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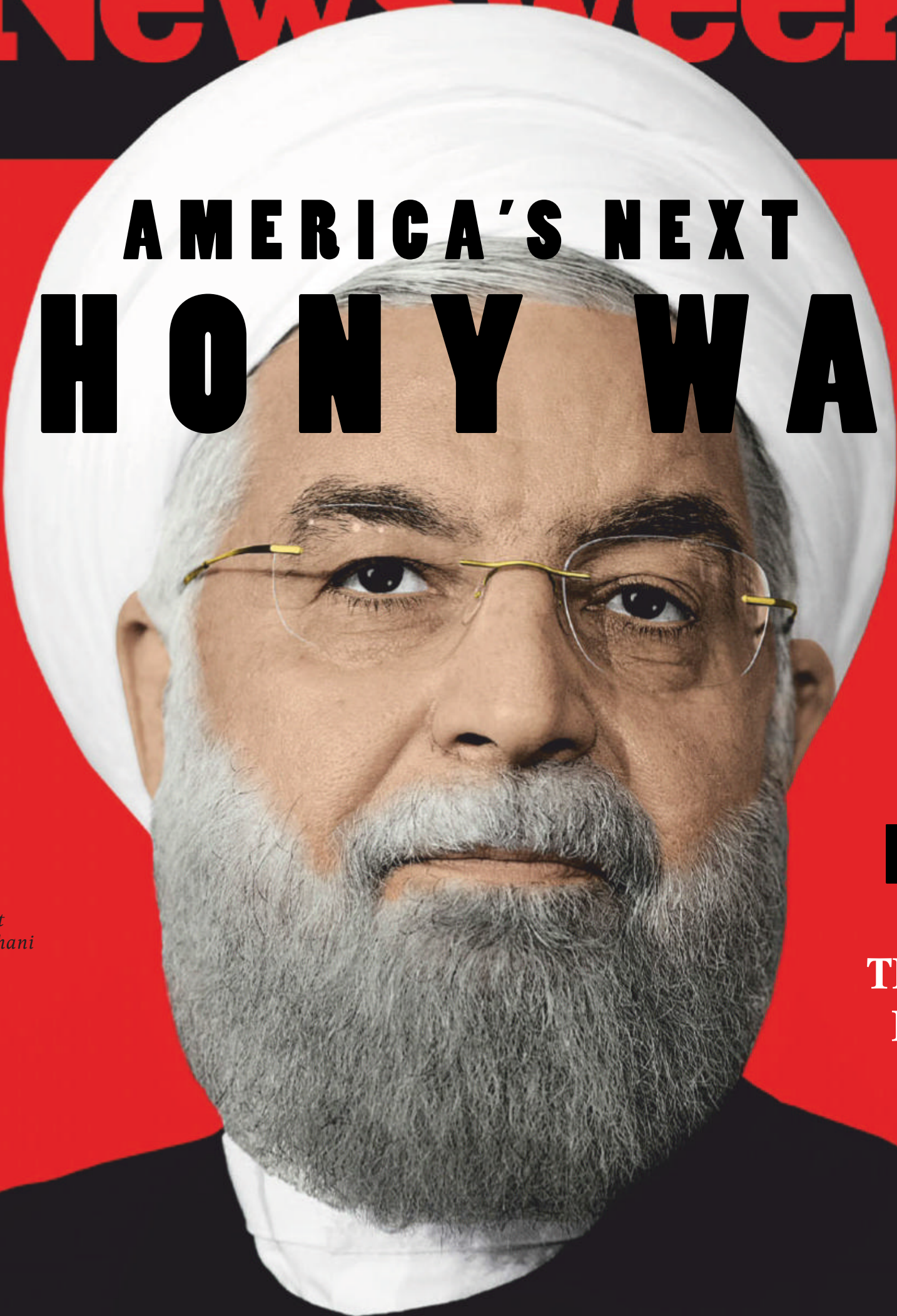
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LeBron James: A Hero for Our Time

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22.02.2019

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FEATURES

ROLE MODEL

“His dedication to community makes him more heroic than slamming a basketball through a hoop,” says Kareem Abdul-Jabbar about the Los Angeles Lakers’ LeBron James, above.

COVER CREDIT

Photo illustration by **Gluekit** for Newsweek; Rouhani by Michael Gruber/Getty



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A Hero for Our Time

The case for LeBron James—not as the greatest player of all time but as a powerful leader for a bold new generation.

BY KAREEM ABDUL-JABBAR

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Sixteen years ago, the U.S. invaded Iraq on false premises. With Iran, is Trump steering America into another military disaster?

BY JEFF STEIN

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RUSSIAN
ROULETTE

Russia's foreign policy, as dictated by Vladimir Putin, is often expensive and self-defeating, with Venezuela being his latest risky gamble.



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Tinalbarka wants to be a lawyer.
She and her family fled violence in Mali.

We stand together #WithRefugees

PHOTO: © UNHCR / A. DRAGAJ

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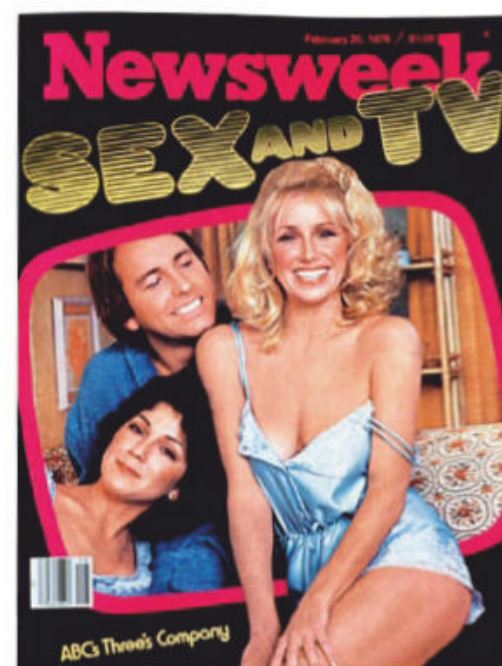


The Archives

2001 Bill Clinton had finished his embattled two-term presidency on January 20, but his 11th-hour pardon of fugitive financier Marc Rich “pushed the public to its limit.” Sources told *Newsweek* that Hillary Clinton, then a recently elected senator from New York, was furious; “the rocky start of her husband’s new life” had obscured coverage of her first floor speech the week before.” The former president, meanwhile, was enjoying his new office in New York’s Harlem, “among his most loyal supporters, African-Americans,” ready “to launch yet another campaign as the Comeback Kid.”



1960 “Our solar system was thought to be one happy accident,” *Newsweek* reported, but with the emergence of the technology and research efforts of the mid-20th century, scientists were able to send out signals in hopes of reaching alien life in at least “100 years.” Just 41 more years to go!



1978 Through-the-roof ratings for sitcoms like *Three’s Company* were making sex “TV’s most sought-after commodity.” While noting that much of the content pandered to “prurience in the most cheaply exploitative manner,” *Newsweek* applauded a medium aiming to honestly portray the human condition. “Only incurable prudes” would object. ■

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BEIJING

Hog Wild

Dragon dancers perform at a park on the fourth day of the Lunar New Year on February 8. Fireworks marked the arrival of the Year of the Pig, the last zodiac animal in the lunar calendar. In Chinese culture, the swine represents wealth and treasure. To celebrate, hundreds of millions of people visit their hometowns or travel abroad.

→ GREG BAKER





CLOCKWISE FROM BOTTOM LEFT: SAUL LOEB/AFP/GETTY; GEORGE OURFALIAN/AFP/GETTY; YASUYOSHI CHIBA/AFP/GETTY



ALEPPO, SYRIA

Helping Hand

Syrian civil defense workers rescue a child from under the rubble of a five-story building on February 2. Eleven people, including four children, were killed by the collapse of the war-damaged structure in the city, which for years has been a battleground between government forces and opposition factions.

📷 → GEORGE OURFALIAN



WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ladies' Night

Congresswomen pose for a photo as they arrive for the State of the Union address at the Capitol on February 5. Voters sent a record number of women to Congress in the November elections, giving them just under a quarter of the seats in the House. Dressed in white in tribute to the women's suffrage movement, the group later stole the show from Donald Trump when he noted that women had filled 58 percent of newly created jobs in the past year. "You weren't supposed to do that!" the president joked after they rose to their feet and applauded.

📷 → SAUL LOEB



ZANZIBAR, TANZANIA

Island in the Sun

A performer looks on during a parade for the international African music festival Sauti za Busara in Zanzibar's Stone Town area on February 7. The four-night music event, whose name means "Sounds of Wisdom" in Swahili, showcases hundreds of artists from Tanzania and across Africa.

📷 → YASUYOSHI CHIBA

BETTING ON POWER


Putin's global gambles involve taxing the domestic economy to spend vast sums on foreign wars.



OPINION

Poor Man's Empire

Vladimir Putin is doubling down in Venezuela, Syria and Ukraine.
His quest for global power could be bankrupting Russia

 IN DECEMBER, PRESIDENT VLADIMIR PUTIN called for Russia's economy "to enter another league." But that priority is far from clear if one looks at where the Kremlin places its foreign policy chips.

The latest gamble is Venezuela, where Russia recently flew two nuclear-capable Blackjack bombers. Secretary of State Michael Pompeo dismissed this as "two corrupt governments squandering public funds and squelching liberty...while their people suffer." Indeed, Venezuela is an economic basket case where, the International Monetary Fund predicts, inflation this year will hit 10 million percent.

The U.S., too, has taxed its domestic economy to spend vast sums on foreign wars, from Korea and Vietnam to Afghanistan and Iraq. During the Cold War, it expended resources to counter Soviet interference in multiple poor countries, such as Nicaragua, Angola and the Horn of Africa nations. For the most part, however, U.S. foreign policy has given high priority to strengthening America's dynamic economy and supporting global economic growth. During the 1997–98 Asian financial crisis, the Federal Reserve not only backed the global policy response; it took a lead role in supporting some affected countries. Ten years later, during the global financial crisis, the

Fed was central to the global monetary response.

Turning to trade, during the Obama administration, the U.S. and 11 other countries negotiated the Trans-Pacific Partnership. Despite canceling it and launching questionable trade wars, the Trump administration has updated major trade accords with Canada and Mexico and also with South Korea. In January, the U.S., European Union and Japan agreed on further efforts to counter unfair trade and reduce barriers to innovation.

Russia's foreign policy, however, hears a different economics drummer. The Kremlin seems driven more by political ambition. It pursues a sphere of influence nearby and great power status beyond, in a quest to exercise sway over its neighbors and counter U.S. and Western influence globally. But the Kremlin's efforts are often expensive or self-defeating.

Prosecuting war in eastern Ukraine and sustaining Crimea has taken an economic toll on Russia, directly and through Western sanctions. Bloomberg

Economics estimates sanctions have cut Russia's gross domestic product by 6 percent over the past four years. And nonmilitary Russian spending in those areas may burden Russian GDP by 0.3 percent per year. Russian-occupied separatist areas in Georgia and Moldova also require subsidies.

BY

WILLIAM COURTNEY

 @courtneywmh

HOWARD J. SHATZ

 @HowardJShatz



Even some efforts at peaceful cooperation have disappointed. Although relatively young, the Eurasian Economic Union of Russia, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Armenia and Kyrgyzstan has stumbled in economic integration. Members have stronger trade relations with countries outside the union.

Russia's great power quest is also costly. The military intervention in Syria may have forced spending cutbacks at home on health, education and welfare. Moreover, backing the regime of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad, dramatized by air attacks on civilian targets, bolsters Western support for sanctions on Russia.

Syria may require even more Russian resources. Last August, the U.N. estimated the cost to Syria of seven years of civil war at over \$388 billion. Russia seems worried that some Syrians will blame it for destroying much of their country without helping to

rebuild it. A year ago, Russia's top diplomat in Brussels intoned that it was "high time" for the EU to provide "dozens of billions" of euros in aid.

Russia may be throwing good money after bad in Venezuela too, with an investment as high as \$25 billion, much of it in the energy sector. Russia took similar risks in Iraq before President Saddam Hussein was overthrown and later had to write off \$12.9 billion in debt. If Nicolás Maduro's leftist government were to survive in Venezuela, it could remain a drain on Russia. Venezuela's oil industry is in bad shape, and new U.S. sanctions could combine with hyperinflation to further weaken the economy. A change in the government could also put Russian investments at risk.

Perhaps having learned lessons, the Kremlin is taking some risky bets off the table. This past December, Russia's largest oil producer, Rosneft,

FOREIGN AFFAIRS Military intervention in Syria may have forced spending cuts at home on health, education and welfare. And Russia's attacks on civilian targets bolsters Western support for sanctions.

abandoned plans for \$30 billion in joint investments with Iran, partly because of U.S. sanctions and unattractive terms offered by Iran.

There is another cost: A necessary pension reform that the Kremlin instituted last year led to widespread public protests. Some Russians believe the cost of "foreign adventures" (i.e., Syria and Ukraine) forced this. The reform has helped push down public trust in Putin's government to 33.4 percent, according to the state-run Public Opinion Research Center.

For all its problems, the global economic order offers unprecedented opportunities for countries to prosper. In 2016, Russia had the 12th-largest GDP among all countries and was the world's largest oil exporter. Yet that year, President Obama remarked, "There's not a G20 meeting where the Russians set the agenda around any of the issues that are important."

By leveraging the efficiencies of globalization and cultivating ties with prosperous partners, Russia could increase its economic potential and improve living standards for its people. And by engaging more positively with the world, it could gain influence in the forums that matter, such as the G20 and multilateral institutions. This would be made easier if the Kremlin gave higher priority to economic interests and backed away from economy-destroying dictators. **N**

→ **William Courtney** is an adjunct senior fellow at the nonprofit, non-partisan Rand Corp. and former U.S. ambassador to Kazakhstan and Georgia. **Howard J. Shatz** is a senior economist at Rand.

IRISH COMPANIES: EXPORTING INNOVATION TO THE WORLD

Investment in R&D and internationalization is powering renewed economic growth

Just ten years after the global financial crisis, the Republic of Ireland has become the fastest-growing economy in Europe and emerged as a global hub for investment in innovation, research and development.

Home to the youngest population in the EU, with one-third of Irish people under the age of 25, and with strong support for continued membership of the single market and the Eurozone, the country is pursuing an ambitious, innovation-led vision of economic growth that is inspiring businesses of all sizes in all sectors, from local startups and SMEs to giant multinationals.

“We have a strong pro-business environment, an open economy, and a stable and consistent 12.5% corporate tax rate,” says Michael D’Arcy Minister of State at the country’s Department of Finance. “We’re having conversations with our third level [educational] institutions, and they understand that technology is going to be dominant in every sector.”

Already home to over 1,200 multinationals employing some 230,000 people Ireland has become an important English-speaking, common-law base in particular for U.S. companies looking to serve their European markets. Nine of the world’s largest pharmaceutical companies, eight of the top 10 technology businesses and more than 50% of the world’s leading financial services firms have established major operations in the country, while Internet poster-boys Google, Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn and Airbnb have all located their European headquarters in Dublin’s so-called Silicon Docks area.

While the UK’s imminent exit from the EU is enhancing Ireland’s appeal to foreign investors looking for a European base, the Irish government is also focused on diversifying the country’s exports and helping domestic companies expand into new markets overseas in response to the seismic changes in its largest trade partner.

Clients of Enterprise Ireland, the state agency responsible for helping Irish companies sell to international markets, recorded export sales of €22.7 billion in 2017, a 7% increase on 2016 and the highest level of exports in EI’s history. An estimated 85% of clients are taking Brexit-related actions.

In terms of innovation and internationalization, the strongest performing sectors in the country are the agricultural and pharmaceutical industries. Glanbia, Ireland’s leading dairy company, has won the highest ever level of EU Horizon 2020

funding in the country for a project which will convert dairy waste into high-value raw materials.

“Agri-food is the largest indigenous industry in Ireland,” says Tara McCarthy, the CEO of Bord Bia, the Irish Food Board. “We have annual exports of €12.6 billion and by 2025 we think that could increase to €19 billion. We are looking seriously at how to get our food to customers in new markets.”



According to Bord Bia, international markets have been the focus of exceptional growth in Irish food and drink exports over the last eight years. In 2018, Ireland’s total food and drink exports to countries outside of the EU rose to €3.45 billion, almost double their value in 2010.

