

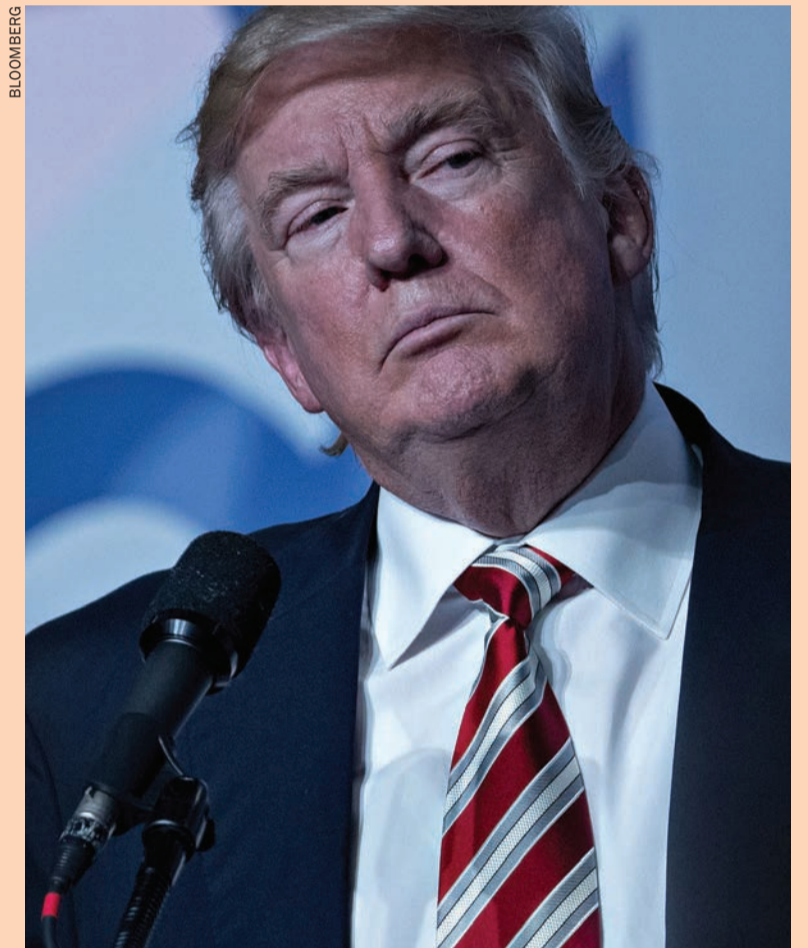
FT PERSON OF THE YEAR

# Donald Trump - A leap into the populist unknown



AP PHOTO

In this 2011 file photo, the White House is seen in Washington, D.C.



BLOOMBERG

By Edward Luce

It Can't Happen Here was the title of Sinclair Lewis's celebrated 1935 novel about fascism in America. It didn't then, and many well-informed Americans - Republicans and Democrats - believed that the election of Donald Trump wouldn't happen either.

Italy might once have fallen for Silvio Berlusconi. Britain might have opted for Brexit. But Mr Trump, the property mogul-turned-reality TV star, would never get past the American people. The most generous forecasts, such as that of statistician Nate Silver, gave him a one-in-three chance of taking the White House just days before the election.

Then came the night of Mr Trump's triumph. It was one that few with even the faintest political awareness will ever forget. Almost everyone turned out to be wrong - everyone, that is, except the man who apparently lived in a fantasy world. "It is going to be Brexit times five," Mr Trump

said during the campaign. For once he may have been understating things.

Most historic dates are shorthand for greater forces. Archduke Ferdinand's assassination in 1914 did not cause the First World War. It triggered it. Mr Trump did not upend US democracy on November 8, 2016. It has been dysfunctional for years. It is no coincidence that Mr Trump's victory took place in the same year as Brexit, the No vote in the Italian referendum and other populist eruptions across the western world.

