



HARRYS
OF
LONDON

NEVER PEDESTRIAN
harrysoflondon.com

Trump's Subpoena Smackdown

07.05.2019
Newsweek



**HOW
AMERICA'S
BIGGEST
COMPANIES
MADE CHINA
GREAT
AGAIN**

ORLANE

PARIS

EXTRAORDINAIRE.
YOUTH IS BACK.

**firmer
skin**

97%

**wrinkles
fade**

88%

**moisturized
skin**

97%

**radiant
skin**

97%



* Results from self-evaluation tests on 40 women after 28 days.

PATENTED

Available at neimanmarcus.com and bergdorfgoodman.com



FEATURES

THE FINAL SHOWDOWN?

Will President Trump be able to fend off Congress in the long run? Or will his secrets be exposed for all to see? Stay tuned.

COVER CREDIT

Illustration by Alex Fine for Newsweek



For more headlines, go to NEWSWEEK.COM

18

Power Brokers

Big business made China great again by bending to Beijing's will. Here's how it all happened.

BY BILL POWELL

26

Beltway Smackdown

Behind the bitter legal clash between Congress and the White House—and who might win.

BY ROGER PARLOFF



P.42

DEPARTMENTS

In Focus

- 06 Hong Kong**
Saying “No” to Extradition
- 08 New York City**
Largest Pride Flag in Town
- Marseille**
Escape Artists
- Khartoum**
Revolution Calling

THE WINNER

Actor Idris Elba at the 2016 Film Independent Spirit Awards after winning Best Supporting Male for “Beasts of No Nation”



Periscope

- 10 Politics**
Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee on Impeachment
- 13 Talking Points**
From Gayle King to Libby Schaaf
- 14 Innovation**
SodaStream’s Model for Peace

Horizons

- 36 Moonshots**
New, Cleaner Water
- 39 By The Numbers**
Extreme Weather
- 40 Newsgeek**
Up Next for Virtual Reality

Culture

- 42 Libations**
A Lot of Rosé for Your Consideration
- 46 Uncharted**
10 Great Summer Festivals
- 48 Parting Shot**
Idris Elba

GLOBAL EDITOR-IN-CHIEF _ Nancy Cooper

CREATIVE DIRECTOR _ Michael Goesele

EDITORIAL DIRECTOR _ Hank Gilman

DEPUTY EDITOR (EUROPE + OPINION) _ Laura Davis

MANAGING EDITOR _ Melissa Jewsbury

SPECIAL PROJECTS EDITOR _ Fred Guterl

EDITOR AT LARGE _ Diane Harris

EDITORIAL

New York Bureau Chief _ Jason Le Miere

London Bureau Chief _ Robert Galster

Managing Editor, Trending News _ Maria Vultaggio

Managing Editor, Newsweek NEXT _ Juliana Pignataro

Senior Editors _ Mo Mozuch, Peter Carbonara,

Meredith Wolf Schizer, Karin Roberts

Deputy Editors _ Jen Glennon (Trending),

Tara Chan (Politics)

Associate Editors _ James Etherington-Smith,

Hannah Osborne (Science), Dom Passantino,

Harriet Sinclair (Politics)

London Sub-Editor _ Hannah Partos

Copy Chief _ Elizabeth Rhodes Ernst

Contributing Editor, Opinion _ Lee Habeeb

Editorial Assistant _ Jason Pollack

CREATIVE

Director of Photography _ Diane Rice

Contributing Art Director _ Michael Bessire

Associate Art Director _ Paul Naughton

Assistant Photo Editor _ Alessandra Amodio

Digital Imaging Specialist _ Katy Lyness

Art Assistant _ Annie Kozak

WRITERS

David Brennan, Nina Burleigh, Dan Cancian, Brendan Cole, Shane Croucher, Chantal Da Silva, Sam Earle, Benjamin Fearnow, Kashmir Gander, Ari Georgiou, Nicole Goodkind, Katherine Hignett, Jessica Kwong, James LaPorta, Cristina Maza, Tom O'Connor, Ewan Palmer, Callum Paton, Tom Porter, Bill Powell, Roberto Saviano*, Marc Vargas, Janice Williams, Christina Zhao (*Contributing)