To maintain their position as world leaders, both the food and pharmaceutical sectors are investing heavily in new technologies and in education and skills development. “There is a huge body of knowledge and talent that has

been built up here,” says Ian Jones, CEO of Innopharma Labs, which runs training courses for food, pharmaceutical and medical device businesses and develops advanced manufacturing tools for pharmaceutical and MedTech companies.

On the educational side, Innopharma College of Applied Sciences is recording strong demand for its courses, which range from diplomas for medical device operations to MSc’s in food business management and technology. The company is one of the leading providers of the government-funded Springboard+ program, which offers free places on more than 200 training courses. Many of Innopharma’s lecturers have held senior management positions with major multinationals in their industries in Ireland and overseas.

In its technology offering, Innopharma Technology reached the finals of the Irish Times Innovation Awards 2018 with a platform that enables pharmaceutical manufacturers to accelerate product development and automate their processes.

According to Jones, Ireland’s concerted efforts to support both technological innovation and skills development will consolidate the country’s position as a global powerhouse for technology exports.

“There is an incredible ecosystem of research in Ireland and a naturally entrepreneurial culture,” Jones says. “The country is going to continue to be a major hub for pharma and MedTech.”



Innopharma is setting out to make the world’s pharma industry smarter. They are both a technology and an education & training company, geared towards helping the industry transition to advanced manufacturing and greater automation. Based in Dublin, this team of scientists and engineers have a background in pharma companies such as Wyeth, where they spotted a set of potential business problems they wanted to solve. As founder Dr. Ian Jones explains, “Our initial goal was to develop technology that would help pharma companies overcome development and manufacturing challenges we had all faced, and to help make safe and more affordable medicine in a faster and smarter way.” Their education & training business developed out of a need to provide Ireland’s large pharma sector, including their own company, with people who had the right skills for the future.


www.innopharmalabs.com



OPINION

Start Making Sense

Forget about shutting down the government. We need to radically reinvent it

 AMERICANS ELECTED DONALD Trump in 2016 on his pledge to “drain the swamp.” Two years later, they turned to Democrats to demand what Nancy Pelosi called “a new dawn.”

But fixing Washington requires more than new leaders and new variations on partisan orthodoxies. It requires a new governing vision, propelled by public demand, for a basic overhaul of how government works. Reforming the current system will not be sufficient.

Modern government is disconnected from the needs and capabilities of real people. Instead of honoring what Karol Wojtyła, later to become Pope John Paul II, called “the fundamental uniqueness of each human person,” it dictates uniform public choices at a granular level, applying to all people. The relevant question in public interactions is not what a person needs or believes but what the rule requires.

The detail of American regulation is overwhelming, serving no public purpose other than the quest for complete uniformity even in small choices. It far exceeds any conception of human scale. No one, certainly not citizens and small businesses, can keep all this regulation straight.

In 2017, Steve Eder provided in *The New York Times* a snapshot of how one family-owned apple orchard, Indian Ladder Farms in upstate New York, must comply with about 5,000 rules

from 17 different regulatory programs dealing with orchards. Some of these regulations are astonishingly impractical—such as a requirement to walk around the orchard every morning to check for mouse and deer droppings. Another food safety rule requires that the cart filled with picked apples must be covered with a cloth for the trip to the barn (a journey of a few minutes) to protect against droppings from a bird flying by. The apples have been exposed to the birds for five months while growing on the tree, so it’s unclear what purpose is being served.

Indian Ladder Farms has never had a serious regulatory violation, but that doesn’t prevent inspectors from different agencies from swooping in from time to time and demanding reams of paperwork and issuing sanctions for foot faults. The regulators think they’re just doing their job. Most people see it as piling on.


Governing by uniform rules has spawned a public culture where officials, conditioned always to look to law, feel disempowered from doing what they know is right. Governing today is as thoughtful as airport security screening—where we trudge through lines and dedicate time and resources to comply with rigid requirements and then are pulled aside to be searched if, say, we left a nickel in our pocket. We resent the bureaucrats who conduct these

regulatory searches, but they’re not allowed to use their judgment either.

Mindless application of law commonly skews choices away from what people know is right. In 2016, two volunteer firefighters in Stafford, Virginia, responded to an emergency call at a McDonald’s, where an 18-month-old child was turning blue from a seizure. They immediately put her in the firetruck and took her to the hospital, administering oxygen along the way; they got there within 13 minutes of the original call. The county’s reaction to the firemen saving the child’s life was to suspend them from further volunteer duty. The disciplinary logic was that the volunteer firefighters acted illegally because the firetruck was certified only as a “non-transport unit” and lacked “proper restraints” for carrying victims.

Not all public safety officers are heroes, of course, and good government is impossible unless officials can make judgments about accountability. But here as well the rules prevent officials from doing what’s right. As a result of the Black Lives Matter movement, Reuters compiled a report on police officers with records of repeatedly abusing innocent people. One officer brutally beat up a college student who was sitting on a bench with friends for the alleged crime of drinking a beer in public. That officer had been the subject of 40 complaint allegations of misconduct.

But most bad officers, Reuters found, could not be dismissed. Why? The rule in some public union contracts requires that prior complaints and infractions be expunged from the record, in some jurisdictions after six months, so it’s almost impossible for supervisors to terminate repeat offenders. No conceivable public purpose is served by whitewashing the record of abusive officers. But that’s the rule.

BY
PHILIP K. HOWARD
 @PhilipKHoward



CAPITOL BUILDING: FREDERICK BASS/GETTY; SIGN: PLAINVIEW/GETTY

American government is failing for the same reason it has estranged its citizens: It pre-empts the active intelligence and moral judgments of people on the ground. At this point, legal justification has become an obsession within our public culture, consistently making smart people act as if they're brain dead.

In the spring of 2018, the Trump administration announced a “zero tolerance” policy for immigrants crossing the border illegally. Several thousand people were put in jail immediately when caught and separated from their children, including infants, who were put in shelters. “We don’t want to separate families, but we don’t want families to come to the border illegally,” then–Attorney General Jeff Sessions said. “This is just the way the world works.” Columnist George Will ridiculed the administration for

“an absence of judgment, institutionalized.” Which is worse from a moral standpoint—entering a country illegally or separating young children from their parents?

Concerned about the fate of the separated children, the president of the American Academy of Pediatrics, Dr. Colleen Kraft, visited a detention center with 60 children in Texas. There she saw caregivers doing their best to try to care for the children. As *The Washington Post* put it, Kraft observed “a little girl no older

Mindless application of law skews choices away from what people know is right.

CAPITOL CRIME American government is suffering from a failure of philosophy, not merely bad leadership. Governing requires human judgment, not rote compliance.

than 2, screaming and pounding her fists on a mat.” But the caregiver was also frustrated “because as much as she wanted to console the little girl, she couldn’t touch, hold or pick her up to let her know everything would be all right.” That was the rule: “They’re not allowed to touch the children.” The human instinct for caring and sympathy was pulverized by law.

How did American government get to the point where practicality and morality are no longer relevant—where regulations are so dense that people can’t understand them; where firemen who save lives are fired and abusive policemen are protected; where our national leaders lose sight of basic morality in the name of legal zero tolerance? The public uproar over separating families from their children eventually caused the Trump administration to back down. But no one has changed the rule that bans picking up a crying toddler.

The function and place of individuals in American public life, in one sense, could hardly be clearer: What you believe doesn’t matter. What the official believes doesn’t matter either.

American government is suffering from a failure of philosophy, not merely bad leadership. Governing requires human judgment, not rote compliance. America needs a governing philosophy that gives responsibility, and meaning, back to each citizen and each official. Law should set goals and principles and leave implementation to people on the ground. **N**


From Try Common Sense: Replacing the Failed Ideologies of Right and Left, published by W. W. Norton & Co.



2020 VISION

The Other Washington

Governor Jay Inslee claims some of the most progressive climate change victories in the nation. Is that enough to get to the White House?

 JAY INSLEE IS WORRIED ABOUT THE FUTURE OF AMERICA. He's worried about the future of the world too. If something doesn't change soon, he says, it won't be here for much longer, at least not in any inhabitable way. That's why the Democratic governor of Washington state is heavily weighing a presidential run, and he sees himself as the only person in his party who is uniquely qualified to fight what he considers the biggest threat to mankind:

BY

NICOLE GOODKIND

 @NicoleGoodkind

CLIMATE CONTROL

As governor, Inslee created a clean energy fund and limited greenhouse gas emissions. "Climate change has to be the first order of business," he says.

climate change.

Sure, other candidates *talk* about global warming, but he has actually run a government that has *acted* on it. As the two-term chief executive of the Evergreen State, he pursued perhaps the greenest agenda in the nation, creating a clean energy fund and limiting greenhouse gas emissions. Today, solar farms sprawl across the state, while fleets of electric busses ferry commuters. And, he notes, Washington's economy is thriving, with the state leading the country in job growth.

Climate change is everything, he tells *Newsweek*, and we can't afford to defer finding a solution any longer. It's a theme he's been sounding since 2007, when he wrote *Apollo's Fire*, a treatise on global warming and the economy.

First elected governor in 2012, Inslee has been a mainstay in state and federal politics for 30 years, serving for more than a decade in Congress. He tells me that Washington state has pursued progressive policies under his watch: He banned capital punishment, raised the minimum wage, expanded paid family leave and signed into law a new estate tax. Climate change, however, has always been his obsession.

His nascent White House bid comes on the heels of a recent United Nations report that found global citizens have just 12 years to prevent climate change from becoming a limitless catastrophe. President Donald Trump dismissed the report as politically motivated and continues to roll back

JAPAN

Dai Nippon Printing: making its mark on 4IR

Faced with the opportunities and challenges of the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR), DNP has diversified into new business areas combining its traditional expertise in printing and emerging technologies.

Japan – renowned throughout the ages for its profound value and natural flair for craftsmanship, or *monozukuri* – has a long history in the art of printing. In fact, Japanese printing is so culturally influential that it has defined Japanese arts to this day; the aesthetics of both manga and anime are di-

panies can do this type of business," says Yoshinari Kitajima, President of DNP. "What distinguishes us from other companies is the diversification process that we are in right now."

From its base in Tokyo, the company now has a strong international presence in business

long history, we've been able to enhance each printing process such as plate-making and printing, and transform them into sophisticated technologies such as micro-fabrication and precision coating over this long period. We have also developed patented materials that other companies cannot copy. All of these combined merits accumulate to the overall attraction and benefit of DNP."

Counting on a rich history is one thing. But on the eve of the so-called Fourth Industrial Revolution, many industries are experiencing tremendous changes due to innovative technologies, such as automation, miniaturization and the Internet of Things (IoT). While these technologies influence end-products, they are also having an impact on production processes.

How then does this need for adaptation and future-proofing affect a company like DNP, with its main strength – according to its president – being rooted in its traditional expertise?

"Since its inception, our company's major business has been based on a variety of technologies developed in the printing process," explains Mr. Kitajima. "So the same technologies are still out there, it just depends on what kind of products or services we provide to new kinds of emerging customers we have in Japan or in the rest of the world. As such, new innovative technologies, such



"Since its inception, our company's major business has been based on a variety of technologies developed in the printing process"

Yoshinari Kitajima,
President, DNP

as IoT and AI, influence the new type of customers we acquire."

"Consequently," says Mr. Kitajima, "the introduction of new technologies has meant our company diversified and split into different segments of business. While our major business remains printing and packaging, we now have different segments of business such as life science and solutions for the automobile industry. All of this has been introduced via our new R&D force."



Smart cards

rectly descended from woodblock prints. But printing of course, has not only been used traditionally to create art, but also as a vital method of communication.

It was this very passionate desire to communicate, and to help raise the level of people's knowledge and culture through letterpress printing, that explains how Dai Nippon Printing (DNP) came to be through its founders in 1876.

More than 140 years later, and DNP remains one of world's foremost printing companies. It's fair to say however that the company's business model looks a little different now to how it did in the 19th century.

"Printing on paper is not such a big deal anymore – many com-



Battery pouches for EV's lithium-ion batteries

segments that cover information communications, lifestyle, industrial supplies and electronics. With involvement in such a wide variety of processes, its products range from magazines through to smart cards, metal masks for the production of OLED displays, as well as battery pouches for lithium-ion batteries.

Employing nearly 40,000 people across its network of plants and offices across the world, DNP is not just a major printing player in Japan, but across the globe too.

"The main strength of this company is that we have transformed printing technology according to social needs," explains Mr. Kitajima. "Over our



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Japan auto-part makers: the power driving the automotive industry

While Toyota, Honda and Nissan are just the visible tip of the iceberg, Japan's automotive industry is driven by hundreds of smaller firms that build and supply pioneering technology and high-quality parts and components to automakers around the world.

8.7%

of Japan's workforce are employed in automotive manufacturing and related industries

27

Number of Japanese firms in the Top 100 global OEM parts suppliers

18%

Automotive components and vehicles account for 18 percent of all manufacturing shipments in Japan

\$18 billion

Annual investment in R&D by Japanese companies in automotive and related industries

They say a country's industrial and economic strength is reflected in the strength of its automotive industry. It is no coincidence then that the three largest economies in the world are also the three top manufacturers of automobiles.

The United States has the big three of Ford, GM and Chrysler; while China has a raft of domestic car companies and, perhaps unsurprisingly, produces more cars than anyone else, although many for international brands with manufacturing bases in the Dragon economy.

And while China has emerged as a major regional competitor in recent years, producing almost three times more vehicles than Japan in 2017, Japan's automotive industry is still one of the most prominent, distinguished and technologically advanced industries in the world, reputed for high-quality and performance.

The automotive industry in Ja-

pan employs 5.5 million people, representing 8.7 percent of the workforce, and annual investment in R&D by automotive manufacturing and related industries is \$18 billion, or roughly 21 percent of R&D spending in all of Japan's manufacturing sectors.

Japan is the third largest producer of cars in the world after China and the U.S., and has been firmly placed in the top three since the 1960s. Of the top ten selling car brands in the world, three are Japanese companies. In the U.S., the top two selling brands between 2016 and 2017 were, naturally, GM and Ford; three of the following four top sellers were Japanese: Toyota, Honda and Nissan.

But Toyota, Honda and Nissan are just the visible tip of the iceberg. The nation's automotive industry is also made up of hundreds of lesser known companies – from SMEs to multinationals –

that build and supply the parts and components for these big car makers. And like Toyota, Honda and Nissan, these companies are also big exporters, supplying high-quality parts to carmakers in the U.S. and across the world.

Automotive components and vehicles account for 18 percent of all manufacturing shipments in Japan. Auto parts manufacturing accounts for over 600,000 jobs in the automotive sector, and another 390,000 jobs are allocated to the production of raw materials and basic equipment used in automotive manufacturing.

Take a look inside the hood, the door panel, underneath the steering wheel or inside the gear box, and the chances are you will find parts and components developed and built by these Japanese parts manufacturers, whether you're driving a Chrysler, a Ford or a Toyota.

"If you drive a car such as a Toyota, Honda, Nissan, Ford, Volkswagen, Fiat or Chrysler, you probably use our products without realizing," says Osamu Inoue, President and COO of Sumitomo Electric, a global leader in the manufacture of wire harnesses for automobiles.

A wire harness is an organized set of wires, terminals and connectors that run throughout the entire vehicle and relay information and electric power. They play a critical role in connecting a variety of components – a role which will become increasingly more important with the introduction of electric vehicles (E/Vs), IoT-connected smart vehicles and driverless cars that require more electronic wiring and components.

With more wires come more harnesses and thus, more weight. As such, Sumitomo Electric's



"If you drive a car such as a Toyota, Honda, Nissan, Ford, Volkswagen, Fiat or Chrysler, you probably use our products without realizing"

Osamu Inoue, President and COO, Sumitomo Electric

R&D department is constantly working to develop more lightweight solutions.

"In the area of wire harnesses for the automotive industry, we developed new aluminum-based products and they have been in widespread use across the globe. Since aluminum weight is half that of conventional materials, it has been used to create lightweight vehicles," explains Mr. Inoue.

Yasuhiro Ogura, President of Ogura Clutch, the world's largest manufacturer of electromagnetic clutches and brakes, also acknowledges that E/Vs are changing the demands placed on automotive components manufacturers, who must innovate and adapt to meet these new demands. Fortunately, thanks to their technological and R&D prowess, Japanese auto parts makers like Ogura are more capable of adapting to the major changes in the industry than many others.