Each circumstance may be unique but they are bound by powerful trends. The biggest is a general revulsion against established politics. Closely related is the collapse in trust for the media - or the Lügenpresse as Mr Trump's alt-right supporters call it, in a reprisal of Hitler's attacks on the "lying press". A third is a rejection of globalisation. Mr Trump's vow to "put America first" echoes what his

European counterparts say about their countries. The older, whiter, non-urban and heavily male coalition that helped to elect him is strikingly similar to populist demographics in Europe.

Mr Trump's most extravagant claim was that "I alone can fix it" - by which he meant the "rigged" system of special interests who curry favour with politicians to further their ends. Mr Trump was happy to admit he was one of those special interests, having contributed to both the Democratic and Republican parties during a lifetime of political shape-shifting. He also bragged of having avoided taxes. Yet he vowed to be an iconoclastic president in which no rules, institution or even constitutional principle would be sacred.

If he meant it, the long-term damage to American democracy could be incalculable. Yet the thrice-married Mr Trump is nothing if not nimble. He can alter his stance with the same alacrity as he drops negotiating positions

with creditors. The only thread is promotion of the Trump brand. Beyond that, does he have a core philosophy?

## 'HE WAS SEEING HOW FAR HE COULD GO'

There is a saying in Washington that "personnel is policy". In Mr Trump's case, trying to deduce a pattern from those he has appointed to his administration may be of limited value.

Mr Trump's career - from his arrival on the Manhattan property scene in the 1970s to his forays into casinos, golf courses and an airline, then branching into reality television - suggest a man with highly flexible leanings. This marks him out from more ideological populists, such as Marine Le Pen of France and Geert Wilders of the Netherlands.

His business career suggests someone who blusters before climbing down. While others let their legal teams do the legwork, Mr Trump leads from the gut. "You always got the sense he

was seeing how far he could go," says a financial consultant who worked for him. Sometimes, such as in his six bankruptcies, his gut apparently failed him - though he wheedled his way out of those as well. He reportedly used a USD916 million business loss as a write-off to avoid paying taxes for two decades, a feat he boasted about.

In ventures such as the bid to become president, his bluster carried the day. Now he is stuck with his promise of delivering a highly unrealistic annual economic growth rate of 4 percent. He also promised to end globalism and make US allies pay their way. Were these simply shrewd gambits by a self-proclaimed master dealmaker? Mr Trump's tactic in business is to ask for the outrageous and rapidly retreat to a workable compromise. "It's like price discovery," says a Trump confidant.

So what is Mr Trump's bottom line? Much like his list of potential cabinet nominees, whose





## Donald Trump - A leap into the populist unknown (continued)



President-elect Donald Trump points to the crowd as he arrives to speak to a rally at Ladd-Peebles Stadium in Mobile, Ala. on Saturday

shuffles in and out of Trump Tower resemble a Hollywood red carpet, the answer is inside the president-elect's head. It may not be a coherent one. Those looking for Mr Trump to execute a classic post-election switch from his wilder promises - building a border wall with Mexico, or setting up a national register of Muslims - have grounds for hope. Insiders are reassured by Mr Trump's choice of Reince Priebus, chairman of the Republican National Committee, as White House chief of staff. They also like the leading role taken in the transition by Mike Pence, the vice-president elect and veteran Congressman.

Other appointments have sent the opposite signal, such as that of Steve Bannon, former head of the hard-right website Breitbart News, as chief strategist and senior counsel.

Mr Bannon is likely to have closer day-to-day access to Mr Trump than anyone except Mr Priebus and Jared Kushner, the president-elect's son-in-law. What binds them is loyalty.

One key to how Mr Trump operates may lie in Mr Kushner, who, like his father-in-law, is the scion of a property magnate. His unflinching devotion is prized by the president-elect. Once in the White House, Mr Trump will face almost endless potential conflicts of interest with his business empire, which will be run by his two sons, Eric and Donald Jr. Mr Kushner, 35, looks like becoming the key middle man and plans to move to Washington with his wife, Ivanka.

