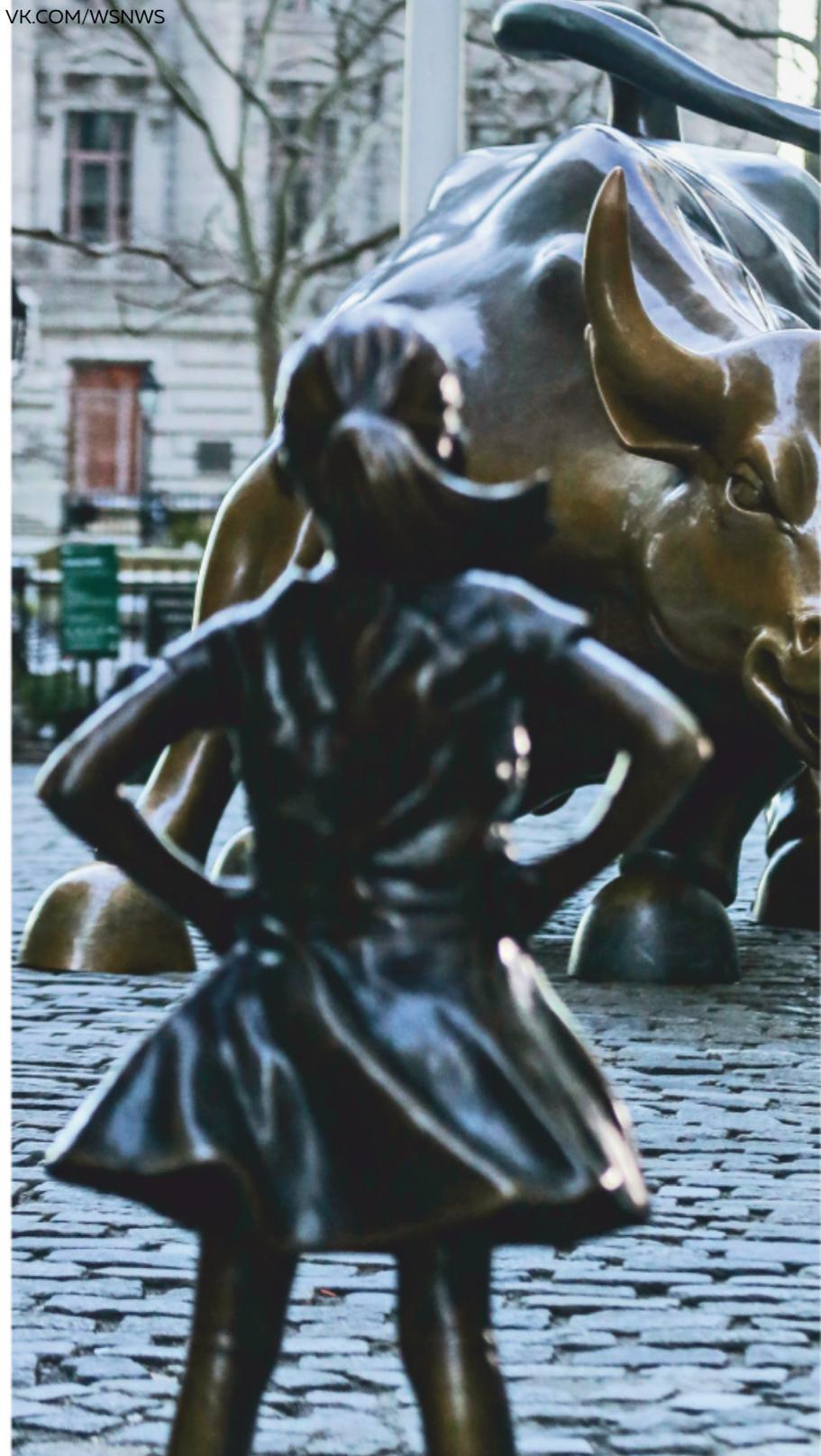
The End of Economics?

Human beings are rarely rational—so it's time we all stopped pretending they are.

By Fareed Zakaria

IN 1998, as the Asian financial crisis was ravaging what had been some of the fastest-growing economies in the world, the *New Yorker* ran an article describing the international rescue efforts. It profiled the super-diplomat of the day, a big-idea man the *Economist* had recently likened to Henry Kissinger. The *New Yorker* went further, noting that when he arrived in Japan in June, this American official was treated “as if he were General [Douglas] MacArthur.” In retrospect, such reverence seems surprising, given that the man in question, Larry Summers, was a disheveled, somewhat awkward nerd then serving as the U.S. deputy treasury secretary. His extraordinary status owed, in part, to the fact that the United States was then (and still is) the world’s sole superpower and the fact that Summers was (and still is) extremely intelligent. But the biggest reason for Summers’s welcome was the widespread perception that he possessed a special knowledge that would save Asia from collapse. Summers was an economist.

During the Cold War, the tensions that defined the world were ideological and geopolitical. As a result, the superstar experts of that era were those with special expertise in those areas. And policymakers who could combine an understanding of both, such as Kissinger, George Kennan, and Zbigniew Brzezinski, ascended to the top of the heap, winning the admiration of both politicians and the public. Once the Cold War ended, however, geopolitical and ideological issues faded in significance, overshadowed by the rapidly expanding global market as formerly socialist countries joined the Western free trade system. All of a sudden, the most valuable intellectual training and practical experience



became economics, which was seen as the secret sauce that could make and unmake nations. In 1999, after the Asian crisis abated, *Time* magazine ran a cover story with a photograph of Summers, U.S. Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, and U.S. Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan and the headline “The Committee to Save the World.”

In the three decades since the end of the Cold War, economics has enjoyed a kind of intellectual hegemony. It has become first among equals in the social sciences and has dominated most

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policy agendas as well. Economists have been much sought after by businesses, governments, and society at large, their insights seen as useful in every sphere of life. Popularized economics and economic-type thinking have produced an entire genre of best-selling books. At the root of all this influence is the notion that economics provides the most powerful lens through which to understand the modern world.

That hegemony is now over. Things started to change during the 2008 global financial crisis, which had a far greater impact on the discipline of economics than is commonly understood. As Paul Krugman noted in a September 2009 essay in the *New York Times Magazine*, “Few economists saw our current crisis coming, but this predictive failure was the least of the field’s problems. More important was the profession’s blindness to the very possibility of catastrophic failures in a market economy.” The left-wing Krugman was not the only one to make this observation. In October 2008, Greenspan, a lifelong libertarian, admitted that “the whole intellectual edifice ... collapsed in the summer of last year.”

For Krugman, the reason was clear: Economists had mistaken “beauty, clad in impressive-looking mathematics, for truth.” In other words, they’d fallen in love with the supposed rigor that derives from the assumption that markets function perfectly. But the world had turned out to be more complex and unpredictable than the equations.

The crisis of 2008 may have been the wake-up call, but it was only the latest warning sign. Modern-day economics had been built on certain assumptions: that countries, companies, and people seek to maximize their income above all else, that human beings are rational actors, and that the system works efficiently. But over the last few decades,

compelling new work by scholars such as Daniel Kahneman, Richard Thaler, and Robert Shiller has begun to show that human beings are not predictably rational; in fact, they’re predictably irrational. This “behavioral revolution” landed a debilitating blow to mainstream economics by arguing that what was perhaps the centerpiece assumption of modern economic theory was not only wrong but, even worse, unhelpful.

In the social sciences, it is generally understood that theoretical assumptions never mirror reality—they’re abstractions designed to simplify—but do provide a powerful way to understand and predict. What the behavioral economists showed is that the assumption of rationality actually produces misunderstandings and bad predictions. It is worth noting that one of the very few economists who predicted both the dot-com bubble that caused the crash of 2000 and the housing bubble that caused the crash of 2008 was Shiller, who won the Nobel Prize in 2013 for his work in behavioral economics.

Recent events have hammered still more nails into the coffin of traditional economics. If the great divide of 20th-century politics was over free markets, the key splits that have emerged in the past few years involve immigration, race, religion, gender, and a whole set of related cultural and identity issues. Where in the past one could predict a voter’s choice based on his or her economic standing, today voters are driven more by concerns about social status or cultural coherence than by economic self-interest.

If economics has failed to accurately capture the motives of the modern individual, what about modern countries? These days, the quest to maximize profit does not seem like a helpful way to understand why states act the way they do. Many European countries, for example, have higher labor productivity than the United States. Yet citizens there choose to work fewer hours and take longer vacations, decreasing their output—because, they might argue, they prioritize contentment or happiness over economic output. Bhutan has explicitly decided to pursue “gross national happiness” rather than gross domestic product. Many countries have replaced purely GDP-oriented goals with strategies that also stress environmental sustainability. China still puts economic growth at the center of its planning, but even it has other, equal priorities, such as preserving the Communist Party’s monopoly on power—and it uses non-free market mechanisms to do so. Meanwhile, populists everywhere now place greater value on preserving jobs than on increasing efficiency.

Let me be clear: Economics remains a vital discipline, one of the most powerful ways we have to understand the world.

But in the heady days of post-Cold War globalization, when the world seemed to be dominated by markets and trade and wealth creation, it became the dominant discipline, the key to understanding modern life. That economics has since slipped from that pedestal is simply a testament to the fact that the world is messy. The social sciences differ from the hard sciences because “the subjects of our study think,” said Herbert Simon, one of the few scholars who excelled in both. As we try to understand the world of the next three decades, we will desperately need economics but also political science, sociology, psychology, and perhaps even literature and philosophy. Students of each should retain some element of humility. As Immanuel Kant said, “Out of the crooked timber of humanity, no straight thing was ever made.” ■

GT **Fareed Zakaria**

AUTHOR AND TV HOST

One of the most influential foreign-policy analysts for almost two decades, Fareed Zakaria has proved prescient on subjects including the decline of U.S. power, the rise of the rest, and the spread of illiberal democracy. As the U.S. media continues to grow more insular, his CNN show, *Fareed Zakaria GPS*, now in its 11th year, remains a rare haven of smart takes on world affairs. The Indian-born Zakaria's success offers hope that readers and viewers still want intelligent coverage of global events—even if fewer and fewer outlets are willing to provide it.



GT **Bill and Melinda Gates**

CO-CHAIRS, BILL & MELINDA GATES FOUNDATION

The scale of Bill and Melinda Gates's philanthropy is simply astounding. Since its creation in 2000, the couple's eponymous foundation has paid out some \$46 billion to its grantees and inspired legions of other ultra-rich citizens to donate their wealth to charitable causes. Though criticized for its lack of transparency and outsize influence over global health spending, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation has stepped in to provide funding for public health initiatives around the world at a time when the gap between rich and poor is growing ever larger and governments' foreign aid budgets are shrinking.

GT **Jeff Bezos**

FOUNDER AND CEO, AMAZON

What started out as an online bookstore in 1994 now touches just about every aspect of commerce, revolutionizing how people around the world browse and shop for all kinds of products. Today, Amazon is one of the world's five biggest companies in terms of market capitalization, and its stock valuation has turned Jeff Bezos into the richest man in modern history. Bezos plans to use the money to expand Amazon's reach, develop more innovations like the voice-activated virtual assistant Alexa, and conduct research into artificial intelligence and cloud computing. He has also made forays into space travel and mass media: Since buying the *Washington Post* in 2013, Bezos has pumped big money into the paper, helping to turn it into a key chronicler of the Trump administration.



40 & UNDER

DAVID WHITE/FAIRFAX MEDIA

The Kindness Quotient Jacinda Ardern is the world's anti-Trump. *By Helen Clark*

JACINDA ARDERN'S SUDDEN, SPECTACULAR RISE to the position of New Zealand's prime minister in 2017 propelled her into headlines around the world. Deservedly so.

In an era defined by the emergence of populist leaders who are often authoritarian, reactionary, and male, Ardern stands out as progressive, collaborative, and female. Her speech at the United Nations General Assembly in September 2018 fueled her growing reputation as the "anti-Trump." She called for, among other things, kindness and collectivism as an alternative to isolationism, protectionism, and racism.

In New Zealand, Ardern's commitment to fighting child poverty and homelessness has come as a relief after years of relentless increases in both. Whereas the world's right-wing populists stigmatize and stereotype marginalized people, Ardern has established kindness as a key principle for government policy and has worked to promote inclusion and

social cohesion. A family tax package that took effect last July is forecast to reduce the number of children living in poverty by 41 percent by 2021, and a new Child Poverty Reduction Bill, which further targets and measures child poverty reduction, is currently before the New Zealand Parliament. She has extended her values-based approach to foreign policy as well—most dramatically by offering New Zealand as a home for 150 of the refugees currently stranded in camps run by Australia in Papua New Guinea and Nauru.

Ardern has also identified climate change as the defining issue for her generation. On April 12, a little more than five months into her term, her government declared an end to new permits for oil and gas exploration in New Zealand's

waters, making it clear that the country was prepared to lead the way in this critical struggle.

Ardern is the third female prime minister of New Zealand. It was the first country

where women won the right to vote in national elections—in 1893, nearly 27 years before the United States would offer the same. Women have long held top roles across New Zealand society. But Ardern has broken new ground: She is young, and she has chosen to become a mother while in office. That choice sent powerful signals to young women in New Zealand and beyond that combining career and family is a legitimate aspiration and that they do not have to choose between those paths.

I expect Ardern will continue to innovate on policy and to clearly communicate what she stands for and what her government is doing and why. She will continue to stand out globally both because she is young, progressive, and female and because she won't back down from tough issues. New Zealanders can take pride in her global profile and in her ability to draw positive attention to their country. Her boundless energy and optimism will serve her well as she leads New Zealand in today's volatile world. ■

HELEN CLARK (@HelenClarkNZ) served as the prime minister of New Zealand from 1999 to 2008.



GT Yue Xin

ACTIVIST

As China's most prominent #MeToo activist, Yue Xin, a college student, has paid a high price for demanding that the government live up to its stated values. After crusading for transparency over a sexual assault case at Peking University that culminated in the victim's suicide, Yue faced online censorship. She then turned to labor activism, joining workers in Shenzhen campaigning for the right to form a trade union. In August 2018, authorities detained her, and she has not been heard from since.

GT Kim Jong Un

LEADER OF NORTH KOREA

In 2018, Kim Jong Un, who is believed to be 35, managed to dramatically improve the long-term security of his regime. His determined pursuit of nuclear weapons and intercontinental ballistic missiles—in the face of sanctions and diplomatic isolation—won him a long-cherished prize: a personal meeting with a U.S. president. The June summit with Donald Trump in Singapore raised the promise of North Korea's economic development and cost Kim little in return: No serious expert believes that Kim will ever give up his nuclear weapons, no matter what he promises.





GT **Mohammed bin Salman**

CROWN PRINCE OF SAUDI ARABIA

Mohammed bin Salman's shine may have dulled in 2018—but his power has only grown. When the 33-year-old Saudi crown prince's lieutenants allegedly killed the journalist Jamal Khashoggi in October, they confirmed the brutal recklessness with which the prince approaches problems. The U.S. Congress responded by increasing its scrutiny of the Saudi-led war in Yemen, and several influential public figures pulled out of the prince's "Davos in the Desert" investment conference that same month. But while his reputation has suffered, the events have done little to diminish Mohammed bin Salman's importance—not least because the prince continues to boldly stake his country's future on ending its dependence on oil. The outcome of that initiative will shape the Middle East for generations.

SASHA MORDOVETS/GETTY IMAGES

GT **Sebastian Kurz**

CHANCELLOR OF AUSTRIA

Anyone interested in the future of European politics must now contend with Sebastian Kurz. The 32-year-old Austrian, who was elected chancellor in 2017, reworked the traditionally center-right Austrian People's Party by combining an emphasis on tough border policy and national identity with business-friendly economics. This shift allowed Kurz to create an alliance with the once shunned far-right, anti-immigrant Freedom Party of Austria, which shattered political convention and produced something rare in Europe today: a stable government.

GT **Leo Varadkar**

PRIME MINISTER OF IRELAND

The gay son of an Indian immigrant, Leo Varadkar, 40, symbolizes the social changes sweeping modern Ireland. In 2017, two years after coming out, he was elected taoiseach—Ireland's prime minister—and successfully campaigned in favor of liberalizing abortion rules in the historically conservative Catholic country. He also faced down the U.K. government in Brexit negotiations, driving a hard line to maintain a soft border with Northern Ireland.



GT: 40 & UNDER

Power to the People

A SLATE OF YOUNG POLITICIANS, many of them women and people of color, won seats in the U.S. House of Representatives in the 2018 midterm elections. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez was part of that trend. The 29-year-old Latina and self-declared democratic socialist channeled popular rage triggered by Donald Trump's presidency to defeat a white male member of the Democratic Party machine. Ocasio-Cortez—now the youngest woman to ever serve in Congress—stands at the forefront of a newly resurgent progressive movement, whose candidates are winning elections on pledges of universal health care, a federal jobs guarantee, and criminal justice reform. The wave she represents is not limited to the United States. Across the globe, new political players, often from outside the mainstream, are displacing the usual suspects. Here are a few of the politicians to keep an eye on—in the United States and around the world.

—Benjamin Soloway

GT Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez

U.S. REPRESENTATIVE
FROM NEW YORK



NAYIB BUKELE

EL SALVADOR

The front-runner in El Salvador's February presidential election, Nayib Bukele, 37, is the country's youngest contender for its highest office. Bukele started his run in October 2018, when he announced his candidacy on Facebook Live from his living room couch. If elected, he could upend the major-party system that has dominated El Salvador for decades. A former mayor of San Salvador, Bukele was a member of the left-wing Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) until he was expelled from the party in 2017 in part for criticizing it on social media. After courts failed to approve his attempt to create a new party, he joined the small center-right Grand Alliance for National Unity, which is now positioned to challenge both the FMLN and the right-wing Nationalist Republican Alliance.

BOGOLO KENEWENDO

BOTSWANA

At 31, Bogolo Kenewendo is Botswana's youngest member of Parliament and a cabinet minister. She oversees the trade portfolio and works on economic policy and poverty alleviation. Before taking office, Kenewendo co-founded Molaya Kgosi, a mentorship program for young women. She has served as a role model for a rising generation of aspiring female politicians and technocrats across the continent.

GRACE NATALIE

INDONESIA

Grace Natalie, a 36-year-old former television journalist, co-founded the Indonesian Solidarity Party in 2014 to give young people a political voice and an alternative to establishment and Islam-oriented parties in the

world's third-largest democracy. Her party plans to support the incumbent Joko Widodo, a moderate, in the 2019 presidential election, with a message centered on transparency, human rights, and religious and cultural pluralism. At a time when youth participation is low, roughly two-thirds of the party's members are under 35.

ILHAN OMAR

UNITED STATES

A newly elected Minnesota congresswoman, Ilhan Omar, 36, can claim a series of firsts. She and Rashida Tlaib are the first Muslim women to serve in Congress. Omar is also the first to wear a headscarf and the first former refugee to serve. (She immigrated to the United States from Somalia via Kenya at age 12.) With the help of the Democratic leadership, she is already pushing to overturn an 1837 ban on wearing headwear on the



House floor. Omar, who campaigned on progressive issues such as a \$15 minimum wage, has said Trump's "rhetoric of fear" motivated her to run.

RASHIDA TLAIB

UNITED STATES

Before being elected to the House in November, Rashida Tlaib, 42, had never held national office. (She previously spent six years representing a southwestern Detroit constituency in the Michigan state legislature.) But she's no stranger to the limelight: In 2016, she made headlines when she was thrown out of an event held at the Detroit Economic Club for heckling then-presidential candidate Donald Trump. As a Muslim, an avowed democratic socialist, and the first Palestinian-American elected to Congress, Tlaib enters the House determined to stand up to the administration.

PATRICK SEMANSKY/AP

GT Ronan Farrow

JOURNALIST AND AUTHOR

Perhaps the foremost investigative journalist of his generation, Ronan Farrow, 31, proved his range as a reporter in 2018. Not only did he continue to expose allegations of sexual misconduct against powerful men—including CBS chief executive Les Moonves—but he also published the best-selling book *War on Peace: The End of Diplomacy and the Decline of American Influence*, which pays homage to U.S. diplomacy and its losing battle with militarism.



GT Stephen Miller

SENIOR ADVISOR TO U.S. PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP

Stephen Miller has accrued power by feeding his patron's appetite for provocation. Miller, 33, is the engineer of the Trump administration's hard-line immigration policies and behind the nationalist rhetoric that defined its first two years in office. Miller has also proved to be a wily survivor, holding down his job in a White House that has seen unprecedented turnover. His status as a rare constant at the president's side has only increased Miller's influence.

GT Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani

EMIR OF QATAR

2018 started badly but ended well for Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani. More than a year into a punishing blockade against Qatar by a coalition of Persian Gulf states, the 38-year-old emir has outplayed Saudi Arabia, his regional rival. By cozying up to the Trump administration, continuing to spend lavishly on investments, and masterminding a global public relations offensive, the ruler of Qatar has emerged as a cunning force to be reckoned with in the Middle East.



DEFENSE & SECURITY



Iran's Deadly Puppet Master Gen. Stanley McChrystal explains exactly why Qassem Suleimani is so dangerous.

THE DECISION NOT TO ACT is often the hardest one to make—and it isn't always right. In 2007, I watched a string of vehicles pass from Iran into northern Iraq. I had been serving as the head of the U.S. military's Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC) for four years, working to stem the terrorism that had devastated the region, and I had become accustomed to making tough choices. But on that January night, the choice was particularly tricky: whether or not to attack a convoy that included Qassem Suleimani, the head of Iran's elite Quds Force—an organization roughly analogous to a combination of the CIA and JSOC in the United States.

There was good reason to eliminate Suleimani. At the time, Iranian-made roadside bombs built and deployed at his command were claiming the lives of U.S. troops across Iraq. But to avoid a firefight, and the contentious politics that would follow, I decided that we should monitor the caravan, not strike immediately. By the time the convoy had reached Erbil, Suleimani had slipped away into the darkness.

These days, he still operates outside the spotlight. Suleimani has grown from a military commander into a ghostly puppet master, relying on quiet cleverness and grit to bolster Iran's international influence. His brilliance, effectiveness, and commitment to his country have been revered by his allies and denounced by his critics in equal measure. What all seem to agree on, however, is that the humble leader's steady hand has helped guide Iranian foreign policy for decades—and there is no denying his successes on the battlefield. Suleimani is arguably the most powerful and unconstrained actor in the Middle East today. U.S. defense officials have reported that Suleimani is running the Syrian civil war (via Iran's local proxies) all on his own.

The prominence the soft-spoken Suleimani has achieved is especially striking given his origins. Born into poverty in

GT **Qassem Suleimani**

COMMANDER OF
IRAN'S QUDS FORCE

the mountains of eastern Iran, he displayed remarkable tenacity at an early age. When his father was unable to pay a debt, the 13-year-old Suleimani worked to pay it off himself. He spent his free time lifting weights and attending sermons given by a protégé of Iran's current supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. He was enamored with the Iranian revolution as a young man. In 1979, at only 22, Suleimani began his ascent through the Iranian military, reportedly receiving just six weeks of tactical training before seeing combat for the first time in Iran's West Azerbaijan province. But he is truly a child of the Iran-Iraq War, which began the next year. He emerged from the bloody conflict a hero for the missions he led across Iraq's border—but more important, he emerged as a confident, proven leader.

Suleimani is no longer simply a soldier; he is a calculating and practical strategist. Most ruthlessly and at the cost of all else, he has forged lasting



GT: DEFENSE & SECURITY

relationships to bolster Iran's position in the region. No other individual has had comparable success in aligning and empowering Shiite allies in the Levant. His staunch defense of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad has effectively halted any progress by the Islamic State and other rebel groups, all but ensuring that Assad remains in power and stays solidly allied to Iran. Perhaps most notably, under Suleimani's leadership, the Quds Force has vastly expanded its capabilities. His shrewd pragmatism has transformed the unit into a major influencer in intelligence, financial, and political spheres beyond Iran's borders.