"To increase the production of E/Vs, the market requires safer



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"One of the strengths of our company is our capacity to adapt, predict market trends and swiftly react to new demands"

Yasuhiro Ogura, President,
Ogura Clutch

and more reliable devices. For example, as E/Vs become more popular, part-makers will have to produce the next-generation of air conditioning compressors to work with the many electrical and electronic devices present in electric cars," says Mr. Ogura.

"At Ogura Clutch, what we are most concerned with is the decreased need for clutches in E/V coolant systems. To maintain our position as the market leader, we designed and introduced new styles of clutches approximately five years ago. One of the strengths of our company is our capacity to adapt, predict market trends and swiftly react to new demands."

The company also develops micro-clutches that are used in copy machines and other electronic devices. As Mr. Ogura points out, when E/Vs begin requiring these types of miniature clutches, Ogura will be ready to offer theirs as a solution.

"These miniature clutches are small in size but produced in high volumes. Annually we produce 10 million micro clutches," he explains.

Established in 1938, Ogura now

employs 2,000 people worldwide and has capacity to build 30 million clutches annually in its manufacturing facilities located in Japan, South East Asia, China, North America, South America and Europe. Its total revenue comes from a diversified portfolio of approximately 7,000 various clutches.

"Despite having about 2,000 employees around the world and being a market leader with many of our products, we regard ourselves as a relatively small but strong company with a long history and experience in clutch manufacturing. That is our advantage over new competitors who will need experience and knowledge, as well as funds, which Ogura Clutch already possesses," adds Mr. Ogura.

With its production sites located all over the world, Ogura has been exporting the "Made by Japan" technological prowess since the 1980s, which is used by carmakers internationally.

"Our company's objective has, and always will be, to support the *monozukuri* of our customers thanks to our own high level of craftsmanship. For the next 20 years, we will continue our efforts in maintaining this approach to production," adds Mr. Ogura.

Like many Japanese companies, Ogura was compelled to open factories in the U.S. in the 1980s when former president Ronald Reagan introduced legislation that stipulated that 70 percent of all component parts had to be assembled at local manufacturing sites. Mr. Ogura points out the similarities between Reagan's and President Donald Trump's policies to promote local production.

"Like Mazda, we also have a long experience working in the American market. We already have manufacturing bases in the U.S. No matter how the situation fluctuates on the political sphere, we will find a way to connect to American customers. The growth of our company has reached countries, like Brazil, China, France, and more," he says.

Getting down to the nuts and bolts of the car is where you will find Yamashina Corporation, which manufactures a wide range of fasteners, bolts, screws, pins, resin, and thin plates, as well as offering testing and analysis services. Seventy percent of its customers are in the automotive industry,

which depend on Yamashima's light-weight and non-corrosive products to literally hold the vehicle together.

The company may be more than a century old but it is still at the top of the game when it comes to the latest technology in the industry, investing heavily in innovation and R&D in order to develop high-quality, reliable and light-weight materials for its products. One of its latest innovations is carbon fiber reinforced plastic (CFRP).

"We regard this need for light-weight material as a strategy for product development," says president, Naoki Hori.

"In response to such demand for lighter material, we succeeded in developing the world's first aluminum nut especially developed for CFRP, and we started selling it. This is one of our cutting-edge products for airplanes and automobiles. The developing process has been very challenging and required a lot of effort from our side: R&D and innovation played a key-role in achieving success."

Like Ogura, another of Yamashima's competitive strengths, and indeed Japanese manufacturers

in general, is the ability adapt – to both changing customer and market needs.

"Our field of know-how can be defined as 'suriawase', or the ability to tune and tailor our products to fit certain characteristics. As a result, we are able to meet our customer's needs and ensure client satisfaction."

But, as Mr. Hori points out, it's not just cutting-edge materials that define the quality and performance of Yamashima's products, so too does the "know-how" and technology that go into the processing, manufacturing and the assembly-line. And it is this know-how that gives Japanese companies their competitive advantage.

"Even if competitors utilize the same structure, materials, raw materials and manufacturing processes, our know-how remains unique and superior; it cannot be surpassed by anyone," explains Mr. Hori.

"This is especially visible in the automotive sector, where the meticulous, complex effort and competence that go behind the entire process represents our true advantage. We consistently aim for perfection."

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An unrivaled reputation for quality formed parts for over 60 years

Metal parts innovator Fukui Byora designs and manufactures almost all of its production machinery in-house and is a pioneer of cold forming, a manufacturing process that has many advantages over conventional machining.

How many parts are necessary to manufacture a modern car? As incredible as it may seem, present-day vehicles are composed of over 30,000 parts and components. The machines we casually utilize to take our children to school, meet a loved one or drive to our favorite restaurant have, throughout time, grown into an astonishingly complex labyrinth of screws, cables, rivets and wires.

Should a seemingly microscopic component malfunction, it is the entire performance of the vehicle that is put in jeopardy. Through stringent quality control, automotive manufacturers require their suppliers to abide to the highest level of manufacturing precision.

Since 1959, Fukui Byora Co., Ltd. has been providing high precision cold formed parts to satisfy the rigorous demands of automotive manufacturers. After years of research, the company has developed its own unique cold forming technique, a manufacturing process that incorporates the extruding and upsetting of raw wire material into a finished part through a succession of punches and dies.

In comparison to hot forming, where the metal is heated before processing, cold forming shapes metal items at room temperature. By heading raw material wire under high forging tonnage, net shapes are seamlessly created and the finished item enjoys increased hardness. While this technique allows for complex designs to be produced accurately and precisely, it also contributes to reducing production cost.



"We want to show our clients the pride, effort and passion every single employee puts into achieving our quality"

Yukio Uchimoto, President & CEO, FUKUI BYORA Co., Ltd./FUKUI BYORA Group

Fukui Byora's high-speed process can produce up to 600 pieces per minute, depending upon size and configuration. Owing to its 1,200 units of cold forming machines, the company supplies around 12 billion component parts annually. Improved material usage, reduced forging energy consumption and the elimination of lengthy machining processes are some of the advantages that Fukui Byora's unique technique guarantees its customer.

To achieve such technological prowess, Fukui Byora invested in the creation of its own production system and machinery. "We have internally developed over 90 percent of our production equipment and 95 percent of our tooling items in-



"Fukui Byora embodies Japanese quality, the spirit of Japanese people and their unmatched detailed and precise service"

Kanae Yamagishi, President & CEO, BYORA USA Corporation/BYORA International

house," says Ms. Kanae Yamagishi, President and CEO of BYORA USA Corp. and BYORA International. "This complete control over production allows us to react extremely quickly to emergencies."

As customer demand evolved, Fukui Byora combined its mass-production ability with a dedication to developing customized solutions tailored to the specification of each individual demand.

"Our company puts value engineering at the center of our priorities. We focus on taking existing designs and analyzing how we can improve our customers' requests by manufacturing it more efficiently or reducing production costs," explains Mr. Yukio Uchimoto, President and CEO

of Fukui Byora Group. By virtue of its unique engineering capacity Fukui Byora produces over 8,000 varieties of parts on a year-to-year basis.

Strong of its 60 years' experience in cold forming, the company diversified its product portfolio and ventured into new fields where precision and reliability are required. On top of miniature items used in electronic devices, the Fukui-based manufacturer supplies precision parts for the medical field, which are found in items such as syringes and pacemakers.

As global demand for automobiles increased, Fukui Byora expanded beyond the Japanese border and founded its first international base in Singapore in 1996. The company is today present around the world and utilizes its international sales network as a means to capture regional market-share. "With a distribution center in Europe, and facilities in the United States, Hong Kong, Singapore and Thailand, we are able to meet the demands of clients around the globe," states Mr. Uchimoto.

Since their first appearance, the vehicles that pave our roads have been recognized as a symbol for technological advancements. And if today we are able to drive faster, more securely, while consuming less energy, it is because the 30,000 parts that compose our favorite machines are perfectly aligned and functioning; it is because dedicated part manufacturers have developed unique techniques to make our lives more comfortable.



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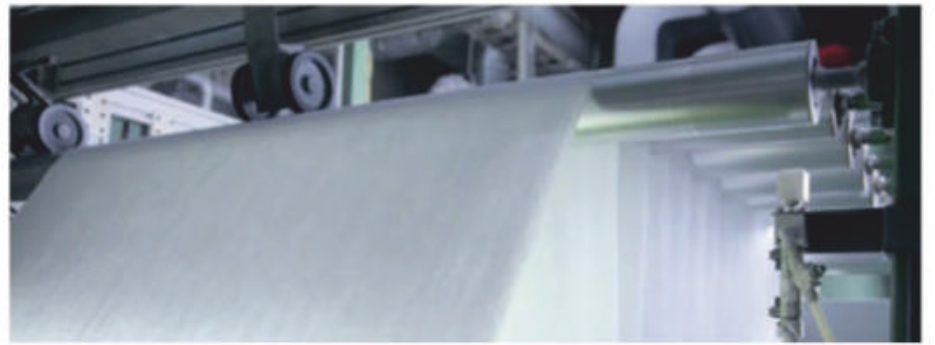
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Thanks to its historical know-how and its unrivaled dedication to quality, Marusan Industry has acquired expertise in the production of high-quality cotton, from unique nonwoven technology to high-quality medical products.

Cotton is the most cultivated profitable non-food crop in the world, and is responsible for employing 7 percent of the total workforce in developing countries. Around half of all textiles are made from cotton, 64 percent of which is used for apparel, 28 percent for home furnishings and 8 percent for industrial use.

'Miracle Cotton'.

With such a huge market share, it's easy to see that its Japanese customers really value its high-quality cotton over that of its competitors. Leveraging on the sterling reputation that it has earned in Japan, the company is also expanding internationally, exporting its bleached cotton, non-woven cotton and cotton-based products around the world – to China, South East Asia, Europe and the U.S., where its products can be found in pharmacies and drug stores such as CVS and Walgreens.

Aside from bleached cotton, the company also produces non-woven fabrics for the medical and sanitary, construction material and agriculture industries, as well as finished products such as cotton pads, cotton swabs, tea bags, and oil absorbent sheets.

"Cotton is an essential material for human beings because we utilize it in so many different ways in our every-day lives, par-

products, not only domestically but around the world."

Marusan is a vertically integrated company involved in every stage of the value chain, from importing raw cotton (it imports rigorously selected varieties of cotton from around the globe, including the U.S.), to the manufacturing of bleached cotton, nonwoven fabric, and processed products. And this is something which Mr. Kikuchi believes sets Marusan apart from its competitors.

"One feature that differentiates us from other companies within our sector is that all of our business segments provide the full chain of production. Many companies within our sector will focus on only one of these steps; we do everything and we do it all with the highest level of expertise," says Mr. Kikuchi.

"For example, taking the case of the medical industry as mentioned before, we will try to manufacture cotton pads that are good absorbents and that will allow the solutions being applied to them to function at their maximum potential. We therefore ap-



"All of our processes are designed so that we can remove all contamination from our products in an efficient and environmentally friendly manner, and provide our customers with the best quality of cotton-based products on the market"

Motohiro Kikuchi,
President, Marusan Industry

needed to make just one t-shirt or a pair of jeans, a staggering 20,000 liters of water is required. As one of the world's largest cotton companies, environmental sustainability is also a major concern for Marusan.

"We ourselves promote environmental conservation by practicing pesticide-free, eco-friendly farming of cotton, and by undertaking 'safe' manufacturing of products that aims to prevent pollution as much as possible," says Mr. Kikuchi.

"All of our processes are designed so that we can remove all contamination from our products in an efficient and environmentally friendly manner, and provide our customers with the best quality of cotton-based products on the market."

From cotton swabs to absorbent pads, cotton is essential to everyday health and hygiene as well as in the healthcare industry. And although it is considered a non-food crop, it is used in the food industry to make cottonseed, a refined vegetable oil in various food products.

Marusan Industry has been in the business for 70 years and today is one of the leading cotton companies in the world. Over 90 percent of all cotton products in Japan are made using Marusan's bleached cotton. In others words, most of the cotton products available in the Japanese market are made with Marusan's very own

ticularly for clothes. What our company tries to do is produce cotton-based products of high quality that can complement other products well," says president, Motohiro Kikuchi.

"Today, we stand as a leading developer, manufacturer and distributor of cotton-based cosmetics, every-day household materials, and sanitary and medical

proach different customers with cotton-based products that are tailored towards their needs or requirements – it really is a win-win situation."

One of the main issues in the global cotton industry surrounds environmental concerns, from water and energy consumption to the use of pesticides. To produce the one kilogram of cotton



Japanese SMEs: industry's hidden innovators

Largely unknown to end consumers, Japan's SME manufacturers are the hidden champions on which global industry depends.

70%

SMEs represent 70% of Japan's total employment

50%

SMEs represent 50% of Japan's added-value manufacturing output

39%

of Japanese SMEs have overseas offices

67.8%

of Japanese SMEs plan to expand exports over next 3 years

Japan is best known for corporate giants like Sony, Toshiba, Honda, Toyota and Panasonic. However, the nation's economic backbone is not made up of these large multinational corporations, but the small and medium-sized enterprises that represent 97 percent of all Japanese businesses.

Japan's SMEs employ 70 percent of the total workforce and are responsible for 50 percent of total manufacturing output. And without them, companies like Honda and Sony could not exist – for these SMEs are the manufacturers that supply these larger firms with the vital parts, components and machines needed to make their end products. And it's not just Japanese firms that depend on them, but companies in the U.S. and across the world.

While their products are largely invisible to the general public, these SME manufacturers are the strength and hidden innovators of Japanese industry. It is for this reason they have been often called the 'hidden champions', pioneers of high-performing technologies and high-quality products on which their clients depend.

And while many Japanese SMEs are already serving clients around the globe, in recent years, these companies have undertaken ambitious internationalization strategies to boost their worldwide operations in response to Japan's shrinking domestic market due to its aging population.

Japan's hidden innovators are using their technological prowess to develop new applications for their products as they look to expand and diversify into new business segments – from lighting manufacturers developing award-winning indoor grow-light systems, to companies in the molding industry applying their technology to new areas and to address new challenges.

Plastic injection molding is the common process used to create plastic parts, from everyday objects like garden chairs and toys to more high-precision parts for the medical industry. As the name suggests, the parts are created by injecting molten plastic resin into a mold to create the desired shape. The part that distributes the molten plastic resin into the mold is called a runner,

of which there are two types, cold runners and the more advanced hot runners, which came into use in the 1970s and 80s.

Hot runners, or "runnerless", systems offer many advantages over cold runners, such as shorter cycle time, design flexibility, enhanced operational efficiencies, and plastic waste reduction. As hot runners are complex systems, most manufacturers depend on highly-specialized companies to design and make the equipment and components for these systems – and one such company which has been doing so for more than 60 years is Seiki Corporation.

Since its establishment in 1954 as a pioneer in the development of hot runner systems and runnerless equipment, Seiki has been committed to solving the major challenges in the plastic injection molding industry, helping its customers around the world to work more efficiently, and thus contributing to their profitability.

Seiki's customers are spread across several industries (number one being automotives, followed by medical, packaging and closures, and OA system) and depend on the superior technology and quality of the company's products – technology and quality that cannot be replicated by its competitors, as president Shuichi Kawabata stresses.

"While there are competitive products from China, Korea, EU and even the U.S., what we were able to do was acquire patents for our unique systems in the world of hot runners. As a manufacturer of hot runner systems and a pioneer in runnerless equipment, we have been determinedly addressing and devotedly working on every challenge in the field of plastic injection molding," he says.

"In the hot runner business there is fierce competition coming from all directions. We have China, Korea, the EU and the U.S. all competing to gain market share but our competitive advantage lies in the quality of our

products," says Mr. Kawabata. "You can see that the level of quality when compared to other products on the market is unmatched. This is what creates value to our product line and improves customer trust, creating a brilliant future for our customers."

In Japan, Seiki's products are used by the likes of Toyota, Nissan, Honda and all the other major carmakers, but its main customers are Tier 1 and Tier 2-level suppliers. With the shrinking domestic market, the company has been expanding its presence abroad. It has established five overseas facilities and part of its international strategy is to expand its collaborative efforts in Germany, North America and in China.

As Mr. Kawabata explains: "Within the last several years, we have established offices in Germany and the United States to get closer to our customers and focus on developing collaborative alliances with suppliers to the automotive market in order to strengthen our global position; by introducing our hot runner system that will surpass any expectations."

Looking ahead over the next decade, Mr. Kawabata hopes to develop the business on a global scale, by combining Seiki's design skills and technologies for plastic molding and hot runners to solve future industrial challenges.