It is also hard to discern ideological consistency in Mr

## Admirers see Trump as a pragmatist rather than an ideologue. Detractors see him an unmoored egotist

Trump's cabinet choices. Having run an anti-elitist campaign in which Wall Street bankers were held up as parasites, Mr Trump is populating his administration with Goldman Sachs alumni. In addition to Mr Bannon, who worked at the investment bank for several years, Gary Cohn, Goldman Sachs' president, has reportedly accepted the job of chief economic adviser, and Steven Mnuchin, a former Goldman partner, will be his treasury secretary.

Having vowed to "drain the swamp" of money politics in Washington, Mr Trump is clearly betting that his voters did not take him literally. Much like the president-elect in his New York property heyday, the asset-owning classes are probably in for a bonanza. Like Mr Trump's business model, they may also be entering into a devil-may-care era of high leverage. The effect on America's bottom line could be long-lasting.

### BOXING CLEVER

A similar disconnect exists between Mr Trump's fusillades against Pentagon leaders and his national security picks. During the campaign, the president-elect claimed to know more about defeating Isis than any US general. Yet he seems to love their

company. So far he has selected three generals for senior roles, including Michael Flynn, the loose-lipped former head of the Defense Intelligence Agency, as national security adviser.

"Trump has a deep admiration for men of action who give orders," says Tony Schwartz, who ghostwrote *The Art of the Deal*, Mr Trump's get-rich-quick 1987 bestseller. "It is why he loves watching boxing so much. It appeals to his manly streak."

Similar traits apply to Vladimir Putin, Russia's president, who US intelligence agencies believe was covertly assisting Mr Trump's campaign through leaks and fake news - a claim Mr Trump dismisses. Will Mr Trump reward Russia's loyalty? He is already on a collision course with the intelligence agencies.

Other cabinet selections cater more viscerally to Mr Trump's base. These include Scott Pruitt, a climate change sceptic, to head the Environmental Protection Agency. It suggests Mr Trump was sincere in his campaign vow to withdraw the US from the Paris climate deal. Jeff Sessions, the Republican senator who is likely to head the justice department, has attacked federal intrusions on states' rights - notably the laws protecting minority voters. Mr Sessions' selection signals that

Mr Trump plans to keep his election promise of deporting illegal immigrants.

These are a few of the Trump administration's ideologues. But the big picture is of one that will be staffed from big business and the military. If Mr Trump's biography offers a guide - and at 70, the oldest person ever elected US president, it surely must - his need to dominate every news cycle will be paramount. Admirers see Mr Trump as a pragmatist rather than an ideologue. Detractors see him an unmoored egotist, whose only concern is the Trump brand.

### A PLAN OR AN IMPULSE?

A bigger concern may be a lack of knowledge about the world beyond his business empire. There is always the suspicion that Mr Trump's opinions come from the last person he spoke to. "What Trump doesn't know could fill an ocean - he has literally never read a book, including the US constitution," says a longstanding associate. "What Trump does know fills up Trump Tower."

What he knows better than anyone is how to divert public attention. This is the man who ended two political dynasties, the Bushes and the Clintons, while spending a fraction of their costs - revolutionising the modern campaign in the process.

Now Mr Trump's use of social media to bypass traditional gatekeepers is a tool that is being exploited by populists everywhere. Mr Trump wielded his Twitter account to brilliant effect to poke fun at political correctness and hound detractors. Though

fact-checkers awarded him a record number of "Pinocchios" for false statements, Mr Trump emerged with a reputation for honest talking.

"If the press covered me accurately and honourably, I would have far less reason to 'tweet'," he wrote on the social media site last week.