It would be unwise, however, to study Suleimani's success without situating him in a broader geopolitical context. He is a uniquely Iranian leader, a clear product of the country's outlook following the 1979 revolution. His expansive assessment of Iranian interests and rights matches those common among Iranian elites. Iran's resistance toward the United States' involvement in the Middle East is a direct result of U.S. involvement in the Iran-Iraq War, during which Suleimani's worldview developed. Above all else, Suleimani is driven by the fervent nationalism that is the lifeblood of Iran's citizens and leadership.

Suleimani's accomplishments are, in large part, due to his country's long-term approach toward foreign policy. While the United States tends to be spasmodic in its responses to international affairs, Iran is stunningly consistent in its objectives and actions. The Quds Force commander's extended tenure in his role—he assumed control of the unit in 1998—is another important factor. A byproduct of Iran's complicated political environment, Suleimani enjoys freedom of action over an extended time horizon

that is the envy of many U.S. military and intelligence professionals. Because a leader's power ultimately lies in the eyes of others and is increased by the perceived likelihood of future power, Suleimani has been able to act with greater credibility than if he were viewed as a temporary player.

In that sense, then, Suleimani's success is driven by both his talent and the continuity of his time in positions of power. Such a leader simply could not exist in the United States today. Americans do not allow commanders, military or otherwise, to remain in the highest-level positions for decades. There are reasons for this—both political and experiential. Not since J. Edgar Hoover has the federal government allowed a longtime public servant to amass such levels of shadowy influence.

Despite my initial jealousy of Suleimani's freedom to get things done quickly, I believe such restraint is a strength of the U.S. political system. A zealous and action-oriented mindset, if unchecked, can be used as a force for good—but if harnessed to the wrong interests or values, the consequences can be dire. Suleimani is singularly dangerous. He is also singularly positioned to shape the future of the Middle East. ■

STANLEY MCCHRISTAL (@StanMcChrystal) is a retired U.S. Army general.

GT Ursula von der Leyen

DEFENSE MINISTER OF GERMANY

Since her appointment in 2013, Ursula von der Leyen has transformed the German Defense Ministry, traditionally one of Berlin's political backwaters, into a platform for the country's international ambitions. In 2018, von der Leyen advocated for Germany to increase its defense spending and worked to rally domestic support for replacing the country's atrophied military hardware—a difficult mission given the lingering pacifism nurtured by Germany in the postwar period.





GT **Olga Sánchez Cordero**

INTERIOR SECRETARY OF MEXICO

Olga Sánchez Cordero is one of the most influential voices in President Andrés Manuel López Obrador's cabinet and has promised to find new ways to reduce the high death toll of Mexico's drug war. She is on the front lines of the new government's plans to decriminalize drugs, sideline the military from day-to-day law enforcement, and offer amnesty to nonviolent offenders. A former supreme court justice who has supported limits on presidential power, Sánchez Cordero is the first woman to serve as her country's interior secretary.

RONALDO SCHEMIDT/AFP/GETTY IMAGES



GT **Abiy Ahmed**

PRIME MINISTER OF ETHIOPIA

In less than a year in office, Abiy Ahmed has already made history in Ethiopia by forging peace with its neighbor Eritrea. The move reunited families and reopened long-dormant trade networks. Now Abiy is focused on healing Ethiopia's own divisions, and his status as the country's first leader from the restive Oromia region has given many of his constituents hope that he'll succeed.

GT **Gwynne Shotwell**

PRESIDENT AND CHIEF OPERATING OFFICER, SPACEX

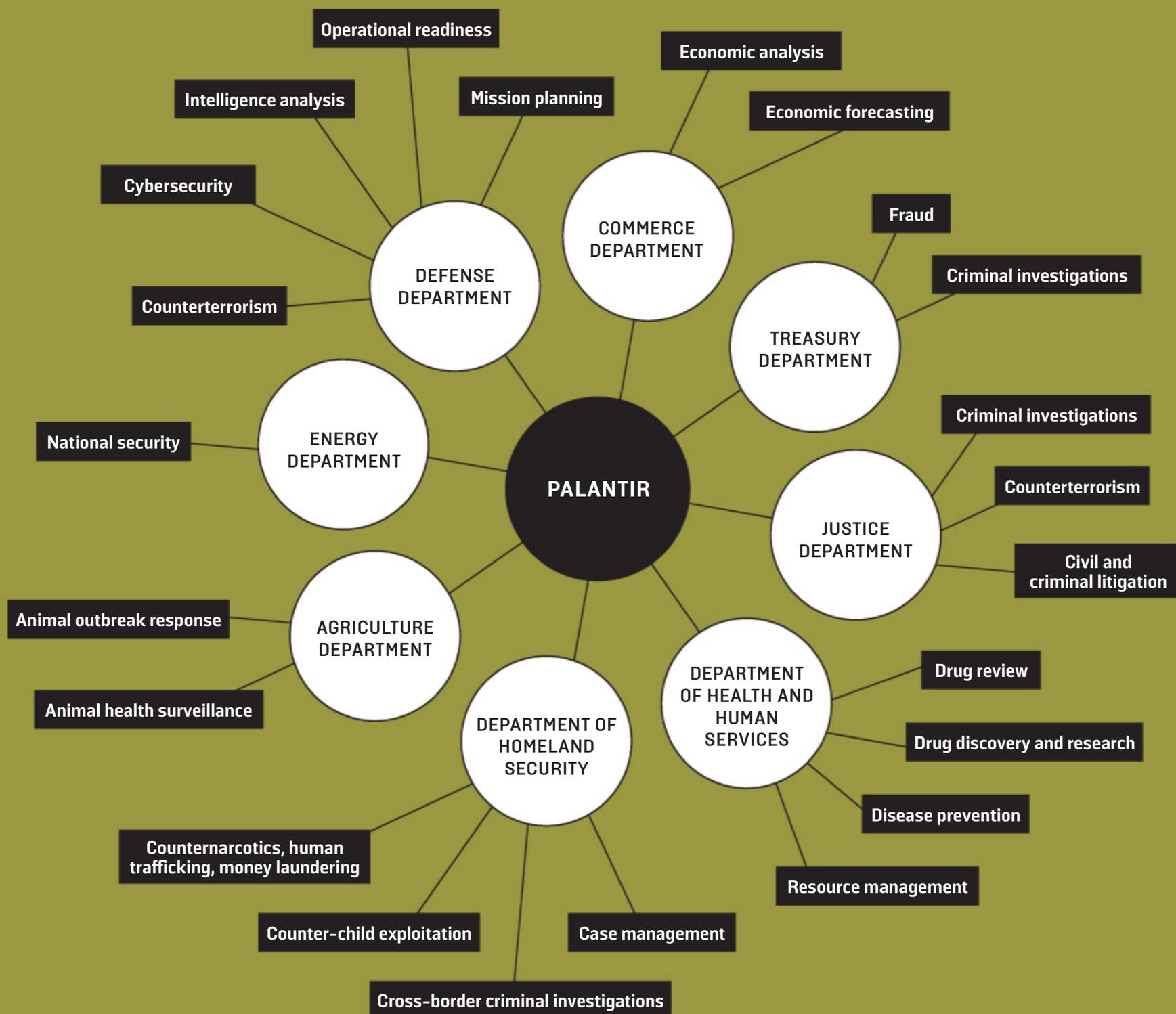
Under Gwynne Shotwell's leadership, SpaceX has become indispensable to Washington's pursuit of a military advantage beyond the planet's boundaries. Having previously flown resupply missions for NASA, SpaceX won its first contract—for \$130 million—with the U.S. Air Force in 2018. Shotwell will soon be responsible for launching into orbit satellites that could be used for secure communications and intelligence gathering—and that could one day detect and destroy incoming missiles.

Washington's Favorite Tech Firm

PALANTIR IS IN MANY WAYS a Silicon Valley archetype. Alex Karp and most of his co-founders are Stanford University graduates, and the company's name is a geeky nod to *palantíri*, seeing stones used to communicate and view distant events in J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*. What sets Palantir apart is its work with the U.S. government—a relationship that goes all the way back to the company's initial funding by In-Q-Tel, the U.S. intelligence community's venture capital arm. Karp has positioned Palantir to take on an ambitious span of tasks: The company is now running analysis for the majority of the U.S. government's executive departments, taking on cybersecurity for the Defense Department and drug review for the Department of Health and Human Services, among other missions.—*Jefcoate O'Donnell and Lara Seligman*

GT Alex Karp

CO-FOUNDER AND
CEO, PALANTIR





Taking on the Kremlin From His Couch Eliot Higgins and Bellingcat are fighting Vladimir Putin and his ilk, using little more than computers and smartphones.

ELIOT HIGGINS LAUNCHED THE WEBSITE BELLINGCAT through a Kickstarter campaign in 2014 and quickly proved that citizen journalists with access to social media, YouTube, and Google Maps could glean as much or more information about wars as intelligence agencies could. After breakthrough revelations from battlefields in Ukraine, Libya, and Syria, Higgins used open-source intelligence in 2018 to discover key details about the Russian intelligence operatives who allegedly poisoned the former spy Sergei Skripal in the United Kingdom.

FOREIGN POLICY: You started doing this work from your couch. When did you realize that you were actually making an impact?

ELIOT HIGGINS: I started realizing this was a serious thing when I was invited by Tactical Tech, a Berlin-based organization that trains human rights advocates. There were lots of people there from real, serious conflicts. They were coming to me and saying how inspirational my work was to them. I thought, “Wow, if that’s the kind of people I’m inspirational to, I should probably take this a bit more seriously.”

FP: What does the Bellingcat research process look like?

EH: One of the things this technology is about is how much we can automate. We could scan social networks for anyone in a uniform. It’s easy to find camouflage or a shade of green. Then you can start training artificial intelligence to do finer and finer tasks.

FP: Are militaries and intelligence establishments sometimes shocked at what you’re able to find?

EH: Anecdotally, there have been a few interviews or articles about our work, or they’ve spoken to intelligence people, and they’ve said they’re impressed.

FP: Beyond being flattered, that doesn’t scare you a little bit?

EH: You kind of assume they’re doing all the James Bond stuff—they’ve got rows of computer screens, and everyone’s social media profile is being looked at, that all that stuff’s going on—but, no, it’s not. I’ve been doing a lot of training with the police recently. Even the ones who specialize in open-source investigations tend not to be at the same level that we are.

FP: Is there a specific personality at Bellingcat? People who grew up reading *Jane's Intelligence Review* and playing with war toys?

EH: Getting a balance between being obsessive enough and not also crazy is rather difficult.

FP: Can you tell the story of one of the investigations?

EH: We investigated a social media campaign by the Islamic State where their followers in Europe would take photographs holding a piece of paper with the city they're in and a hashtag. The idea was the Islamic State was everywhere. I saw those photographs popping up on Twitter and thought, "Some of those look like they could be geolocated, but I don't have time." So I turned that into a crowdsourced project and had most of the locations in 10 minutes.

FP: When the poisoning of the former Russian spy Sergei Skripal and his daughter happened, did you jump on it when the two suspects appeared on Russian TV?

GT Eliot Higgins

JOURNALIST AND FOUNDER
OF BELLINGCAT

EH: The Russians may not have realized just how much information was actually out there. In the 2016 Russian-backed coup attempt in Montenegro, an

officer from the GRU, the Russian military intelligence agency, was arrested, and he had two IDs: his real one and his fake one. There were items, such as his first name, date of birth, and place of residence, that were the same on both documents.

The theory we were working on was that a Skripal suspect might have done the same. We then used his leaked residency documents, and we had a list of potential names it could be. It wasn't a massive amount.

The suspects had nearly sequential passport numbers. Also, we found that they had registered their cars at the office of the GRU because it meant when they got pulled over for drunk driving or speeding, the police would look at where they were from and they'd let them go. So now that the Skripal suspects were all potential GRU officers, we had their real names and addresses and identities.

FP: Deliberate blurring of the truth seems to be a core part of the Russian information war. If the strategy is to blur truth, then does it matter to have a slam-dunk case in today's media environment?

EH: There's also the value of inoculating people against false

information. The Russian Defense Ministry was using video of a screenshot from a computer game as evidence that the United States was helping the Islamic State. A few weeks earlier, someone had used the same video to claim it was a U.S. aircraft bombing a convoy. And I'd noticed that, and I said, "No, it's from a computer game."

The people who follow me on Twitter are the same people who follow the Russian Defense Ministry. So literally all the replies were people posting that video and saying, "That's from a computer game." That's the only time I've seen the Russian Defense Ministry retract a statement because, in a way, people are inoculated against that particular piece of false information.

FP: Is there a way for groups such as yours to expose and push back against deep fakes [computer-generated video or audio that seems real]?

EH: You can't go to a judge and say, "That video's fake news." If you make a fake, maybe you can tweet it, and you'll get 10,000 retweets. But if you have a video of Barack Obama saying that he regrets not bombing Syria, you want to look at: Where did he say it? Can we find the original video? Why is it not there?

It's the difference between the impact it has when it's shared and the impact it has after it's been verified and used as evidence. There could be a point where they make a deep fake that changes a Russian jet to a U.S. jet. But people are developing tools to look for fake information, so it's going to start coming down to trusting the sources you use and the people who are sharing information.—*Interview by Sasha Polakow-Suransky. This conversation has been condensed and edited for publication.*

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ENERGY & CLIMATE



Firefighters try to control a blaze as it spreads toward the towns of Douglas City and Lewiston in California on July 31, 2018.

The Coming Climate Crisis The Little Ice Age could offer a glimpse of our tumultuous future. *By Amitav Ghosh*

OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF DECADES, as the impact of global warming has intensified, the discussion of climate change has spilled out of the scientific and technocratic circles within which it was long confined. Today, the subject has also become an important concern in the humanities and arts.

Discussions of climate tend to focus on the future. Yet even scientific projections depend crucially on the study of the past: Proxy data, such as tree rings, pollen deposits,



and ice cores, have proved indispensable for the modeling of the future impact of climate change. Based on evidence of this kind, scientists can tell us a great deal about how trees, glaciers, and sea levels will respond to rising temperatures.

But what about the political and social impact of global warming? What effects might a major shift in climate have on governments, public institutions, warfare, and belief systems? For answers to these questions, we have to turn to history (keeping in mind that historical inferences are necessarily impressionistic).

Of course, there has never been anything directly comparable to the current cycle of human-induced global warming. But there have been several periods, now intensely studied by historians, during which climate has drastically shifted, either locally or globally.

Perhaps the most intensively researched of these periods is the Little Ice Age, which reached its peak between the late 15th and early 18th centuries. This early modern era is of particular interest because some of the most important geopolitical processes of our own time trace back to it. This was the period, for example, when the first stages of globalization were inaugurated. It was also in this period that great-power conflicts began to be conducted on a global scale. The struggles for supremacy among the Spanish, Dutch, and British that unfolded during the Little Ice Age were thus the precursors of the strategic rivalries of the 20th and 21st centuries.

During part of the Little Ice Age, decreased solar irradiance and increased seismic activity resulted in temperatures that, as Geoffrey Parker writes in *Global Crisis*, a groundbreaking global history of the period, were “more than 1 [degree Celsius] cooler than those of the later twentieth century.”

The current cycle of human-induced global warming is likely to lead to a much greater climatic shift than that of the Little Ice Age. What is striking then is the sheer magnitude of the ecological, social, and political upheavals of the era.

Droughts struck many parts of the world—including Mexico, Chile, the Mediterranean Sea basin, west and central Africa, India, China, and Indonesia—frequently bringing famine in their wake. These disasters were often accompanied by mass uprisings, rebellions, and war. England endured the greatest internal upheaval in its history, Europe was convulsed by the Thirty Years’ War, and China was torn by decades of strife following the overthrow of the Ming dynasty. Ottoman Turkey, Mughal India, and the Russian and Spanish empires were all shaken by rebellions. And from England to China, millenarian sects sprang up, seized by visions of apocalypse.

GT Jerry Brown

GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA

As California's longest-serving governor, Jerry Brown has dedicated much of his tenure to environmental causes. In September 2018, Brown signed a bill to commit California to meeting 100 percent of its electricity needs through carbon-free sources by 2045. In a separate executive order, he put his state—the world's fifth-largest economy—on the path to becoming fully carbon neutral by the same year. Both moves followed his efforts to create the United States' only cap-and-trade program for pollution.

GT Charif Souki

CO-FOUNDER AND CHAIRMAN,
TELLURIAN

A Lebanese-American businessman who long worked on Wall Street, Charif Souki is now leading a U.S. pivot to natural gas. In 2016, he co-founded Tellurian, which is responsible for more than a fifth of the world's liquefied natural gas (LNG) in production today. The company will break ground on its first U.S.-based LNG export terminal in 2019.



GT: ENERGY & CLIMATE

Parker estimates that in the 17th century “more wars took place around the world than in any other era.” So terrible was the devastation that contemporary observers around the world produced similar records of famine, plague, and death. One French abbess, for example, believed that the global population declined by a third.

But some states still thrived, most notably the Dutch Republic, which became the world’s preeminent naval and financial power. According to Dagomar Degroot, the author of *The Frigid Golden Age*, the Dutch owed their success in no small part to their flexibility in adapting to the changed environmental conditions of the period. Moreover, the Dutch status as an emergent power gave them an advantage in relation to the Spanish empire, which was weighed down by its size and historical legacy.

What lessons can be drawn from this history for our own time?

The first is that the sensitivity of human societies to climatic factors may exceed all expectations. Climate-related conflicts and displacements are already changing the political complexion of many of the world’s most important countries, most notably in Europe. Ten years ago, few would have predicted the extent to which immigration would become the spark for political upheavals across Europe and the Americas.

Second, the history of the Little Ice Age suggests that, apart from catalyzing all manner of political and economic crises, a major climatic shift would also affect the global order, favoring those who are best able to adapt to changing conditions. Whether these conditions favor emergent powers will depend on the degree to which the status quo powers of our time are impeded by their historical legacy, as the Spanish empire was.

In this way, the legacies of the carbon economy may themselves prove to be major impediments. Fossil fuels are much more than mere sources of energy; they have also engendered a wide array of cultural and social practices. Fossil fuel use has shaped the physical, cultural, and imaginative landscapes of the United States, Canada, and Australia to such a degree that significant sections of their populations remain psychologically and politically resistant to recognizing changing environmental realities.

Similarly, fossil fuels—oil and natural gas in particular—have shaped the United States’ strategic commitments in ways that may also hinder its ability to adapt. One example of this is the long-standing U.S. alliance with Saudi Arabia, which has proved as much a constraint as an asset, especially regarding a transition to renewable energy.

To the same degree that these legacy commitments serve to impede the adaptive abilities of the United States (and the West in general), they also serve as incentives for emergent powers to adapt as quickly as possible. For Beijing, a transition from fossil fuels to renewable energy is desirable not only for ecological and economic reasons but also because it could effectively set China free from an energy regime in which the rules were largely set by Western powers and their allies.

There are, of course, very significant limits to what can be extrapolated from history, not least because the great powers of the past did not possess weapons that could destroy the (human) world many times over. The crucial question for the future is whether the established and emergent powers of our time will be able to manage their rivalries even as their own populations become increasingly subject to the disruptive and destabilizing effects of climate change. If not, then human beings could bring about a catastrophe that would far exceed anything wrought by the warming of the planet. ■

GT **Amitav Ghosh**

WRITER

Amitav Ghosh is best known for his intricate works of historical fiction, often set in or around his native India. But his 2016 book, *The Great Derangement*, is a searing piece of nonfiction that questions why writers and artists consistently fail to use environmental disasters as centerpieces in their stories. Ghosh blames these omissions for the lack of public will to confront climate change—a point he tirelessly reiterates in speeches around the world.



The Word From a Climate Change Believer

A THERMOMETER ISN'T Democratic or Republican. It doesn't give us a different number depending on how we vote. And climate change isn't a liberal or conservative issue. It is a human issue. We care about a changing climate because it affects every single one of us who share this planet—the only home we have.

That's why we have to present every option. We need to hear libertarian solutions, free market solutions, bipartisan solutions. But by hiding from the problem and pretending as if their opinion were somehow able to alter reality, Republicans today are counting themselves out of the game. The longer they ignore climate change, the more difficult and expensive it's going to be to fix—and the more suffering there will be.

It can be difficult to explain how a 1- or 2-degree change in the average temperature of the planet has a direct impact on our lives. But climate change becomes more relevant when you look at it as a threat multiplier. It amplifies nearly every issue we already care about: energy and food security, immigration, refugee crises, international conflict, as well as the very real and costly risks of droughts, floods, hurricanes, heat waves, and wildfires. Whatever the main issues of 2019 end up being, I can tell you one thing for sure: Climate change will make them worse.—*Katharine Hayhoe*

GT Katharine Hayhoe

DIRECTOR OF THE CLIMATE SCIENCE CENTER AT TEXAS TECH UNIVERSITY

Throughout her career, Katharine Hayhoe, an evangelical Christian and atmospheric scientist, has found ways to connect scripture with the data behind global warming. In doing so, she has bridged gaps among scientists, policymakers, and religious communities and continues to gain accolades for her fight against climate change. Given America's growing political polarization, her work is more important today than ever before.

GT Fred Krupp

PRESIDENT, ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENSE FUND

Fred Krupp has run the Environmental Defense Fund for three decades. Unwilling to accept the supposedly inevitable trade-off between environmental protection and corporate profits, Krupp has become famous for finding market-based solutions to environmental problems. In April 2018, he announced plans to build and launch a satellite to monitor methane emissions from the oil and gas industry, among other sources. The satellite's data will help identify new ways to both cut costs and reduce environmental damage.



GT Mike Zimmerman

FOUNDER AND CEO, IONIC MATERIALS

In his 30-year career as a mechanical engineer, Mike Zimmerman has shaken up energy technology more than once. He pioneered a fiber-optic system directly connected to individual homes, as well as plastic housing for semiconductors. Now he's determined to make conventional lithium-ion batteries safer through his start-up Ionic Materials, which is currently developing a solid-state battery that does not rely on flammable material. If he succeeds, Zimmerman will revolutionize energy storage and break down one of the biggest hurdles to energy efficiency.

GT Frank Bainimarama

PRIME MINISTER OF FIJI

After coming to power as a military strongman, Frank Bainimarama has led Fiji since 2007, winning two elections. He has used that time to establish himself as a global advocate for environmental protection, in no small part because his country is on the front lines. Under his leadership, Fiji was the first country to ratify the Paris Agreement on climate change. And in 2018, Bainimarama repeated an earlier offer of refuge to the people of Kiribati and Tuvalu should those islands become inundated by rising sea levels.



DAVID WHITE/FAIRFAX MEDIA

GT Lisa Murkowski

U.S. SENATOR FROM ALASKA

Lisa Murkowski believes that when it comes to energy, the United States needs to take an "all of the above" approach. The influential Alaska Republican, who chairs the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, is a fierce advocate for next-generation nuclear power. In 2018, she introduced a bipartisan bill that would create public-private partnerships to fund research for advanced reactors.



GT Pete McCabe

PRESIDENT AND CEO OF ONSHORE WIND AT GE RENEWABLE ENERGY

A nearly two-decade veteran of the energy giant GE, Pete McCabe now leads the onshore wind division of the company's \$10 billion renewables initiative. In this role, McCabe runs one of the largest wind turbine manufacturers in the world, with more than 35,000 turbines installed to date. Over the past year, the division broke new ground with projects in places as far-flung as Ukraine and Oman.