"The sky is the limit when it comes to manufacturing plastic products, which requires high-standard technologies," he says. "We're looking into how we can continue to provide solutions in areas with different levels of complexity and a high-tech environment."

Sanwa Shoko is another company involved in the molding industry – an industry, which president Kohei Hori acknowledges, is fundamental to manufacturing. As such the companies involved in the development, production and maintenance of molding systems like Seiki and Sanwa Shoko are hidden-champions whose existence and importance goes unnoticed by the general public.



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"While molds support the international manufacturing supply chain, their importance is largely unknown to end consumers and even to certain manufacturers," says Mr. Hori.

"The mold industry is fundamental to any country. More and more people should know about the importance and role of the mold industry. While many people know about Toyota, Nissan and Honda, they are unaware of the manufacturing process. Molds are at the basis of the cars and products they love."

Sanwa Shoko manufactures washing, welding and polishing machines used in the maintenance and repair of equipment for molds, such as the its series of Wave Clean supersonic wave mold washers, and its most popular product, the ultra-precision mold padding welder, SW-VO2 – a tried, tested and trusted analogue machine that has hardly changed since it entered the market more than 40 years ago.

"On the one hand, we utilize sophisticated techniques and expertise when it comes to repair and maintenance. On the other hand, our hardware remains analogue," says Mr. Hori.

"We have continuously sold the same machine for 42 years. Our end users call us a 'big miracle'. Of course, it was updated from SW-VO1 to SW-VO2, but the basic function has not changed, which is why our customers consider it a miracle."

Another popular Sanwa Shoko innovation is the supersonic lapping machine, which is used to polish molds with ultra-high precision using the power of supersonic waves. The latest in its series is the LAPTRON ALL III – hailed as the crowning work of its 50-year-long efforts in R&D and another product reinforcing the company's reputation as "the pioneer in mold maintenance".

With a sales network spanning, Europe, East Asia, the United States and Mexico, the majority of Sanwa Shoko's customers are in the automobile industry, with rest coming from electronics and home appliances. As it looks to expand its operations globally, Sanwa Shoko sees opportunities to expand the use of its machines and is partaking in exhibitions to demonstrate the exciting



"While molds support the manufacturing supply chain, their importance is largely unknown to end consumers. Molds are at the basis of the cars and products they love"

Kohei Hori, President
Sanwa Shoko

things it is working on outside the mold industry.

"We are currently exploring the possibility of entering new fields. We are certain that our products can be applied to other markets than molds," he says. "For example, we believe that our welding machine can be applied to metal-working or tool processing. Slowly and with care, we are seeking new pillars of growth."

Whether they be in the molding industry or the lighting industry, one thing all Japanese SME manufacturers have in common is a deep commitment to *monozukuri*, the philosophy behind high-quality Japanese craftsmanship.

"What distinguishes Japanese *monozukuri* from manufacturing in other countries is the concept of craftsmanship. Japan's way of perceiving *monozukuri* goes beyond the simple creation of an object," says Junya Asano, managing director of Olympia Lighting Fixture Industries.

"We aim to systematically deliver high quality in order to fulfill the requirements and desires of our clients."

As such, Olympia Lighting is renowned worldwide for its outstanding product quality and technological innovation. One of the company's latest innovations is Akarina, a hydroponic indoor plant grow-light system with integrated LED technology that was voted a 'Best Buy' product by British newspaper *The Independent* in July, 2018.

Lighting for indoor plant cultivation is an area in which the company sees big opportunities. "At our Niigata Factory, we are pursuing plant cultivation experiments using LEDs, which has led to the accumulation of know-how. Olympia Lighting is one of the few



"We have China, Korea, the EU and the U.S. all competing to gain market share but our competitive advantage lies in the quality of our products"

Shuichi Kawabata,
President, Seiki Corporation

companies in Japan with both LED lighting technology and cultivation technology," says Mr. Asano.

As the company looks to expand in the B2B segment, a market in which Japanese SMEs have always been strong, Olympia Lighting is focusing on office and interior design. "LED has various business uses, and Olympia Lighting is a company that can explore all these different possibilities," says Mr. Asano. "I think



"We aim to systematically deliver high quality in order to fulfill the requirements and desires of our clients"

Junya Asano, Managing
Director, Olympia Lighting
Fixture Industries

that this diversification will be the foundation for future developments."

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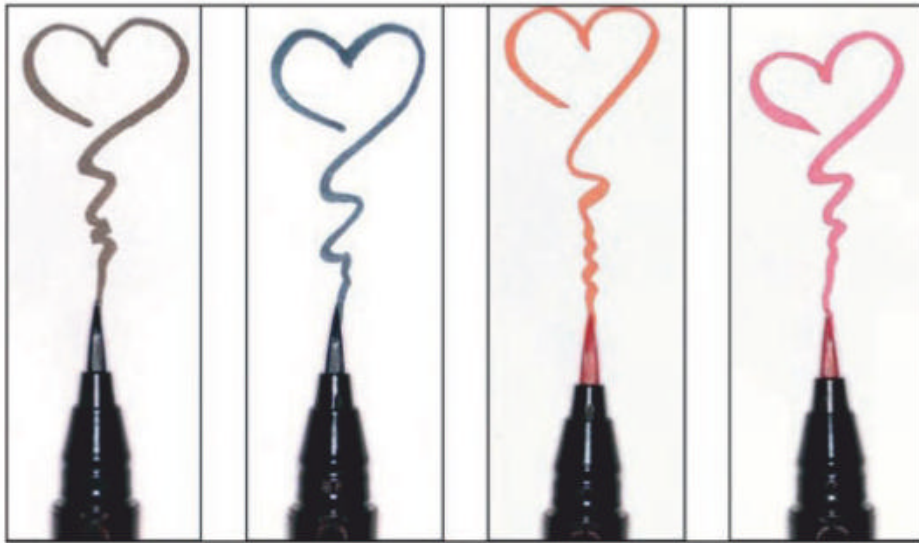
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J-Beauty: the *monozokuri* of cosmetics

Driven by internationalization and long-term investment in innovation, the Japanese cosmetics industry – or J-Beauty – has stepped out of the shadow of its regional rival, South Korea.



Asanuma is a company that embodies the characteristics of J-Beauty, and mirrors its modern renaissance.

Half a century has passed since Asanuma Corporation developed the first ever cosmetic eyebrow pencil in Japan, in which time the Japanese cosmetics industry has risen to become one of the world's leading markets for beauty products, generating a revenue of over \$36 billion in 2017.

Boasting long-established traditions in the use of cosmetics (Geisha), in more recent times Japan has lived in the shadow of 'K-Beauty' – the phenomenally successful cosmetics business of its regional rival, South Korea. However, K-Beauty's older, more sophisticated sister, 'J-Beauty' (described by the *Financial Times* as "the sleeping giant of the beauty industry") has awoken and re-entered the spotlight.

While K-beauty's success over the past decade has been driven by trends, J-beauty is con-

sidered something far more sustainable, authentic and timeless – characteristics that are now increasingly resonating with modern consumers, amongst whom the values of sustainability and authenticity are often top concerns. Indeed, Japanese beauty exports are expected to have tipped \$2.75 billion in 2018.

A company that embodies the characteristics of J-Beauty, and mirrors its modern renaissance, is the aforementioned Asanuma Corporation.

"As an original design and equipment manufacturer (ODM/OEM) of make-up products, we strive to create high-quality products by placing our efforts into the development and advancement of our technologies," explains company president, Masaumi Asanuma.

Long practiced by Asanuma

Corp. and other Japanese competitors, it is this commitment to technological innovation in the sector – as well as a determined internationalization push – that has contributed to the rise in popularity of J-Beauty products globally. Japanese cosmetics – as is standard across the manufacturing industry – are renowned for their high quality.

"Firstly, we decided to put extra effort to provide innovative solutions as an added value to Asanuma's expertise in the field. Technology and R&D capacity are fundamental for us in order to keep on innovating and responding to customers' demands in a constantly changing market.

"Secondly," Mr. Asanuma continues, "we decided to focus on our international strategy. Exports and trading with cosmetics companies abroad have always been a priority. We proactively push for our business internationally, deciding to establish sales branches overseas, in China, in North America, and in Europe.

"We are constantly thinking how to ameliorate, working to provide the perfect solutions. Those are the strengths of the Japanese cosmetics industry that have allowed us to consistently provide reliable products."

From a global perspective, with Japanese cosmetic products so well known for their high quality, there stands a brilliant opportunity for J-Beauty to continue expanding and to



"From R&D to manufacturing and packaging design, we constantly strive to develop new technologies bringing innovative solutions for partners worldwide"

Masaumi Asanuma,
President, Asanuma Corp.

dominate the market in terms of exports.

"If we keep working in technological development and bringing innovative solutions, there are endless opportunities for Japanese companies in the industry," says Mr. Asanuma. "Not only for the Japanese brands, but also for OEM and ODM businesses like us to provide solutions for companies all over the world. We are constantly pushing for global market opportunities."



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Please contact Mr.Fujimura and Ms.Ashizawa.



environmental regulations to spur fossil-fuel sectors, such as coal. But the science is behind Inslee. The question now is: Will the American people be?

All the Democrats pursuing 2020 bids want to fight climate change. What sets you apart?

Look, I have welcomed all new voices that want to talk about climate change. I think that's great. But I do believe that I have a unique concentration on the problem. First off, I've been committed to fighting climate change for well over a decade. I started speaking out about this in the 1990s. That's long-term commitment, not just a frivolous response to polling. Secondly, addressing climate change has to be the first order of business and foremost organizing principle. This has to be the priority, and other issues and policy might have to be deferred to get the job done. Finally, I've been able to get things done. I haven't just given speeches. My state, Washington, is the best place to do business and best place to work. We currently lead the nation in GDP growth, and our unemployment is at its lowest rate since 2007.

But what about other minutes-to-midnight problems? It's difficult to run as a single-issue candidate. Climate change touches everything. It's an income equality issue: The first victims of climate change are the poor. It's medical: Children are suffering greater levels of asthma. It's an economic development issue: The clean energy industry is growing and creating jobs quickly. It's an educational issue: We need to teach the science of climate change. We only have one last chance to save the country from the ravages of this

threat. It is the 11th hour. It is the country's hour to shine.

Progressives in Congress are pushing for a Green New Deal, a complete reimagining of the American economy to focus on clean energy and decarbonization. Is that something you support?

I've been beating this drum for a long time now. We need to have transformative economic policy on same scale that led us to beat fascism in the 1930s and 1940s. This can all be wrapped into a message tying this mission of defeating climate change to income inequality and a lack of economic opportunity. At the same time, stateside, we're already taking action to fight this. It's two horses pulling on the wagon.

So do you think that presidential candidates who don't prioritize climate change are qualified to lead the country?

All of us have different platforms. It is a signal that the country is ready for action, and I believe we're at a tipping point to win these battles. But anybody who is running for president should say that they're going to concentrate on preventing climate change. If we do that, we can develop a mandate, and I think


“We only have one last chance to save the country from the ravages of this threat. It is the 11th hour.”

it's so critical to run on a platform of making this a first and foremost priority. I get it—it's hard work to run against the oil and gas industry. But it's necessary.

But how do you sell this to the middle of the country?

I recently met someone on the trail who was a wind turbine technician. He asked me if I knew what fighting climate change meant to him, and he slammed the hood of his truck. “It means that I have this truck because I've got a good job at this factory,” he said. Fighting climate change meant he had a damn good job, and we need candidates with executive experience who can demonstrate this progress. I can do that, perhaps uniquely so. You need to show a vision of a strong economic future from wind turbine farms in Iowa to the lithium battery plants in Nevada. You need to marry that agency with a proven track record. This is not the job for a person who read a book. This is a job for a person who produced results. I think people are asking “Where's the beef?” And in Washington, we have put meat on the bone. We've practiced progressive politics and created hundreds of thousands of jobs.

If you ran, would your goal be to push the other candidates on climate change?

Absolutely not. If I were to get into the race, it would be to serve as president. If I do run, here's what my message is: You have to choose the nation's destiny. We cannot make that wrong choice once again. We're the last generation. We can no longer kick the can down the road when it comes to climate change. We have to choose action. If I ran, I would give the country that choice. 

A H E R O

There's no such thing as the greatest basketball player of all time, writes one of the undisputed greatest. What **LEBRON JAMES** offers is more important: bold leadership for a new generation

BY
**Kareem
Abdul-Jabbar**

F O R O U R T I M E

PHOTO
ILLUSTRATION
BY GLUEKIT

EE





IN PAUL SIMON'S "THE BOY IN THE BUBBLE," he sings, "It's every generation throws a hero up the pop charts." It's both an observation and a lament about how each generational changing of the guard demands its own unique voice, coded language and defiant look. That need to rebelliously announce and define what's news and cool while scornfully denouncing what's old and uncool is as true in laundry detergents (New and Improved!) as it is in music, literature, politics—and sports.

Every age needs ageless heroes. But it's important that we closely study our culture's most prominent heroes because they reflect the trending values we are being asked to embrace while pointing to the

future those values will lead us to. This generation's most prominent basketball hero is LeBron James, and he clearly represents a bold new language.

LeBron isn't the shiny new penny of sports. At 34, he's no perky teen idol or sassy YouTube "influencer." He's a 16-year veteran of the NBA who's played for the Cleveland Cavaliers (twice), the Miami Heat and the Los Angeles Lakers. He's a husband, a dad, and, though he's playing with the intensity of a man in the prime of his athletic and intellectual prowess, he's not too many years from doing ads for joint-pain medication. His status as sports icon has been earned from years of grinding out victory after victory on a daily basis.

Why him when there are many great players out there? Steph Curry is paid more (his salary is \$37

STAYING POWER

Sports Illustrated has selected LeBron as the No. 1 player for six years in a row because of his remarkable consistency. From top to bottom: LeBron shoots against the Brooklyn Nets on December 18, 2018; LeBron celebrating the Men's Basketball Gold Medal in the 2012 Olympics; Curry, who outpaces LeBron in salary but not social media influence.

million versus LeBron's \$35 million), and last year Curry's jersey was the top NBA seller. But LeBron has the most followers on social media, with 104.3 million (Curry has 42 million). Kevin Durant has higher three-point and free-throw percentages, but LeBron beats him in most other categories. Part of his statistical dominance is that he's been playing longer than Curry and Durant. With time, they both may surpass him as players, but for now LeBron is considered by many to be the best in the NBA.

LeBron's overwhelming career achievements include three NBA championships, four times NBA Most Valuable Player, 15 times NBA All-Star and many other awards and distinctions. But here's another reason he's considered the best: LeBron

has been selected as the No. 1 NBA player by *Sports Illustrated* for six years in a row because of his remarkable consistency. He's proved himself to be steadfastly effective no matter where he plays, who he plays with or what his age is. Some years, he has single-handedly dragged less experienced and less talented teammates into the playoffs. His consistency is illustrated by his stats from the 2012–2013 season, which are very similar to those of the 2017–2018 season. For a player in his 20s, that wouldn't be noteworthy, but when comparing a 28-year-old with a 34-year-old, it's not only impressive, it's inspiring.

To inspire others is a key trait in a cultural hero. LeBron's sheer athleticism motivates young players to reach for a high standard of physical preparedness.

He's proved himself to be steadfastly effective NO MATTER WHERE he plays, who he plays with or what his age is.

His physical dominance isn't just genetic luck; he is dedicated and disciplined in his workout and diet, often rising at 5 a.m. to begin exercising, which he does five days a week off-season, and seven days a week during the season. His routine includes

everything from a step-climber, spin classes, Pilates and weights to hot tubs, cold tubs and a liquid nitrogen chamber. Just reading about his relentless routine makes me want to drop and pump out 50 pushups.

Which brings us to another heroic characteristic: perseverance. LeBron reportedly spends over a million dollars a year on his training, which includes a personal biomechanist—a former Navy SEAL—traveling with him on vacation. We don't begrudge him that expense—he's a professional athlete whose body has been abused and bruised since childhood. Back problems have plagued him for years. He is certainly rich enough to retire anytime he wants, but he keeps stepping out onto the court each year to receive more physical punishment.