But the methods that served Mr Trump so well on the campaign trail could prove highly destabilising when he is president. Last week Mr Trump caused Boeing's share price to fall when he questioned the cost of the next Air Force One contract. He also antagonised Beijing with goading tweets following a phone call with Tsai Ing-wen, Taiwan's president - an unprecedented breach of protocol.

Was this a deliberate plan to hustle Boeing and rattle China? Or was Mr Trump being impulsive? Once he is president, such tweets could spark diplomatic incidents and wild market gyrations. It is not just media self-interest to raise the alarm about his method of making public pronouncements. Mr Trump is a fan of Alex Jones's Infowars podcast, a vehicle for conspiracy theories which claims 5 million daily listeners. Mr Jones believes the 9/11 attacks and the 2010 Sandy Hook school massacre were faked. Does Mr Trump believe any of this? Or does he just enjoy terrifying the elites?

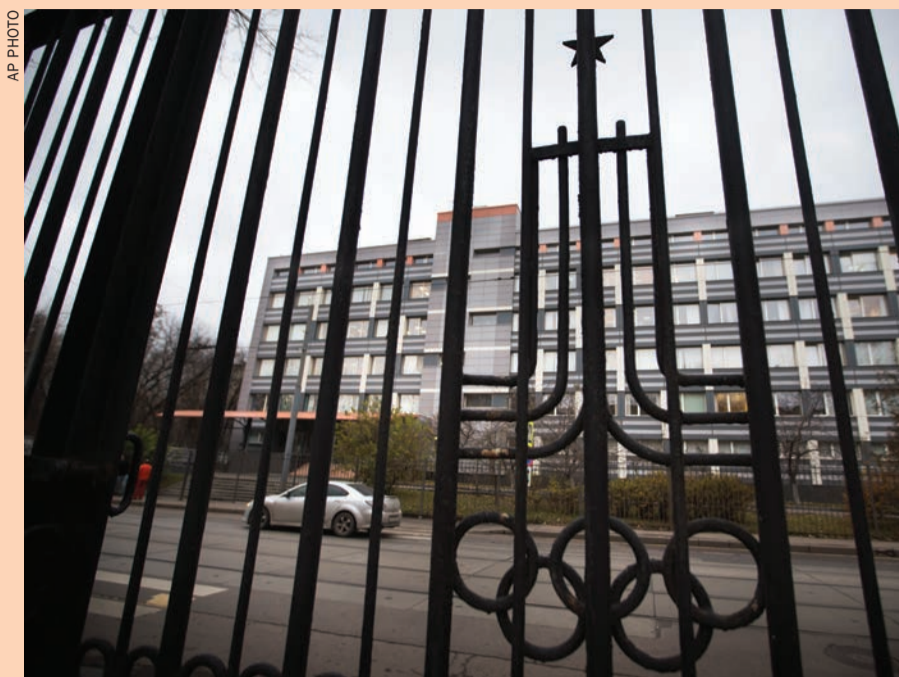
"The worrying thing is that we can't be sure," says Mr Schwartz. "What we do know is that he will not hesitate to push conspiracy theories if he thinks they serve his interests."

The pithiest summary of Mr Trump's road to victory was that his supporters took him seriously but not literally, while the media did the opposite. Now that he has won, everyone is starting to do both. That also applies to the world beyond America. From China to Mexico, leaders are poring over his every utterance.

Unlike Berzelius "Buzz" Windrip, Sinclair Lewis's fictional American fascist, Mr Trump has no deep ideology. But he appears to have few scruples about demonising those who get in his way. The most abiding of these are the liberal doyens of political correctness. Mr Trump's victory may have been unforeseeable to few but himself but it was an upset waiting to happen. Western democracy is unlikely to be the same again.

"He didn't plot all this thing," says one of Windrip's victims in *It Can't Happen Here*. "With all the justified discontent there is against the smart politicians and the Plush Horses of Plutocracy - oh, if it hadn't been one Windrip, it'd been another... We had it coming, we Respectables."