Green Eggs and Ham

THE WORLD POPULATION will reach nearly 10 billion by 2050, and conventional meat production will struggle to scale to that level. Some analysts even predict that humanity will need to give up meat in order to feed the world. But meat is central to culinary traditions across the globe, and we want to find a way to keep its place on the plate without paying massive ecological costs. Memphis Meats was born from the belief that humanity needs creative new ways to sustainably scale food production to feed future generations.

Our approach is simple: Our products are not vegan or vegetarian—we grow real meat from the cellular level up in clean conditions to yield high-quality meat. We envision significant benefits for animals, human health, and the planet; for instance, at scale we expect our process to require up to 90 percent less land and water, and to produce up to 90 percent fewer greenhouse gas emissions, than conventionally produced meat.

We are currently working to reduce production costs and increase scale so that we can bring our products to consumers. Our diverse coalition of partners and supporters includes animal welfare and environmental advocates, leading food and meat companies, and top financial investors. We believe that by bringing healthy, wholesome products to the table, we can build a more sustainable food system and world.—*Uma Valeti and Nicholas Genovese*

GT Uma Valeti and Nicholas Genovese

CO-FOUNDERS, MEMPHIS MEATS

Uma Valeti and Nicholas Genovese aim to let carnivores be carnivores—but to stop killing animals in the process. The co-founders of Memphis Meats were the first to build a meatball from the cell up. After receiving a windfall of investor funding in 2018, the company could be poised to become a major player in the global market for protein.

Memphis Meats co-founders Uma Valeti, center, and Nicholas Genovese, right, with chef Derek Sarno during the unveiling of cell-based poultry products in March 2017.

GT Vladislav Surkov

AIDE TO RUSSIAN PRESIDENT
VLADIMIR PUTIN

As one of the closest advisors to the most powerful man in Russia, Vladislav Surkov has perfected the art of propaganda. Surkov has not only fortified the Kremlin's power by rearranging Russia's landscape of opposition parties and civil society groups but has also exploited media fragmentation to increase the reach of Russian disinformation—at home and abroad. His approach is said to have inspired various imitators around the world, including anonymous social media trolls and the Trump administration's press operation.

GT Sheikh Hasina

PRIME MINISTER OF BANGLADESH

Sheikh Hasina has responded to the greatest security challenge facing Bangladesh with a generosity that she has not always shown her opponents at home. Rather than turn away the approximate 700,000 Rohingya who fled persecution in Myanmar, Hasina welcomed them and allowed them to remain in her country. There are signs, however, that she may not stay the course as elections near: Despite opposition from U.N. officials and human rights groups, her government is making moves to repatriate several thousand Rohingya.

GT Susi Pudjiastuti

MARITIME AFFAIRS AND FISHERIES
MINISTER OF INDONESIA

Susi Pudjiastuti is committed to regenerating her country's vital fish stocks in ways that are accumulating both fans and enemies. She doesn't shy away from using scare tactics—Susie is known for blowing up boats that have been caught fishing illegally in Indonesia's territorial waters. Her brusque approach has coincided with a major downturn in poaching but also a rise in diplomatic tensions with China.



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TECHNOLOGY



**Who Will Win
the Race for AI?**
China and the United
States are leading the
pack—and the laggards
face grave dangers.
By Yuval Noah Harari

THE RACE TO DEVELOP ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE (AI) is gathering momentum, and as the United States and China pull ahead, other countries, especially in the developing world, are lagging far behind. If they don't catch up, their economic and political prospects will be grim.

For those countries at the back of the pack, the economic challenges will be hard enough: In an automated world, there will be far less demand for the unskilled labor they've typically provided. But the political dangers will be equally daunting. AI already makes it possible to hack human beings—to collect data about individuals and then use it to decipher, predict, and manipulate their desires. For example, reporting by a number of newspapers revealed that Cambridge Analytica had done just that with American voters' Facebook data.

All countries, regardless of whether they are tech superpowers or not, will feel the effects of the AI revolution. But there's an added challenge for those left behind in the race. To hack humans, governments and corporations need access to enormous amounts of information about real-life human behavior, which makes data perhaps the most important resource in the world. But most of the world's data is mined by the United States, China, and companies based there.

If this trend continues, the world could soon witness a new kind of colonialism—data colonialism—in which raw information is mined in numerous countries, processed mainly in the imperial hub, and then used to exercise control throughout the world. For example, data giants in San Francisco or Shanghai could compile the entire medical and personal history of politicians and officials in distant countries and use it to influence them or manipulate public opinion about them.

Beyond that, those who control the data could eventually reshape not only the world's economic and political future but also the future of life itself. The combination of AI and biotechnology will be critical for any future attempts to redesign bodies, brains, and minds. Elites in the United States and China who have access to those technologies could determine the course of evolution for everyone, according to their particular values and interests. Abilities they deem useful, such as discipline and rote intelligence, might be enhanced at the cost of attributes believed to be superfluous, such as spirituality.

Those left behind in the race to hack humans have two options: join or regulate.

It is unlikely that smaller countries will be able to single-handedly produce their own Google or Baidu. A joint

effort by the 28 members of the European Union or by Latin America's Southern Cone countries, however, might succeed. To increase their chances of doing so, they could focus on areas that the front-runners have so far neglected. Until now, the development of AI has focused on systems that enable corporations and governments to monitor individuals. Yet the world needs the opposite, too: ways for individuals to monitor corporations and governments. By building improved tools to fight corruption or address police brutality, for example, latecomers to the race could carve out a niche for themselves and also become a check on the data superpowers.

Alternatively, countries that can't compete with the AI front-runners can at least try to regulate the race. They can lead initiatives to build tough legal regimes around the most dangerous emerging technologies, such as autonomous weapon systems or enhanced superhumans. And much as countries create laws to protect their own natural resources, they can start to do the same for their data. International mining companies have to pay something to the countries where they dig up iron ore, and the same should go for tech companies collecting data.

This is particularly true when mining that data might cause harm to the local population. For example, a crucial stage in the process of developing autonomous vehicles involves allowing them to drive under real-life conditions, collecting data on the mishaps, and then using this data to perfect the technology. Developed countries have already placed strict limitations on autonomous vehicles—which will likely last until those vehicles' safety is guaranteed—and so corporations might be tempted to begin testing the technology in developing

GT: TECHNOLOGY

countries where regulations are laxer and where fatal accidents would raise fewer eyebrows. Something similar might happen with medical data, which could be mined on the cheap in developing countries with weak privacy laws but then collected and processed in the AI hub, which would reap most of the benefits of the research.

It is not too soon for the countries that provide crucial data to start demanding better returns. They could create an organization of data-exporting countries, for example, that would vastly expand their leverage over the world's Amazons and Alibabas. And if they start sharing in the profits of data collection, they would have some means for coping with the economic shocks that will come as robots replace textile workers and truck drivers.

It is far from certain that the world's weaker states can avoid being data-colonized. But they have to try. If they bury their heads in the ground, focus on their immediate problems, and ignore the AI race, their fate will be decided in their absence. ■

GT Yuval Noah Harari

AUTHOR AND FUTURIST

In his 2011 best-seller, *Sapiens: A Brief History of Humankind*, Yuval Noah Harari argues that humans have been successful as a species because of our ability to believe in collective shared fictions, such as money. Since then, the interdisciplinary historian has turned to bold proposals for a frightening new world—such as how we might respond ethically to self-driving cars and the need for a new Manhattan Project to address looming environmental crises.

GT Kai-Fu Lee

VENTURE CAPITALIST AND WRITER

Known for his early innovations in speech recognition, this veteran of Apple, Microsoft, and Google—and the founder of the venture capital fund Sinovation Ventures—asserts that artificial intelligence and humankind can coexist but only if we fundamentally change our concept of work. In his 2018 book, *AI Superpowers: China, Silicon Valley, and the New World Order*, Kai-Fu Lee also argues that, thanks to its supercharged start-up culture, China will surge ahead of the United States in the great tech race.

**GT Jann Horn**

RESEARCHER, GOOGLE PROJECT ZERO

As a researcher at Google, Jann Horn independently discovered the biggest microchip vulnerabilities ever found: Meltdown and Spectre, which affected millions of devices. By finding them, Horn changed the way processors will be made in the future. Now a global celebrity in the cybersecurity field, he continues to hunt for more glitches in the system.

GT Susan Fowler

WRITER

Formerly a site reliability engineer at Uber, in February 2017 Susan Fowler used a blog post to detail a pattern of sexual harassment at the ride-hailing giant. The post went viral almost immediately, leading eventually to the June 2017 ouster of the company's CEO, Travis Kalanick, and caused reverberations throughout Silicon Valley. After leaving Uber, Fowler joined the payment processing company Stripe and in 2018 became an opinion editor at the *New York Times*, where she focuses on technology's impact on culture.



GT Alastair Mactaggart

BOARD CHAIR, CALIFORNIANS FOR CONSUMER PRIVACY

After spending \$3.5 million to put a tech privacy initiative on the ballot in California, in 2018 Alastair Mactaggart's group Californians for Consumer Privacy withdrew the measure. Mactaggart had already convinced lawmakers to sign on to his cause: a landmark new privacy law that would allow citizens to review personal data collected by Facebook, Google, and others and to stop its use for commercial purposes. The wealthy real estate developer's next fight will be protecting the regulation from federal override before it goes into effect in 2020.



GT Lina Khan

LEGAL FELLOW AT THE U.S. FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

In 2017, Lina Khan took Amazon to task in a breakthrough paper published in the *Yale Law Journal*. In "Amazon's Antitrust Paradox," she argued that the company's market dominance and its accumulation of user data demonstrated an urgent need for the United States to update antitrust law for the era of tech giants. The paper got more than 140,000 hits, and Khan was suddenly a legal celebrity. In July 2018, she joined the U.S. Federal Trade Commission as the agency stepped up its scrutiny of tech companies.



India's Digital Dreamer Mukesh Ambani is betting on a smartphone revolution—and spending big money to make it happen.

MUKESH AMBANI HAS Poured \$35 billion into what may come across as the world's single greatest act of philanthropy. After spending years erecting more than 200,000 cell-phone towers across India, as well as laying 150,000 miles of fiber-optic cables, Ambani launched a new cellular service called Jio—a Hindi word that translates to "live life." To boost users, Jio offered 4G data completely free of charge for an introductory three months.

Millions of people rushed to sign up. For many Indians, it was their first taste of high-speed internet. "Life is going digital," Ambani told investors at the time. In other words, the internet revolution was for everyone—not just for the

GT: TECHNOLOGY

country's urban, English-speaking elites. Ambani would later extend the free offer for three additional months. By the time Jio began charging small amounts for access, 100 million Indians had already subscribed. As of this writing, a quarter of a billion Indians have Jio connections. In many cases, they get basic Jio phones to access the internet and social media for as little as a \$23 security deposit.

Despite the freebies, Jio is no philanthropic endeavor. Ambani has long been aware that to hold on to his position as Asia's richest man, he would have to diversify his company's interests beyond its traditional petrochemical, refinery, and retail businesses. He also seems intent on dragging India into the digital era and then being the first to control and monetize

GT Mukesh Ambani

CHAIRMAN AND MANAGING
DIRECTOR, RELIANCE
INDUSTRIES

an entire ecosystem of internet products. The first phase of his plan is working. Jio has already rocked the Indian cellular and smartphone market by aggressively cutting prices and expanding the pool of potential users. Two large wireless operators have either shut down or filed for bankruptcy, while other competitors have been forced into uneasy mergers. Rivals have accused Jio of predatory pricing, but they have failed to convince India's regulators. Given Jio's immense investment in cellular infrastructure—and Ambani's ability to stomach short-term losses—its market share is expected to keep growing.

The second stage of Ambani's plan is more ambitious. Jio's real competitors aren't local cellular providers, such as Airtel or Vodafone India; instead, insiders say Ambani has long had his eyes set on competing with Google, Netflix, Spotify, and Facebook. Jio services now include attractive lifestyle products: a streaming TV service with hundreds of channels, a digital payments system, a music library, a health care app, a connected home system, a messaging platform. Each of these could reach Jio's growing customer base in a multitude of Indian languages.

Ambani's big bet is not about life going digital. That's inevitable. His real bet is that average income in India—currently less than \$2,000 a year—will rise enough for large numbers of Indians to start paying for the content they consume online. When that happens, Jio will be ready to cash in. If Ambani succeeds, he may become the richest man in the world—and he will have accelerated a smartphone internet revolution in the world's largest democracy.
—Ravi Agrawal

GT Maciej Ceglowski

FOUNDER AND CEO, PINBOARD

In 2009, Maciej Ceglowski created Pinboard, a self-proclaimed "social bookmarking site for introverts." To this day, despite Pinboard's growing popularity, he remains its sole employee. Ceglowski's current project is the Great Slate, an effort to raise funds from tech employees in Silicon Valley for Democratic candidates in difficult and lesser-known races in the United States. In the third quarter of 2018, the fund raised more than a million dollars; around that time, the Twitter account for Pinboard bore the display name "Dork Money Defeats Dark Money."



GT Lu Wei

FORMER DIRECTOR OF THE CYBERSPACE
ADMINISTRATION OF CHINA

Lu Wei is an internet czar dethroned. Formerly China's lead regulator of cyberspace, Lu pleaded guilty in October 2018 to taking \$4.6 million in bribes for promotions and other profit-seeking perks. Before his fall from grace, he had reached unprecedented heights of authority as the head internet gatekeeper for the world's largest online population—shaping how hundreds of millions of Chinese live their digital lives.

GT Ian Goodfellow

RESEARCH SCIENTIST, GOOGLE BRAIN

Ian Goodfellow is one of the world's most important figures in machine learning. In 2014, by pitting two artificial intelligence (AI) systems against one another, he discovered that together they could create novel images and sounds—something AI had never been able to do before. His "generative adversarial networks," as the breakthrough is called, are proof that machines can not only teach themselves but can approximate imagination, too. Goodfellow, now employed by Google, is only 33 years old and continues to work on cutting-edge developments in AI.

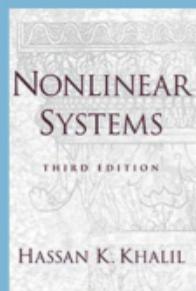
WHAT I'M READING



THE HARD THING ABOUT HARD THINGS: BUILDING A BUSINESS WHEN THERE ARE NO EASY ANSWERS

BEN HOROWITZ

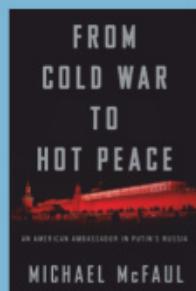
Since I became a manager at Google, I've been reading a lot about how to do my new job better. One great point that Ben Horowitz makes in this book is that it is crucial to invest time in training employees. No matter how talented they are when they are hired, they still need to learn how to function within your organization. Because of this book, I've started to invest a lot of my time in writing and maintaining guides for some of the challenging experiments my team frequently runs.



NONLINEAR SYSTEMS

HASSAN K. KHALIL

The topic of nonlinear systems, explored in this textbook and reference guide, is highly relevant to my research on machine learning. Already, friends and colleagues have successfully used ideas from this branch of mathematics to advance our understanding of how researchers might train more than one machine learning algorithm at once. Understanding that process has been useful for developing AI that can generate novel data, such as a new image, rather than simply process old information, for example by recognizing the content of an existing photograph.



FROM COLD WAR TO HOT PEACE: AN AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN PUTIN'S RUSSIA

MICHAEL MCFAUL

Michael McFaul recounts his time as U.S. ambassador to Russia, during which he was the victim of a smear campaign launched by the Kremlin. As a machine learning researcher, I'm interested in understanding how such campaigns unfold on social media so that I can develop strategies for mitigating them.

WHAT THEY THINK

We polled this year's Global Thinkers on what to expect in 2019. Here's what the respondents told us.

Will the war in Syria come to an end?

YES 64% NO 36%

Will there be another major terrorist attack in the United States or Europe?

Y 50% N 50%

Will U.S. President Donald Trump strike... ...a deal with North Korea?

Y 29% N 71%

...a deal with Iran?

Y 7% N 93%

...a comprehensive new trade deal with China?

Y 43% N 57%

Or will the U.S.-China trade war escalate?

Y 57% N 43%

Will the U.S.-China cold war become a hot one?

100% N

Will the United States enter a recession?

Y 57% N 43%

Will Mohammed bin Salman remain the effective leader of Saudi Arabia?

Y 79% N 21%

Will the United Kingdom manage a soft Brexit?

Y 57% N 43%

Will the Italian budget or some other issue cause one or more additional countries to exit the European Union?

Y 14% N 86%

Will Russia seize any more territory in its near-abroad?

Y 21% N 79%

Will Brazil under President Jair Bolsonaro descend into military rule?

Y 36% N 64%

The Bane of the Brexiteers

How Gina Miller threw a wrench into Britain's plans to leave the EU.

GINA MILLER, A BRITISH BUSINESSWOMAN who co-founded the wealth management firm SCM Direct, is a former Labour Party member and campaigner for transparency and scrutiny in relation to Brexit. In 2016, she successfully challenged the British government's authority to invoke Article 50, which would trigger the process of leaving the European Union, without an act of Parliament. After the U.K. Supreme Court ruled in her favor in January 2017, she became the target of violent and vitriolic abuse; she channeled that experience into the 2018 memoir *Rise: Life Lessons in Speaking Out, Standing Tall & Leading the Way*. Her organization, End the Chaos, has continued to campaign for a public vote on any deal negotiated by the British government and the European Union, including an option to remain in the EU, if there is a parliamentary impasse. Miller has also raised funds to back electoral candidates opposed to a hard Brexit.

FOREIGN POLICY: What did you intend to accomplish with your lawsuit?

GINA MILLER: The case was about preserving hundreds of years of constitutional precedent in the United Kingdom. Prime Minister Theresa May was proposing to use an ancient tool called the royal prerogative and behave like a president. Well, that's not the way our constitution works, unwritten as it is. The prime minister can't put him or herself above the law, and, when it comes to our individual rights as citizens, Parliament has to be front and center and provide scrutiny.

FP: Do you think that if there were a second referendum, it could unleash an even worse backlash?

GLOBAL THINKERS



GM: Absolutely not. That idea is made up by politicians who profit from scaremongering. Brexiteers are saying that because they are fearful of losing. If you're so confident that not only would you win but it would be a bigger victory, just consult the will of the people.

FP: So why haven't you gone into politics?

GM: The way our politics works makes it very difficult to have a truly independent voice. You stand on a collective manifesto, meaning it is difficult to vote with your conscience. That's not to say that I wouldn't in the future.

One of the reasons the country is at this point is because of the whole idea that capitalism was good and that trickle-down economics would work. It has lifted millions of people out of poverty, but it's created huge divides. My big battle is

around the idea of responsible capitalism: Do we evolve toward a triple bottom line, which is not just about a drive for profit but for people, profit, and the planet, so that we create a more equal society?

FP: Couldn't that be a campaign slogan for the Liberal Democrats?

GM: No. Because being a member of a club ties your hands and your voice, and I'm not willing to do that.

FP: Let's imagine that there is a people's vote and it goes the way that you want. What is your sense of how the Conservative Party would react?

GM: I don't think this is really about Brexit. This is about the sort of country we want to be. A minority of individuals on the right of the Tory Party think, when it comes to money-laundering checks, if people can bring money into our country and want to do business and boost our economy, why should we say no to them?

FP: So, a pro-business crowd is saying this will be a disaster for the economy, and then there's a second, more cut-throat, Darwinian business position?

GM: Think about it like a gym. Rather than build our gym in our home, we chose to go to another one. We don't have the infrastructure. Our business model and the way we have operated has changed over the last 40-45 years. You then try to reverse all of that without giving any time to build it up. We have small businesses that predominantly trade with the EU. That's their main market. How are they going to cope? That's the bottom line for them. It's not about profit—it's how we actually even stay in business.

FP: And are you able to bring over some of those people to the arguments that

GT: ECONOMICS & BUSINESS

you're making?

GM: The main message my End the Chaos campaign is trying to get out is, "Just be honest and tell people." We haven't allowed people to have a reasoned debate based on the facts. Why are we not listening to the port authorities? Why are we not listening to the doctors?

FP: Because we don't need experts?

GM: None of this is new. If you look through history, how do you destabilize countries? It's easy. You knock experts. You knock the rule of law, and you use the media as propaganda.

GT **Gina Miller**

BUSINESSWOMAN AND ACTIVIST

FP: Why hasn't the message got through to Leave voters who, presumably, would be devastated by those policies?

GM: You've already poisoned the well. I was speaking to an IT specialist at Cambridge Analytica [which assisted the Leave campaign in 2016]. I asked, "What were the most successful ads you were running?" One ad said sharia was coming to the U.K. and immigrants can marry children. Which is not true at all. And the second one was that immigrants eat dogs. And that's where they were so clever—because it's about tuning in to people's emotions. It's hearts, not minds.

FP: If there were another vote, do you think that you could reverse some of that messaging?

GM: The Leave campaign exploited differences. They were actively going out to Asian communities and saying, "The reason your kids are not doing well at university is because all these white immigrants are coming in and they assimilate, whereas your kids are not going to be able to. And, by the way, they can bring in all their family, and you can't."

FP: Was one of the errors of the Remain campaign writing off these Leave voters as, "Oh, they're dumb. They don't understand"?

GM: Everywhere I went had Leave posters, and the Remain campaign did not believe me. They said I worried too much, that British people don't take risks. They were so arrogant. I think there is a bigger danger here, which is that we've elevated expectations in a group of people who have nothing to lose because they have so little anyway. I think there's more of a chance of having civil unrest because the people who voted Leave are not going to get what they were promised.

FP: Are you facing any threats or sort of personal harassment?

GM: It's never stopped. When you get somebody who would have been, traditionally, in the U.K., at the end of a bar in a pub spouting whatever, you now have that same person on Facebook with 500 likes. Those people who have had those views and whispered them are now shouting them. And that's what I get. They're shouting at me.—*Interview by Sasha Polakow-Suransky. This conversation has been condensed and edited for publication.*



GT **Michel Barnier**

EUROPE'S CHIEF BREXIT NEGOTIATOR

When Brexit negotiations kicked off in June 2017, Michel Barnier gave his U.K. counterpart a traditional hiking stick, making what some interpreted as a mountaineering analogy about the perils of falling off the path. The Frenchman has won near-unanimous acclaim on the continent for his calm and steadfast negotiating style as the Brexit process inches toward its deadline.

GT Adam Tooze

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Adam Tooze wants you to know that the markets are not immune to the rise of populism and other political developments. In his 2018 book, *Crashed: How a Decade of Financial Crises Changed the World*, Tooze argues that the global economy is shaped by geopolitics, connecting banking and debt crises to annexations, referendums, and elections. "What we face is not repetition but mutation and metastasis," he writes of the global recession.

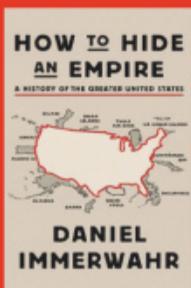
WHAT I'M READING



THE RISE AND FALL OF THE BRITISH NATION: A TWENTIETH CENTURY HISTORY

DAVID EDGERTON

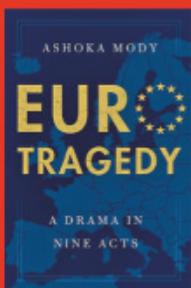
In a series of books, David Edgerton has rethought the narrative of modern British history—not as a story of decline but as an account of power, production, and politics. *The Rise and Fall of the British Nation* is the culmination of that project. It is a comprehensive reimagining of the 20th century as the moment at which an empire was refashioned as a nation-state. Edgerton's discussion could not be more vital or timely in the age of Brexit.



HOW TO HIDE AN EMPIRE: A HISTORY OF THE GREATER UNITED STATES

DANIEL IMMERWAHR

Daniel Immerwahr chronicles how the United States managed to expand its territory far beyond its shores while also convincing itself, and the world, that imperialism was for other people. This highly original history of what Immerwahr calls America's "pointillist empire" connects the dots between the Philippines, Pearl Harbor, and Guantánamo Bay.