Yes, he faces formidable opponents on the court almost every day, but more important, he's in an epic battle against time. This is a fight we all face eventually, and eventually we all lose. But we can't help but root for an athlete who struggles with such grace and determination. And who refuses to go gentle into middle age. To watch a 270-pound, 34-year-old man move with such agility and stamina and style puts a little extra lift in all our steps. In last year's playoff series against the Golden



FROM TOP: AL BELLO/GETTY; HARRY HOW/GETTY; JASON MILLER/GETTY



and on the Lakers, and balancing those roles was challenging. Success depends on your teammates respecting you, not just as a player but as a strategist.

But success as an athlete isn't enough. To laud anyone as a cultural hero, that person would also have to embody as well as promote some of the core values of that culture. LeBron has done that through his outspoken political and social advocacy, especially in support of racial equality. But beyond just talking, he has taken positive actions to better the commu-

The weird implication is that a black man raised in America has no idea about RACIAL INJUSTICE because he also plays basketball.



State Warriors, LeBron badly twisted his ankle and still managed to pull off a triple double: 33 points, 10 rebounds and 11 assists. That's pretty much the definition of perseverance.

SHUT UP AND DRIBBLE?

LeBron promotes the core values of our culture through his outspoken advocacy of racial equality.

From top to bottom: LeBron wearing an "I Can't Breathe" shirt, a reference to the last words of Eric Garner, who died in 2014 after an NYPD officer placed him in a chokehold;

Reid and Kaepernick kneel during the national anthem to protest police shootings of black men.

But an effective leader doesn't just command his followers to victory; he is a leader who helps each of them elevate their individual talents. He becomes the rising tide that lifts all boats. "Leadership isn't a one-day, two-days or two-month thing; leadership is consistent," he has said. "Once you get into team sports and you see how you are succeeding, you understand it isn't about you. In order for you to continue to be successful, everyone has to be important and have something to do with the success."

Being a leader among ambitious, competitive athletes is not an easy task. I was a leader at UCLA

nity and country. This was demonstrated when Fox News' Laura Ingraham famously reacted to an ESPN interview with LeBron in which he discussed, among many other topics, politics, by complaining, "It's always unwise to seek political advice from someone who gets paid \$100 million a year to bounce a ball. Keep the political comments to yourselves.... Shut up and dribble."

Instead of just engaging in a social media war, he turned her lame insult into a three-part documentary series for Showtime called *Shut Up and Dribble*, which explores the evolving role of athletes in today's divisive political climate. Over the years, LeBron has added his voice to the many athletes of conscience who wish to call attention to social injustices in order to eradicate them.

This "dumb jock" stereotype is the same refrain I and other athletes have heard all our lives from conservatives who use the lowest form of logical fallacy, the ad hominem (name-calling) attack, to distract from the message. The weird implication is that a black man raised in America has no idea

NOTHING BUT NET

How LeBron James stacks up against two of the all-time greats and three of his peers

It's looking as if the Los Angeles Laker will come to define basketball's current decade, much as Michael Jordan did for the '90s and Kareem Abdul-Jabbar the '70s. No one has yet beat the latter on overall points, but to see how much a once rough-and-tumble game with an audience in the low thousands has evolved into a high stakes, billion-dollar sport—second only to football—look no further than the salaries and the rise of the three-pointer (made official in 1979; up until then every basket counted for two points): Abdul-Jabbar made one in his entire career; Steph Curry has made 2,344—so far. —TIM MARCIN



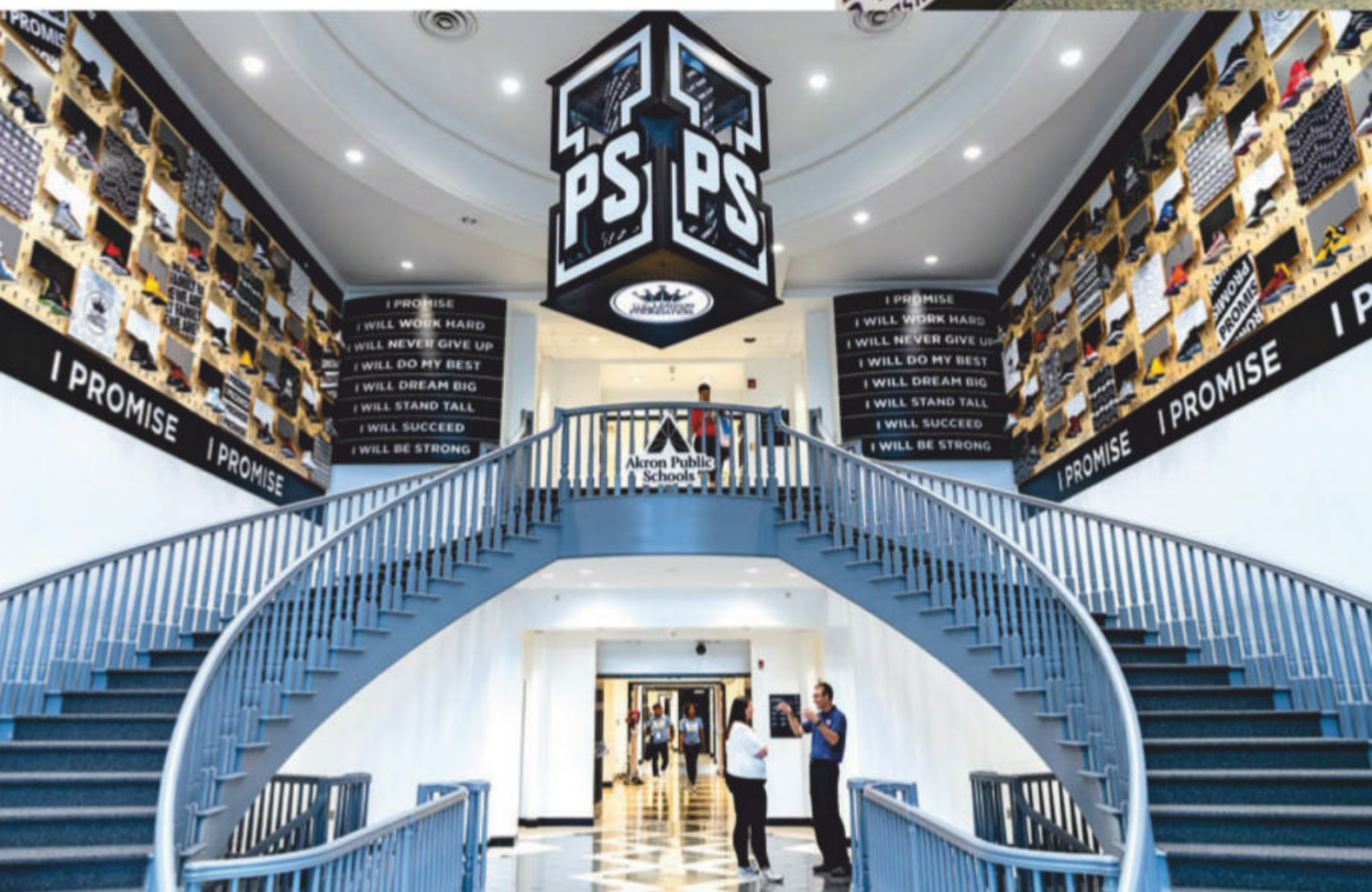
	Kareem Abdul-Jabbar	Michael Jordan	LeBron James	Kevin Durant	Steph Curry	James Harden
AGE	71 (retired at 42)	55 (retired at 40)	34	30	30	29
SEASONS PLAYED	20	15	16	12	10	10
TOP SALARY	\$3 M (1988-1989)	\$33.1 M (1997-1998)	\$35.6 M (2018-2019)	\$30 M (2018-2019)	\$37.4 M (2018-2019)	\$30.4 (2018-2019)
CAREER POINTS	38,387	32,292	31,990	22,343	15,630	17,634
POINTS PER GAME	24.6	30.1	27.2	27.1	23.5	23.9
MVP AWARDS	6	5	4	1	2	1
CHAMPIONSHIPS	6	6	3	2	3	0
CAREER 3-POINTERS	1	581	1,685	1,529	2,344	1,893
CAREER ASSISTS	5,660	5,633	8,460	3,340	4,445	4,559
CAREER REBOUNDS	17,440	6,672	8,712	5,865	2,971	3,821
CAREER WIN-SHARES*	273.4	214	224.4	138.0	100	116.6
WIN-SHARES PER 48 MINUTES**	0.228	0.25	0.237	0.218	0.209	0.223

*Win-shares is an estimate of how many wins a player added to the team // **Win-shares per 48 minutes averages how many wins a player added across a full 48-minute game

ALL STATS FROM BASKETBALL-REFERENCE.COM AS OF FEBRUARY 4, 2019.

about racial injustice because he also plays basketball. I have been a journalist and book author longer than I played basketball, yet every time I publicly express an opinion, some people complain that my opinions have no validity because I was once an athlete. Because he is so articulate and revered, LeBron is helping to eliminate that stereotype.

I'm often asked whether there's a significant difference between the black athlete activists of my era and those of today. In the '60s and '70s, there were fewer of us: Muhammad Ali, Jim Brown, Tommie Smith, John Carlos and a handful of others. Today, a lot more are speaking out. Sadly, aside from numbers, there's not much difference because so little has changed. Athletes are still punished for using their constitutional rights, and the things we protested 50 years ago are still happening. And some members of the public are more outraged at being *reminded* that little has changed than the fact that little has changed. It would be easy for black athletes to give up in despair at such a response. But players like LeBron, Colin Kaepernick, Andrew Hawkins, Serena and Venus Williams, Eric Reid and many others keep fighting for justice.



CLASS ACT

LeBron helped found the I Promise School in Akron, Ohio, for some of the city's underprivileged children. More than just providing academics, the school will also reach out to the students' families to provide them with resources to improve their lives economically, emotionally and educationally. Above: LeBron addresses the media after the school's opening ceremonies. At left: The entrance of the I Promise School.

FROM TOP: JASON MILLER/GETTY (2)



LeBron's dedication to community makes him more **HEROIC** than slamming a basketball through a hoop.

There have been missteps, like a media exchange in 2017 after Charles Barkley called LeBron “whiny” and “inappropriate” for publicly complaining about Cavaliers management’s not securing better players. “I’m not going to let him disrespect my legacy like that,” LeBron said. “I’m not the one who threw somebody through a window. I never spit on a kid. I never had unpaid debt in Las Vegas. I never said, ‘I’m not a role model.’ I never showed up to All-Star Weekend on Sunday because I was in Vegas all weekend partying.”

Part of the animosity seems to stem from Barkley not including LeBron in his list of five top NBA players of all time. I understand an athlete who plays for love of the game, or for adoration

of fans, or even for money. But concern over one’s “legacy” seems shortsighted. I set a lot of records when I played, but I never played to set records. I didn’t concern myself with creating a sports legacy as much as I did with my legacy as a teammate, a social activist, a helpful community member. LeBron is all those things too, which is why worrying about his sports legacy seems petty.

LeBron’s legacy is assured. He will continue to break records, perhaps even my all-time scoring record. When he does, I’ll be there cheering him on, because every time a record is broken, humanity has pushed the boundaries of what we are capable of.

Last year, LeBron helped found the I Promise School in Akron, Ohio, for some of the city’s underprivileged children. More than providing academics, the school will also reach out to the students’ families to provide them resources to improve their lives economically, emotionally and educationally. This kind of dedication to community makes him more heroic than slamming a basketball through a hoop.

Finally, the GOAT question, which runs through the media like a nasty STD: “Who is the Greatest of All Time?” A month ago, LeBron claimed the title for himself during an ESPN interview, saying he deserves the title because he gave Cleveland its first championship in decades after an improbable comeback from being behind by three games to one. “That one right there made me the greatest player of all time,” he proclaimed.

It’s a little disappointing hearing him play this imaginary game, which is akin to asking, Which superpower is better, flying or invisibility? I get asked this question a couple times a week, and my answer is always the same: The game has changed so much over the years that there is no leveling rubric to take into account the variables. So, sorry, LeBron, you’re not the GOAT because it’s a mythological beast. It’s like asking, How big is the horn on a unicorn?

But LeBron James is the hero this generation has thrown up the pop chart. It’s a place he clearly has earned, and we are all better off for him being there.

→ **Kareem Abdul-Jabbar** played center for 20 seasons for the NBA’s Milwaukee Bucks and Los Angeles Lakers. He remains the NBA’s all-time lead scorer and was a record six-time NBA MVP. Since retiring, he has written 19 books, including *Writings on the Wall: Searching for a New Equality Beyond Black and White*.

TOWERING PROMISE

An excerpt from
Newsweek's 1967 profile
of the young **KAREEM
ABDUL-JABBAR**, legend
in the making

Kareem Abdul-Jabbar was still using his birth name, Lew Alcindor, when *Newsweek* put him on the cover in early 1967. The UCLA sophomore and soon-to-be USBWA College Player of the Year was 7 feet, 1 inches of “lyrical power and mobility,” sinking a record 67 percent of his shots. He would join the Milwaukee Bucks in 1969 (for a salary of \$250,000), move to the Lakers in 1975 and retire from the NBA in 1989. He remains the highest-scoring player of all time.

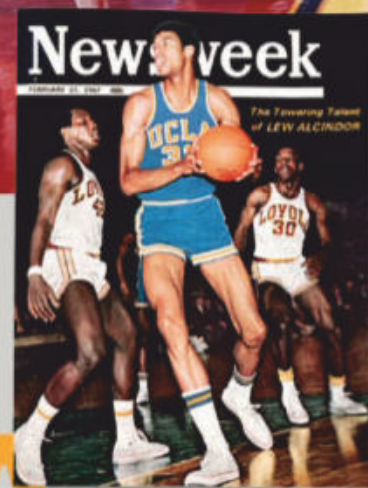
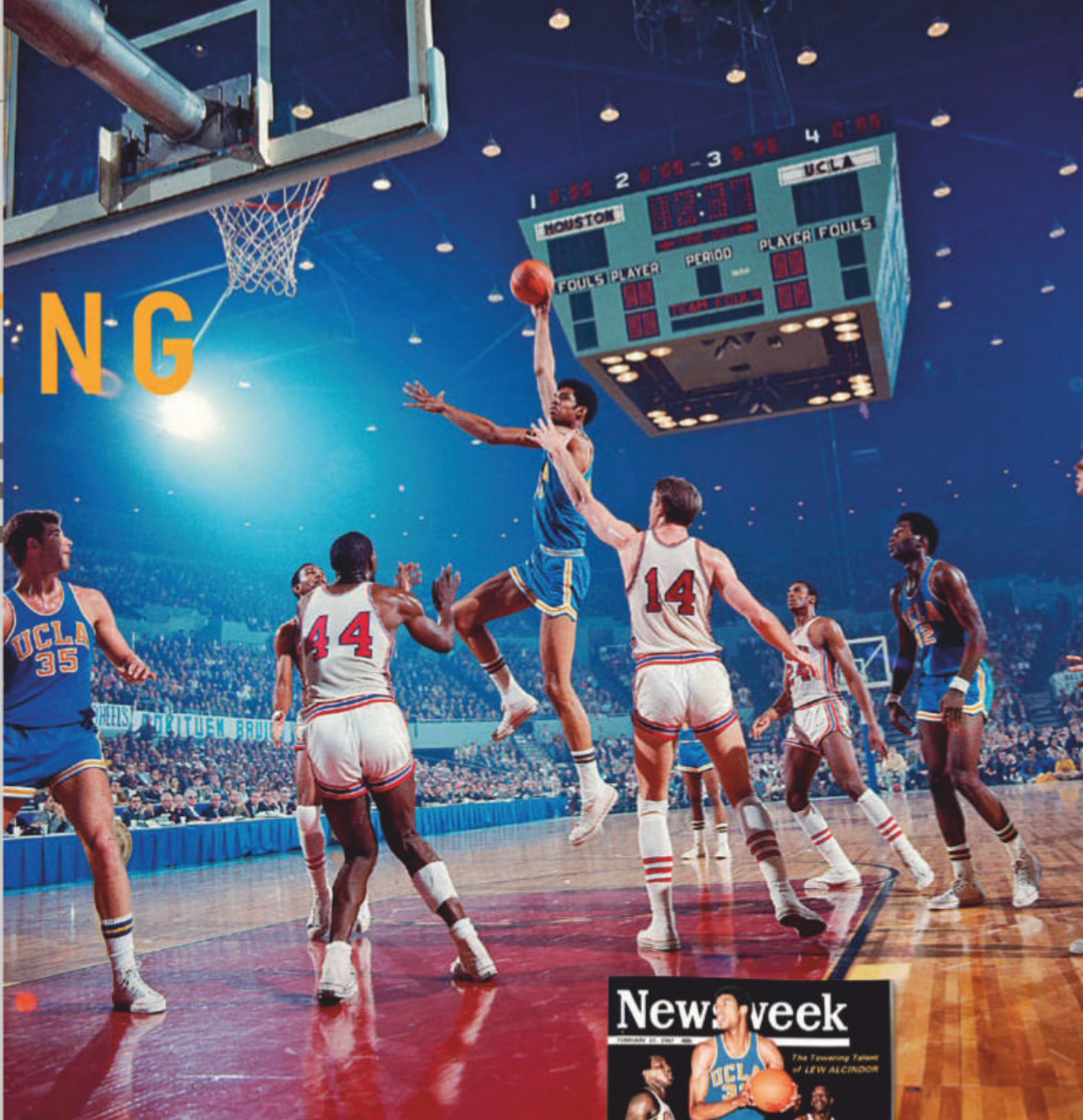
When Alcindor came up, teams were still pretty evenly divided between black and white players, but that was beginning to change; the biggest stars—Boston Celtic Bill Russell, Philadelphia 76er Wilt Chamberlain and Cincinnati Royal Oscar Robertson—were African-American. The Celtics had the first all-black starting five during the 1965-1966 season; after winning their ninth straight title, they signed Russell as the NBA's first black coach. “We’ve got to make the white population uncomfortable and keep it uncomfortable,” said Russell.