VIDEO

Video Production Manager _ Jessica Durham

London Video News Editor _ Daniel Orton

Bangalore Video News Editor _ Nandini Krishnamoorthy

Senior Video Producers _ Sho Murakoshi

Video Producers - Sean Billings, Chiara Brambilla,

Rufaro Ndoro, Frances Rankin, N. Ravichandran,

Holly Snelling, Alexis Wierenga

Motion Graphics Producers _ Simon Vella

PUBLISHED BY

Newsweek LLC

Chief Executive Officer _ Dev Pragad

Chief Content Officer _ Dayan Candappa

Chief Operating Officer _ Alvaro Palacios

Chief Financial Officer _ Amit Shah

Chief Technology Officer _ Michael Lukac

General Counsel _ Rosie Mckimmie

VP, HR Business Partner _ Leiann Kaytmaz

SVP Global Creative Director _ Robert Lee

Director, Content Strategy _ Nalin Kaul

Senior Digital Marketing Strategist _ Adam Silvers

Managing Editor, Branded + Native Content _ Paula Froelich

Editor, Branded + Native Content _ Dan Avery

Global Executive Producer _ Alfred Joyner

Global Head of Programmatic + Partnerships _ Jeremy Makin

SVP, Product + Business Intelligence _ Luciano Costa

Senior Sales Director _ Chantal Mamboury

Head of Subscription Operations _ Samantha Rhodes

Newsstand Manager _ Kim Sermon

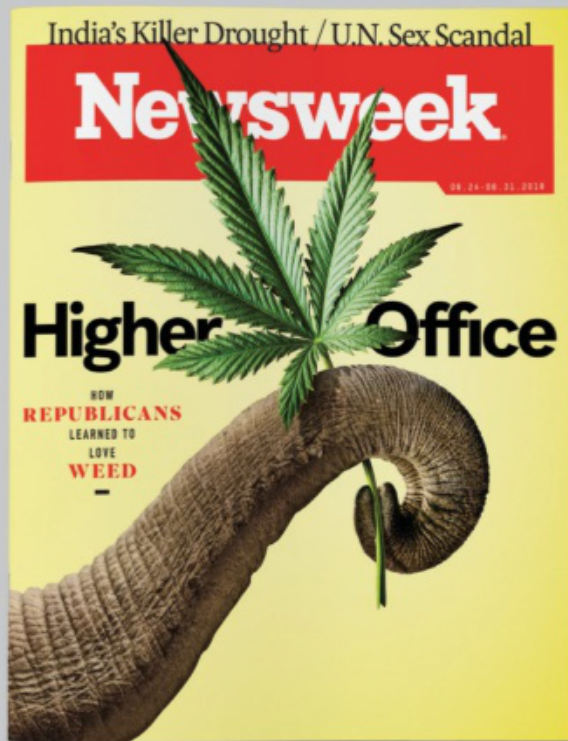
NEWSWEEK (ISSN0028-9604) is published weekly except one week in January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November and December due to combined issues. Newsweek is published by Newsweek LLC, 33 Whitehall St., 8th Floor, New York, NY 10004. Periodical postage is paid at New York, NY and additional mailing offices.

POSTMASTER: Send change of address to Newsweek, 33 Whitehall St., 8th Floor, New York, NY 10004. For Article Reprints, Permissions and Licensing NewsweekReprints.com PARS International (212) 221-9595 x210 Newsweek@parsintl.com



“Journalism I don’t see elsewhere until later, if at all.”