EUROTRAGEDY: A DRAMA IN NINE ACTS

ASHOKA MODY

As a deputy director at the International Monetary Fund, Ashoka Mody was on the front lines of the eurozone crisis. A dissenting voice challenging the wisdom of another Lehman Brothers-style bailout, he called for a more equitable and financially sustainable resolution to Europe's crisis through early and deep debt restructuring. *EuroTragedy*, his powerful history of the creation of the euro and the tumult of the last decade, is essential reading whether or not you agree with his skeptical conclusions that the euro's flaws will continue to endanger the union.



GT Gita Gopinath

CHIEF ECONOMIST OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

Being named the International Monetary Fund's first-ever female chief economist in 2018 was just the latest in a long list of Gita Gopinath's accolades and accomplishments. She is also a tenured professor at Harvard University, an advisor to the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, and an economic advisor to the chief minister of the Indian state of Kerala. Gopinath's latest appointment is particularly interesting because she has argued that flexible exchange rates have limited benefits—a view that runs counter to her new employers' traditional thinking.

GT Donald Tusk

PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL

As president of the European Council, Donald Tusk, a former Polish prime minister, has increasingly confronted his home nation, defending European values of integration against rising nationalism. Tusk has also faced off with the United Kingdom, warning since before the 2016 referendum about the negative consequences of a Brexit vote. His role will become ever more crucial in 2019 as he tries to hold together the European project.

GT Robert Lighthizer

UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

Robert Lighthizer is a man on a highly focused mission. "The basic philosophy that we have is that we want free trade without barriers," he told Congress in July 2018. To that end, Lighthizer has spent his time in office fighting for bilateral trade deals instead of multilateral ones, since such negotiations generally give the United States more clout. No other appointed official had more influence on the Trump administration's trade agenda in 2018—or is likely to have a bigger impact in 2019.



GT Baba Ramdev

YOGA GURU AND BUSINESSMAN

Baba Ramdev is one of the most powerful and famous men in India. Through his television shows and ayurvedic cosmetics empire, this yogi-turned-mogul has brought commercialized wellness into the Indian middle-class home. But Ramdev is also an increasingly influential force in politics. His endorsement in the 2014 election helped Narendra Modi become prime minister, and with the 2019 election coming up, Ramdev's clout—and his billions of rupees—will play a big role. Remember his name: Ramdev may himself end up in high office one day.



Understanding Trump's Trade War

This year will show what the president really wants. Here's what to watch for.

By Douglas Irwin

2019 COULD BE A DEFINING MOMENT for U.S. trade policy. Two years into Donald Trump's presidency, it should finally become clear whether the U.S. president's brazen rhetoric on the subject is simply a negotiating ploy in the pursuit of new deals or whether a trade war—and with it the destruction of the post-World War II international order—is his real end goal.

BRUCE BENNETT/GETTY IMAGES/DAVID BECKER/GETTY IMAGES/FRED DUFOUR/GETTY IMAGES

Until now, it has been rather hard to tell. Trump withdrew from the Trans-Pacific Partnership without ever proposing a replacement, and he appeared ready to do the same with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). He imposed stiff levies on imported steel and aluminum, leading Canada, China, Mexico, and the European Union to slap the United States with retaliatory tariffs. At the same time, however, his administration ultimately agreed to a renegotiated NAFTA without major changes to the original agreement. It did the same for the U.S. free trade agreement with South Korea. So what signs could reveal his true intentions in 2019?

The first area to watch will be cars. The Trump administration's legal justification for its 2018 steel and aluminum tariffs was a little-used U.S. statute that allows the president to raise such barriers in cases where U.S. national security is threatened. In mid-2018, the Commerce Department also started looking into whether imported automobiles might pose a similar threat—a sign that the administration was seriously considering imposing duties as high as 25 percent on foreign cars and auto parts, which would affect more than \$200 billion worth of trade.

Trump may lack the audacity to go that far, since he would face stiff opposition. U.S. automobile producers oppose such protectionism because they often import cars and parts from their overseas factories. Higher taxes on autos would also hit U.S. households in a more direct way than levies on steel and aluminum. And European trade partners would likely retaliate with more tariffs on U.S. farmers, manufacturers, and other exporters.

If Trump makes good on his threat anyway, the administration might argue that the goal is to get a better deal from trading partners—a reduction in European Union automobile tariffs, say. But the more likely goal of such a move would be to dismantle global automobile supply chains and fully reshore production in the name of helping blue-collar workers.

The second thing to watch will be Washington's stance toward Beijing. So far, the Trump administration's actions could be read as either an attempt to force China to change its economic practices or an effort to simply punish it by dismantling the trade partnership. Trump has imposed about \$250 billion worth of duties on Chinese goods, on the grounds that China's own protectionism and its theft of U.S. technology pose strategic threats to the United States, but has hinted that they may be reversible if China changes its ways. At the same time, his administration has shown little interest in negotiations, which would have to be a precursor to any potential deal.

The key to figuring out Trump's true intentions will be

whether his administration follows through with its plans to raise some of the new tariffs from 10 percent to 25 percent and to expand them to cover an additional \$267 billion worth of Chinese exports, including Apple products such as the iPhone, which have so far remained exempt. If the administration walks down that path, then trade punishment would be the likely end game, particularly since China will never change its economic model in response to what it sees as U.S. bullying.

Third, Trump will have to take a stand on the World Trade Organization (WTO), a body that regulates trade among its 164 members. Trump has called the organization the worst trade deal ever reached—even worse than NAFTA—and on several occasions has expressed his desire to leave it.

As with many of his other moves, however, his goals are far from clear. On the one hand, his administration has continued to use the WTO by bringing new cases against other countries—including China, for example, which the United States claims has violated the letter or the spirit of various WTO agreements. At the same time, however, Washington has also denounced WTO decisions that have gone against the United States as examples of judicial overreach and has blocked the appointment of new jurists to the WTO's appellate body.

In the coming year, as the WTO cases move forward, the administration will have to show its cards. If its current attempts to disrupt the organization are for the purpose of bringing about procedural changes, it will have to make clear what changes it actually desires. If it doesn't, we can assume that Trump plans to abandon the institution by ignoring it.

The final area to pay attention to will be how Trump deals with the trade deficit. The president's main obsession is

GT: ECONOMICS & BUSINESS

with increasing U.S. exports and diminishing imports. In his mind, the trade deficit measures the extent to which other countries have been taking advantage of the United States. Economists have grown weary of pointing out his error, but I'll do it again. Trade deficits are driven by macroeconomic factors. In particular, if a country has a high savings rate relative to investment, that country will send some of its excess savings to others by exporting more goods than it imports. China, Japan, and Germany—all with high savings rates—have trade surpluses. The United States—with low savings and high consumption—has a deficit.

The deficit, in other words, is mostly homegrown, and Trump's economic policies are likely to increase it. A large tax cut and increases in government spending have temporarily boosted consumption and economic growth. To help meet the new demand, the United States has started importing more, further increasing the trade imbalance. As this trend continues in 2019, Trump will have to decide how to react—whether by lashing out at the U.S. Federal Reserve (Trump's go-to scapegoat for all manner of economic issues), at other countries for their perfidious trade policies, or both.

The president is no different from his recent predecessors in saying he wants favorable trade deals. But if he's actually embracing protectionism for its own sake, that would make him unique. Whereas previous presidents have raised trade barriers in difficult economic times, Trump has initiated them during a period when U.S. economic performance is strong and domestic industries are not asking for such help.

In his first year in office, Trump laid the groundwork for the tariffs that came in year two. Now the second act in this drama is about to begin. The president is unlikely to let his apparent penchant for protectionism go, particularly if the U.S. economy slows and the trade deficit remains stubbornly high. The global economy, and the postwar system of world trade in particular, should be prepared for more blows to come. ■

GT Douglas Irwin

ECONOMIST AND PROFESSOR AT DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

At a time when trade tussles seem to be breaking out all over the world, Douglas Irwin has emerged as one of the clearest interpreters of White House trade policy. According to the Dartmouth economist, U.S. President Donald Trump's approach to what he calls "easy to win" trade wars resembles the ill-fated Smoot-Hawley tariffs of the 1930s—and the consequences could be equally disastrous.

GT Yi Gang

GOVERNOR OF THE PEOPLE'S BANK OF CHINA

As trade tensions between the United States and China heat up, Yi Gang—newly installed as the head of China's central bank—is fighting to defend the yuan. At International Monetary Fund annual meetings in October 2018, Yi kept talks going with other countries despite predictions that the U.S. Treasury Department would soon label China a currency manipulator. The predictions turned out to be inaccurate—for now. Should tensions escalate, however, Yi says he has plenty of monetary instruments to fight back.

**GT Chrystia Freeland**

FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER OF CANADA

In 2013, Chrystia Freeland left a successful career in journalism to enter Canadian politics. The gamble paid off: Within two years, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau named her minister of international trade and then of foreign affairs. As one of Canada's leading voices on the world stage, Freeland has emerged as a key defender of a liberal, rules-based international system, speaking out for fair trade policies and against human rights violations. In 2018, *FOREIGN POLICY* named Freeland Diplomat of the Year.

Inside the Mind of Planned Parenthood's New Leader

PLANNED PARENTHOOD is the leading provider of reproductive health services in the United States and a rallying cry for conservative critics, who want to strip the organization of federal funds. Enter Leanna Wen, 35, Planned Parenthood's incoming president and a former emergency room physician. Wen moved to the United States from China as a child after her parents received political asylum. As health commissioner of Baltimore over the last four years, she successfully sued the Trump administration, forcing the government to restore \$5 million in grant funding for pregnancy prevention programs, and tackled the opioid epidemic in the city. **FOREIGN POLICY** presented her with a

GT Leana Wen

PRESIDENT, PLANNED PARENTHOOD

modified Proust Questionnaire, which has been edited for publication.—*Sarah Wildman*

FOREIGN POLICY: What is your greatest fear?

LEANA WEN: Not speaking up. I grew up with a severe stutter, and it took me many years to overcome my fear of speaking.

FP: Which living person do you most admire?



GT: SCIENCE & HEALTH

LW: Maryland Rep. Elijah Cummings—my son, Eli, is named after him. He's someone whom I greatly admire for his steadfast commitment to social justice and his call for us to reach not only for common ground but for higher ground. He is someone I want my son to model his values after.

FP: Which talent would you most like to have?

LW: Power to add hours to the day. My predecessor at the Baltimore City Health Department quipped that our ability to get things done was limited only by our ability to stay awake. He was right.

FP: What do you consider your greatest achievement?

LW: Empowering everyday people to save the lives of family members, friends, and community members through my blanket prescription for naloxone, the opioid overdose antidote. In three years in Baltimore, nearly 3,000 lives were saved.

FP: What is your most treasured possession?

LW: Eli's baby pictures.

FP: Who are your favorite writers?

LW: Anna Quindlen, Joyce Carol Oates, Nadine Gordimer, Ian Rankin, Ta-Nehisi Coates, and Bryan Stevenson. One of the quotes I often refer to is from Stevenson's book *Just Mercy*: "We are all implicated when we allow other people to be mistreated. An absence of compassion can corrupt the decency of a community."

FP: Which historical figure do you most identify with?

LW: Virginia Apgar, Rudolf Virchow, and Luther Terry for their outspoken and powerful advocacy for the public's health.

GT Michele De Luca

STEM CELL BIOLOGIST

Epidermolysis bullosa (EB) has long been seen as an incurable condition: It causes skin to blister and slough off at the slightest touch. Michele De Luca of the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia in Italy has found a way to treat it using stem cells. De Luca and his team successfully replaced more than 80 percent of a Syrian refugee boy's skin by deploying a viral vector to replace a faulty gene with a functional one. The experimental process not only offers those with EB hope but could also have applications for a range of other potential treatments.

GT Carlo Rovelli

THEORETICAL PHYSICIST AND WRITER

Carlo Rovelli's professional colleagues rarely prioritize writing for lay readers, but the Italian theoretical physicist has done just that. In 2018, he changed the way we understood time with his book *The Order of Time*. In it, Rovelli argues that time doesn't flow forward, like a river. Instead, he contends, humans constantly project a more multifaceted sense of time. Both space and time are therefore malleable. It's mind-melting stuff, but if Rovelli has his way, the world will be wrangling with this complexity.

**GT John Carreyrou**

INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALIST

In 2015, after the world's media had crowned Elizabeth Holmes its latest Silicon Valley darling, the *Wall Street Journal* reporter John Carreyrou smelled fraud. Holmes's Theranos—at one time valued at more than \$9 billion—claimed to be able to take a mere drop of blood and use it for comprehensive disease testing in a short period of time. Carreyrou doggedly investigated these claims and found that Theranos was built on a lie: The technology simply didn't work. Despite Theranos's threats of giant lawsuits and attempts to intimidate his sources, Carreyrou stayed the course. Today, Theranos has been dissolved, Holmes has been indicted and could face years in jail, and Carreyrou's book on the investigation, *Bad Blood*, is a best-seller.



GT Roopam Sharma

SCIENTIST AND INVENTOR

Nearly two centuries after Louis Braille created his eponymous reading system, the vast majority of the world's visually impaired people cannot read it. With this deficit in mind, Roopam Sharma, 23, who trained as an engineer in India, developed Manovue, a glove with a digital eye and a voice that reads text aloud when it is moved over a page. Sharma's innovation, which has won him international acclaim although it is still in development, could help millions of people navigate everyday tasks.



GT Gregory Rockson

CO-FOUNDER AND CEO, MPHARMA

Patients across Africa contend with a fractured pharmacy system with erratic prices, depleted stocks, and counterfeit drugs. Ghana's Gregory Rockson experienced these problems firsthand while dealing with thoracic scoliosis and decided to fix them. His solution was mPharma, a start-up he co-founded in 2013, which uses an electronic prescription system to track drug supplies at pharmacies and negotiate lower prices directly with suppliers. The result today: reliable stocks and a growing pool of happier customers across several African countries.

GT Wayne Koff

PRESIDENT AND CEO,
HUMAN VACCINES PROJECT

For 30 years, Wayne Koff tried to develop an HIV vaccine with no luck. Undeterred, Koff channeled his expertise into his work at the Human Vaccines Project, a group working to decode the genetics of the human immune system. The project asks scientists to take a multidisciplinary approach to research, with the intention of unlocking a new array of vaccines and immunotherapies for well-established threats, including HIV and cancer, alongside complex emerging pandemics.

Prevention Is the Best Medicine

From the United States to Africa, Mary-Claire King has revolutionized the fight against breast cancer—again and again.

By Laurie Garrett

"I HAVE A COUPLE OF HUNDRED FRIENDS IN THIS ROOM," Mary-Claire King warned me as we entered a Manhattan gathering of the Breast Cancer Research Foundation in October 2018. "I might lose you." Seconds later, physicians, researchers, and philanthropists surrounded the petite scientist and swept her away in a whirlwind of admiration.

It was further evidence, as if any were needed, of the 72-year-old King's legendary status as a geneticist. There are few aspects of breast cancer research over the last three decades that King or her University of Washington laboratory hasn't had a hand in. King helped redefine the very concept of cancer, saving the lives of countless women along the way—and today, nearly 30 years after her first breakthrough in the field, she remains at the front lines of the battle.

King's early work on breast cancer was motivated by a deadly puzzle that her research eventually helped solve: a particularly aggressive and incurable form of breast cancer that typically killed women in their 30s and 40s, leaving their children without mothers and families devastated.

By scouring the DNA of hundreds of women, King linked hereditary breast cancer to a gene she discovered in 1990 and would go on to name BRCA1. Its sister gene, BRCA2, was discovered in 1995. These genes encode proteins that act as janitors in certain tissues of the body, cleaning up sloppy mutations caused by ultraviolet rays, tobacco smoke, or just cellular wear and tear. But they also have a propensity to develop harmful mutations, after which they don't make repairs, and cells—especially when they encounter estrogen—grow out of control.

King's revolutionary finding made preventative measures



possible for the up to 415,000 women in the United States at risk of this deadly form of cancer and possibly for millions more worldwide. Carriers of the defective genes could now potentially avoid the affliction by having their ovaries and fallopian tubes surgically removed so as to reduce estrogen levels.

Many septuagenarians would be content to cut back their workloads after such success, but King continues to push forward. Together with the University of Chicago cancer specialist Olufunmilayo "Funmi" Olopade and colleagues at Nigeria's University College Hospital, Ibadan, King is now trying to find a way to stop breast cancer deaths in Africa's most populous country—which could in the process



revolutionize preventative measures worldwide.

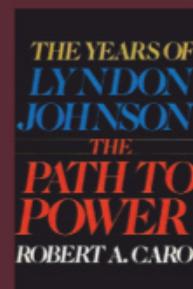
Their current project began after the Nigerian-born Olopade—who was working as a well-respected geneticist in the United States—noticed that breast cancer was rising in her homeland, especially among younger women who might have been carriers of the BRCA genes. In 2004, she organized a meeting in Lagos of women's health advocates and learned that beneath Nigeria's officially reported cancer statistics lay a mountain of deaths from undiagnosed breast cancer. She then reached out to her longtime friend, King, to begin brainstorming on research that could figure out why the cancer rates were so high and what to do about it.

GT Atul Gawande

SURGEON, WRITER, AND PUBLIC HEALTH RESEARCHER

Atul Gawande is the closest thing we have to a modern-day Renaissance man: a best-selling author and *New Yorker* writer, a surgeon at Boston's Brigham and Women's Hospital, and a professor at Harvard University. In 2018, Gawande took on yet another role: CEO of an experimental nonprofit health care collaboration among Amazon, Berkshire Hathaway, and JPMorgan Chase. The idea behind the venture is to find new, better, and cheaper ways to provide health insurance to the 1.2 million employees working at these behemoths. If Gawande succeeds, the model he develops could recast how health care functions in the United States.

WHAT I'M READING



THE YEARS OF LYNDON JOHNSON

ROBERT A. CARO

No one is a deeper, more incisive observer of political power than Robert Caro. I found his four-volume series on U.S. President Lyndon Johnson unexpectedly reassuring about this particular moment in the United States, if only because it shows how many other ugly, corrosive, and disturbing periods the country has survived.



BAD BLOOD: SECRETS AND LIES IN A SILICON VALLEY STARTUP

JOHN CARREYROU

John Carreyrou's meticulously reported account of the Theranos health care scam, in which the company brazenly sold a machine it falsely claimed could run scores of blood tests with a drop of blood, is jaw-dropping. Of the seven deadly sins, only sloth is missing from this tale. The takeaway: Beware of medical miracles whose prophets won't show you the data.



EXIT WEST

MOHSIN HAMID

Mohsin Hamid's novel, which follows a young refugee couple displaced by a devastating civil war, is astonishingly imaginative and unexpectedly hopeful. He asks how much violence we are willing to inflict to keep desperate people from moving. His surprising answer is that, ultimately, there is a limit. His story persuaded me that he is right.

GT: SCIENCE & HEALTH

Together with Nigerian collaborators, they discovered not only that many Nigerian women carried the BRCA1 and BRCA2 mutations but also that mortality rates among these women were far higher than those in Europe and the United States. Worse, they were getting sick at younger ages, leaving young children behind in a country where raising them was still considered to be almost entirely a female responsibility.

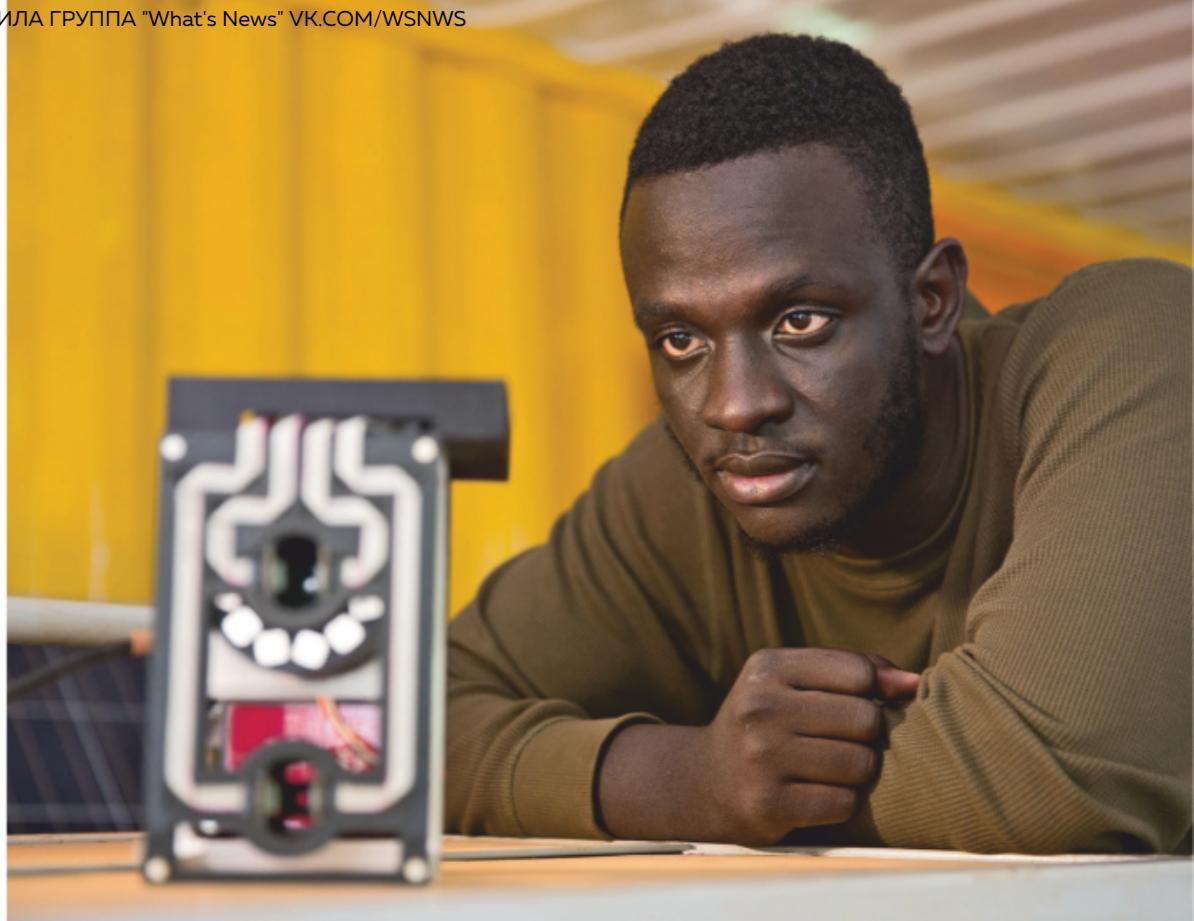
GT **Mary-Claire King**

GENETICIST

Even if a clear medical breakthrough makes it possible to cure such cancer (rather than simply prevent its occurrence), the treatment would likely be too costly to reach most women in the developing world; Nigeria, for example, lacks the financing and infrastructure necessary to support basic measures such as routine access to mammograms, CT scans, radiation treatment, and chemotherapy. That's unlikely to change soon.

So King and Olopade have taken a different approach, focusing on offering genetic testing to all young Nigerian women.

Olopade took the lead in setting up a training program for Nigerian genetic counselors through the University College Hospital, Ibadan, with the hope of conducting routine genetic testing of young Nigerian women. The idea is to advise carriers of the BRCA genes that if they want babies, they should consider doing so early and then have their ovaries and fallopian tubes removed. Genetic sequencing is relatively inexpensive, King says, and should be routine everywhere—it needs to be done only once in a lifetime. Mass genetic testing has the added benefit of allowing women to raise their children and watch them grow to adulthood.