A car stands in front of Russia's national drug-testing laboratory in Moscow



Employees Natalya Bochkaryova (left), and Ilya Podolsky work at Russia's national drug-testing laboratory in Moscow

By James Ellingworth, Moscow

# Emails show how Russian officials covered up mass doping

**R**USSIA'S doping cover-up went far beyond the Olympics, according to a vast archive of emails released by a World Anti-Doping Agency investigator.

Besides the 12 medal winners from the 2014 Winter Olympics whose samples were supposedly tampered with, messages show a system which covered up drug use by blind athletes and children as young as 15.

In 2015, a year after the Olympics, Russia's top doping scientist, Grigory Rodchenkov, complained that the scheme Richard McLaren termed the "disappearing positive methodology" had grown so large it was covering for doping — and apparent abuse of power — in disabled sports.

Five blind athletes in powerlifting, a form of weightlifting, had tested positive for the banned steroid methandienone at the same training camp. Rodchenkov suspected unscrupulous coaches eager for medals were doping the athletes without their knowledge.

"It's a disgrace," Rodchenkov wrote to Alexei Velikodny of Russian state's Sports Training Center. The coaches were "picking on the blind [who] can't even see what people are giving them."

A year earlier, the records show Velikodny issuing a "save" order for a 15-year-old competitor in track and field — the instruction which meant a failed test was reported as negative.

The young athlete — one of the most promising juniors in Russia at the time — was flagged up as a "Crimean athlete" in the emails, a distinction which may have helped him avoid a ban after testing positive for marijuana. It was May 2015, two months after Russia's annexation of the Crimean peninsula, and a failed test at one of the first competitions in Russia featuring Crimeans could have been embarrassing.

McLaren's report alleges more than 1,000 Russian athletes benefited from a cover-up scheme administered by government officials and Rodchenkov, the Moscow lab director who later fled Russia and turned his emails over to WADA. Following criticism that his intermediate report in July lacked evidence to back up its claims, McLaren's full investigation is accompanied by a website containing thousands of pages of documents including years of emails, charts listing hundreds of suppressed tests and copious photographs of urine sample bottles with telltale scratches that McLaren says indicate they were tampered with.

None of the writers of the emails responded to requests for comment. However, the Russian authorities have not disputed the content of the messages. Some of the authors have been suspended from their jobs, as was then-Deputy Sports Minister Yuri Nagornykh, who was placed on leave in the summer and resigned in October.

The emails show a deeply corrupt system, with lab staff worried about their industrial-scale doping cover-up being exposed while they faced pressure from ambitious officials to "save" more top Russian athletes from doping scandals. Even Rodchenkov struggled to keep pace with the sheer scale of Russian doping.

In early March 2014, shortly after the Sochi Olympics had finished with Russia at the top of the medals table, Rodchenkov remained under pressure.

By his own admission, Rodchenkov had spent Russia's home Winter Olympics

swapping dirty samples in the dead of night in the temporary Olympic laboratory in Sochi, covering for up to 12 medal winners whose samples appear to have been tampered with, according to the McLaren report.

Still, running the Sochi lab ahead of the Paralympics later in March, Rodchenkov was trying to hide his deceptions from the numerous foreign experts drafted in to ensure the lab ran smoothly. That didn't stop him from coming un-

## ■ The emails show a deeply corrupt system, with lab staff worried about their industrial-scale doping cover-up being exposed

der state pressure to cover up more cases, emails leaked by Rodchenkov and published by McLaren show.

"I can't ignore OBVIOUSLY POSITIVE samples in front of everybody," he wrote to the Sports Training Center's Velikodny. That was in response to a message asking Rodchenkov to cover for nine track and field competitors shortly before the world indoor championships in Poland that month.

Six athletes could be "saved," but Rodchenkov insisted three particularly egregious cases couldn't be covered up. The

athletes who gave them were now "corpses who can't be brought back to life."