NEWSWEEK.COM/TRY



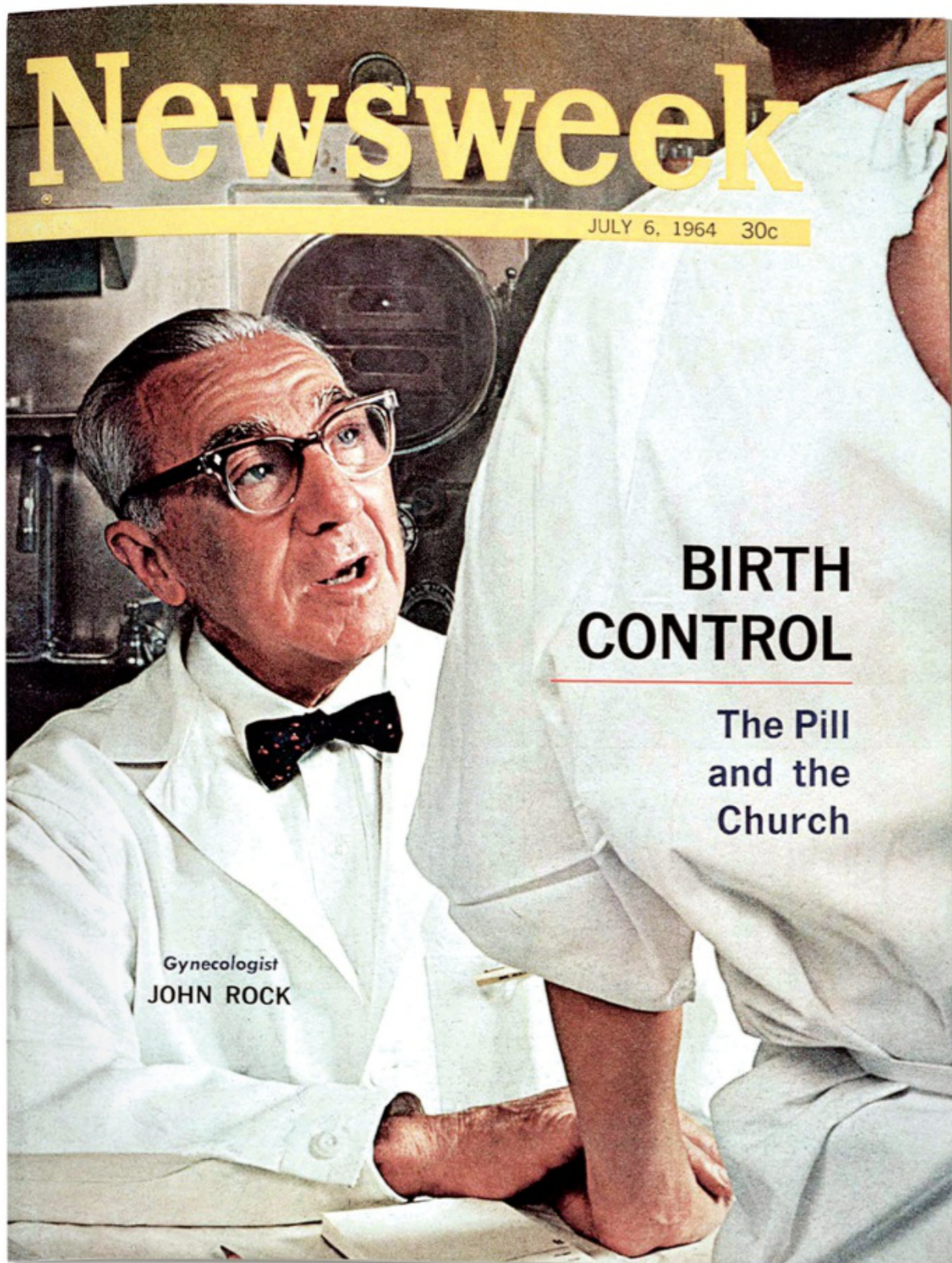
SAVE 79%

Subscribe
FROM \$1.72 PER WEEK

The Archives

1964

“The Pope spoke of change, but he knew full well that his 2,000-year-old church, though not immutable and unbending, submits reluctantly.” As Paul VI took a reformed stance on oral contraceptive pills, *Newsweek* wrote: “Not since the Copernicans suggested that the sun was the center of the planetary system has the Roman Catholic Church found itself on such a perilous collision course with a new body of knowledge.” Today, Pope Francis further opened the door to contraception in Zika-infected Latin America when he noted that “avoiding pregnancy is not an absolute evil” for mothers there.



1959

“The smooth tug of a rope, a thick spray of water, a quickening rush of air, and then you’re walking on water,” wrote *Newsweek* as nearly 5 million Americans crowded the coasts in the summer of ’59. Today, the once-novel activity has turned into a full-fledged symbol of summer.



1986

“An inexhaustible comic laureate with speedball synapses and a brain that’s constantly on fast forward,” Robin Williams became the face of a talented new generation of actors. His meteoric rise spurred *Newsweek* to ask, “How high can this pilot fly before he spins out of orbit?” Nearly 30 years later, Williams took his own life, losing a battle with depression and a neurodegenerative disorder. **N**

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: CHARLES HARBUTT; OZZIE SWEET; ARTHUR GRACE

Violence is an epidemic.

What if there was a cure?

As a critical response to violence and injustice, a worldwide campaign is introducing the reality of nonviolence to billions of people. Real stories. Real change.

Discover more at nonviolencenow.org

nonviolence n^ow

In Focus

— THE NEWS IN PICTURES



HECTOR RETAMAL/AFP/GETTY



HONG KONG

A Time to Mourn

An ambulance surrounded by black clad protestors on the evening of June 16. The crowd had gathered to mark the death of a man who fell to his death during massive demonstrations against the city's pro-Beijing government. The protests were sparked by a proposed law that would have allowed extradition to China.

→ HECTOR RETAMAL



NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Pride Ascending

A runner climbs steps in Four Freedoms Park on Roosevelt Island on June 15. The steps were painted to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the 1969 police raid on the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in Greenwich Village. The raid and the protests that followed were a galvanizing moment in the movement for LGBTQ rights. Organizers say the 12 X 100 foot pride flag is the largest in New York City.

📷 → JOHANNES EISELE



MARSEILLE, FRANCE

Into Open Water

Swimmers on June 21 competing in the Monte Cristo Challenge, a three-mile race held at the Chateau d'If, a prison and fortress on an island off the coast of Provence. Edmond Dantés, the unjustly imprisoned hero of the 1844 novel *The Count of Monte Cristo*, escaped from the impregnable Chateau and swam to freedom. The race has been held annually since 1999.

📷 → BORIS HORVAT



KHARTOUM, SUDAN

Cry of Freedom

Illuminated by mobile phones, people chant slogans, including “civilian rule,” as a young man recites a poem about revolution on June 19. After dictator Omar Hassan al-Bashir was deposed following 30 years of authoritarian rule in April, hopes for democracy swelled in the country but they were soon crushed when the new military government attacked protestors, killing and raping dozens.

📷 → YASUYOSHI CHIBA



CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: JOHANNES EISELE/AFP/GETTY; BORIS HORVAT/AFP/GETTY; YASU YOSHI CHIBA/AFP/GETTY

Periscope

— NEWS, OPINION + ANALYSIS

**SPECIAL
CHALLENGE**
For the second
time in her career
Congresswoman
Jackson Lee
is facing the
question of
impeaching a
president.



"This is the real peace.
It's a model that works." » P.14



POLITICS

“She Would Not Be Fearful”

On issues from reparations to impeachment, House Democrat Sheila Jackson Lee looks to the example of her mentor Barbara Jordan

▶ WHILE THE WALLS OF TEXAS REPRESENTATIVE Sheila Jackson Lee's large Washington, D.C., office are covered floor to ceiling with photographs, there is one that the 69-year-old Democrat is particularly proud of. It shows Jackson Lee shaking hands with Barbara Jordan, who, at the time of the photo, was a retired congresswoman teaching at the University of Texas.

“That’s when she was mentoring me and encouraging me to run, and when [Texas Governor] Ann Richards ran for... re-election? Must have been re-election. I think it might have been 1994,” Jackson Lee recalls. “I was like a little pipsqueak that came to look up to her and to just be in her office, to just be in the space that she was in.”

In 1972, Barbara Jordan became the first African American from Texas to be elected to Congress. The district had been drawn as a result of the Voting Rights Act in 1965. “I

would not be here, per se, and Barbara would not have been here, had the district not been drawn,” Jackson Lee says.

Jordan, who died in 1996, is perhaps best remembered for the dramatic speech she gave before the committee on July 25, 1974, on proposed articles of impeachment against President Richard Nixon.

“My faith in the Constitution is whole; it is complete; it is total,” Jordan said. “And I am not going to sit here and be an idle spectator to the diminution, the subversion, the destruction, of the Constitution.”