GT **Brian Gitta**

DIAGNOSTIC APP DEVELOPER

In a typical year, malaria infects more than 200 million people around the world. Though most survive, some 430,000 die. Cutting that number requires early and accurate diagnosis. The Ugandan inventor Brian Gitta may have found a global solution. His noninvasive diagnostic tool, Matibabu, beams light through a finger clip to detect infected red blood cells. The results appear almost instantly on an app. Bypassing needles and using cheap technology could finally defeat this deadly scourge across the globe.

The program is still evolving, but King and Olopade are confident that they've hit on a genuinely viable alternative to the costly approaches taken to breast cancer detection and treatment in North America.

Meanwhile, King is pushing for all women to have access to this method of cancer prevention. Routine genetic screening of all young women, in the United States and around the world, would allow them a chance to find the threat of cancer before it develops. No woman with a mutation in BRCA1 or BRCA2 should die of breast cancer, King says. "It is completely preventable and absolutely unnecessary." ■

LAURIE GARRETT is a Pulitzer Prize-winning science writer.

ACTIVISM & THE ARTS



GT Bobi Wine

SINGER AND POLITICIAN

Uganda's firebrand singer-turned-politician grew up poor in Kampala. Today, he represents a section of the city as a member of parliament. Bobi Wine, born Robert Kyagulanyi, has rallied Uganda's youth by arguing against a proposed social media tax and fighting for the dignity of the poor. Ugandan soldiers attempted to silence Wine in August 2018, first beating him brutally and then bringing him to trial for treason in a military court, although he is a civilian. Wine recovered, picked up attention in the international media, and his "people power" campaign continues, undeterred.

ON HIS PLAYLIST

"ONE LOVE/PEOPLE GET READY" BY BOB MARLEY & THE WAILERS

"GOD BLESS THE WOMAN" BY LUCKY DUBE

"SOWETO" BY REALITY

"YOU ARE NOT ALONE" BY MICHAEL JACKSON

"HEAL THE WORLD" BY MICHAEL JACKSON

"BORN IN AFRICA" BY PHILLY BONGOLEY LUTAAYA

GT Donald Glover

ACTOR, SINGER, WRITER, AND DIRECTOR

Donald Glover forces audiences to accept discomfort in exchange for insight. On *Atlanta*, the Emmy- and Golden Globe-winning show he created with his brother Stephen, Glover's men are flawed, their city has betrayed them, their future is uncertain—and it's a comedy. In his 2018 viral music video for "This Is America," Glover, under the stage name Childish Gambino, cast himself as a shirtless, gun-toting antagonist: With more than 440 million YouTube views and counting, the video mapped out Glover's dystopic vision of racialized gun violence, highlighting how relentless exposure to mass shootings has numbed Americans.



GT Lena Waithe

WRITER AND ACTOR

Lena Waithe is redefining how black and genderqueer people are represented in popular culture. The first African-American woman to win an Emmy for comedy writing, Waithe has a way of making groundbreaking acts appear effortless, as she did in 2018 when she memorably dressed in menswear on the cover of *Vanity Fair*. It may look easy, but the effects are profound: From her work on the Showtime drama series *The Chi* to her star turn in Steven Spielberg's 2018 blockbuster, *Ready Player One*, Waithe is shifting Hollywood's gaze.

Illustration by LAUREN TAMAKI

India and the Global Fight for LGBT Rights

In striking down a ban on gay sex, the Supreme Court inspired activists across the world. *By Frank Mugisha*

IN SEPTEMBER 2018, LGBT people in India celebrated after the country's Supreme Court unanimously struck down a colonial-era ban on gay sex. It was an important moment for LGBT rights that not only reversed a relic of British oppression but also ordered that LGBT Indians be accorded all the protections of their constitution. This was a welcome victory, but it does not necessarily mean that LGBT people in India are fully free or perceived as equal among their fellow citizens—and it underscores how much work remains to be done in the rest of the world to overturn antiquated and repressive anti-gay laws.

Let's be clear: Criminalizing same-sex relations makes it illegal to be LGBT. My country, Uganda, still has laws on the books similar to those that were struck down in India—and LGBT people in Uganda continue to face persecution and discrimination. Criminal laws hang over our community

ALJAZ RAHI/AP



like a dark cloud. Individuals live in fear of harassment and prosecution for being who they are. As the Indian Supreme Court explicitly acknowledged, the criminalization of same-sex intimacy brings with it shame and rejection. LGBT people effectively become unapprehended felons and pariahs.

The most remarkable part of the Indian court's decision is that it didn't just use a universal standard of human rights to decriminalize homosexuality; it also acknowledged the responsibility of the state to help end the stigma attached to being LGBT. The court could have gone even further and emphasized that the Indian government should put in place mechanisms that would allow the reconciliation of shunned LGBT children and their parents. Doing so would help end the practice of parents forcing arranged marriages on those children—something that can lead to trauma and other mental health problems. It would also help end the shocking practice of “corrective rape,” in which families subject their LGBT children to nonconsensual sex.

“History owes an apology to the members of this community and their families, for the delay in providing redressal for the ignominy and ostracism that they have suffered through the centuries,” Justice Indu Malhotra wrote in her judgment. But one wonders whether these rights include the freedom of marriage or divorce. For true equality to prevail, those rights must be explicitly and fully extended to LGBT people.

India also needs to help reconcile LGBT Indians with their various religious communities; following the court's decision, many conservative Christian, Muslim, and Hindu leaders, who are often at loggerheads, blasted the ruling as shameful and promised to contest it. Such a reconciliation would right a historic wrong. It was not local religious leaders but British colonialists who introduced these barbaric laws to India. Hinduism, which is the dominant religion in India, was quite accepting of LGBT people before the British introduced Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code in the 1860s, imposing harsh penalties on whoever has “carnal intercourse against the order of nature.” That provision was then extended from India out across the British Empire. It is the reason why most former British colonies are still, to this day, not only hostile to same-sex love but also actively opposed to it.

Uganda has similar laws dating back to the colonial period—and these laws have long been used to abuse the rights of LGBT people through arbitrary arrests and unfair

trials. We cannot hold events and trainings in public or private without authorities seeking to arrest us. For the last two years, we have been unable to hold a pride parade; when we tried in 2016, we were brutally arrested by the Ugandan police. Anti-gay laws also empower mob violence, forced evictions, and social exclusion.

Britain today is far less homophobic than it once was. Indeed, the British government is strongly advocating for the decriminalization of LGBT relations in its former colonies—but words and statements aren't enough. The Commonwealth and the British government must be more active in ending the scourge of homophobia and acknowledge their historical role in fostering it.

Until then, even as we celebrate India's success, Uganda's LGBT community won't have the chance to enjoy the sweet taste of equality. ■

FRANK MUGISHA (@frankmugisha) is the executive director of Sexual Minorities Uganda.

GT Menaka Guruswamy

LAWYER

In 2018, Menaka Guruswamy argued for the decriminalization of LGBT relationships before India's Supreme Court and won a landmark decision. Maintaining that the Indian Constitution must recognize love and not just sexual acts, Guruswamy artfully defined the essential problems with Section 377—a colonial-era law that penalized gay sex with prison terms. India's decision has prompted conversations on post-colonial law reform in other Commonwealth countries, including Malaysia and Kenya.



People celebrate in Bangalore on Sept. 6, 2018, after India's top court struck down a colonial-era law that penalized gay sex.

GT: ACTIVISM & THE ARTS

GT **Shawn Zhang**

STUDENT ACTIVIST

Armed with only Google Earth, Shawn Zhang, a student at the University of British Columbia, has taken on the full might of the Chinese government. In 2018, he began tracking the rise of extralegal detention centers in China's western region of Xinjiang, where an estimated 1 million or more members of ethnic minorities, mostly Uighurs, have been imprisoned in so-called re-education camps. Zhang's ability to match government records with satellite imagery has laid bare the Chinese government's efforts to forcibly assimilate its Uighur citizens.

GT **N.K. Jemisin**

AUTHOR

Science fiction writing has long been the domain of (mostly white) men. In 2018, when N.K. Jemisin—an African-American woman—won the prestigious Hugo Award for best sci-fi novel for the third consecutive year, it was clear that the landscape was changing. Jemisin's *Broken Earth* series has brought in diverse new readers, ideas, and interpretations. On receiving her third Hugo, Jemisin said: "As this genre finally, however grudgingly, acknowledges that the dreams of the marginalized matter and that all of us have a future, so will go the world."

GT **Ruth E. Carter**

COSTUME DESIGNER

Through dozens of projects over 30 years, Ruth E. Carter has spent her career exploring how fit and fabric can amplify identity on the screen. As the costume designer for *Black Panther*, one of the most influential films of 2018, she sought to balance both the divisions and the linkages between African-Americans and Africans in her representations of the fictional African kingdom of Wakanda. Through references to Masai warriors and Himba tailoring, she created a powerful vision of Afrofuturism that caught the attention of a global audience, from downtown Oakland to the mountains of Lesotho.

Global Press Freedom, by the Numbers

2018 WAS A GRIM YEAR for the freedom and safety of journalists around the world. In one of the year's landmark cases, reporters Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo were jailed for their investigation into the ongoing violence against the Rohingya in Myanmar. Their reporting from the country's Rakhine state provided hard evidence that government forces had killed 10 Rohingya men. Prosecutors charged them with a violation of the country's Official Secrets Act for being in

GT Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo

REUTERS JOURNALISTS

possession of documents that the police gave them shortly before their arrest. Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo are now set to serve seven years in prison for daring to tell the truth. They are not alone. As of Dec. 1, 2018, at least 251 journalists across the globe were imprisoned in connection to their work, according to the Committee to Project Journalists. Dozens of others were killed. This widespread crackdown on the press shows no signs of subsiding.—*Jefcoate O'Donnell and Benjamin Soloway*

SOURCES: THE COMMITTEE TO PROTECT JOURNALISTS, FREEDOM HOUSE. ALL FIGURES INDICATE THE MINIMUM NUMBER AS OF DECEMBER 2018.

59

Number of confirmed journalists and media workers around the world killed on the job in 2018.

5

Number of prosecutions related to leaks under U.S. President Donald Trump after nearly two years in office.

8: Number during President Barack Obama's two terms.

7

Known number of journalists seeking asylum in the United States who have been detained by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement for more than 30 days.

140

Number of journalists jailed in Turkey, China, and Egypt in 2018.

28: Number jailed for allegedly spreading false news.

263

Number of times that Trump tweeted complaints about the media in 2018, as of Dec. 12.

26

Documented number of countries where internet freedom demonstrably deteriorated in 2018.

GT Colin Kaepernick

FOOTBALL PLAYER

In 2016, Colin Kaepernick, then the quarterback for the San Francisco 49ers, began protesting racial inequality and police violence by kneeling when "The Star-Spangled Banner" was played before kickoff. This small act of personal dissent has, in two years, roiled not just the NFL but also the country. Kaepernick is currently suing the NFL for keeping him off the field. But he's far from benched: He has donated millions of dollars to social justice causes and has remained the face of athletic activism in 2018.



The Fight for Their Lives

The Parkland students' big battle to get gun control on the ballot.

ON FEB. 14, 2018, a 19-year-old gunman killed 17 students and staff at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida, in the deadliest high school shooting in U.S. history. Some of the survivors channeled their anger into a new drive for gun control. A month later, they convened a march in Washington, D.C., which some 800,000 people attended, and others across the country. The movement, called March for Our Lives, has since grown into a massive gun control organization and voter registration drive, with more than 200 chapters across the United States.

Matt Deitsch, a co-founder and chief strategist of the group, spent weeks on end in 2018 campaigning for gun control in 41 states. During the tour, he and other organizers sold and gave away more than 50,000 T-shirts emblazoned with a QR code that, when scanned with a smartphone, led directly to a voter registration site. Together with Apple, the students also created a popular get-out-the-vote video.



Deitsch, now 21, was not on campus on Feb. 14. But his sister and brother were. Both survived: Samantha turned 15 the day of the massacre. Ryan, who was 17, hid in a closet during the shooting and filmed the aftermath. Deitsch spoke to FOREIGN POLICY in November.

FOREIGN POLICY: Parkland activists had incredible momentum and visibility in 2018. How do you continue that fight going forward?

MATT DEITSCH: By helping young people and others affected by this issue to be educated and engaged. Bullets don't discriminate. It's not just about keeping the memory of Parkland—which obviously our group is never, ever going to fully move on from because it's so ingrained in who we are. More people are affected by this issue every day.



GT The Parkland Students

March for Our Lives activists pose for a photo in Washington, D.C., in July 2018. Top, from left: Daniel Williams and Bria Smith. Seated, middle row, from left: Jammal Lemy, Matt Deitsch, Matt Post, Naomi Wadler, Alex King, Ramon Contreras, Jaclyn Corin, and Kyrah Simon. Seated on the floor, from left: Lauren Hogg, David Hogg, Emma González, and Brandon Farbstein.

FP: How do you not feel despair?

MD: Because we have the guidebook to actually stop it. We've seen other countries rise up and stop it. What we're up against isn't the Constitution or the Founding Fathers. What we're up against is corruption and greed. We have a new Congress, and we're going to hold its members account-

able to do what they claimed they're going to do. We have several Gun Sense activists [gun control advocates] now in Congress, and we're going to continue to organize against the political players who choose to be complacent with this, because people are dying.

We are not safe in this country with the current gun laws. This is a uniquely American problem. We have to know that life is worth fighting for and that if we continue to rise up like we have in the last eight months, we will solve this problem before my generation has kids.

FP: What is the fight for 2019?

MD: We need to create a standard for responsible gun ownership and accountability for people who own firearms.

We have 10 policy points, including funding research on gun violence and treating it as a public health issue, universal background checks, disarming domestic abusers, comprehensive red flag laws, digitizing ATF [Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives] records, and addressing gun trafficking.

If an underage person in most states steals their parents' alcohol and hurts someone, their parents get felony charges. If you do the same with a gun, there are next to no consequences in most states. So it's about creating a standard of what responsibility looks like.—*Interview by Sarah Wildman. This conversation has been condensed and edited for publication.*

READERS' CHOICES

Editors' Note: In November, FOREIGN POLICY asked readers whom they would pick as Global Thinkers. Here are some of their responses.



GT Audrey Tang

DIGITAL MINISTER OF TAIWAN

The world's only transgender cabinet minister, Tang first came to prominence as a star computer programmer and entrepreneur.



GT Joey Joleen Mataele

LGBT RIGHTS ACTIVIST

A champion for transgender rights in Tonga and a beacon of hope and acceptance in the Pacific.



GT Moon Jae-in

PRESIDENT OF SOUTH KOREA

His quiet, backroom work to forge an opening between the West and North Korea was one of the world's defining diplomatic achievements of 2018.

“For his behind-the-scenes brinksmanship that is the true source of the diplomatic warming with North Korea.”

GT Janelle Monáe

ARTIST

An award-winning musician, model, and actress, Monáe consistently upends stereotypes as a queer black woman in the United States.

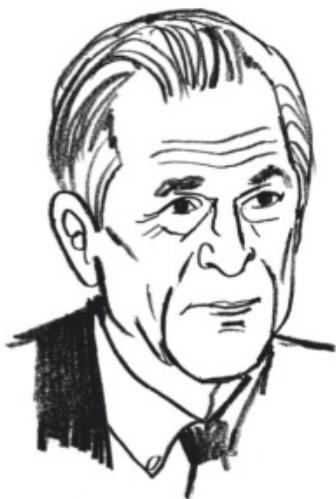




GT Michelle Bachelet

UNITED NATIONS
HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The former Chilean president assumed her new role at the United Nations in September 2018 and immediately called out Myanmar for its atrocities against the Rohingya.



GT Peter Navarro

TRADE ADVISOR TO U.S.
PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP

Navarro's job is to help oversee U.S. trade policy, but he is no diplomat: In 2018, he told Fox News that there was a "special place in hell" for Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

GT Jordan Peterson

AUTHOR AND CLINICAL
PSYCHOLOGIST

The Toronto-based Peterson, a polarizing culture warrior, has been called "the most influential public intellectual in the Western world," as well as "the professor of piffle" and "the stupid man's smart person."



GT Imran Khan

PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN

In 2018, Khan, a former cricket star, finally got the job he had long coveted: prime minister. His reward was an incredibly difficult to-do list, starting with Pakistan's looming fiscal and debt crisis.

GT Michelle Obama

BEST-SELLING AUTHOR AND
FORMER FIRST LADY OF THE UNITED STATES

A searing, powerful, authentic voice addressing America's racial divides and inequality.

"She's been one of the best representative thinkers on women's empowerment and girls' development."



GT Nabeel Rajab

BAHRAINI HUMAN
RIGHTS ACTIVIST

Rajab played a leading role in Bahrain's 2011 pro-democracy uprising but has been imprisoned for several years for dissent. Human rights organizations are campaigning for his release.

THE DEBARRIED

Love After an Apocalypse

Holocaust survivor
Marceline Loridan-
Ivens never stopped
grappling with loss—
or fighting to live.

By Jean-Marc Dreyfus

MARCELINE LORIDAN-IVENS, née Rozenberg, died on Sept. 18, 2018, in Paris. She was 90 years old.

In 1944, at age 15, Loridan-Ivens was deported from the Vaucluse region of southern France eventually to the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp with her father. He did not survive; she went on to become a writer, filmmaker, actress, public speaker, and, above all, a singular witness to history. Small in size, outspoken, and with a wild mane of signature red hair, Loridan-Ivens became a beloved public figure, known for her Parisian cheek, her energy, and her humor.

Loridan-Ivens frequently lectured on her experiences. As she once told an interviewer, “I know I have the duty to express myself and add my voice to those of people who have had the courage to speak before the death of the last survivor sends the camps into the realm of history once and for all.” And so she did.

Late in her long life, Loridan-Ivens published a series of memoirs that tackled the experience and subsequent impact of the war. The first—*Ma vie balagan* (“My Messy Life,” *balagan* meaning “chaotic” in Hebrew), published in 2008—is a sweeping look at her life from deportation through to the 2000s. Her second—*Et tu n’es pas revenu* (“But You Did Not Come Back”)—came out in 2015 and became a best-seller in France. It is an open letter to her father.

Her third and last memoir—*L’amour après* (“Love, After”)—was published only last year. It is nominally a story of her deportation, but it also confronts how she reconnected with the ideas of love and sexuality after returning from a death camp. In remarkably frank prose, Loridan-Ivens recalls how it took her years to reconcile with her own body, which, she explains, was simultaneously sexually violated—the Nazi





GT Kofi Annan

1938-2018 | DIPLOMAT

Kofi Annan, the seventh person to lead the United Nations, embodied the organization's best and worst. As the first secretary-general from sub-Saharan Africa, Annan championed diplomacy and the need to talk to one's adversaries. But as head of U.N. peacekeeping forces, he failed to prevent the slaughter of more than 800,000 people during the Rwandan genocide, which stained his legacy. Even so, Annan was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2001 (along with the United Nations) for working to contain the spread of HIV in Africa, combating international terrorism, revitalizing the U.N., and promoting human rights.

GT Jamal Khashoggi

1958-2018 | JOURNALIST

Jamal Khashoggi's *Washington Post* columns were grounded in a central hope for his native Saudi Arabia: a future marked by greater freedom. Khashoggi came of age as an Islamist but later embraced democratic reforms. He exposed the corruption at the heart of the Saudi government and advocated for political change across the Arab world. A onetime confidant of the Saudi royal court, Khashoggi was killed, allegedly by operatives linked to Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, in October 2018 while visiting the Saudi consulate in Istanbul.



GT: THE DEPARTED

doctor Josef Mengele was the first man to see her naked—and dismissed and degraded as a Jewish body. Just as Holocaust historians had turned their attention to documenting questions about gender, intimacy, and sexuality among Holocaust victims, Loridan-Ivens unabashedly narrated her unapologetic quest for pleasure and love after the war.

Loridan-Ivens was among the first French Holocaust

GT **Marceline Loridan-Ivens**

1928-2018 |
FILMMAKER AND WRITER

survivors to be interviewed for a cinematic work. She appeared in the documentary *Chronique d'un été* ("Chronicle of a Summer"), which won the Critics' Award at the Cannes Film Festival in 1961. Directed by the filmmaker and visual anthropologist Jean Rouch and the sociologist Edgar Morin, it was a pioneering work of *cinéma vérité*. In a series of vignettes, Loridan-Ivens recounts the story of her deportation.

In one, she walks through Paris's Place de la Concorde and speaks of her murdered father. In a second, she discusses her deportation. In the scene that has had the longest cultural foothold, Loridan-Ivens meets several young African students, recently arrived in France, during a rushed attempt by the government to train leaders for the newly independent states of West Africa. Loridan-Ivens explains to them the meaning of the number tattooed on her arm. The young men are taken aback and surprised. The scene showed, as

the scholar Michael Rothberg would later write, how the movement to mark Holocaust memory emerged at the same time as the movements for civil rights and decolonization. Crafting a term that rapidly became standard among scholars, he described it as representative of "multidirectional memory."

In the 1950s, she joined a group of intellectuals in the leftist underground Jeanson network, named for the philosopher Francis Jeanson, who supported the Algerian National Liberation Front. She even, at great personal risk, hid money for the front. With her second husband, the Dutch-born Joris Ivens, she directed numerous movies in and on China. Like many leftist French intellectuals at the time, she was deeply sympathetic to Maoism. (She later renounced the far-left.) From the late 1950s until the last days of her life, Loridan-Ivens was a fixture on Paris's Saint-Germain-des-Prés scene, spending time with intellectuals including Roland Barthes and Georges Pérec. (She briefly dated the latter.) Until recently, she could often be spotted at the legendary Café de Flore.

In her last few years, she had begun to worry about modern anti-Semitism and what would happen when she was no longer present to speak. Indeed, few such voices remain. With the death of each Holocaust survivor, the eulogies and obituaries have become a meditation on the future of Holocaust history and memory in the absence of direct witnesses. The number of survivors in France capable of still publicly offering testimony to the horrors of the war has now dwindled to a small handful. ■

JEAN-MARC DREYFUS is a visiting fellow at the University of Southern California's Center for Advanced Genocide Research.

GT **V.S. Naipaul**

1932-2018 | WRITER

On awarding V.S. Naipaul the Nobel Prize for literature in 2001, the Swedish Academy called him "a literary circumnavigator, only ever really at home in himself, in his inimitable voice." To his critics, the Trinidad and Tobago-born Naipaul was a bigot. To his admirers, he was a fearless observer of humankind, with all its cruelties and ironies. An acclaimed literary craftsman of both fiction and nonfiction, Naipaul turned his unsparing gaze on a range of big topics: colonization, globalization, Islam, Africa, India, and the Deep South of the United States. "If a writer doesn't generate hostility," he said in 2001, "he is dead."



'Help Earth! Hurry!'

KOKO THE GORILLA CAPTIVATED THE WORLD with her ability to communicate using sign language. By the time of her death, her vocabulary included approximately 2,000 words—thus offering powerful new evidence of the cognitive abilities of great apes. Though research into her language skills was persistently dogged by questions about its scientific efficacy, Koko became a symbol of interspecies communication. In 2015, she starred in a public service announcement to plead for action to combat global warming, providing a compelling voice on behalf of biodiversity and fodder for fact-checkers who attacked her comprehension. Asked in 1981 where gorillas go when they die, Koko signed, “Comfortable hole bye.”

Koko the Gorilla

1971-2018 | COMMUNICATOR

declaration of love for life under the most difficult conditions. "If you feel you are in a black hole, don't give up," he said. "There's a way out."

Hawking was a very good physicist, among the best of his generation—although not the new Albert Einstein or Isaac Newton that journalists made him out to be. (Hawking liked to playfully encourage this exaggeration.) His major discovery was the fact that black holes radiate heat like a stove. Today, that heat is called Hawking radiation, and although it has yet to be observed—and is unlikely to be anytime soon because it is so weak—its existence has been widely accepted.