Alcindor would convert to Islam in 1969 and assume his Muslim name in 1971. But in this excerpt from *Newsweek*'s 1967 profile, you

can see the bookish man who would frustrate fans and the press with his disdain for publicity and small talk. A record-breaking phenomenon in high school (scoring 2,067 points in four varsity seasons, plus a team that lost one game), Alcindor had become the hottest NBA prospect while at UCLA, already besieged by the media. By the time this article ran, Alcindor had rejected a \$1 million lifetime contract to play with the Harlem Globetrotters. “I’m interested in my education,” Alcindor told *Newsweek*.

You can also see the beginning of Abdul-Jabbar's lifelong commitment to social justice and equality on and off the court, as well as the patronizing racism entrenched in a mainstream magazine and in sports—a mindset that continues to challenge African-American athletes.

—MARY KAYE SCHILLING



AS AN ONLY CHILD GROWING UP in New York's Dyckman housing project north of Harlem, Alcindor worked out his own routine for doing homework. It involved the comforting background music of jazz artists Thelonious Monk, John Coltrane, Charles Mingus and Miles Davis. “When he started playing his records [at UCLA],” says Lew's mother sympathetically, “the kids just naturally flocked to his room. But he just wanted to relax and study. It's not that he's a moody child. He's not a loner.” This year, however, Alcindor tried sharing an off-campus apartment, then moved into a private home in Westwood.

Like a normal boy 2,500 miles from home, Alcindor misses his family and friends. "If they could just transplant the UCLA campus to Times Square," he told a New York friend wistfully. And the serious Alcindor's disenchantment with sunny Southern California continues to grow. "California is playing a game on the rest of the country," he says unhappily. "Too many of these people are acting all the time as if they're on TV." Clearly, he finds them artificial.

Alcindor himself is in the spotlight much of the time now, and his feelings are ambivalent about its increasingly harsh glare. More and more he finds himself exposed to a fickle, often fatheaded public. At 19, he has not yet learned how to tune out triteness. He still seethes when strangers gape and ask, "How tall are you?" (Alcindor refuses to answer) and "How's the weather up there?" (he must have heard the question 5,000 times). Once, a middle-aged woman in New York City poked and prodded him with her umbrella as if he were a strange furry animal on her patio. This season, another woman crept up to him in the lobby of a Seattle motel, shouted, "Hey!" and exploded a flash camera in the startled teenager's face.

"They think I'm moody and reclusive here," Alcindor complained to *Newsweek* sports editor John Lake, "but under these circumstances that's the only way I can be." The conditions that disturb him most, however, are not the cliché spouting or even umbrella-jab-

bing. They are the conditional acceptances, the subtle quotas and the outright denials of human equality that—in one form or another—still confront most Negroes each day of their lives.

People always stare at 7-foot Lew Alcindor. Except when he is with Asian or African-American friends on the UCLA campus. ("Height doesn't make any difference to them; they're interested in you as a person.") Alcindor is conscious of the stares. But one friend reports that when Alcindor occasionally goes out with a white girl, many of the stares become glares.

"It fences me out," reasons Alcindor, "it's bad. The South is in Montgomery. But the South is also in Cicero, Illinois. The South is in Great Neck, Long Island. The South is in Orange County, California. It's everywhere."




ON THE RISE By the time *Newsweek* featured Alcindor in 1967, he had become the hottest NBA prospect at UCLA. Opposite: Alcindor, center, during the semifinal game of the NCAA championship in 1968. At right, top to bottom: Alcindor as a high school student in New York; Abdul-Jabbar holds up the NBA championship trophy after the Lakers beat the Philadelphia 76ers in 1982.

Alcindor is quite convinced it was "Southern justice" that brought a policeman blustering into the argument when he and some Negro friends disputed the check in a Westwood diner one night not long ago. "He just naturally assumed I was the transgressor," says Alcindor bitterly. His working vocabulary includes a number of five-dollar words. But it also includes such phrases as "the Gestapo thing" and "the ghetto." The more he reads (Alcindor is majoring in history), the more he sees life off the basketball court, the more Alcindor burns with resentment and racial pride. Still no outspoken advocate of Black Power, he nonetheless finds much in common with football's Jimmy Brown, basketball's Bill Russell and boxing's Cassius (Muhammad Ali) Clay—older Negroes who first established themselves as sports superstars, then revealed how deeply they resent the role of the black man in U.S. society.

Alcindor delighted Clay at their first meeting four months ago outside a Hollywood restaurant. "Salaam Alaikum," the youth greeted the heavyweight champion. Surprised, Muslim Clay delivered the proper response—"Alaikum Al Salaam"—then reverted to another role and squared off against the huge collegian. "I wouldn't want to fight you," he wisecracked. "You got the reach on me."

Alcindor's intellectual reach might have impressed Clay more. He is reading the Koran; he calls *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* the most significant book in his life to date.... He also finds validity in the anti-white emotionalism of playwright and essayist LeRoi Jones, whom he met in a Harlem coffee shop. Indeed, the gum-chomping, bored-looking basketball whiz has much on his restless mind that most Pauley Pavilion fans would find highly disturbing. **N**



SIXTEEN
YEARS AFTER
THE U.S.
INVADED
IRAQ ON
FALSE PREMISES,
THE TRUMP
ADMINISTRATION
COULD BE
MAKING THE
SAME MISTAKE
IN IRAN.

America's Next



FUEL TO THE FIRE
Iranians burn American flags during an anti-U.S. demonstration outside the former U.S. Embassy headquarters in Tehran on May 9, 2018, after Trump exited the nuclear deal.

Phony War?

by JEFF STEIN

THE PRESIDENT WAS UPSET. WATCHING TV IN HIS WHITE House residence, his usual morning routine, Donald Trump saw his intelligence chiefs kick the legs out from under yet another of his pet campaigns: Iran. Trump and two of his top national security officials had been suggesting for two years that the Islamic republic was still in pursuit of a nuclear weapon and posed a mortal threat to its neighbors and the West.

But now, Dan Coats, his national intelligence director, was in a Capitol Hill hearing room saying that wasn't true: Iran was living up to the letter of the deal the U.S. under President Barack Obama and five other nations had negotiated with the Middle Eastern country to dismantle its nuclear program, Coats said. Not only that, added CIA Director Gina Haspel, but Iran could well decide to restart the program if the sanctions that Trump had just reimposed—breaking America's end of the bargain—weren't lifted.

Trump took to Twitter. Coats and Haspel were “wrong,” he posted on January 30. “Perhaps Intelligence should go back to school!” But he wasn't through with Iran. In extraordinary remarks with CBS and *The New York Times* over the next few days, Trump called Tehran “the number one terrorist nation in the world.” He blamed the Islamic republic for “every single” problem he had inherited in the Middle East, a remarkable—and wholly unsupportable—assertion. He called his intelligence chiefs “extremely passive and naïve when it comes to the dangers of Iran.”

Trump then hinted at escalating covert activities against Iran or even a military confrontation. “I could tell you stories,” he told the *Times*, “of things that we were going to do to them as recently as a week ago.”

To many observers with long memories, Trump's comments were an eerie replay of a pivotal moment 17 years earlier, when another Republican president, George W. Bush, labeled Iraq part of an “axis of evil” that was on the threshold of building a weapon that would end in an Iraqi “mushroom cloud” over America. The following year, in 2003, Bush dispatched nearly 200,000 U.S. troops into Iraq in search of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons that turned out not to exist. Neither did Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's alleged connection with Al-Qaeda. What followed was a calamitous decade-long occupation that the U.S. and the entire Middle East are still struggling with.

Veteran Middle East hands worry Trump is steering America into yet another misguided regional disaster, this time with Iran. A longtime former top CIA operations officer compared Trump's misrepresentations about Iran to the lies a succession of presidents told to justify the war in Vietnam. “I don't want to overblow



EXIT WOUNDS Clockwise, from above: Trump after announcing his decision to withdraw from the Iran nuclear deal; anti-U.S. graffiti on a Tehran building; Haspel and Coats at a Senate Intelligence hearing on January 29.

the Vietnam analogies, but we're in the process, from what I can see, of lying to ourselves and the American people about Iran,” he tells *Newsweek*, speaking on terms of anonymity because he retains close ties to the agency. “It's not gonna at-

tack us tomorrow. It's not gonna kill us tomorrow. It's not interested in direct confrontation with the U.S., despite the war of words.”

“The more you push, the more they resist,” says Chas Freeman, a former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia. “And the more you overtly push and blunder, the more they can attribute every problem they have to you. So there's a sort of unholy partnership” between the Trump administration and Tehran's own hawks. The problem, he and other experts worry, is that Trump's blunders and Iranian overreactions could lead to a shooting war nobody wants.

Destination Unknown

TRUMP'S REMARKS, MEANWHILE, HAD FORMER SENIOR NATIONAL security officials scratching their heads. Some told *Newsweek* that they're skeptical of Trump's hints that dramatic actions against



“THE U.S. HAS **NO IDEA** WHAT IT WANTS, AND IRAN HAS NO WAY TO READ WASHINGTON WITH ALL THE **MIXED MESSAGES** COMING FROM THE ADMINISTRATION.”

Iran were considered. But close observers say the broad outlines of Trump’s approach have been evident since he took office, when he renounced the nuclear deal. He seemed to be itching to open a new and dangerous chapter in a 40-year-long war of threats and dirty tricks, this one backed by U.S., and particularly pro-Israel, hawks. Freeman calls it “gesture foreign policy.”

“You’re showing your outrage, and you’re making life difficult for the other party,” he tells *Newsweek*. “It’s not very purposive.”

Trump’s weapons include sanctions, support for anti-Iran exile groups and a free hand for Israel to attack Iranian outposts in Syria. The rest of his aggressive campaign amounts to a shadow war with Iran, covert actions that include social media manipulation of the kind Moscow wielded against the U.S. during the 2016 election.

Officials are happy to talk in general about their campaign to “make sure that Iran is not a destabilizing influence,” as Secretary of State Mike Pompeo puts it, but otherwise decline to share details.

Such actions have been cheered by longtime Iran hawks, including three of Trump’s most favored advisers: Pompeo, White House national security adviser John Bolton and presidential son-in-law Jared Kushner. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and

Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, both close confidants of Kushner, have long lobbied for more aggressive U.S. policies toward Tehran, including direct military attacks on its nuclear, military and intelligence facilities.

The problem, say a wide variety of experts, is that for every escalation the Trump administration and its predecessors have levied on Iran, the regime has responded with its own threats—and violence. And no one, on either side, seems to know where the increasing tempo of attacks and counterattacks is headed.

Trump tossed another barb and surprised regional allies when, in early February, he announced plans to keep troops in Iraq to monitor Iran. “We’re going to keep watching,” he told CBS, “and we’re going to keep seeing, and if there’s trouble, if somebody is looking to do nuclear weapons or other things, we’re going to know it before they do.” Iraqi President Barham Salih quickly slapped that down. “Don’t overburden Iraq with your own issues,” he told Trump through the news media. The U.S. is also pressuring electricity-starved Iraq to stop purchasing energy from Iran as part of new sanctions, further fraying relations with Baghdad.

All this just added confusion about what the Trump

administration was planning—with potentially dangerous repercussions. “The U.S. has no idea what it wants, and Iran has no way to read Washington with all the mixed messages coming from the Trump administration,” says Ali Alfoneh, an Iran analyst who is a senior fellow at the Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington, funded by Iran’s arch-enemy Saudi Arabia.

Iran has engendered fear and fascination ever since Shiite cleric Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini returned from exile and led a broadly popular Islamic revolution in 1979. The overthrow effectively reversed a CIA-organized coup a quarter-century earlier that had toppled the socialist government of Mohammed Mossadegh on behalf of Anglo-American oil interests. Relations between Washington and Tehran further hardened when Iranian students stormed the U.S. Embassy and took more than 50 Americans hostage in a crisis that dominated television news coverage for 444 days. From then on, Iran was branded a rogue nation.

President Ronald Reagan designated the regime “a state sponsor of terrorism” and in 1981 threw his weight behind Iraq’s invasion of Iran in a war that lasted nearly a decade and devastated the country. After Khomeini died in 1989, his successor, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, expanded Iran’s regional influence, first by backing the Shiite Lebanese resistance to Israel’s 1982 invasion, which led to the creation of the powerful Hezbollah militia that carried out

revolutionary Guard Corps, or IRGC, was the killing of an exile opposition leader just outside Washington, D.C. Taking a page from a famous scene in the 1975 spy thriller *Three Days of the Condor*, the assassin, an American recruit to the revolution who had taken the name Dawud Salahuddin, disguised himself as a letter carrier, rang the target’s doorbell and fatally shot him when he answered.

Tehran continued to pursue its enemies abroad in those early years, ruthlessly mowing down exile officials plotting to overthrow the regime. But after years of relative quietude, Iran’s Ministry of Intelligence and Security has again stepped up attacks overseas. In 2015 and again in 2017, it was suspected of liquidating dissidents in the Netherlands.

The tempo and scope of attacks escalated last year, when security agencies across Europe uncovered various murder plots against anti-Iran groups abroad—and one target in particular: the National Council of Resistance of Iran, a political front of the Mujahedeen-e-Khalq, or MEK. Once branded a terrorist group by the U.S., the quasi-Marxist Iranian exile organization has long attracted the support of U.S. hawks, but it gained momentum in 2017 with the public embrace of Bolton and Trump’s lawyer Rudolph Giuliani, who spoke at a rally the MEK arranged in Paris last June.

According to European authorities, Iran schemed to place a powerful bomb amid the attendees. The plot was discovered

“INVADING IRAN WITHOUT CONSIDERING THE REGIONAL REALITIES IS THE HE

terrorist attacks on U.S. targets. Then came the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq, which led to Iranian proxies assuming power in Baghdad. In 2011, when Syrian President Bashar al-Assad faced a popular revolt, Iran and Hezbollah provided critical support. On February 11, to mark the 40th anniversary of the revolution, Iranian President Hassan Rouhani gave a speech to tout the country’s military might. “We have not—and will not—ask for permission from anybody for improving our defensive power,” he said.

Trump’s vows to contain Iran, which he views as more of a threat to regional and global security than ISIS, feel like a throwback to 1978. But Iran, too, seems to be “trying to turn the clock back to the bad old days of the 1980s and early 1990s,” dispatching hit teams abroad to assassinate exile opposition figures, as Alfoneh wrote last fall for FDD’s Long War Journal, a website run by the pro-Israel Foundation for Defense of Democracies.

The Long Arm of Tehran

AFTER OPENING FOR BUSINESS IN 1980, IRAN’S SPY AGENCIES wasted no time liquidating the country’s enemies at home and abroad. One of the early foreign operations of the Islamic Rev-

when German authorities arrested Assadollah Asadi, an Iranian accredited as a diplomat in Vienna. They said Asadi had delivered 500 grams of the powerful explosive TATP to two Iranian-born Belgians in Antwerp. Another three Iranian-born suspects linked to the plot were arrested in France. Iran’s spokesman at the United Nations denied having anything to do with the plot and suggested it was a so-called false flag operation by the MEK itself or Israel to discredit Iran, but in early February European intelligence officials said they had dug up text messages or chat logs between Asadi and Tehran about the plot.