Two months later Rodchenkov was again exasperated, telling Velikodny to "get track and field together and give them a final warning. They've lost all fear. They should all just be banned already."

Velikodny's response: "I agree!"

The Russian track team would be banned by the end of the year, though not in the way Rodchenkov had envisioned. A World Anti-Doping Agency investigation into the team was already underway and would publish a damning report in November 2015, causing track's governing body to suspend Russia from all international competition, eventually including the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Olympics.

The email archive contains hundreds of pages of messages, mostly between Rodchenkov and Velikodny, with occasional cameos from junior lab staff, drug-testing officials and Nataliya Zhelanova, who was anti-doping adviser to Sports Minister Vitaly Mutko. Mentions of Mutko and his deputy Nagornykh are limited to initials, making their direct involvement difficult to prove.

Russia's cover-up was vast, with more than 1,000 athletes estimated to have been included. The sheer size was key to its success, giving the impression of an active, fully-functioning anti-doping system which in some years collected more samples than any other country, only to make positive tests vanish in the lab.

That size also meant involving many people at various level of the state sports system, a lia-

bility which was devastatingly exposed when a husband-and-wife team of whistleblowers — one an athlete on steroids, the other a disillusioned drug-test agency worker — went public in 2014 with damning, yet only partial, revelations about the system. That, in turn, led to the WADA reports which exposed the lab's deepest secrets.

While covering for stars, officials routinely allowed obscure athletes to be banned in order to keep up the appearance of an efficient drug-testing system. Athletes' well-being was almost never discussed. Despite repeated cases involving GW1516, a substance not considered fit for human consumption because of repeated cancer cases in animal testing, none of the emails contain any suggestions of discouraging its use.

The archive has its flaws, though. Documents from the Sochi Olympics themselves are notable by their absence — Rodchenkov has previously said he received instructions about the games in face-to-face meetings with Nagornykh, the deputy sports minister, and a "handler" from the FSB security service. Many documents are only available in the original Russian, or only in the English translation. Athletes' names have been redacted but enough details of their competitive records remain that it's possible to deduce many identities.

The writers certainly knew the risk if their emails were ever made public.

In November 2013, three months before the Olympics, Rodchenkov issued an order that Russian officials may wish he, too, had followed: "Delete all messages urgently!" **AP**





Patrick Magezi cuts an onion into a saucepan frying edible grasshoppers, at a stall in the Kamwokya district of the capital Kampala



Fried edible grasshoppers are displayed at a stall in the Kamwokya district

# Grasshoppers a tasty, nutritious holiday treat in Uganda

By Rodney Muhumuza, Kampala

**C**HILDREN scamper in the bush, jumping here and there to catch grasshoppers before they fly away. On a good day, many will walk away with plastic bags filled with the insects to fry and eat as a snack.

Grasshoppers, known in the local Luganda language as “nsenene,” are a delicacy among many in this

East African country who look forward to this time of year, when millions of the bugs hatch with the seasonal rains. People say jokingly there will be damnation if the grasshopper season comes and goes without tasting the bugs.

“These nsenene, I’m buying them because my wife has sent me to buy them for her,” said O.J. Gerald at a roadside seller in the capital, Kampala. “She really

loves them. You fry with some onion and a little bit of salt and it’s very tasty. Very crunchy in your mouth.”

The grasshoppers, when fried, turn from green to golden brown and give off an earthy aroma beloved by enthusiasts.

Grasshopper hunting has become a commercial activity in Uganda. Some rig bright lamps to attract the insects, which then

crash into strategically placed sheets and slide into barrels where they are trapped overnight.

Hundreds of grasshopper traps can be seen across Kampala, often in violation of the city’s safety rules as the installations can lead to potentially dangerous short circuits. The insects are in season from November until January, when the country usually gets heavy rains, and again in April and May.