Hawking radiation is important because it involves both gravity and quantum theory—that is, it gestures toward reconciling the two major, but seemingly contradictory, advances in physics of the 20th century, the discoveries of space-time and the laws of the submicroscopic world. With his finding, Hawking offered a clue toward solving the great puzzle of contemporary physics: understanding quantum gravity, the theory that describes all subatomic aspects of space and

GT Stephen Hawking

1942-2018 | PHYSICIST

time. Much current research, including my own, refers to Hawking's breakthrough or tries to deepen it.

Hawking summed up his discovery in a beautiful formula, which gives the temperature T of the radiation emitted by a nonrotating black hole with mass M . It is extremely simple: $T = \frac{hc^3}{8\pi GMk}$. No other formula so elegantly pulls together all the basic chapters of physics: the Planck constant h of quantum theory, the speed of light c of relativity, the Newtonian constant G of gravitation, and the Boltzmann constant k of thermodynamics. Hawking was so proud of his formula (rightly so) that before his death he asked that it be inscribed on his gravestone.

Hawking's greatest achievement, however, lies in his humanity. A wheelchair user due to early-onset ALS, he gradually lost control of most of the muscles in his body. At the end of his life, he was only able to communicate with the public via the thin thread of a software that read the movements of his eyes and cheek muscles and translated them into letters and then words, which were ultimately pronounced by his vocal synthesizer. Even watching this painfully slow process was exhausting.

Yet the voice of that synthesizer reached the whole world. Hawking, a Brit, managed to make that famous American-accented metallic voice his own and a natural channel for his brilliant intelligence and irony. Although his body kept



GT Winnie Madikizela-Mandela

1936-2018 | POLITICIAN

When her husband, Nelson Mandela, was sentenced to life in prison in 1964, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela rose in prominence as a leader of South Africa's anti-apartheid struggle. More militant than her husband (the two divorced in 1996), Madikizela-Mandela was imprisoned repeatedly and subjected to torture and solitary confinement. Her unwavering activism would earn her the honorific "Mother of the Nation," though her reputation was tainted by allegations of murder and fraud.

GT Bernard Lewis

1916-2018 | HISTORIAN

No historian had a greater influence on neoconservative thinking about foreign policy, and the administration of George W. Bush, than Bernard Lewis. The British-born historian saw Islamic extremism as representative of a three-century "downward spiral of hate and spite, rage and self-pity, poverty and oppression." Widely respected for his scholarship, Lewis could also be strident. He once skeptically suggested that the odds of Yasser Arafat giving up terrorism were like those of Tiger Woods giving up golf. Unsurprisingly, his critics frequently accused him of being condescending toward Arabs.

GT: THE DEPARTED

deteriorating, his spirit did not; he continued to produce quality physics until the very end and also wrote books that reached an immense audience. In the 30 years since its publication, *A Brief History of Time* has sold more than 10 million copies, and it still inspires young people everywhere to study and love the universe.

In a world increasingly beset by localism, greed, religious obscurantism, shortsightedness, and conflict, Hawking's ideas stood out as a reminder of the best of the Enlightenment. That was certainly true in the positions he took on public policies related to his own personal circumstance, including his calls to protect the rights of the disabled and to legalize assisted suicide for the terminally ill. But it was also true of his vision of the universe, the vastness of which was a constant reminder of the fragility and communal nature of human destiny.

Hawking didn't find his strength in any sort of transcendent consolations; although he liked to evoke God for rhetorical effect, he was resolutely atheist. Instead, Hawking continuously reminded us that humanity could survive only by collaborating, by leaving aside puerile beliefs in the greatness of single nations or individuals. In 2006, he posted, unprompted, an open query on the internet: "In a world that

is in chaos politically, socially and environmentally, how can the human race sustain another 100 years?" It wasn't a rhetorical question but a sincere—and successful—prompt to solicit answers from as many others as possible.

The thin thread that connected Hawking to us is now broken. But before dissolving into the immensity of that vast cosmos that he loved so dearly, he left us with his most precious gift: the luminous example that was his force of life, curiosity, intelligence, and vision. It's the reason Hawking will continue to live for many more years—in our science, in our memory, and in our common understanding of what we are in the universe. For that, we should all be grateful. ■

CARLO ROVELLI (@*carlorovelli*) is an Italian theoretical physicist and FP Global Thinker.

GT Anthony Bourdain

1956-2018 | WRITER AND TV HOST

Anthony Bourdain's love of food became the lens through which he understood the world. A chef-turned-memoirist-turned-CNN host, Bourdain traveled widely and relentlessly, eating whatever was put in front of him and interviewing the people who had made it. His genuine interest in ordinary people informed his journalism, which elevated the stories of marginalized people and their cuisines. That concern for everyday men and women also informed his politics. "Once you've been to Cambodia, you'll never stop wanting to beat Henry Kissinger to death with your bare hands," he wrote in 2001.

**GT John McCain**

1936-2018 | U.S. SENATOR

During more than three decades on Capitol Hill, John McCain carefully cultivated his role as a rule-breaker. A media darling, he rarely shied away from controversy, championing campaign finance and immigration reform and pushing through a ban on torture—a policy informed by his own experience as a prisoner of war in North Vietnam. After 9/11, McCain became one of the U.S. military's most forceful advocates in Congress. His ambition to become president eluded him, but he pursued the office with what now appears to be an almost extinct political style, marked by grace toward his opponent.

FP GUIDE



LEADERS IN GRADUATE EDUCATION

**A LOOK AT
INNOVATIVE
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& LEADERS**

10

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“At Thunderbird, we have a great vision to be the vanguard of the vanguard of global management education around the world.”

–Sanjeev Khagram,
Dean and Director
General, Thunderbird
School of Global
Management, Arizona
State University

**Sanjeev Khagram,
Dean and Director General
Arizona State University,
Thunderbird School of Global
Management**

“In today’s world, a new era of global leadership is certainly needed in the private sector, and it is also desperately needed in government agencies and international organizations,” says Sanjeev Khagram, dean and director general of the Thunderbird School of Global Management at Arizona State University (ASU). “At Thunderbird, we are committed to training and empowering current and future executives of international enterprises and networks of all kinds.”

Khagram is widely recognized as a transdisciplinary thinker who will reinforce Thunderbird’s traditional areas of global management and leadership. Since joining the school in July 2018, he has been planning curriculum innovations with an eye toward offering students what he calls “the most interdisciplinary global leadership and management education on the planet.”

As a world-renowned expert in global leadership, the international political economy, sustainable development, and the data revolution, Khagram takes an approach to curriculum development grounded in three underlying dynamics he observes in the world:

1. The resurgence of materialism and parochialism in the age of globalization.
2. The challenges of living in the age of Anthropocene—the epoch of significant human impact on the earth’s geology and ecosystems.
3. The challenges and opportunities of the Fourth Industrial Revolution—the recognition that we are on the brink of a technological revolution that will fundamentally alter the way we live, work, and relate to one another.

With these trends in mind, the school anticipates launching a major new program in 2020. Meanwhile, Thunderbird has also relocated from its historic Glendale, Arizona, campus to the ASU campus in downtown Phoenix, which is also home to the university’s Sandra Day O’Connor College of Law; Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Media; and its schools of nursing, health solutions, social work, and public affairs.

Khagram has taught at Harvard University, Stanford University, Singapore’s Lee Kuan Yew School, and numerous other universities around the world. He has also worked extensively with global start-ups, corporations, governments, civil society groups, multilateral organizations, cross-sectoral action networks, public-private partnerships, foundations, and professional associations across the globe, from the local to the international levels.

Born into a prominent entrepreneurial family of Asian Indian heritage, Sanjeev Khagram was only 6 years old when his family became refugees from Idi Amin’s Uganda. The family immigrated into the United States in 1973, via refugee camps in Italy. The young Sanjeev’s first entrepreneurial venture was in New Jersey, at age 13, when he began setting up gift shops in local hotels.

Even while pursuing his PhD at Stanford University, Khagram exercised his entrepreneurial inventiveness by forming a chain of convenience stores in the Bay Area and bringing family members to manage them. Meanwhile, his graduate work focused on the rise and fall of large dam projects around the world, drawing on his diverse background in engineering, environmental science, economics, and politics. In 1997, Khagram founded the World Commission on Dams to research the environmental, social, and economic impacts of the development of large dams globally.

While seeing innovation in the private sector as the driver of the global economy, Khagram also recognizes that innovation in itself cannot solve the great problems of humanity. “ASU’s programs bring the private and public sectors together in a unique way,” he says. “At Thunderbird, we have a great vision to be the vanguard of the vanguard in global management education around the world.”



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"I want students to think through how to adapt methods to a particular context. They need to get a feel for how research methods work in the field."

—Sarah Parkinson, Aronson Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Studies, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS)

Sarah Parkinson, Aronson Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Studies

Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies

"My approach to teaching is centered on the idea that policymaking should be informed by current research," says Sarah Parkinson, Aronson assistant professor of political science and international studies at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). "The decisions our students will make in their future careers have the potential to affect policymakers as well as people on the ground in the regions where our graduates will be working."

Parkinson's own research examines organizational behavior and social change during and following war. She has conducted extensive fieldwork in Lebanon and Iraq. The catalyst that initially inspired her work dates back to an undergraduate course in Arabic. Parkinson developed a love of the language and a deep interest in the history of the Middle East. That passion eventually brought her to Lebanon as a language student in the summer of 2007. At that time the Lebanese military had launched a campaign against a small militant group that had taken up residence in a Palestinian refugee camp where tens of thousands of civilians were living.

Seizing an opportunity to accompany a journalist on interviews with Palestinian leaders, Parkinson was able to speak directly with them about the issues their communities were facing and recognize the politics at work. Her understanding of those exchanges in the context of the history of Palestinians in Lebanon eventually led to the work Parkinson does today.



Focusing primarily on the Middle East and North Africa, Parkinson uses social network analysis and ethnographic methods to study the ways in which actors such as militant organizations, political factions, and humanitarian groups cope with crisis, disruption, and fragmentation. She is working on a book about the evolution of Palestinian militant organizations and civilian communities in Lebanon throughout the 1980s. It specifically examines factors such as occupation, spying, incarceration, and the role of gender in conflict settings.

In the classroom, Parkinson shares her expertise in qualitative methods and social network theory by examining how a professional such as a consultant or humanitarian worker might use a particular analytical technique or leverage research findings in the field. Her students work through real-world applications of the research they read and analyze as part of their coursework.

"Researchers often apply technical knowledge to situations where local nuances also matter a great deal," says Parkinson. "I want students to think through how to adapt methods to a particular context. They need to get a feel for how research methods work in the field."

Johns Hopkins SAIS students have a variety of opportunities for field-based experiences abroad. In addition, by using the classroom as a place where students learn real-world skills, Parkinson's teaching helps bridge the gap between theory and practice. Her students gain increased understanding of conflicts taking place in environments where it might not be safe for them to travel and where the presence of researchers might seem disrespectful to local populations.

STUDY WITH PURPOSE

"It's never been more important to study international relations at a school that understands that truth is elusive but real; that history cannot be rewritten to suit today's preferences; that tradeoffs are inescapable facts of economic life; and that leaders are those who inspire, not those who inflame."

— ELIOT COHEN, PhD

Director of the Philip Merrill Center for Strategic Studies and Robert E. Osgood Professor of Strategic Studies



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“The Josef Korbel School and the Sié Center have been at the forefront of efforts to democratize education by breaking down some of the barriers that prevent knowledge developed in the academy from actually reaching the people who need it.”

–Marie Berry, Assistant Professor of International Comparative Politics, Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver

Marie Berry, Director, Inclusive Global Leadership Initiative

University of Denver, Josef Korbel School of International Studies

Graduate students at the University of Denver’s Josef Korbel School of International Studies have opportunities to learn from women leaders who are mobilizing their communities to address some of the most pressing issues of our time. Among them: a Nigerian lawyer and activist working to defend women’s rights, an organizer of the U.S. Women’s March, and a team of media and film producers working to end conflict in the Middle East.

Those women are among the practitioners in residence and guest speakers hosted by the Inclusive Global Leadership Initiative (IGLI) at the Josef Korbel School’s Sié Chéou-Kang Center for International Security and Diplomacy. The initiative seeks to fill a gap in the study of gender, peace, and security by concentrating on women working at the grassroots level, in addition to policy leaders.

“Students are included in every activity when these leaders come to campus,” says IGLI Director Marie Berry, assistant professor of international comparative politics at the Josef Korbel School.

IGLI has three areas of focus: innovative research on the role of women and other underrepresented groups in movements for peace and security; coursework and public programs featuring speakers and practitioners-in-residence; and a summer institute for women activists who lead movements to advance peace, human rights, and security around the world. Each year, the institute brings 15 women activists from around the world to the University of Denver for training and discussions on how to use civil resistance to pursue their work peacefully and maximize its effectiveness.

Thanks to IGLI programs, Josef Korbel School students benefit from coursework enhanced by a solid understanding of gender in security and leadership, as well as opportunities to participate in related research projects. About one-third of the school’s 260-plus graduate students are employed as research assistants in these and other research programs.

IGLI’s Micro-Mobilization (MicroMob) Research Project, for example, analyzes photos of protests to identify social dynamics related to gender. Berry also co-directs the Women’s Rights After War (WRAW) Project, which examines international efforts to strengthen the roles of women in post-war societies.

IGLI has hosted visits to the Josef Korbel School campus by prominent activists such as Hauwa Ibrahim, an author and human rights lawyer from Nigeria, and Carmen Perez, one of the national co-chairs of the U.S. Women’s March. Suhad Babaa, the executive director of Just Vision, spoke about the power of strategic storytelling for building peace in Israel-Palestine. In fall 2019, IGLI will host former Syrian radio show host Honey Al Sayed as a practitioner-in-residence. Al Sayed’s radio show drew millions of daily listeners before she was forced to flee her country as war closed in.

In addition to nurturing female grassroots activists, the Josef Korbel School and the Sié Center have received grants from the Carnegie Corporation of New York’s Rigor and Relevance Initiative to ensure that academic research findings enter into policy discussions and work on the ground.

“The Josef Korbel School and the Sié Center have been at the forefront of efforts to democratize education by breaking down some of the barriers that prevent knowledge developed in the academy from actually reaching the people who need it,” says Berry.





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“We brought an incredibly important conversation to campus as a way of engaging with the world.”

–Judith Kelley, Dean, Sanford School of Public Policy, Duke University

Judith Kelley, Dean

Duke University, Sanford School of Public Policy

Within weeks after Yazidi activist Nadia Murad from Iraq received the Nobel Peace Prize, she was on stage at Duke University’s Sanford School of Public Policy to talk about her campaign to end sexual violence in war. Sanford School Dean Judith Kelley drew on her own research on human trafficking to interview Murad, illustrating how Sanford’s faculty members help students probe connections between the global and the local.

“We brought an incredibly important conversation to campus as a way of engaging with the world,” says Kelley. “The whole world has gotten more closely connected, and the issues we have to contend with are growing exponentially.”

Kelley’s work focuses on how states, international organizations, and nongovernmental organizations can promote domestic political reforms in problem states, and how international norms, laws, and other governance tools influence state behavior. In addition to human trafficking, she studies the effectiveness of various approaches to international election observation and of initiatives that seek to advance human rights and democracy.

Such work is an example of the many paths that graduate students can pursue at the Duke Sanford School. Collaborations occur across the university and far beyond. In global health, for example, research spans medical schools at Duke and in Singapore, as well as the Duke Global Health Institute. Sanford’s energy and environment programs collaborate with the Nicholas School of the Environment and the Nicholas Institute for Environmental Policy Solutions at Duke.

Students interested in national security benefit from the American Grand Strategy Program,



which brings high-profile speakers to campus from the security, diplomatic, and military worlds. Previous guests have included former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Nikki Haley and Marine Gen. Joseph Dunford, the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The Sanford School’s flagship graduate degree is the Master of Public Policy. The school’s Center for International Development also offers a Master of International Development Policy for mid-career professionals. Last year, the program drew students from 20 countries.

Sanford’s Global Policy program in Geneva provides summer internship and education options. And an International Master of Environmental Policy program prepares students at Duke Kunshan University in China to address global environmental issues and policies through a multidisciplinary lens.

“There are just so many opportunities for our students,” says Kelley.

To advance constructive dialogue in an era of social divisions, Duke Sanford School courses address issues such as power imbalances and structural inequality. Outside of class, a committee on diversity and inclusion holds brown-bag discussions and provides training. Student groups such as Sanford Pride, the Latin American and Caribbean Group, and Sanford Women in Policy strive to make the campus welcoming to all.

With only 65 to 80 students per cohort, students can have a personalized experience and tailored career counseling. Typically, about 75 percent of graduates are employed within three months of beginning their job search, and 95 percent find jobs within one year.

“With our small program size and collaborative spirit, students can establish career connections that reach across continents,” says Kelley.



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"To change the world, first you need to understand it."

—Lee Feinstein, former Ambassador and Dean, Hamilton Lugar School of Global and International Studies

Lee Feinstein, Dean

Hamilton Lugar School of Global and International Studies, Indiana University

With a new name and several new programs, Indiana University's Hamilton Lugar School of Global and International Studies builds on a long tradition of excellence in educating principled and nonpartisan global leaders at a time when the world needs them more than ever.

The school's name reflects the leadership of former U.S. Rep. Lee H. Hamilton and former U.S. Sen. Richard G. Lugar and the university's commitment to creating leaders who celebrate differences and seek shared understanding. To honor Hamilton and Lugar's historic work, the school will offer the Global Leadership Scholars Program, supporting full master's degree fellowships, including tuition, fees, and a living stipend. As Hamilton notes, "This nation is never finished. It has to be recreated in each generation."

Hamilton and Lugar know the value of a degree from the school in the heartland of America that bears their names. "One learns early on that talent and accomplishments count—but honesty and integrity count more," says Lugar, professor of practice at the Hamilton Lugar School.

Both Hamilton and Lugar serve as distinguished scholars at the Hamilton Lugar School. They are part of a faculty of more than 100 full-time scholars, including professors in area studies and language, as well as policy scholars who are former ambassadors and senior government officials focusing on global institutions, political economy, and international relations.



The school's innovative, multidisciplinary programs emphasize cultural fluency and applied social policy, based on the premise that, as former ambassador and Dean Lee Feinstein says, "To change the world, first you need to understand it."

The Hamilton Lugar School is one of the few that fully integrate global and area studies into the curriculum, ensuring that students graduate not only with expertise in global affairs, but also with knowledge about the regional cultures, languages, and perspectives that shape the world.

In 2018, eleven of Hamilton Lugar's area studies centers and programs—the most of any school in the nation—were awarded an \$18.8 million four-year grant under the Department of Education's prestigious Title VI program. In the first year, the school will receive \$4.7 million, including foreign language and area studies awards that will provide Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) fellowships and scholarships to more than 80 students. The school's renowned program in area studies and instruction in 80 languages cover almost every area of the world and are central to the success of the school.

The Hamilton Lugar School offers an MA and MS in International Studies and supports Language Flagship programs in Arabic, Mandarin, Turkish, and Russian. IU is the only university with four such programs. The MS degree emphasizes data-driven solutions to global challenges.

In area studies, the school offers master's degrees in East Asian Studies and in its renowned program in Russian and East European Studies. The school also offers master's degrees in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures and in Central Eurasian Studies, as well as MA degrees focusing on Africa, Europe, Latin America, and other areas.

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“We aim to produce graduates who can bridge the gap between science and policy.”

–Gregory Koblentz, Director, Biodefense Graduate Programs, Schar School of Policy and Government, George Mason University

Gregory Koblentz, Director, Biodefense Graduate Programs

George Mason University, Schar School of Policy and Government

“Today’s world is so interconnected that anywhere in the world is basically just a flight away from any outbreak or biological threat. To be prepared locally, we need to be prepared globally,” says Gregory Koblentz, associate professor and director of the graduate programs in Biodefense at George Mason University’s Schar School of Policy and Government.

With a focus on global health security, the Schar School’s Biodefense programs train students to prevent, prepare for, and respond to the full range of biological threats, from naturally occurring pandemics to deliberate threats from biological weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). The Biodefense graduate programs include the Master’s in Biodefense, PhD in Biodefense, and Graduate Certificate in Biodefense.

“We aim to produce graduates who can bridge the gap between science and policy,” says Koblentz, who also serves as an associate faculty member of the Schar School’s Center for Security Policy Studies and as a member of the Scientist Working Group on Biological and Chemical Security at the Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation in Washington, D.C.

The Schar School’s Master’s in Biodefense program, offered on campus and online, provides students with a foundation in microbiology and biotechnology within a broader security and policy context. Through courses in global health security, disaster response, biosurveillance, nonproliferation, and other areas, the program prepares students for influential roles in public health, policy, and scientific endeavors across the public and private sectors.

The Schar School’s graduate programs meld theory with practice. They challenge students to apply rigorous analysis to complex issues and make a positive contribution to the world. The school’s largest program is the Master’s in International Security, which provides a strong background in theories of international relations and strategic thinking. It offers electives on a wide range of topics, from great power competition to terrorism and WMD, as well as nontraditional threats from crime and corruption, cyberspace, food and natural resource insecurities, and more.

Schar School faculty members are internationally recognized for their scholarship and advisory roles in the public and private sectors. Notable faculty members include:

- General (ret.) Michael Hayden, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the National Security Agency (NSA) and founder of the Schar School’s Michael V. Hayden Center for Intelligence, Policy, and International Affairs
- Robert Deitz, former general counsel at the NSA and senior counselor to the director of the CIA
- Ellen Laipson, former president and CEO of the Stimson Center
- Ambassador Richard Kauzlarich, who served as U.S. ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina and to Azerbaijan

The Schar School was ranked third in the country by *U.S. News & World Report* in 2018, thanks to its top-quality program concentrations in National/Homeland Security and Emergency Management. This speaks to the quality of the school’s curriculum in international affairs, national security, public health, and other areas.

The Schar School is located on George Mason’s Arlington, Virginia, campus, in close proximity to downtown Washington, D.C. Classes are offered in the evening, and most programs may be pursued on either a part-time or full-time basis.



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reviews



Press 'A' to Study Harder

A new video game captures the anxiety of Chinese parenting. *By Rui Zhong*

MY SON IS HUNCHED OVER A TABLE stacked high with books, practice guides, and homework. Dramatic music blares as he studies for the intensely competitive *gaokao*; if he aces it, he'll earn a place in one of China's most prestigious colleges. If he doesn't, he'll be doomed to mediocrity. Fortunately, I've boosted his intelligence score while managing his stress levels and my parental satisfaction—and all of that is tracked by two bars at the top of the screen.

That's because this stressful multitasking is taking place in a video game. Of course, for millions of Chinese parents, it remains a grueling reality—one rarely depicted in a national

media that often portrays child-rearing as a noble national duty. That gap is one reason why *Chinese Parents*, a PC and mobile game developed by the small Chinese studio Moyuwan and published by Coconut Island Games, has been such a hit. Using keen observational humor, the game frames Chinese child-rearing as an overwhelming marathon. Published in simplified Chinese on Sept. 29, 2018, the game rose

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quickly to become the second-highest selling title on Steam, the most popular PC gaming marketplace worldwide.

The simulation captures the problems and dilemmas that many urban middle-class Chinese families encounter while attempting to raise a child who is safe, happy, and productive—but who will also make enough money to support his (so far, the game lets you raise only a boy) parents in return. In social media posts about the game, the recurring term used to describe it is *guoyu zhenshi*, or excessively realistic.

Players are often prompted to reply to the question “Has this ever happened to you?” during the game’s myriad randomized events—which can include your child feeling ignored by a teacher and asking a parent why they aren’t as wealthy as a schoolmate’s family. Many of these experiences touch on questions of class, peer pressure, anxiety, and classic adolescent reluctance to share secrets with parents.