More than four decades later, Jackson Lee represents the same congressional district—Texas’s 18th, which includes Houston—that Jordan represented from 1972 to 1979. Like Jordan, Jackson Lee sits on the House Judiciary Committee, which makes her a player in two ongoing Washington legal and moral dramas. She has sponsored a resolution in support

BY

RAMSEY TOUCHBERRY

[@ramsberry1](#)

of Congressional investigations into President Donald Trump. She has also recently called on Congress to take a serious look at the question of potential reparations for slavery. On both issues, Jordan has been Jackson Lee's inspiration and role model.

With what she calls Jordan's "seal of approval," Jackson Lee was elected in 1994 and began serving in 1995. The freshman lawmaker also found herself with a seat on the Judiciary Committee. "I didn't ask—I was told that the Judiciary Committee was my assignment," Jackson Lee says. "And I took that to be a special challenge for me to live up to her reputation."

While Jackson Lee has made news most recently on reparations, the question of impeachment has hung over her career in Congress almost from the beginning. As a sophomore member in 1998, Jackson Lee faced the question of impeaching President Bill Clinton. "The kind of sense of responsibility when I was in that room, back in 1998, the butterflies that are in your stomach, the weight of the world, the weight of the nation that is on you, not knowing what may ultimately happen, how your peers are going to vote," Jackson Lee says. "It's very serious. And it is not to be taken lightly." She supported censuring Clinton but opposed impeachment.

Jackson Lee recalls that, at the time, Jordan was not far from her thoughts. "She loomed very large, because I certainly looked at her approach," says Jackson Lee. "She was a real factfinder. And I try to take that approach in the Judiciary Committee now."

Jackson Lee says she isn't itching to impeach President Trump. "There should be an apprehension [of] impeachment, because it means it's

out of the regular order," she says. "It means it's taking away a familiar face, a familiar leader."

Instead, she wants the House to approve a resolution of investigation that she's introduced. Jackson Lee believes the move would give the various House committees investigating the administration—including Judiciary—more support in Congress. The White House has sought to stonewall House Democrats, prohibiting current and former officials from testifying and turning over subpoenaed documents.

"Upon your investigation, if you determine there's misconduct, you proceed. If not, you don't proceed," Jackson Lee says.

The 13-term congresswoman herself has not been immune to charges of wrongdoing. In January, she

stepped aside from two posts—head of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation and chairwoman of a House Judiciary subcommittee—over allegations that she fired an aide who claimed to have been sexually assaulted by a supervisor of the foundation. Jackson Lee has denied the allegations.

There are no signs, at the moment, from leadership that Jackson Lee's resolution will receive a vote, and it is not clear how much it would strengthen House Democrats' investigations. Jackson Lee says she understands leadership's cautious position on any matters involving impeachment.

"Their desire is to be absolute, and to make sure the American people can fully comprehend," she says. "And maybe that may take us into 2020."

Still, Jackson Lee feels Democrats are currently "on track" by pressing forward with congressional investigations and going to court when necessary. And if an impeachment inquiry vote were to be placed before her, she knows how she would vote.

"I'm one of the members that would say that I'm not afraid of impeachment, but I'm not rushing toward impeachment," Jackson Lee says, adding, "If that vote came up again today, and it was put on the floor of the House, because of my commitment to the rule of law and the readings of the Mueller report, I'd have to vote on going forward with an impeachment inquiry."

And she is confident that her old friend and mentor, Barbara Jordan, would feel the same way if the former congresswoman were alive today.

"I think that she would look at this, and she would be aghast," Jackson Lee says. "She would consider it our duty to proceed investigating and to go where the facts lead us, and she would not be fearful of moving to the next step." ■

"There should be an apprehension [of] impeachment because... it means it's taking away a familiar face, a familiar leader."



TWO FOR TEXAS Jackson Lee with her mentor Barbara Jordan in 1994.

Talking Points



"It is not their business."

—NANG MWE SAN, A PHYSICIAN WHOSE LICENCE WAS REVOKED BY THE MYANMAR MEDICAL COUNCIL OVER FACEBOOK PHOTOS OF HERSELF IN SWIMSUITS AND LINGERIE

San Francisco Chronicle

"I HOPE IT IS JUST MORE MINDLESS RHETORIC AS HE PREPARES TO ANNOUNCE HIS RE-ELECTION BID."

—OAKLAND MAYOR LIBBY SCHAAF ON PRESIDENT TRUMP'S PROMISE TO DEPORT "MILLIONS"



Libby Schaaf

The New York Times

"The day they think I've been turned and I'm willing to sell myself out ...they're going to say he's just like the rest of them."

—TALK RADIO HOST MICHAEL SAVAGE ON LISTENERS WHO THINK HE'S TOO TOUGH ON PRESIDENT TRUMP

The Guardian

"You could not be out. You led dual lives. And for me one of the real, fundamental goals of gay liberation was to overcome that—to have one life."

—ACTIVIST JIM FOURATT ON THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE STONEWALL RIOT



Jim Fouratt

Hollywood REPORTER

"I AM NOW A PART OF THAT HISTORY. LET'S SEE WHAT WE DO."

—Gayle King on becoming the face of CBS News



Gayle King

YAHOO!

"If you've built a chaos factory, you can't dodge responsibility for the chaos."

—APPLE CEO TIM COOK ON SILICON VALLEY

FOX

"THEY DIDN'T KNOW WHAT THE HELL TO DO WITH ME. I WAS THIS HALF-BLACK, HALF-SAMOAN AND SIX FOOT FOUR, 275-POUND PRO WRESTLER."