Street vendors do brisk business, selling half-kilogram (1 pound) plastic mugs of ready-to-eat grasshoppers for about USD2.75.

To prepare them, the wings, legs and antennae are plucked off while the insects are still alive.

Cooked grasshoppers have high amounts of protein and fat, as well as significant amounts of dietary fiber, said Geoffrey Ssepuuya, a Ugandan nutritionist researching grasshoppers as part of his doctorate studies at the University of Leuven in Belgium.

“Grasshoppers are very nutritious,” he said. “They are actually richer in comparison to conventional sources of protein.”

At a busy market stall in Kampala, Sylvia Namwanje fries the insects with oil, onions and garlic, creating a distinctive scent that can be smelled meters away. Motorists park their SUVs and wait to be served. Ugandans from abroad who crave grasshoppers are among her clients.

“The nsenene are so delicious,” Namwanje said. “They are only in season at certain times of the year. People will eat them because they know that’s the only period they can eat the nsenene. It’s way more delicious than chicken, or any meat for that matter.”

Namwanje said the seasonal trade in grasshoppers is an important part of her yearly income. “With my earnings I have managed to educate my children, take care of my mother and family,” she said proudly. **AP**

## ASK THE VET

by Dr Ruan Du Toit Bester



### 6 WAYS TO STOP DOG SNORING

**D**OG snoring is caused by an obstruction in the nasal passage or nostrils that leads to airway constriction. Before you try to stop the snoring, it’s necessary to understand the reasons why dogs snore so that you can either take preventive or curative measures to stop the problem.

#### CAUSES OF DOG SNORING

- Dogs that are overweight or obese tend to have excess tissue in their throat which causes the obstruction that blocks the airways.
- Allergens like tree and weed pollen, dust (we have a lot in Macau) and smoke cause nasal allergies. The resulting mucus blocks the nostrils and causes heavy breathing.
- Certain dog breeds are predisposed to snoring. Pekinese, Pugs, Boston Terriers are known to snore as their windpipe flattens which makes it difficult to breathe.
- Tobacco smoke is a big irritant to your pet. As long as your dog lives in a smoke filled environment he will continue to snore.
- If your pet is suffering from a cold he might snore in his sleep until his nostrils are clear.

#### SIX USEFUL WAYS TO STOP DOG SNORING

- If your dog is suffering from snoring caused by allergens make sure you clean his bedding every day. Walk him outdoors when the pollen levels are low and when there isn’t too much traffic. Vacuum regularly and keep rugs and curtains dust free.
- Regularly exercise your pet so that he will reduce in weight and the snoring problem stops.
- A small surgery that we perform quite frequently at RVC may be conducted on breeds predisposed to snoring. However, the surgery is generally conducted when dogs are young.
- Try to change the way your dog sleeps by either changing his bed or his sleeping posture.
- Give your dog a pillow. If he uses the pillow it will elevate his head and may reduce snoring.
- Avoid smoking next to your dog. Keep him in a smoke free environment.

Your dog may show certain signs along with snoring that indicate underlying illnesses. If your dog doesn’t respond to



any of the tips a vet check will help determine the true cause. Dog snoring can be bothersome as your dog will have a disturbed sleep pattern and wake up tired and grouchy. The noise caused due to his snoring will also prevent the owner from getting a good night’s rest. Consider keeping your dog in another room at night. Don’t be impatient or try to wake your dog from his sleep as this will do more harm than good.

A round sleeping bed might stop the snoring, as your dog will curl up and this helps the airway passages to expand. If your dog has never snored before and the snoring unexpectedly emerges, take your dog for a vet check as he may be sick. Tumors or cysts don’t usually cause dog

snoring but occur in rare cases.

If you take simple preventive measures it will be rewarding for both you and your pet. It can also increase your dog’s life span. Be sure to keep him in an environment that’s clean and make exercise part of his routine.

Hope this info helps our snoring dogs  
Till next week  
Dr Ruan

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