Iran was reaching into the United States as well. In August, the Justice Department charged two California men—one an Iranian citizen with permanent residence status in the U.S., the other with dual citizenship—on charges of conspiring to spy on and infiltrate the MEK at events in New York and Washington. The FBI also said the men scouted Jewish targets, including Rohr Chabad House, a student center at the University of Chicago. Campus Jewish groups have functioned as support groups for Israel’s hard-line government. But Iran’s main enemy remains the MEK. Some experts say Tehran has established sleeper cells in the U.S., Europe and Persian

FROM TOP: MAJID SAEEDI/GETTY; SCOTT PETERSON/GETTY; JOSÉ NICOLAS/CORBIS/GETTY



IGHT OF INSANITY.”

WELCOME TO THE REVOLUTION

From top to bottom: Iranian President Hassan Rouhani gives a press conference on May 22, 2017, in Tehran, near a portrait of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini; Dawud Salahuddin; MEK members training during the Iran-Iraq War.



Gulf countries to assault such targets should war break out.

Iran “has a crazy obsession” with the MEK that is “divorced from reality,” says Bruce Hoffman, a leading longtime terrorism expert at Georgetown University’s Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service. It’s “a subversive threat, but so are other groups,” he tells *Newsweek*. In fact, according to Muhammad Sahimi, an Iran expert at the University of Southern California, the Trump administration has been throwing its support behind a wide array of anti-regime personalities and organizations, from Iranian Kurds to ultra-right student groups to monarchists, personified in Reza Pahlevi, the exiled son of the late shah, who lives in suburban Washington, D.C. But Iran’s prime target seems to be the MEK.

It’s somewhat bizarre to Luis Rueda, a retired 28-year CIA veteran with deep Middle East experience. The MEK “has no support inside Iran—everybody views them as nutjobs.” But the Trump administration’s backing of the organization, which is loathed inside Iran because it took Iraq’s side in the bitter Iran-Iraq War, has no doubt given the regime pause. “They’re worried that we, Israel and Saudi Arabia are using the MEK to help destabilize Iran and pumping them money,” Rueda tells *Newsweek*.

The IRGC was also fingered in what would have been a spectacular bombing in the heart of Washington, D.C. In 2011, the U.S. busted a plot to assassinate then-Saudi Ambassador Adel al-Jubeir at the fashionable Café Milano, a plush Georgetown restaurant frequented by prominent U.S. and foreign officials, lobbyists and journalists. Manssor Arbabsiar, a Texan with dual Iranian and U.S. citizenship, was arrested and eventually pleaded guilty to organizing the plot at the request of a cousin who worked for the IRGC’s Quds Force, its paramilitary arm. The plot unraveled early on, when Arbabsiar hired a Mexican hit man who turned out to be an undercover informant for the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration.

The Milano plot puzzles some. Nuclear talks were in full bloom. A bombing—killing scores of the capital’s elites, as well as al-Jubeir—would have wrecked the negotiations. One party interested in derailing them: hard-liners in the IRGC, which “would like nothing more than to create greater tension and mistrust between the West and Iran,” Rueda says.

Had the White House been able to pin the plot on Iranian leaders, its response “would’ve almost certainly been kinetic”—a military strike, says a senior former Obama administration national security official, asking for anonymity in exchange for discussing such a sensitive issue.

Like America’s other major adversaries, the Iranians engage in stealthy cyberoperations as well, according to the latest annual report on worldwide threats from the Office of National Intelli-

gence. Six years ago, the Justice Department charged last March, hackers connected to the IRGC stole huge amounts of academic data and intellectual property from 144 U.S. universities and 176 universities in 21 other countries in what it called one of the largest state-sponsored hacks ever prosecuted. According to the Rand Corp., an independent research organization with close ties to U.S. defense agencies, Iranian hackers have also penetrated “the unclassified Navy-Marine Corps Internet,” as well as U.S. bank sites and the computers of oil giant Saudi Aramco and Las Vegas Sands, the casino company owned by Sheldon Adelson, a major Republican donor and pro-Israel hawk.

Then, in late November, the Justice Department indicted two Iranians for a series of ransomware attacks on the computer systems of Atlanta and Newark, New Jersey, as well as some 200 other targets, including hospitals and health care agencies. The accused perpetrators remain at large.

Iran denied responsibility for these and the earlier attacks, which may well have been retaliation for the infamous Stuxnet virus, a joint U.S.-Israeli operation that caused thousands of centrifuges to spin out of control at its Natanz nuclear facility beginning around 2009. Since then, Iran has discovered at least three more viruses attacking its systems.

Tit for Tat

IRAN’S GO-TO ARGUMENT: YOU STARTED IT. TO BE SURE, THE CIA has sought to penetrate and destabilize the regime from the first days of the revolution. During the 1979–1980 hostage crisis, the CIA’s late master of disguise, Tony Mendez, slipped into Iran to rescue six American diplomats, in an operation later dramatized in the movie *Argo*. But what’s known of the agency’s record has mostly been splashed with spectacular failures.

By 1989, “virtually the entire U.S. intelligence apparatus in Iran had been detected and successfully disrupted by the Iranians,” according to a 2007 account by veteran regime-watcher Mahan Abedin, director of the research group Dysart Consulting. “U.S. incompetence—as opposed to Iranian prowess—was the chief factor in the unraveling of these networks.”

Then, between 2009 and 2013, dozens of CIA sources were caught and executed in Iran (and China) due to a lapse in the agency’s clandestine communications with agents, according to Yahoo News. Yet another flap erupted in 2011, when Iran announced the arrest of 12 alleged CIA spies. The disaster was caused by the agency “operating a lower threshold of quality control in terms of agent recruitment and management,” Abedin wrote at the time.

Then there was Operation Merlin, a botched effort during the Clinton administration to provide Iran with a doctored design for



GOING NUCLEAR

From top to bottom: DigitalGlobe imagery of the Natanz Fuel Enrichment Plant in 2015; Giuliani speaking at the Free Iran-The Alternative gathering in Paris on June 30, 2018; an Iranian rocket designed to carry a satellite into orbit in 2009.

“I DON’T WANT



a component of a nuclear weapon, ostensibly to sidetrack its nuke program. Instead, it may have accelerated it, according to *State of War: The Secret History of the CIA and the Bush Administration*, a 2006 book by former *New York Times* reporter James Risen.

And so it goes: One side whacking the other with no end in sight. The Trump administration has made ever more bellicose noises about squeezing Iran further, citing the Islamic republic’s deployment of rockets and the Quds Force in Syria, its covert support of fellow-Shiite Houthi rebels in Yemen and its recent ballistic missile

tests. On January 13, *The Wall Street Journal* revealed that Bolton had asked the Pentagon to draw up a list of options for attacking Iran. “It definitely rattled people,” a former senior administration told the *Journal*. The same day, *Axios* reported that in 2017, “Trump repeatedly asked his national security team for plans to blow up Iranian ‘fast boats’ in the Persian Gulf.” The revelations drew condemnation from the foreign policy establishment, but the leaks may well have been deliberate, to rattle Iran further.

Trump *should* keep up the pressure, says Norman Roule, a 34-year CIA veteran, who helmed U.S. intelligence operations and policies on Iran from 2008 to his retirement in 2017. The West’s response has been “pretty tepid,” he maintains. Tightening sanctions on Iran is good, he tells *Newsweek*, and he applauds Germany’s recent decision to revoke landing rights for Iran’s Mahan Air on suspicion that the airline has been used for terrorist activities. But, he argues, the U.S. and its allies must go further. “Although military action should always be the last option,” he says, “Tehran must understand that its actions have consequences.”

international security affairs in the Clinton years, notes that since U.S. officials have virtually bragged about sabotaging North Korea’s missile program, “one has to assume they’re applying that to Iran.” He also suspects the administration of using exile groups to conduct guerrilla operations inside Iran, as the U.S. did in the early years after the Chinese and Cuban revolutions—without success.

Such operations are “stupid,” he says. The CIA rank-and-file aren’t very enthusiastic about them either, an intelligence source tells *Newsweek*. “The feeling inside the organization is that Iran is a bad actor, but we shouldn’t be close to war with these guys. It’s not worth going to war.”

A U.S. attack would chill some of Washington’s Persian Gulf allies, prompt condemnation from the U.N. Security Council and even rally Iranian dissidents to the flag, says Emile Nakhleh, one of the CIA’s top Middle East experts before retiring in 2006. “Invading Iran without considering the regional realities,” he wrote in an analysis published by The Cipher Brief, a website close to the CIA, “is the height of insanity.”

TO OVERBLOW THE VIETNAM ANALOGIES, BUT WE’RE IN THE PROCESS OF LYING TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ABOUT IRAN.”

A military strike doesn’t seem in the cards, at least for now—unless Trump wants another rupture with the NATO alliance. While the allies have voiced deep annoyance with Iranian plots, they are simultaneously struggling to hold the nuclear accord together without the United States, going so far as to set up an alternative payment system to evade the new U.S. sanctions and trade with Tehran. In the face of threats from the Trump administration, its prospects are uncertain.

Meanwhile, Secretary of State Pompeo spent much of January barnstorming across the Middle East to drum up support for expelling “every last Iranian boot” from Syria (no matter that his boss had ordered a U.S. troop withdrawal that will dilute Washington’s leverage against Tehran there). Pompeo also promoted a mid-February conference he organized in Poland dedicated to “making sure that Iran is not a destabilizing influence.” European objections to Pompeo’s hawkish message forced him to tone down the goals of the gathering.


But the administration is not just talking. The U.S. maintains eavesdropping facilities in Iraqi Kurdistan and has been running agents into Iran from there and Turkey, sources tell *Newsweek*. Seasoned observers also suspect that U.S. intelligence had a hand in the failure of two Iranian satellite missile launches early last year.

Freeman, who also served as assistant secretary of defense for

Iran just does not pose an existential threat to America, says the former top CIA operations officer. Even its ruthless operations abroad to eliminate its foes are defensive, he points out, not directed at the U.S.—whereas ISIS exhorts recruits to murder Americans and their allies wherever and however possible.

He blames Israel for hyping the nuclear issue. “Every year, one or another senior Israeli security official would trundle off to Washington and say, ‘Iran is one year away from having a nuclear weapon.’ And they kept doing this, until finally somebody said, ‘You’ve been saying this for 10 fucking years, dude. How come they don’t have a nuclear weapon?’”

He lets out a frustrated sigh, weary from so many mistaken and indecisive conflicts across the region. With no good end in sight with Iran, he fears that Israel will draw the Trump administration into its conflict with the country. “They are a potential clandestine threat to Saudi Arabia and the UAE, and a conventional threat to Israel,” whose nuclear arsenal could obliterate Iran, he says. “But they couldn’t get a battalion across the Gulf if their life depended on it.”

Try this, he says: “Put yourselves in the Iranians’ shoes and look at it how they look at things.” Otherwise, we may well blunder into open conflict. “There’s the potential for misreading on either side,” he says. “There’s gonna be an accident—somebody’s gonna do something that is not intended to start a war, but it will start a war.” 

THE COWBOY CODE

In the film—starring, from left, Johnson, Oates, Borgnine and Holden—you stand by the men you ride with, no matter how bad they are.

BOOKS

Blood & Glory


A look at *The Wild Bunch*, Sam Peckinpah's classic Western, on its 50th anniversary. Violence would never be the same again

LEFT: SILVER SCREEN COLLECTION/GETTY; TOP RIGHT: CHRISTOS KALOHRIDIS/NETFLIX

APOCALYPSE NOW

For *Umbrella Academy* creator Gerard Way, it's always end-time. » P.48



 W.K. STRATTON WAS 13 WHEN *THE WILD BUNCH* was released in 1969. Like a lot of kids living in small towns in that pre-internet time, he found that movie theaters were a prime option for escape. And in director Sam Peckinpah's radical Western, he was transported to a landscape of "agony and dirt," says Stratton, author of the new book, *The Wild Bunch: Sam Peckinpah, a Revolution in Hollywood, and the Making of a Legendary Film* (Bloomsbury). "The way the violence was portrayed *really* got my attention."

Visceral, bone-crunching brutality is so common today that it's hard to fathom the effect *The Wild Bunch* had on its first audiences. The film was polarizing—equally reviled (a few early viewers reportedly left the theater to throw up) and celebrated. Many in a new generation of filmmakers, including George Lucas and Martin Scorsese, were thrilled and inspired by it. Quentin Tarantino has called the final shoot-out "a masterpiece beyond compare."

Peckinpah's innovative quick-cut editing (of a mind-boggling 330,000 feet of raw footage) and his use of slow motion introduced a new vocabulary to violence, with that final sequence a near ballet of bullets and blood. And though Sergio Leone had introduced in 1964 what's come to be called the dirty Western—with *A Fistful of Dollars* starring Clint Eastwood—Peckinpah's Oscar-winning screenplay (written with Walon Green and Roy N. Sickner) added existential layers: the angst of encroaching corporate America (via the railroads) and the ultimate meaninglessness of the lives of the film's central outlaws: Pike Bishop (William Holden), Dutch Engstrom (Ernest Borgnine), Deke Thornton (Robert Ryan), the Gorch brothers (Ben Johnson and Warren Oates) and Angel (Jaime Sanchez)—as merciless a bunch of "heroes" as American cinema had produced.

The movie, Peckinpah's fourth, takes place in Texas and Mexico in 1913, on the eve of World War I, when technology is beginning to transform the West. As critic Roger Ebert, an early devotee, wrote: "The mantle of violence is passing from Pike and his kind, who operated according to a certain code, to a new generation that kills more impersonally, as a game, or with machines."

Stratton's book examines the history of the Western and details the ambition and, at times, lunacy involved in making what has become an American classic. *Newsweek* spoke with him about the legacy of *The Wild Bunch* and Peckinpah's complicated genius.

You write that the film "placed a tombstone on the grave of the old John Wayne Westerns." How so?

Peckinpah took the revisionist Western to its ultimate home. As one of his friends said of the characters, "These are really bad men." There's nothing redeeming about them, and yet we end up caring about them—deeply. That changed the whole dynamic of the Western. We'd gotten away from Tom Mix and the idea of the white hat—or purely good hero—decades before that, but there was always a little something good in the characters. Pike and his group are killers, and they kind of get off on it. That opened the door to some really interesting films, including Eastwood's *The Outlaw Josey Wales* [1976] and *Unforgiven* [1992]. At the same time, Peckinpah was also acting in reaction to the sanitized violence of popular TV Westerns like *Gunsmoke*.

BY

MARY KAY
SCHILLING

Hadn't Arthur Penn already introduced the anti-hero bloodfest in *Bonnie and Clyde* in 1967?

Bonnie and Clyde certainly took the anti-hero thing to a new level, and the violence in Penn's film was groundbreaking. But there was something artistic about it—particularly that final shoot-out, which was almost like a sex scene between Warren Beatty and Faye Dunaway. Peckinpah didn't want any of that; he wanted agony and dirt. He was a fan of Leone's Eastwood films, the ones where if a fly landed on a guy's face while he was talking, it stayed there. You can almost smell the bodies in those films.

Peckinpah made *The Wild Bunch* in 1968 and into 1969, a notably violent time in American history. How did that play into the film?

Peckinpah's friend Jim Silke told me he thought Sam never shot a single foot of didactic film. So I don't think he was intentionally going after an allegory of the 1960s. However, nothing happens in a vacuum,

and this movie company went to Mexico to film *The Wild Bunch* just about the time Martin Luther King was assassinated, then wrapped up shortly after Robert Kennedy was shot. In the middle—though no one knew it for a year or so—was the My Lai Massacre. Plus, we thought the Russians were going to blow the world up. It was scary times, there was violence everywhere—I felt that as a kid.

When Pike Bishop says to the corrupt Mexican general Mapache [who offers to pay Pike to steal a cache of American guns from the military], “We share very few sentiments with our government”—well, there were people seeing the nightly news footage of napalm being dropped on Southeast Asia and thinking the same thing. Unlike the Westerns that had come before, the patriotism is gone.

There’s also that scene, when Pike and his men are stealing the guns off the train: The American soldiers are all inexperienced kids—like the 19-year-olds being drafted into Vietnam—with incompetent leadership. They don’t know what they’re doing, and they get shot all to hell. That’s how a lot of us felt about Vietnam.

Your book paints Peckinpah as an inspired artist but also a maddening, and violent man—not unlike Pike.