—Dwayne "The Rock" Johnson on starting his career in movies

FROM LEFT: JOSH EDELSON/AFP/GETTY; ASTRID STAWIARZ/GETTY; CHRIS SORENSEN/THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY



INNOVATION

Business as Diplomacy

Israeli-based SodaStream believes economic opportunity will lead to peace. But is it a catalyst for change—or PR for Israel—or both?

DANIEL BIRNBAUM, THE American-born CEO of the Israeli company SodaStream, is on a mission. But whether that mission is to make millions of dollars selling fizzy water makers to promote his personal brand of Zionism, or a combination of both, depends on whom you ask.

SodaStream is navigating a complicated political landscape in which private companies are often called on to defend the state of Israel and engage in public diplomacy, providing

a shield for some of the government's most controversial policies. And Birnbaum, a public figure in Israel, wants to appeal to a liberal, humanitarian audience largely based overseas.

In the middle of the Negev desert, just a little over 10 miles from the conflict-ridden Gaza Strip and next to the world's largest Bedouin city, Birnbaum has opened a factory that employs Jews,

Palestinians and Bedouin men and women who work side-by-side.

Bedouins have the highest poverty and unemployment rates in Israel, and it is rare for Bedouin women to work outside of the home. In the SodaStream factory where young Bedouin women manage teams of Palestinian and Jewish men, they tell *Newsweek* that they are treated with respect by their male colleagues. The factory has prayer rooms for both Muslims and Jews, and employees are permitted to rest while they're fasting for religious holidays. Birnbaum has personally fought to obtain work permits for the 120 Palestinians employed in his factory so that they can travel from the West Bank past the Israeli checkpoints to get to work.

But even the decision to build SodaStream's factory in the Negev has been colored by politics.

SodaStream moved its factory from the Israeli settlement of Mishor Adumim in the West Bank to Rahat in the Negev desert in 2015, and some say that this decision was the direct result of the Boycott, Divest and Sanction (BDS) movement, a campaign modeled after the campaign to end apartheid in South Africa.

Omar Barghouti, the founder of the BDS movement, said that he sees SodaStream's closure as a success that is "in line with our commitment to end Israel's violations of Palestinian human rights."

SodaStream, however, says that it moved the factory to the Negev because it needed more space to continue its expansion, and company representatives deny that BDS played a role in the decision.

Still, the BDS movement was somewhat successful in European markets like Sweden, where many potential customers refused to purchase the products of a company

BY

CRISTINA MAZA

 @CrisLeeMaza

perceived to be profiting from the Israeli occupation. And after the company left the West Bank and publicized itself as a brand that promotes harmony between Israelis and Palestinians, its revenue has increased. In 2016, sales in Western Europe increased by 15 percent. The company brought in a record \$171.5 million in the last quarter of 2018.

Employees say that this success was a result of their rebrand as a company that focuses on sparkling water instead of unhealthy soda. But it's impossible to ignore the political messaging embedded in SodaStream's recent success.

When SodaStream first announced that it would leave the West Bank, the company's Palestinian workers lost their jobs.

Observers note that Birnbaum succeeded in obtaining work permits for SodaStream's Palestinian employees after releasing an emotional video in which he apologized to his Palestinian workers for political dynamics that prevented the company from continuing to employ them.

"It's created from the beginning with subtitles in English," Shir Hever, a political economist focusing on Israel, told *Newsweek* about the video. "They were giving a very direct signal to the government," said Hever. "I think that had a very successful impact to get the Israeli government to offer more permits [to Palestinian workers]." The video has since been taken offline.

According to the 56-year-old CEO, his vision for SodaStream is intricately linked with the fate of Israel itself. He describes his decision to move the factory as an extension of former Israeli

Prime Minister Ben Gurion's dream of developing the desert.

"I think they are one and the same," Birnbaum told *Newsweek* about the fate of SodaStream and Israel. "It's called Tikkun Olam. It's a very fundamental value of Judaism, which means betterment of the world. That's our purpose. I want to make sure that through our work here we make society better, we make Israel better and stronger, and I think that's reflected in how we operate."

With this in mind, Birnbaum hired a social worker at the SodaStream factory to help employees with any problems they might have at home. The factory also aims to employ an equal number of men and women. Of the around 700 Bedouins now working in SodaStream's factory near the city of Rahat, around half are women. The first Palestinian woman began working

in the factory a month ago, he says.

"Palestinians and Israelis, we are trained to hate each other. Everybody told us that we have to be afraid of each other," Birnbaum told *Newsweek*. "That's the state of mind right now in this part of the world. And here we come and we're able to prove that wrong. How cool is that? All of that is some version of Tikkun Olam."

As he walks around the factory explaining how each machine makes cylinders and molds that become the ubiquitous SodaStream machine found in millions of homes worldwide, Birnbaum greets employees by name and shouts "Ramadam Kareem," a blessing for the Muslim month of fasting. Several of the employees tear up when they talk about him. "It's like he's one of us," said a Jewish assembly worker named Mirta from Argentina.

SodaStream pays most of its factory workers around 20 percent above minimum wage and provides them with transportation to work and subsidized meals, company representatives say. The company is also in the process of opening an on-site preschool facility.

Birnbaum says that making his employees happy is more important than shareholder value. "It's about the mission. Shareholder value will come."

This is a surprising attitude to hold when Pepsi Co. recently acquired your company for over \$3 billion. But Birnbaum believes that socially responsible practices are also good business, as SodaStream attempts to attract a broader international client base.

Birnbaum's outlook also raises questions about the role of the private sector in Israel. Can a company represent the aspirations of a nation? How does capitalism overlap with nationalism and Zionism? To what extent does a country reflect its economy and vice versa?