In China, education is a status symbol, economic aspiration, and social safety net rolled into one. The game aptly portrays the question “Where does your son go to school?” using literal one-on-one battles, a visual illustration of the real-life cultural significance of education. This isn’t just about the micromanagement of tiger parenting;

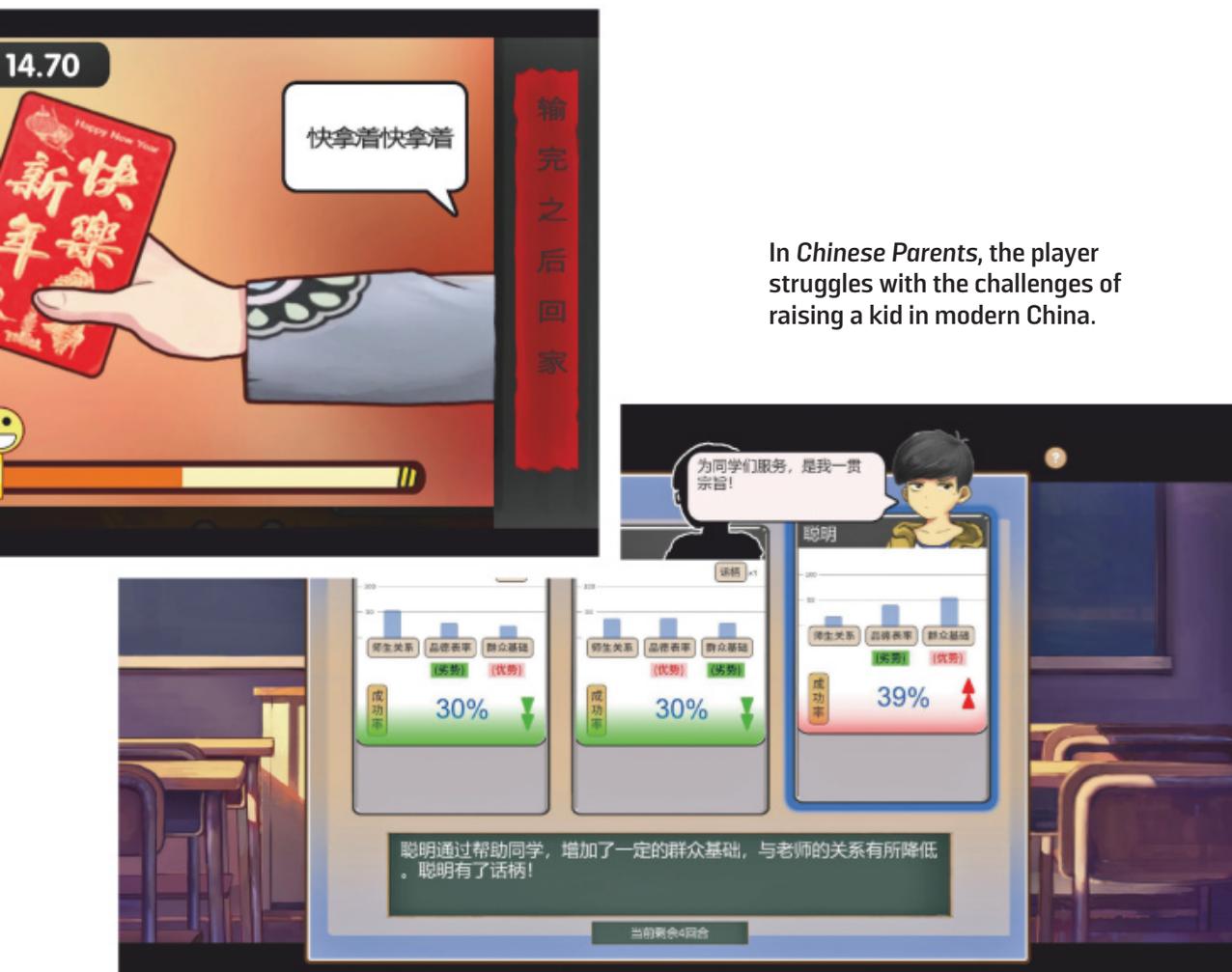
Chinese Parents captures perfectly the clash between larger society’s economic limitations and deeply personal financial anxieties.

the game is also a snapshot of Chinese society at a time of extreme consumption matched with equal anxiety about the future. Even as the country heads into a consumer spending crunch, education, an area where urban parents routinely spend 10 times the country’s per capita disposable income to take a child from elementary school to college, is unlikely to see corners cut.

For Chinese parents, spending on kids’ education is one way of showing love—but children also act as a key component of retirement plans. With pensions shaky and care costs growing, an educated child who scores a prime job in officialdom or business is the best bet for a healthy future. Though

the one-child policy is now defunct, its guidelines set the norm for the last three decades. That means, pragmatically, most families get only one shot.

Chinese Parents captures perfectly the clash between larger society’s economic limitations and deeply personal financial anxieties. Within the game, attempts to communicate with your digital kid—who is able to dream, doubt, and feel the stress of his increasing course load—help make players more empathetic. The game may also allow young parents to work through and relieve their own anxieties. As one reviewer described the game’s impact on the Q&A website Zhihu: “I’m not sure just how long this game is going to stay



In *Chinese Parents*, the player struggles with the challenges of raising a kid in modern China.

popular, but in terms of getting players to consider the real attitudes they face life with ... it's already succeeded."

The game spans infancy to college. On entering elementary school, two meters—parental satisfaction and personal stress—appear at the top of the screen. From that point, the challenges of balancing the growth of your child's statistics, such as charm and intelligence, and decisions over what to put in the child's six activity slots mount rapidly. Lessons, extracurriculars, and tempting out-of-school activities appear as options to slot into your son's schedule. Visiting relatives and passersby will inquire about just how well a parent is raising her child, prompting one-on-one duels that test the mother's *mianzi* (literally "face"), or reputation. Harsh penalties for high stress levels, including your child running away from home, punish tiger parents too eager to cram schedules full with studying and activities.

After receiving his gaokao results, the

in-game child is either condemned to the fate of attending a middling college or takes the crucial social-climbing step of enrolling in a first-rate university. The child then eventually finds a partner, marries, has a child of his own, and passes some of his stats over to the next generation. Free online guides and videos walk players who want a cheat sheet through the necessary steps to eventually place their teen into Tsinghua University, China's top science school, or Peking University, its humanities-oriented counterpart.

The game has been a surprise megahit. Speaking to the state-run *People's Daily*, Yu Ming, one of the game's developers, commented: "It never came to mind that as of today [Oct. 30, 2018], sales would surpass 500,000." The studio aims for future updates and plans to add minigames, events, and additional customization options.

Critics have pointed out that there are no other options than a heterosexual

male child. Developers have responded that they are planning patches that will allow players to choose the gender of their child for a different gameplay experience. Even so, there are limits to what a parenting game such as *Chinese Parents* can simulate. Recent discussions have focused on how a game might present the challenges and the even more difficult battle that a migrant worker family would face to get their child into a top school.

Unfortunately, such content probably wouldn't make it past the censors. At a time when Chinese cultural regulators are cracking down on content with increased levels of scrutiny, integrating police presence into gaming spaces, and freezing the greenlighting process for new software, *Chinese Parents'* breakout success has been remarkable. Especially given that Moyuwan provides earnest and relatively accurate social commentary.

Young children attending Mandarin-language lessons have long learned a fable about Mencius, China's second-most famous philosopher. When he was a child, his mother moved home three times in order to make sure he was surrounded by learning, ensuring that he got what he needed to thrive. Given such tenacity, Mencius's mother wouldn't have broken a sweat at *Chinese Parents'* toughest levels. Perhaps she wrote the original walk-through. ■

RUI ZHONG (@*rzhongnotes*) is the program assistant for the Kissinger Institute on China and the United States at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.



Broke in Beirut

In *Capernaum*, Nadine Labaki finds a new way for film to deal with poverty. *By Bilal Qureshi*

LEBANON'S OFFICIAL ENTRY for best foreign language film in this year's Academy Awards is *Capernaum* ("Chaos"), a masterpiece set in Beirut's slums. The film is an exquisitely directed story of a destitute boy and the Ethiopian baby he is left to raise. *Capernaum* takes two very grim subjects—the plight of refugees and grinding poverty—and manages to turn them into an immersive and unforgettable piece of cinema.

The story begins with the protagonist, Zain (played by Zain Al Rafeea), who estimates he is 12 years old, standing in a courtroom, explaining to a judge that he is suing his parents for the crime of bringing him into the world. The film then dives backward into the hell that was the boy's childhood, showing viewers why Zain has chosen to take such a drastic step.

The film opens with aerial images of Beirut's overcrowded, sprawling slums with no sign of the touristic vistas that line the glittering Mediterranean Sea. Born into abject poverty to

parents who are petty criminals, Zain and his siblings are denied the chance to go to school and are forced to peddle on the streets and help prepare opioids for their mother to sell. At night, more than a half-dozen children coil together in a pile of bodies to sleep on barely covered mattresses. When his beloved 11-year-old sister, Sahar, is sold into marriage—in exchange for rent relief and a few chickens—Zain lashes out at his parents and runs away from home. As he scavenges for food, he meets Rahil, an Ethiopian woman living in Lebanon illegally. Rahil takes Zain to the tin shed where she lives with her baby son, Yonas. Their financial situation is



ABOVE: Yordanos Shiferaw plays Rahil, an Ethiopian immigrant in Lebanon, in Nadine Labaki's *Capernaum*. OPPOSITE: Zain (Zain Al Rafeea), right, cares for Rahil's son, Yonas (Boluwatife Treasure Bankole), after Rahil is detained.

as precarious as Zain's, but Rahil is a loving mother and the three become a family, the boys brothers. Things fall apart, however, when Rahil is arrested in what appears to be an immigration raid. Zain is left to fend for himself and the toddler, who's barely old enough to walk, in the streets of Beirut. He sells drugs, begs for food, and tries to parent Yonas as best he can. At one point, Zain even pretends to be a Syrian refugee so that he can convince an aid agency to give him formula and diapers—a moment that unobtrusively underscores the hierarchy of victimhood in a city of need.

In the past several years, the war in Syria and other major crises have produced a slew of images, many documenting child victims, that have gone viral. First, there was Alan Kurdi, the Syrian toddler whose lifeless body washed up on Turkey's Mediterranean shore in September 2015 after he drowned while trying to reach Europe. Then came Omran Daqneesh, a 5-year-

old Syrian who was photographed coated in ash and blood in the back of an ambulance following a bomb attack targeting rebel-held East Aleppo in 2016. And last October, Amal Husain, an emaciated 7-year-old Yemeni, appeared on the front page of the *New York Times* shortly before she died of starvation. Most viewers glanced at the images and moved on.

It is this apathy that *Capernaum's* director, the Lebanese filmmaker Nadine Labaki, so ably challenges in this tour de force. Labaki first became a star in 2007 after the release of her debut film, *Caramel*—a sensual movie shot in a Beirut salon, where five women share stories of heartbreak and sisterhood. After *Caramel's* success, Labaki was celebrated across the world as a new voice for Arab women. Now, with *Capernaum*, she has reintroduced herself as a forceful political artist who has evolved along with her country.

Over the last seven years, even as most Western countries slammed

their doors, Lebanon admitted some 1.5 million refugees fleeing the Syrian war. This influx has transformed Lebanon, pushing an already fractured and fragile society to new limits, testing the patience and resources of a small country that is already home to generations of Palestinian refugees. These shifts form the backdrop for Labaki's profoundly unromantic new movie.

Capernaum is both harrowing and deeply moving. The actors are not professionals; instead men, women, and children who live in the neighborhoods shown on screen were asked to re-enact scenes from their own experiences, often in some of Beirut's grittiest slums. In a conversation at the Toronto International Film Festival this past September, Labaki said she wanted to make the film as real as possible. So she gave her actors minimal direction and used hand-held cameras to capture daily life in Lebanon's back alleys and trash heaps. The filmmaker amassed months of raw footage, which she later edited down to just over two hours. The result is the potent illusion of unscripted reality.

Last May, *Capernaum* won the Jury Prize at the 2018 Cannes Film Festival and has since been nominated for a Golden Globe. In the weeks before its December U.S. release, the film was shown in both New York City and Washington, D.C. At the screening in Washington, the guests gave the film a standing ovation. An audience member asked Labaki whether she thought her film could "do something." But Labaki's film has no actionable policy prescriptions; as the filmmaker explained, her hope was that *Capernaum* would simply shake audiences out of their chronic lethargy.

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In fact, *Capernaum's* success with international critics and audiences underscores an unsettling truth about how wealthy nations face the world's refugee crises: Instead of addressing their political responsibility, countries celebrate extraordinary works of art drawn from these stories.

To be sure, Labaki has made a manipulative polemic that inevitably puts its sentiments front and center. But in crafting scenes of extraordinary cinematic power, she has borne witness to two of the contemporary world's most pressing crises: poverty and displacement. The film already does "do something." Yet *Capernaum*, for all its affectations of truth, remains a produced, directed, and highly composed work of artifice. It is a movie about fic-

tional characters, after all. Its success, therefore, is not in doing something but in its ability to remind us to still feel something.

Migrants, impoverished children, and miles-long caravans are now fixtures of the news cycle and therefore also fodder for the imaginations of artists and storytellers. States and politicians have failed to interrupt the cycles of poverty and violence that created the refugee crises in the first place. In indicting his parents, Zain accuses all of us who have the ability to help but have refused to do so. For two hours, Labaki immerses us in his story and forces us to face the chaos that is all too easy to overlook. ■

BILAL QURESHI is a culture writer and radio journalist.

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The Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities

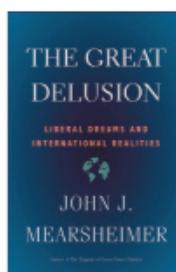
IT'S A HOBBSIAN WORLD OUT THERE, and only realists thrive. For John J. Mearsheimer, the argument that Washington policymakers should embrace realpolitik is familiar, and he pounds it home in *The Great Delusion*.

Liberal do-gooders on the international stage fail to achieve their goals and actually do more harm than good, he argues. Beginning with Bill Clinton's presidency and continuing through the next two administrations, Washington aimed to spread democracy, build international institutions, and forge a more open economic system. The result, Mearsheimer says, has been endless war overseas and an erosion of liberal values at home, thanks to the global war on terrorism and an all-pervasive security state. The United States would be better off, he argues, recognizing that states care about survival, not liberal values. In that sense, he implicitly welcomes President Donald Trump's "America First" foreign policy, which casts itself as an antidote to decades of liberal adventurism.

The Great Delusion is carefully argued, engaging, and thought-provoking, though sometimes maddening. It is not always clear what flavor of liberal internationalism Mearsheimer is indicting. Ostensibly, it's the quest for liberal hegemony that was made possible only with the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. Examples of folly include rushing to expand NATO eastward, which spooked Russia; liberating Iraq at gunpoint, which unleashed years of sectarian violence; and supporting the Arab Spring, which led to instability.

But Mearsheimer is forced to also take aim at a much broader definition of what liberal internationalism is, an indictment that encompasses all U.S. administrations that followed Woodrow Wilson's, not just the post-Cold War warriors.

The heart of his argument is simple: Inside a country, liberal policies work well because there's a state power that can enforce rules, protect rights,



The Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities

JOHN J. MEARSHEIMER,
YALE UNIVERSITY
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U.S. President George W. Bush delivers an address aboard the aircraft carrier *USS Abraham Lincoln* on May 1, 2003.

and prevent conflict among factions. On the international stage, there is no higher power to do any of those things. The only alternative for policymakers, in his view, is to deal with that reality and forget about trying to change the world.

But liberal internationalism is an effort to grapple with that reality. Democratic states go to war with other democratic states less frequently than they do with authoritarian states. International institutions, such as the United Nations and the World Trade Organization, can impose some order and enforce rules. Deliberate efforts to lower trade barriers and spur investment formed the basis for decades of prosperity after the nightmare of the 1930s.

Post-Cold War foreign policy in the United States has been a mess, but that doesn't necessarily impugn all efforts to turn that Hobbesian world into a place that's a little bit less nasty and brutish. ■

KEITH JOHNSON (@KFJ_FP) is the global geoeconomics correspondent at FOREIGN POLICY.

Betraying Big Brother: The Feminist Awakening in China

IN BETRAYING BIG BROTHER, Leta Hong Fincher traces the nascent beginnings of the Chinese feminist movement after 1949 and follows as it blossomed during the 2000s, spurred on by the advent of social media and the participation of a younger, more educated female citizenry.

Hong Fincher focuses on the so-called Feminist Five—activists arrested in advance of International Women’s Day 2015 for anti-government commentary and political performance art. (Most notorious was the 2012 “Bloody Brides” demonstration, in which protesters dressed in wedding gowns smeared with fake blood—a protest against the lack of a Chinese domestic violence law.)

The Feminist Five were jailed just as Chinese President Xi Jinping prepared to co-host a United Nations summit on women’s rights in New York, a commemorative event marking the 20th anniversary of Beijing’s 1995 World Conference on Women, where Hillary Clinton coined the phrase “women’s rights are human rights.”

More than history, *Betraying Big Brother* is a salvo against the paternalistic regime headed by Xi. As Hong Fincher notes, statistics on sexual violence within China are either wildly underreported or completely unavailable. Worse, those who report sexual assault often suffer retaliation; alleged perpetrators are rarely held accountable for their actions; and censorship of online speech can derail activists’ attempts to communicate, let alone mobilize.

Hong Fincher convincingly argues that China’s growing feminist community, especially online, has provided a safe space for women long afraid to address harassment and gender-based inequality.

Chinese women are often taught that feminism is ugly and are told to stay obsequious by their parents, teachers, managers, and the government. But as Wang Man, a member of the Feminist Five, argues, “Feminism can be a real lifeline.”

With a dearth of information about non-Western feminist responses to sexual assaults and predation, Hong Fincher has filled an important gap and showed how a generation of Chinese women is making great strides. ■

ADRIENNE SHIH (@adrienneshih) is the social media and engagement editor at FOREIGN POLICY.

Upheaval: Turning Points for Nations in Crisis

UPHEAVAL IS THE CULMINATION of Jared Diamond’s trilogy of books seeking to explain the rise, fall, and recovery of nations. It began in 1997 with the epochal *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* and continued with *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed* in 2005.

Guns, Germs, and Steel offered a bold (and much-criticized) new thesis about how the seeds of the modern world were (literally) planted thousands of years ago. *Collapse* took a much narrower view, analyzing a few failed societies—including that of Easter Island and the Maya. *Upheaval* takes that same approach and thus suffers from many of the same flaws.

In it, Diamond starts from the premise that many strategies that individuals use to overcome personal trauma are applicable to nations trying to recover from crises. He frames the book around a 12-point checklist of coping strategies, which he then shoehorns into each selected country’s experience.

It’s an awkward fit that does little to help distill broader lessons. The first case study, looking at Finland’s idiosyncratic response to the Soviet invasion of 1939 and implicit Russian threats ever after, was a unique response to very particular circumstances. “Finlandization is not for export,” Finnish leaders explain repeatedly in Diamond’s telling—making the country an odd case study for a book meant to outline lessons for other crisis-challenged states.

Many national dramas that Diamond spotlights make for interesting pocket histories. But as a heterogeneous group of countries, they are less useful as learning experiences.

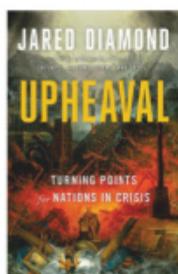
Some countries—such as Chile before, during, and after Augusto Pinochet—faced largely internal crises. Others—such as 19th-century Meiji-era Japan, which was forced by the West to end its isolation policy—faced an external shock. Some crises, such as the Soviet invasion of Finland, exploded in a single day, though the effects were felt for years.

Diamond concludes with a gloomy look at America’s current political polarization, arguing that “we still have no national consensus about what’s wrong,” which makes solutions elusive. The doomsday environmentalism that underpinned *Collapse* makes an encore appearance at the end of *Upheaval*. Judging by Diamond’s own framework of personal trauma recovery, there we have even less reason for optimism.—KJ



Betraying Big Brother: The Feminist Awakening in China

LETA HONG FINCHER,
VERSO BOOKS,
240 PP., \$26.95,
SEPTEMBER 2018



Upheaval: Turning Points for Nations in Crisis

JARED DIAMOND,
LITTLE, BROWN
AND CO., 512 PP.,
\$16.99, MAY 2019

ANGOLA

Momentous change in Africa's fifth economy

The new administration of President Lourenço is setting the records straight and opening up a new era

Over the past two decades, Angola has transformed from a poor, war-torn country into sub-Saharan Africa's third-largest economy and its second-largest oil exporter. Since the end of a 27-year civil war in 2002, the country has used its oil wealth to develop, modernize and build its infrastructure, while Luanda morphed from a sleepy provincial town into a thriving, skyscraper-lined modern capital. Indeed, Luanda, which sits on one of Africa's most spectacular bays, has become a magnet for foreign companies and expats, earning in the process the improbable distinction of most expensive city in the world alongside Hong Kong.

“Macroeconomic stability is a necessary means to achieve our goal of making the private sector stronger.”

João Lourenço
President of Angola

Now a soft revolution is taking place. After 38 years in power, President José Eduardo dos Santos stepped down in 2017, paving the way for João Lourenço to be elected in September that year. A retired general who fought for the independence from Portugal and later in the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) during the civil war, Lourenço was the chosen candidate of his predecessor.

Up to here, nothing unusual in Africa. But the way Lourenço has framed his presidency as soon as he came to power has stunned Angolans and the international community alike. In his inaugural speech, the president, known as JLo in the country, announced sweeping changes to an economic system that had become over the years tightly controlled by a small

group of presidential favorites. Moreover, he declared war on corruption, which has been endemic for years. Indeed, according to the international NGO Transparency International, Angola is ranked 167 out of 180 countries.

President Lourenço is well aware his country is at a crossroads. His most pressing task is to steer the economy away from a model based almost exclusively on oil, which accounts for 95% of exports. Another priority is to reduce its dependence to Chinese investment. Lourenço is determined to step up cooperation with western companies, in particular but not only in the oil sector, and has sought help from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In June, the latter commended Angola for having made “strides in setting a reform agenda geared towards macroeconomic stability and growth that benefits all its people.”

In his 2018 State of the Nation address, President Lourenço announced a series of measures to balance the books and offset the drop in oil prices, which has had a huge impact on the economy since 2014. He said the first results of the Macroeconomic Stabilization Program, launched in early January 2018, were “encouraging.” The plan envisages fiscal consolidation, greater exchange rate flexibility, reducing the public debt-to-GDP ratio to 60% over the medium term, improving the profile of debt through liability management, settling domestic payment arrears, and implementing anti-money laundering legislation.

President Lourenço announced that the deficit, which reached 5.6% of the GDP last year, was forecast at “less than 1% of the GDP for 2019, with an estimated increase of 9.8% in tax revenue.” He also noted that inflation



Luanda, Angola's capital, has become a thriving and modern city

dropped from 42% in 2016 to 23% last year and is forecast to reach 19% this year, while the spread between the official and parallel exchange rates went from 150% to about 20%. And although the relatively sluggish oil prices continue to weigh heavily on Angola's GDP growth, it is forecast to grow slightly this year and next.

But, “while macroeconomic stability is important for the performance of the economy, it is not an end in itself,” said Lourenço in his presidential address. “It is

a necessary means to achieve our major goal of increasing domestic production, making the private business sector stronger and more competitive, promoting exports from the non-oil sector of the economy, and reducing imports of essential consumer goods.” In other words, diversification and opening up the economy are top priorities. This opens new opportunities for foreign investors. It is also undoubtedly the beginning of a new era for resource-rich but until now governance-poor Angola.