He was a complicated person—a walking contradiction, to quote the Kris Kristofferson song. I don’t think there has ever been anyone in Hollywood who mastered all aspects of directing motion pictures better than Sam Peckinpah: He could write great screenplays, he knew all the technical things, he knew how to edit and direct actors—he had all those gifts going for him. But he did some horrible things, all exacerbated by alcoholism and, later, cocaine. He had a deeply ingrained paranoia and a violent, violent temper. [His

friend] Max Evans said once, “Every woman Peckinpah was with he ruined.”

So you can’t approach *The Wild Bunch* without seeing it as an artist—someone who did these terrible things—studying his own tendencies. The self-reflection of Pike, which Holden accomplishes without speaking a word—What have I messed up here, who have I hurt, how did we end up here?—are things I’m sure Peckinpah thought about himself.

Peckinpah considered Tennessee Williams his greatest influence.

On the surface their work doesn’t seem to have much in common.

The psychology of the characters, and looking at them as psychological studies, and what happened to deform them in the way they are—I think that’s it. There aren’t a lot of good or untroubled people in Williams’s plays. What Peckinpah saw was that you don’t have to dress anybody up—you can present them as they really are.

What he was getting at with *The Wild Bunch* is that there is something deeply rooted in human beings that is disturbing, something dark in all of us, and these dark things come out and we have to deal with them. There’s some aspect to our psyche that enjoys things we probably shouldn’t enjoy.

In fact, and this might strike many as odd, Peckinpah intended the film to be cathartic—a way of purging violent feelings. He later realized he’d made a mistake.

Quentin Tarantino has called the final shoot-out “a masterpiece beyond compare.”

He understood that he had inadvertently created a kind of pornography. He mentioned *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre* in a BBC interview; that kind of splatter film was porn, and it took off after *The Wild Bunch*—there’s no escaping it.

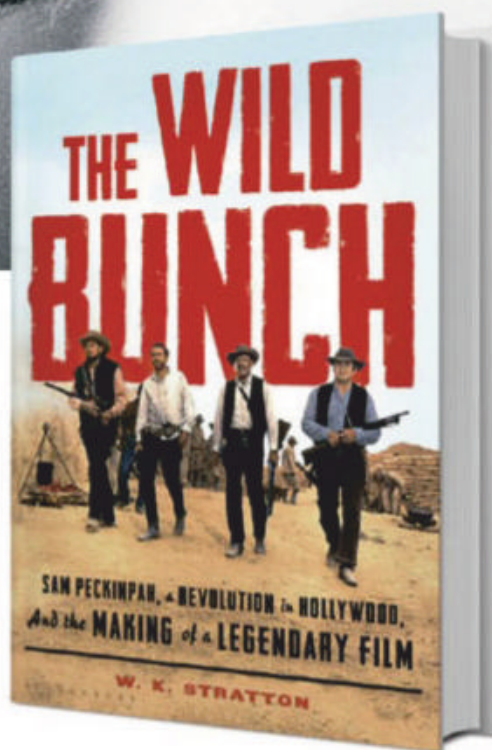
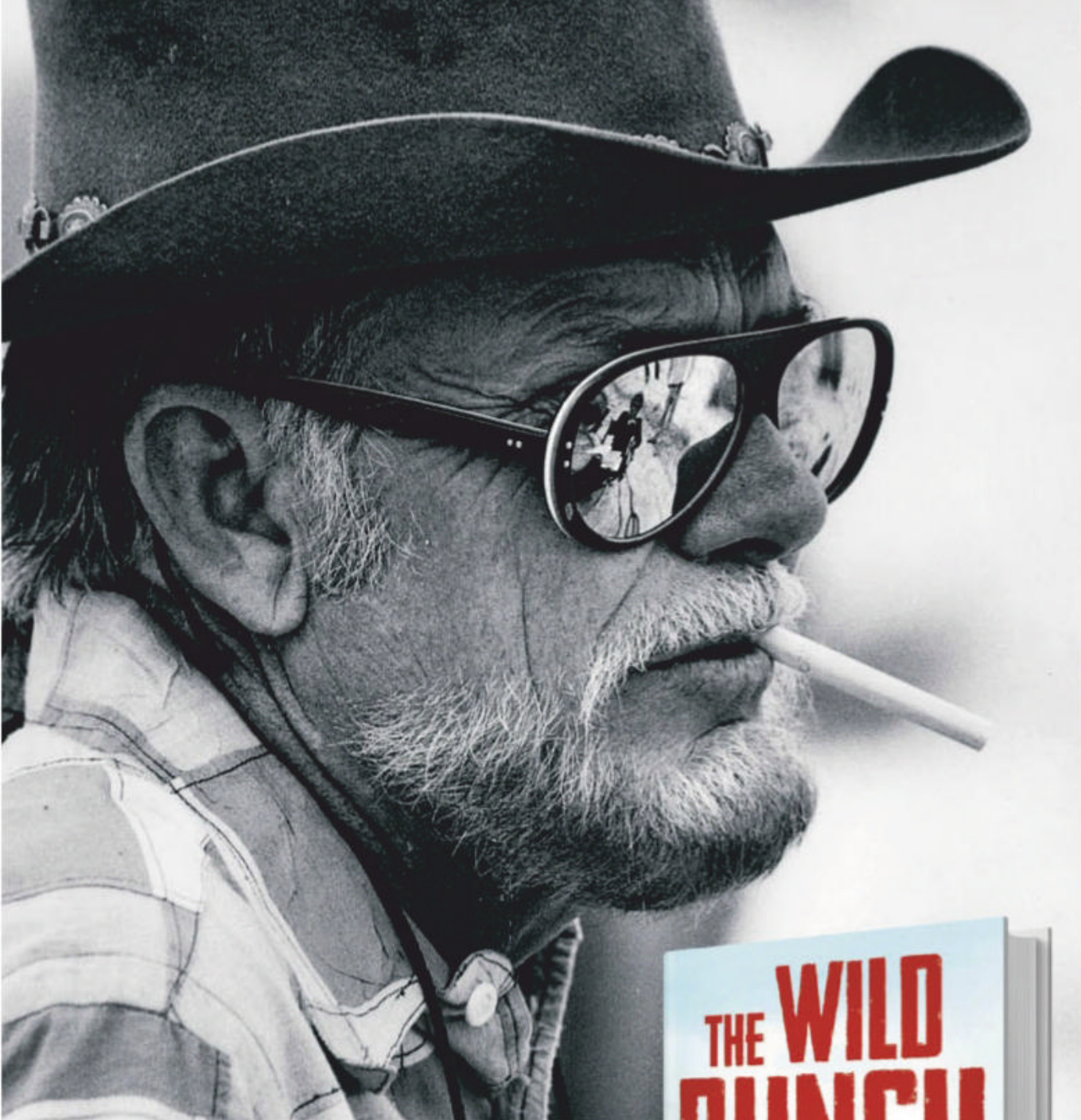
There was violence in Peckinpah’s subsequent films, but never to that extent. He would sometimes disavow the film later, but that probably had as much to do with his work after *The Wild Bunch*, including *Junior Bonner*, *Pat Garrett and Bring Me the Head of Alfredo Garcia*. All really fine films, but they never got the same kind of attention. [Peckinpah died in 1984 and released his last film, *The Osterman Weekend*, in 1983.]

Once VHS came along in the late ’70s, I started watching all of his movies again and again. I came to think of him essentially as a poet who instead of using metaphors being written down on the page, [they] were on the screen. Everything in his movies, when he was at his peak, was what it was, but it also had meaning beyond that.

Watch *Wild Bunch* enough times, and there are layers of meaning.

It’s an elegiac thing about the end of the West—outlaws seeing the end of their way of life. There’s the element of the dark impulses in everyone. But it’s also a cautionary tale about the deadly effects of technology. Those four guys in the final shoot-out are able to kill 100 Mexican soldiers because they use repeating rifles, pump shotguns and a machine gun. And there’s that scene of Angel being dragged behind an automobile: Technology is dragging us, not the other way around.

But it’s essentially a romantic love triangle—kind of a weird one—between Pike, Dutch and Deke, who is the spurned lover; he had been Pike’s right hand before getting caught and



sent to prison. Deke's now hunting the bunch for the railroad, with a crew of scurrilous bounty hunters, as a way of getting out of prison. Dutch, who clearly adores Pike, has moved into Deke's spot. They're not gay, but they are certainly more emotionally attached to other men than women.

Speaking of women: There are no female characters of note, though that was true of nearly every classic Western; women were there for decoration or motivation. Larry McMurtry, who grew up in that world—on a ranch in Texas—was one of the first to introduce authentic female characters to the genre. He did a good job of calling bullshit on the mythology of the Wild West.

One thing I'll give to both Leone and Peckinpah: They didn't try to

artificially insert a female character into stories about men, like the classic Westerns before then. But, yes, I was reading all of McMurtry's early books in college, even in high school, and I thought, Oh man, this guy is doing it. He opened a lot of doors for people like me, to look at what surrounded us, to see the bullshit mythology, as you call it, and move forward.

The Wild Bunch also crushed the mythology of the Western. Nothing

WILD AT HEART Peckinpah hoped the film's violence would be cathartic. "You can't look at it without seeing an artist studying his own terrible tendencies," says Stratton.

was the same after it. There were a few normal Westerns with John Wayne, but they were mostly failures. His best work, I think, was in his last film, *The Shootist*, in 1976. Don Siegel did a great job with that, but I can't imagine it being made without *The Wild Bunch*.

I don't think Peckinpah had a great influence on Robert Altman, but if you look at *McCabe & Mrs. Miller*, there are sequences that were invented by Peckinpah. And if you're looking for strong female characters, check out Julie Christie; it's one of the great feminist Westerns.

Each of the actors gives one of the best performances of their career. It was an acclaimed comeback for Holden, but he wasn't even nominated for an Oscar. Ironically, old-school cowboy John Wayne won that year, for *True Grit*.

It's unbelievable that Holden wasn't nominated. And Wayne was much better in many other films, including *The Quiet Man* and *The Searchers*. Dustin Hoffman and Jon Voight kind of split the votes for best actor for fans of *Midnight Cowboy* [which won best picture and director for John Schlesinger]. What a year 1969 was for movies!

I can predict your answer to this, but I'll ask anyway. How do you feel about Mel Gibson announcing that he will remake *The Wild Bunch*?

Obviously, Gibson is not a filmmaker of the scope of Sam Peckinpah, so whatever he will make will be less of a product. But why not do something else? Would you remake *Citizen Kane* or *La Strada* or *400 Blows*? Why remake a classic? ■

PARTING SHOT

Gerard Way

IT'S BEEN NEARLY TWO DECADES SINCE THE SOFT-SPOKEN WAY STARTED THE platinum-selling emo band My Chemical Romance. In that time, he has evolved from a sweaty, intoxicated 20-something to a sober, costumed arena rocker to a semi-reclusive comic book writer. Through it all, he has remained obsessed with end-of-world scenarios, though his meditations these days are more introspective than performative. Way's award-winning *The Umbrella Academy* comic (with illustrations by Gabriel Bá), about a dysfunctional family of superheroes, circa 1977, is in its third series, with a fourth in development. And on February 15, Netflix will release an equally acclaimed adaptation, 10 episodes starring Ellen Page, Mary J. Blige and Tom Hopper. Way, who is credited as an executive producer on the show, gave notes on scripts but kept his participation off-camera. "I was overloaded from years of interviews, music videos, being onstage—I kind of got tired of myself," he tells *Newsweek*. "I also realized I had a lot to learn. I had a lot of listening to do."

Why do you keep returning to apocalyptic scenarios?

One of the biggest reasons I started My Chemical Romance was because I was one of the people to witness 9/11 in New York City. That felt like the end of the world. It felt like the apocalypse. I was surrounded by hundreds of people on a dock on the Hudson River, and we watched the buildings go down, and there was this wave of human anguish that I've never felt before. Since then, I've continued to think about what we would do at the end of the world if we knew we only had a little time left.

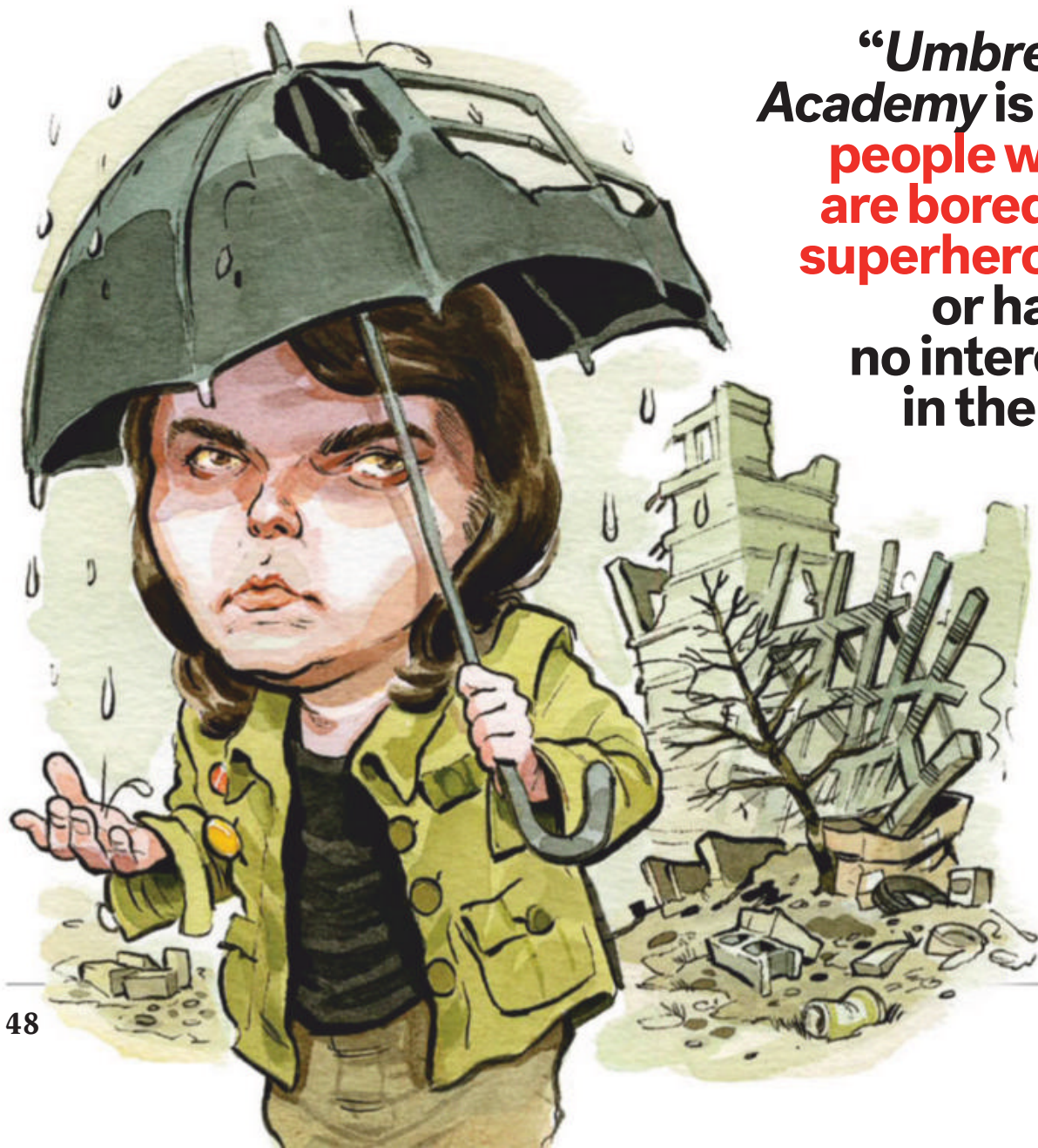
"Umbrella Academy is for people who are bored of superheroes or have no interest in them."

Was *The Umbrella Academy* your way of reinventing the superhero comic?

The myth, yeah. I wanted to throw people in the deep end, to skip past the setup and origin stories—you're just in it. What is it to actually be a superhero? What is it to be part of this family, to be gifted or to be ordinary? I think it's for people who are bored of superheroes or have no interest in them.

All of the characters are struggling with "adulting." Have you figured that out?

In some ways I have. When I write *Umbrella Academy* now, there's a bit more wisdom that comes with it, but there's also the humility of knowing what I don't know. Admitting to yourself that you don't have it all figured out is a good first step to figuring it out. —Nicole Goodkind





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