"Palestinians and Israelis, we are trained to hate each other... And here we come, and we're able to prove that wrong. How cool is that?"



WATER FOR PEACE CEO Birnbaum hopes that his brand of employment opportunities will make a positive contribution toward harmony.

“Birnbaum speaks like a liberal Zionist. There is a movement like that in Israel. It’s not unheard of. But he is the only one who speaks like that as a CEO,” Hever told *Newsweek*.

“SodaStream’s way of handling the pressure against them with the BDS movement and the various pressures of a boycott makes them stand out,” said Hever.

Avi Weiss, an economist and the President of the Taub Center, an institute focusing on social policy in Israel, notes that SodaStream’s political messaging is unique, but there are other industries, including the pharmaceutical industry, where Israelis and Arabs work side-by-side without conflict.

“In those industries, you find everybody living together, working together, with no type of discrimination issues,” Weiss told *Newsweek*. “But SodaStream has made a point of giving employment to people who would otherwise have difficulty finding employment. This was true when they were in the West Bank and when they moved to the south with the Bedouin workers.”

The decision to move from the West Bank, giving up some of the perks the Israeli government offers companies, hasn’t made SodaStream immune to criticism. Some critics now argue that SodaStream is helping promote a modern version of the Praver Plan, which encouraged the Bedouin population to give up their traditional agricultural practices and move into urbanized communities to provide cheap labor for Israeli businesses.

Although the Bedouin community is the poorest in Israel, the BDS movement’s Barghouti says that SodaStream is playing a positive role in the Bedouin community in the same way that “white settlers played a positive role in civilizing the American Indians.” According to Barghouti, SodaStream is contributing to the

destruction of the Bedouins’ traditional culture.

Soda Stream’s investment in the Negev is part of a broader trend. Daniel Gordis, an author and Senior Vice President of the Shalem College in Jerusalem, notes that there is a major push to develop Israel’s Negev region.

“Israel is moving its whole army headquarters from Tel Aviv to the Negev, and a whole city is sprouting up with everything that’s attendant there, commercial, residential, schools, medical services,” Gordis told *Newsweek*.

“Ben Gurion had a very famous statement that is quoted often, that the gumption of the state of Israel would be tested in the Negev, because it’s the most uninhabitable and also the largest. So his argument was that if we ever want to make a go at it, we have to prove that we can live in that part of the country,” Gordis continued. “So tapping into this idea is a very Israeli thing to do.”

Some critics, however, argue that Birnbaum’s form of Zionism normalizes occupation and promotes a form of economic neocolonialism.

“There are a lot of Israeli politicians who have a very similar line of reasoning, who say that through economic cooperation we can make peace. The Israeli politician who was most known for it was [former President] Shimon Peres. He called it the ‘New

“SodaStream has made a point of giving employment to people who would otherwise have difficulty finding employment.”

Middle East,” Hever told *Newsweek*. “Peres’ New Middle East was criticized as a form of neocolonialism, and what Birnbaum is saying is not that different,” Hever told *Newsweek*.

Perhaps coincidentally, SodaStream’s head of global public relations, Yael Pedatzur Livne, was previously deputy spokesperson for Peres.

Despite these charges, SodaStream regularly promotes Palestinian and Bedouin workers to management positions, including 24-year-old Sharq El Krenawi, a Bedouin woman who manages teams of men.

And Weiss argues that SodaStream is now providing employment to a Bedouin population that desperately needs it. “This is the population that’s suffering most. Fifty eight percent of the families and about 70 percent of the children are below the poverty line,” Weiss told *Newsweek*.

On a hot day in late May, Birnbaum gave a tour of SodaStream’s factory to a group of journalists from around the world. Following the tour, the company organized a “peace festival” that included an Iftar dinner for around 2,000 people to mark the end of a day’s fast during the Muslim holy month of Ramadan.

The Iftar has special significance for SodaStream. The company came under fire in 2014 after it terminated the employment of around 40 Palestinian workers over a dispute related to a Ramadan meal. The night-shift employees discovered that there was not enough food provided for them after their approximately 16-hour-long fast. The workers, who had been prohibited from bringing their own food into the factory, “went on a rowdy strike” according to SodaStream management at the time. The manager on duty sent the workers home to eat, and the next day those who had left the factory were fired.



NEW MIDDLE EAST?
Clockwise from top: SodaStream's factory in Rahat is a multicultural melting pot in a region known for conflict; SodaStream bottles; Peres' controversial plan promoted peace through economic cooperation.



Five years later, the Iftar hosted by SodaStream was so extravagant that it left many of the Western observers amazed. The surrounding event was an unexpected blend of Eurovision song contest and political rally. SodaStream employees gave speeches during which they shed tears and claimed that the company meant as much to them as their own families.

Children sang songs and praised Birnbaum, who everyone calls Daniel. "My father makes soda, but really he says that he makes peace everyday," a little girl, the daughter of a factory employee, shouted from the stage.

A large screen showed an image of a flying dove, and then a flock of real doves were let loose to fly over the people eating together. "SodaStream makes the wilderness bloom," one speaker said without a trace of irony.

U.S. ambassador to Israel David Friedman attended the event and extolled SodaStream's virtues. "This is the real peace," Friedman assured the guests. "It's a model that works."

Some Western spectators wondered aloud if they were missing something that would put this spectacle into context. Was it a sign of respect to show this much emotion?

Was this purely a public relations stunt? Is SodaStream a cult and were the employees speaking under duress? All of these questions were asked by several of the Western observers.

"Forget drinking the Kool Aid," one European journalist quipped. "From now on, we'll call it drinking the soda water."