Facts and figures

Situated in southern Africa on the South Atlantic Ocean, between Namibia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Angola has an area of 1,246,700 sq km comparable to that of South Africa, or twice the state of Texas.

Its population is estimated at just over 30 million (28.4 million according to the national statistics agency's 2017 data), with 45% being under the age of 15 and about 40% living below the poverty line.

Angola has a wealth of resources, the two main ones being oil and diamonds. The Catoca diamond mine is one of the largest in the world. Oil production and its supporting activities contribute about 50% of GDP, more than 70% of government revenue, and more than 90% of the country's exports. Angola is an OPEC member and subject to its direction regarding oil production levels. Diamonds contribute an additional 5% to exports. Subsistence agriculture provides the main livelihood for most of the people, but half of the country's food is still imported.

GDP purchasing power parity: \$193.6 billion (2017 est.)

GDP real growth rate: — 2.5% (2017 est.)

GDP per capita (PPP): \$6,800 (2017 est.)

GDP composition (2011 est.): agriculture: 10.2%;

industry: 61.4%; services: 28.4%

Source: CIA World Factbook

Improving the business climate and wooing investors

The government has acted fast to revamp the legislative framework in order to make it more secure and investor-friendly

Improving the business climate and wooing foreign investors are top priorities for Angola as it strives to wean itself off its over-dependency on oil. As oil revenues dwindle and other sectors of the economy have yet to offset the shortfall, the government has taken a series of initiatives to facilitate private and foreign investment.

In March this year, it officially established the new Private Investment and Export Promotion Agency (AIPEX), whose mission is to stimulate growth, diversify the economy and expand private sector participation. In June, it signed an agreement with the Angolan American Chamber of Commerce to produce Angola's first investment guide.

Another important step was the revision of the Private Investment Law, including the removal of the obligation for foreign companies to partner with a local company to do any business. The amended law also removes the obligation for any joint venture to have 35% of its capital owned by an Angolan business partner.

In addition, the legislation removes restrictions on small scale foreign investment: up to now, the minimum investment required was \$230,000. This provision was meant to protect Angolan investors but in practice it prevented medium-sized foreign companies from entering the market.

A more secure environment

Other key provisions of the new Investment Law are the establishment of a new competition authority that will ensure fair competition in all the economic sectors, the end of monopolies in some key sectors such as telecommunications and cement production, and the suppression of the requirements to employ Angolans. The

legislation also states the objectives of reducing bureaucracy and creating a more secure investment environment, although it doesn't specify how.

Apart from improving the legal framework, the government also hopes its economic policy will entice more private and foreign players to invest in the country, in particular through its privatization program whereby 74 state-owned companies, predominantly in the industrial sector, are set to be sold off. This information was given in May to investors as part of the country's Eurobond issuance, according to Reuters.

New investment opportunities

Angola's first ever stock exchange, called Bodiva and created in 2016, is set to play a role in the privatization program. Bodiva started as a debt and securities stock exchange and will launch in earnest its stock market activity next year.

The chairman of the country's Capital Markets Commission (CMC), Mário Gavião, said in November that the privatization program was due to be approved soon and that it will follow a specific timetable, which he said, "will be a major boost to the share market," according to the Macau-based information website Macauhub.

Will this be enough to lure back foreign investors? While the flow of foreign direct investment (FDI) reached \$4.1 billion in 2016, according to Santander Trade, which cites UNCTAD figures, it declined sharply last year, with a negative inflow of -\$2.25 billion. The current FDI stock is \$12 billion, estimated at 9.9% of the GDP.

Most of the FDI come from four countries: China, the USA, France and the Netherlands. China has played a major role in rebuilding the country in the years

that followed the end of the civil war, in 2002.

As of 2015, according to Reuters, there were 50 Chinese state companies and 400 private businesses operating in Angola. But although China is set to keep playing a major role, the government is also keen to boost other countries' investment, not the least because it repays China in oil, which curtails its capacity to sell crude on world markets.

So far, American involvement has been mainly focused on the oil sector, with major companies operating in the country such as Chevron and ExxonMobil. While US exports also concentrate in the oil and gas sector, the US Department of Commerce says that "medium-term potential exists for US companies in the areas of agriculture, industry, energy, water and transportation." In particular, it identifies prospects in agricultural equipment; health; marine technologies (fisheries and ports); aviation and rail, and agricultural products.

Angola is the United States' third largest trading partner in

sub-Saharan Africa and one of its three strategic partners together with Nigeria and South Africa. The bilateral dialogue has focused on eight key areas: political-social/regional stability, trade/economic growth, health, energy, agriculture, regional security cooperation (focused on maritime security and peacekeeping), education, and consular affairs.

Angola is the United States' third largest trading partner in sub-Saharan Africa and one of its three strategic partners together with Nigeria and South Africa.

Although Angola is far from being a priority for the Trump administration, Washington has now an opportunity to prevent China — its current trade war foe — from having a greater grip on Angola's economy by encouraging more American investment in this strategic African country.



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A future maritime logistics hub

With 1,600 km of coastline, four operational seaports and two other ports under construction, Angola is set to become a regional trade and logistics platform

In the vast revamping of the economy undertaken by Angola's new government, the modernization of the transport infrastructure is absolutely key. The government ambitions to build a "modern, efficient and sustainable transport sector, but also to become a world reference in terms of public-private partnerships," said in November the Minister of Transport, Ricardo de Abreu, quoted by Angop news agency.

In particular, in this country with 1,600 km of coastline, ports are strategically important not only for the dominant oil and gas sector, but also, obviously, for all trade. Angola has four sea ports: Luanda, which handles 70% of the country's imports; Lobito, in the central part of the country, which is mainly specialized in minerals; Cabinda, in the eponymous enclave in neighboring Democratic Republic of Congo, which provides for the oil and gas industry; and Namibe in the south, which is primarily used for fishing.

Two new ports are set to be built: the deep water Caio Port, which is located in Cabinda and should be ready by 2020, and Porto de Dande, another deep water facility situated 50 km north of the capital, which will mainly shift cargo from the port of Luanda.

Increasing port capacity and traffic means that Angola also needs to strengthen its logistics capabilities. A leader in this area is the Angolan company Cabship. Established in 2009, it provides logistical solutions to the oil and gas, mining, energy, and construction industries and has offices in Cabinda, Soyo, and Luanda as well as affiliate offices in Cape Town, Dubai and Houston.

"Our services are unique in Angola; no other company does what we do," says Cabship's Chairman and CEO, João Filipe. "We started as freight forwarders, shipping agents and stevedoring and we evolved into management of docks and terminals, in particular for the oil industry. We are also involved in the whole supply chain of pe-

troleum materials. Through its association with Global Logistics Network, Cabship has the ability to handle freight from anywhere in the world."

Filipe says there is "tremendous growth potential" in logistics, and hopes that the sector will attract foreign investment and know-how. "We could create logistic hubs through public private partnerships or build-operate-transfer schemes not only for the oil and gas industry but also for telecommunications, pharmaceuticals, minerals, construction and agriculture." In particular, he hopes for more cooperation with the United States in the oil and gas sector, in petrochemicals, and in renewable energy. "There are many areas in which Angolan and US-based companies can collaborate. As Angolan entrepreneurs, we need to start a dialogue with the US to create an environment for good business to flow," says Filipe.



João Filipe
Chairman & CEO, Cabship

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Telecoms market gearing up for a big shake-up

Long rigidly controlled by the state, the telecoms sector is about to be revamped with privatizations, new operators and a boost in connectivity



Eduardo Sebastião
CEO, Angola Telecom



Miguel Cazevo
Director, INFOSI

Telecoms are one of, if not the most important sector in Angola's government's plans to diversify the economy and boost private sector participation. More broadly, increasing affordable mobile and internet access is also a priority in terms of social development. This is why the government has been acting fast to reorganize, liberalize and expand a sector hitherto rigidly controlled by the state.

At the moment there are only two partially public mobile operators, Unitel and Movitel, and the

"We want to deliver Angola Telecom to the market as a strong and valuable company, at its best for investors."

Eduardo Sebastião,
CEO, Angola Telecom

lack of proper competition has created a market where prices are high and quality of service poor. Meanwhile, in the fixed line segment, there is also a duopoly between the historic parastatal Angola Telecom and MStelecom, a subsidiary of the national oil company Sonangol.

"The market here is very promising and interesting," says Angola Telecom's CEO, Eduardo Sebastião. "The population growth rate is high, at close to 3%, and Angola is still a virgin market with a lot that remains to be done. So there are enormous investment opportunities."

Angola Telecom is slated to be partially privatized in the short term as the government aims to sell 45% of its shares. In March, Jornal de Angola reported that the evaluation phase for the determination of Angola Telecom's equity value and the amount of shares to be sold was under process, and that the next stage would be to

draw up the terms of reference and the submission of tender documents, after which the tender will open to interested bidders. "We want to deliver Angola Telecom to the market as a strong and valuable company; we want investors to see it at its best," adds Sebastião.

The public operator is also looking to enter the mobile market by 2020 at the latest as the government has announced it would deliver two new mobile licenses, bringing the total to four. The country currently only has 11 million registered mobile cards.

Now another development is set to boost this promising market: earlier this year, Angola Cables, a subsidiary of Angola Telecom operating in fiber-optic telecommunications cables, switched on its South Atlantic Cable System (SACS), a 6,500-km subsea digital information highway connecting Luanda with Fortaleza in Brazil.

According to Angola Cables' CEO, António Nunes, "it is a gigantic leap forward in trans-Atlantic connectivity, which will fast-track commercial activity in the ICT sector and stimulate emerging economies in Latin America and Africa."

And yet another technological leap is to happen in 2020, when Angola launches its first telecom satellite, Angosat-2.

Already, businesses in Angola are expecting improved connectivity will boost their operations and

turnover. For example, Integrated Solutions Angola (ISA), an IT solutions provider that works with some of the largest companies operating in the country, including Sonangol, the Port of Luanda, BP and ConocoPhillips, expects costs to go down. "The SACS is a huge step as the connectivity issue is key for many businesses," says ISA's Executive Director, Msuega Tese. "In the technology sector, this will be a huge step, as we expect the cost of connectivity to decrease. The issue of connectivity is key for businesses. When we solve it, most SMEs will adopt cloud solutions to run their business."

The government's e-ambitions

go far beyond the telecoms market. President Lourenço is keen to foster widespread use of mobile telephony and internet. "The new government wants everyone to have digitally access to the information they need," explains Miguel Cazevo, Director of the National Institute for the Promotion of the Information Society (INFOSI). "INFOSI has projects such as Angola Online and Angola Digital. We are doing our best to allow internet access all over the country."

In a country where the population is young and fast growing, education in particular is an area where authorities hope digital technology will be a game changer.



Innovate to better serve

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Last Tango in Shanghai

How the ads in a crumbling newspaper offer glimpses of a vanished world. *By James Palmer*

IN THE DYING YEARS OF COSMOPOLITAN SHANGHAI, as the Chinese People's Liberation Army marched along its boulevards and Communist Party bureaucrats demanded the keys to its once thriving businesses, one lonely English-language paper still haunted the newsstands.

The *Shanghai News* was the successor to the *North China Daily News*, which had once been the most important English-language paper in a country with a thriving multi-lingual press and four English dailies in Shanghai alone. In anticipation of the closure of the *Daily News* in March 1951, the owners—the Morris family—launched the *Shanghai News*. The *Daily News* staff, at least those who hadn't already left the city, stayed on, stuck translating and editing copy forced to them from Xinhua, the national newswire.

The headlines were classic propaganda, many of them related to the raging Korean War and the banal exchanges of Communist leaders: "U.S.-KMT Slander Denounced," "Chairman Mao Replies to Ho Chi Minh's Greetings." Readers craving the entire text of Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Vyshinsky's speeches were not disappointed. In the *Shanghai News's* inside pages, every harvest was a record, every factory a marvel of the future, and every woman and peasant liberated.

But in the classified ads, the real story of the Shanghai International Settlement's final years unspooled. The city had long been a European outpost in China, packed with entrepreneurs, missionaries, and refugees, and protected by the extraterritorial concessions forced on the failing Qing empire in the 19th century by the European powers. Some foreign families had been there for generations. Soon they would all be leaving, whether they knew it or not.

Foreigners were never officially expelled en masse, but

The Shanghai News

上海新聞
SHANGHAI, TUESDAY, FEB. 27, 1951
No. 524 上海華僑會登記證字號十五號

Dulles Can Do No More In Face of U.S. Defeats

People's Daily Commentary

PEKING, Feb. 26.—(Hsinhua)—Dulles, the notorious warmonger, has issued a statement in the name of the U.S. State Department, and so on, in the face of the defeats suffered by the U.S. in every part of the world, that say of the other imperialist elements, says today's People's Daily here, commenting on John Foster Dulles' NSC broadcast on February 25.

Though he expressed open hostility to the Chinese people, he could not but admit that the only way to achieve the so-called "peace" in the Far East is to follow the Maoist policy of an all-out attack on backward China. While criticizing the U.S. government's general Far Eastern policy as "reactionary," he could not but admit that he has no definite proposal for attaining his objective.

All the same, the commentary continues, disregarding the situation which American imperialism has already suffered, the Dulles policy continues to consist in the assistance of the People's Government of China and the restoration of American domination over China. He said that he would have U.S. policy "be designed to make the going as tough for the present regime in China as it would have to change in some way."

Dulles, however, has had to pass on the responsibility for achieving this get-together-with-China aim to the miserable Kuomintang clique which have taken refuge in Taiwan. He broadcast declared that the U.S. government is looking on the prolonged occupation of Taiwan and support to the Kuomintang as a necessary condition for the removal of "reactionary" American "friendly ally" so as to give the Kuomintang regime more freedom of action for attack on China's mainland.

"A further resolution of the aggressive nature of American imperialism, in all its regions, during the best days of its history," is the descriptive conclusion by the commentary on the Dulles broadcast.

VPA Annihilates 1,605 French Troops in 7 Days

French POW's Appeal for Peace in Korea, Viet-Nam

PEKING, Feb. 25.—(Hsinhua)—Between February 1 and 7, the Viet-Nam People's Army fighting on the South Viet-Nam front wiped out 1,605 French troops, officers and soldiers, states a communique from the General Staff, quarters of the Viet-Nam People's Army, released by the Viet-Nam News Agency.

During this period, the VPA took 27 enemy planes, in addition, it captured 124 machine-guns, 200 rifles, 40 tons of munitions and a large quantity of other military supplies.

In Central Viet-Nam, the VPA scored an enemy stronghold and killed or wounded 40 enemy troops. The Viet-Nam people's guerrilla forces in South Viet-Nam killed or wounded 131 enemy troops in one locality. The Viet-Nam people's guerrillas during the period from January 25 to February 2.

French POW's Message To U.S. Troops in Korea

PEKING, Feb. 25.—(Hsinhua)—Three hundred and thirteen men of French and British army units who are now prisoners of war in Viet-Nam have sent a letter to officers and men of American Imperialist troops in Korea, calling for an end to the aggressive wars and restoration of peace in Korea and Viet-Nam.

These POW's in their letter declare that they have seen the injustice of the war in which they were forced to take part against the people of Viet-Nam. They also indicated the nature of the war in Korea, which is a result of American imperialism and aggression.

Both Korea and Viet-Nam are fighting for the same just cause—sovereignty, freedom and independence of the people of the two countries. The people of Korea, as well as the people of Viet-Nam, will certainly join with the American people in demanding the withdrawal of American and British troops from the Far East and the restoration of peace in Korea and Viet-Nam.

Amado, Guillen Arrive in Shanghai

PARIS, Feb. 26.—(Hsinhua)—Amado Guillen, secretary of the International Committee of Peace among Nations, and Mr. Amado, together with several other delegates, arrived in Shanghai on Sunday, Feb. 25. They were accompanied by Wang Chao-wei, Chinese delegate.

Following their arrival, the delegates will be staying at the Hotel Chong-sheng. Mr. Amado Guillen is secretary of the International Committee of Peace among Nations, and Mr. Amado is secretary of the Shanghai Federation of Laborers and Asia, France, Spain, Italy, and other countries.

Mr. Amado Guillen has been invited to a number of lectures and meetings in Shanghai and will make a series of visits to the city.



(From left) Mr. Amado, J. A. Amado, and other delegates.

Overseas Chinese By Exhibits at E

NEW DELHI, Feb. 27.—(Hsinhua)—An exhibition of some 100 objects from China, including a number of Chinese silk, was opened at the India Exhibition Centre in New Delhi on Sunday. The exhibition was organized by the Chinese Consulate in New Delhi and included a number of Chinese silk, cotton, and other goods.

The exhibition was held in the India Exhibition Centre, New Delhi, and was attended by a large number of people. The exhibition was held in the India Exhibition Centre, New Delhi, and was attended by a large number of people.

Cultural Delegates Report on India.

PEKING, Feb. 27.—(Hsinhua)—The Chinese Cultural Delegation to India and Burma, after a month's work, has submitted a report on the cultural work in India and Burma.

The delegation, which was led by the Chinese Cultural Delegation to India and Burma, has submitted a report on the cultural work in India and Burma.

Glimpses of Y

For the benefit of passengers, the Shanghai Railway Administration has provided medical service, first-aid and hygiene facilities on board the train. Picture shows the service girls on the train.

Projector shows in cooperation. At the site of the exhibition, it has an area of 100,000 sq. m.

A number of local shops formerly closed to outsiders have now reopened. The picture shows the new opening of the shops.

Local libraries and art circles are active in the district given for the Korean front. Picture shows a group of people at the exhibition of a dramatic performance put on by them.

Workers, officers and loyal members of the city have shown their interest in the Korean front. Picture shows a group of people at the exhibition of a dramatic performance put on by them.

Workers, officers and loyal members of the city have shown their interest in the Korean front. Picture shows a group of people at the exhibition of a dramatic performance put on by them.

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Korean-Chinese Put Forward Revised Draft on Item 5

Neutral Nations Proposed to Form Supervisory Committee

BEIJING, Feb. 18.—(Special)—A Korean-Chinese agreement on Item 5 of the Korean Armistice talks might be reached within the next few days, according to the Korean side, the creation of the neutral nations supervisory committee is the main problem of the full delegation conference put forward a revised draft of the general principles governing this item.

The revised draft reads: "To ensure a general solution of the Korean question, the military operations of both sides should be suspended. The governments concerned on both sides that a neutral conference at a higher level should be held within three months of the signing and coming into force of the armistice agreement by the respectively appointed representatives, in order to settle through negotiation the question of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, the general settlement of the Korean question, etc."

ITEM 5
At the 1951 joint efforts' meeting, this side proposed the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia as the three neutral nations, which this side should settle to the satisfaction of the Supervisory Committee of neutral nations. The neutral nations that the other side proposed are Switzerland, Belgium and Norway.

At the present meeting on Item 5, the American side insisted on an ambiguous and vague phraseology and refused to accept a reasonable attitude on the question that the other side rejected the Soviet Union being invited to send representatives as a member of the Supervisory Committee of neutral nations.

The Korean and Chinese staff officers pointed out that the other side has no reason whatsoever to reject any of the neutral nations that this side proposed, and asked them to reply after serious reflection.

He declared with emphasis at today's meeting that this side has brought forward a reasonable and reasonable proposal for the settlement of the Korean question, and whether a speedy agreement can be achieved on Item 5 depends entirely on the attitude of the American side.

At the present meeting on Item 5, the American side insisted on an ambiguous and vague phraseology and refused to accept a reasonable attitude on the question that the other side rejected the Soviet Union being invited to send representatives as a member of the Supervisory Committee of neutral nations. (Continued on Page 1, Col. 1)

Sino-Soviet Unity Will Shatter Criminal Schemes

Chang Wen-tien Says at Reception

On 2nd Anniv. of Sino-Soviet Treaty

MOSCOW, Feb. 18.—(Special)—A reception was given here on the evening of Feb. 18 by Chinese Ambassador Chang Wen-tien to the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia to mark the second anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance.

Present at the reception were the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vyacheslav M. Molotov, N. A. Bulganin, and A. I. Mikoyan, Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

The Chinese Ambassador extended on behalf of the government and people of China, hearty greetings to the great Soviet people on the occasion of the second anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, and expressed his deep appreciation for the assistance and cooperation which the Soviet Union has given to the Chinese people in the past two years, and his confidence that the Sino-Soviet friendship will continue to develop and strengthen in the future.

Chang Wen-tien said that the Sino-Soviet Treaty is a landmark in the history of the Chinese people, and that it has opened up a new era of friendship and cooperation between the two peoples.

He said that the Chinese people are deeply grateful to the Soviet people for their assistance and cooperation in the past two years, and that they are confident that the Sino-Soviet friendship will continue to develop and strengthen in the future.

Chang Wen-tien also said that the Chinese people are determined to continue to fight for the liberation of their country, and that they are confident that they will eventually achieve their goal.

Burma Tour

Delegates Report on Progress of Work

BEIJING, Feb. 18.—(Special)—The Cultural Delegates of the Chinese People's Delegation to the Indian subcontinent have returned to Shanghai after a successful tour of Burma, India, and Ceylon.

The delegates reported that they had a very pleasant and fruitful trip, and that they had established friendly relations with the people of the three countries.

They said that the people of Burma, India, and Ceylon are all fighting for the liberation of their countries, and that they are confident that they will eventually achieve their goal.

The delegates also said that they had seen many beautiful sights and had enjoyed the hospitality of the people of the three countries.

They said that they will continue to work for the strengthening of the friendship and cooperation between the Chinese people and the people of the Indian subcontinent.

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The Shanghai News ran from 1950 to 1952.

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their welcome had clearly expired. The businesses that tried to stay faced a hostile regime. Dotted among the paper's columns were so-called "Public Apologies." These were a weird fusion of Western corporate public relations and Maoist self-confession, in which foreign companies acknowledged their violations of the new laws. From 1950 to 1952, foreign businesses disappeared almost entirely from the pages, replaced by ads for new state-owned enterprises.

When the *Shanghai News* launched, tens of thousands of people had already fled. The classified ads telegraphed desperation: "Portuguese speaks Chinese, not leaving," "Importer, Electro-Medical Lines, technical expert, not leaving, open for engagement," "Foreigner, leaving; wishes to sell carpets, dinner set, etc." Every issue carried prominent advertisements for international moving firms, flights to Europe, and auction houses that would help sell off household goods.

Yet it was still possible, as of December 1951, to go to the A.A. Ling Ballroom, which promised to be "The Cosiest Night Spot In Town," to dance to the mambo of "Moro and his Rhumbandidos," fronted by "the one and only MISS VICTORIA." A young lady could still have her hair set in waves or doll herself up with imported lipstick. Afterward, she and her beau could eat in the newly opened Andy's Restaurant, a perfect spot for "Foreign Food And Chinese Tea By Cooks of the Former Foreign Y.M.C.A.," or snack on mince pies and plum puddings at Bianchi's before going to pick up Christmas cards at Anderson Brothers. The cinemas were still open, but instead of the sultry hits of the 1930s, the golden age of Shanghai film, when local production houses had turned out hit after hit, movie houses now offered such wholesome fare as the Chinese documentary *Frontier Fighters* and *Big Turnip* (a Super USSR Production).

All this would be gone in the next few years. The *Shanghai News* itself wouldn't see its third birthday; the Morrises shuttered it over an argument with the government about the Korean War and taxes.

We'll never know what happened to the "Chinese lady" who taught "Mandarin and Shanghai dialect" or to the ballroom dancing instructors and trained clerks still looking to make a living as the world crumbled around them. The 1957 Anti-Rightist Campaign was coming, a brutal predecessor to the full-blown madness of the Cultural Revolution.

Perhaps one of them, though, preserved these papers hidden from view—until they surfaced in a Beijing flea market 60 years later.

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JASON HORNICK PHOTOS

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