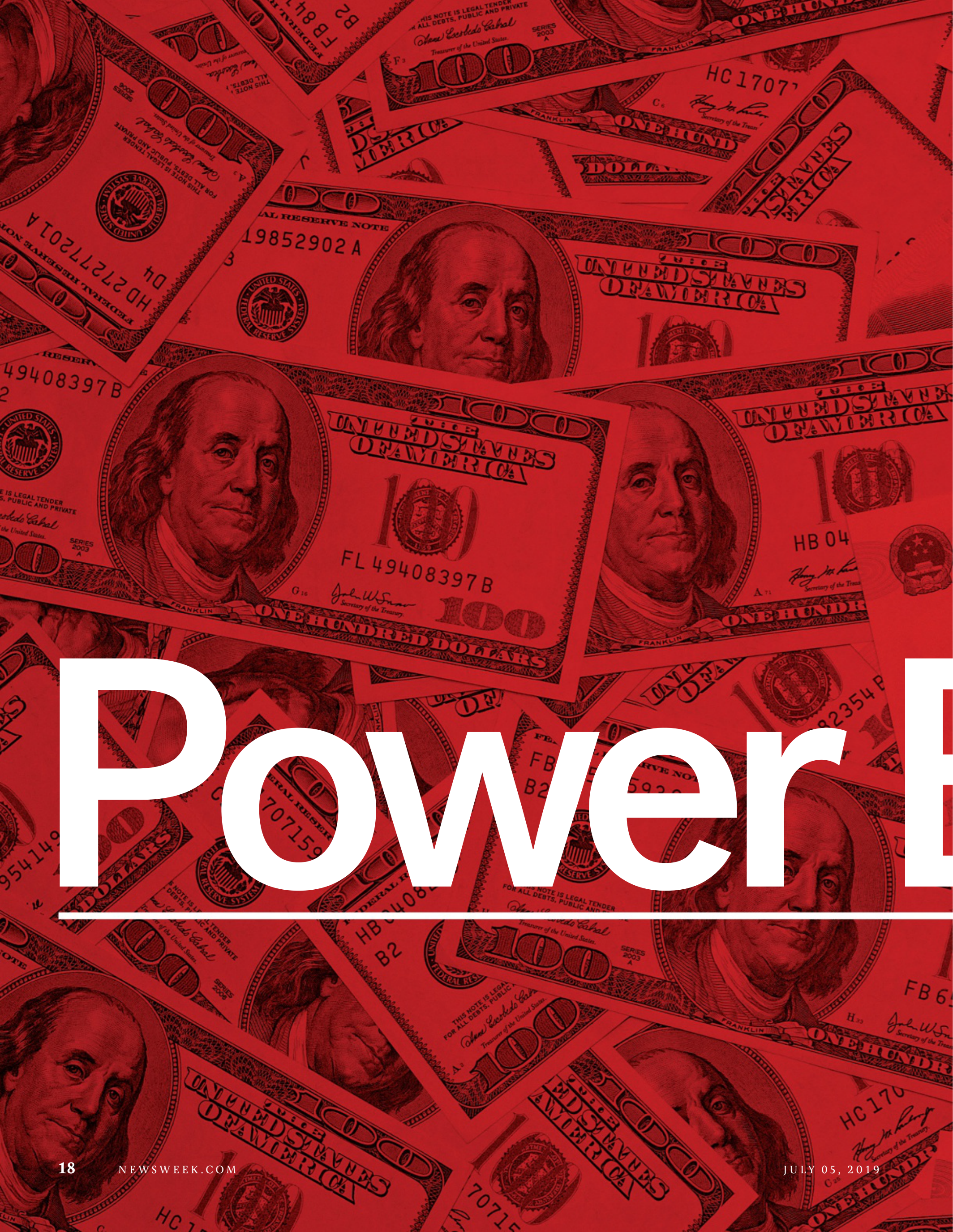
Israelis, however, said this display was entirely genuine. And none of the SodaStream employees seemed to question whether a company making millions of dollars selling fizzy water machines could be a catalyst for social change and a role model for a nation.

When Birnbaum reached the stage and began to shout words of inspiration to the crowd, it was hard to believe that he wasn't running for office. But the SodaStream employees insist that he doesn't have political ambitions. Instead, they describe Birnbaum as a man who is genuinely enthusiastic about fostering peace and multiculturalism through employment, even if he is a bit eccentric.

He's the kind of person who flies his employees to Honduras to clean up plastic waste and then shows up on a boat dressed like Jack Sparrow, they say. "That's just Daniel," one employee shrugged, recalling the anecdote.

When I left the dinner, Birnbaum, the Jewish CEO of a multinational company, had been hoisted onto the shoulders of some of his Palestinian employees and was dancing enthusiastically. His wide frame was captured on the big screen like a sports fan caught on camera during a game.

"What did you think of the event?" one employee asked me as we mounted the bus to leave the factory. "It's not a company, it's a political ideology," I responded, still watching the dancing Birnbaum on the screen out of the corner of my eye. The woman smiled. "Yes, it is," she replied. ■



Power



Brokers

by BILL POWELL

BIG BUSINESS made China great
by bending to Beijing's will.
Here's how it all happened.

In

THE SUMMER OF 2010, JEFF Immelt, then the CEO of General Electric, sat on one of the private planes at his disposal, headed to a conference of Italian business executives in Rome. He had just come from meetings in Shanghai and Beijing, and was in a sour mood. GE had spent years—and invested millions—in China, believing, like so many other Fortune 500 companies did, that it was the future: the largest and thus most important market in the world. The year before GE's sales there had been \$5.3 billion.

Now Immelt was losing faith. Growth in the company's key businesses, including power and medical imaging, had begun to slow from the levels GE expected. Government regulators, meanwhile, seemed increasingly hostile, holding up permits and increasing inspections of company facilities for what seemed like no reason. In Rome, Immelt let his fellow CEOs know what he was thinking. "I really worry about China," he told the group, according to several executives present. "I am not sure that in the end they want any of us [foreign companies] to win, or any of us to be successful."

In the years to follow, similar grouching would become commonplace among senior Fortune 500 executives. Life wasn't getting any easier in China, it was getting tougher. But few companies—GE included—were willing to do much about it, by bringing their complaints to the U.S. government and petitioning for a formal trade complaint. The risk of angering their hosts in Beijing was too great. Indeed, when news of Immelt's remarks in Rome later made headlines in the financial press, GE beat a hasty retreat, issuing a statement saying that the CEO's words had been "taken out of context."

Nearly 10 years later, the U.S. China relationship—for decades routinely called the most important bilateral relationship on the planet—has all but collapsed. When this magazine went to press, Presidents Donald Trump and Xi Jinping were scheduled to meet on the sidelines of the G20 meeting in Osaka, in the midst of a deepening trade conflict between the world's two largest economies. The deteriorating economic relationship is but one aspect of what has devolved into Cold War 2.0, as the two countries now openly vie for influence in East Asia and beyond.

In the U.S., in the community of China watchers and policy makers, the stunning turn in relations



THE PARTY OVER?
Clockwise from top: Chinese President Xi Jinping and his wife Peng Liyuan with President Donald Trump and his wife, Melania; former GE Chief Jeff Immelt at ribbon-cutting ceremony for a technology center in Shanghai; GE makes a splash at an import expo.

with Beijing has triggered an increasingly acrimonious debate about a basic question, one with deep historical resonance: Who lost China?

The role of big business in the current dismal state of affairs can't be ignored.

For more than a decade, I watched it unfold from a front row seat, as China bureau chief for Fortune Magazine and then for Newsweek. As the world's most populous nation, China has always been a dream market for foreign businessmen. Shirtmakers in England at the turn of the century dreamed of selling "two billion sleeves" in China. Today, Mark Zuckerberg takes Mandarin lessons in the hope that one day he can lure 1.3 billion Chinese to Facebook.

China Has Always Been Irresistible.

WHEN, UNDER DENG XIAOPING, THE ARCHITECT OF Beijing's rise to economic power, China began opening itself to foreign investment, the money flowed in: first in search of cheap labor in low tech industries like footwear and textiles, then in pursuit of those 1.3 billion customers, as China got steadily richer as economic reforms took hold.

For American CEOs, the potential Chinese bonanza meant that U.S. policy toward Beijing had to revolve around nurturing—and expanding—the

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: XINHUA/XIE HUANCHI/GETTY; LIU JIN/AFP/GETTY; VCG/GETTY; PREVIOUS SPREAD: BEDO/GETTY

economic relationship. So potent was the vision of China transforming itself from an insular, hostile and dirt poor nation into the country of “one billion customers,” as James McGregor, former head of the American Chamber of Commerce in Beijing put it, that even the shock off the 1989 massacre in Tiananmen Square—the thirtieth anniversary of which just passed—faded in relatively short order. Just two years after Tiananmen, American direct investment in China shot up from just \$217 million in 1991 to nearly \$2 billion the next year.

Beijing has triggered an increasingly acrimonious debate about a basic question—one with deep historical resonance: **WHO LOST CHINA?**

More than 600 companies pushed for China’s PNTR status. They got what they wanted. After a contentious debate with human rights advocates, the U.S. approved PNTR in 2000.

Unacknowledged at the time by its corporate advocates was the huge impact on corporate supply chains that the seemingly obscure legislative change would eventually cause. As the economists Justin Pierce and Peter Schott argued in an influential 2016 study entitled “The China Shock”—which looked at how swiftly U.S. manufacturing employment declined as China’s rise accelerated—“without PNTR there was always a danger that China’s favorable access to the U.S. market would be revoked, which in turn deterred U.S. firms from increasing their reliance on China based suppliers. With PNTR in hand, the floodgates of investment were opened, and U.S. multinationals worked hand in glove with Beijing to create new, China-centric supply chains.”

The Fortune 500 crowd was only getting started.

For U.S. policymakers and businessmen alike, it was hard to overstate how promising the world looked back then. The Soviet Union had fallen and Deng was bringing China into the world. Immelt’s predecessor, former GE CEO Jack Welch, told me on a visit to Shanghai a few years ago that in those days “we all had our fingers crossed that the sky would be the limit [for China economically]. And we basically turned out to be right.”

The big business community made it clear—first to the Clinton administration and then to his successor, George W. Bush—that trade with China was its highest priority. Washington readily agreed. “The Fortune 500 and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce didn’t just influence policy,” says Alan Tonelson, a veteran trade analyst in Washington, “they made policy.”

The first goal for corporate America was to get trade relations normalized “permanently” (known as PNTR, for “permanently normalized trade relations”). Prior to 2000, because of the post Tiananmen hangover, Washington every year would have to decide whether to grant China the same access to the U.S. market that it did other trading partners. With the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the U.S. China Business Council as point men in Washington, corporate America lobbied hard for the move.



The Fortune 500 Invasion

U.S. companies have poured billions into China. Chinese companies investment in the U.S.? Not so much.

U.S. DIRECT INVESTMENT IN CHINA

1990	\$541.08 M
1991	\$217.08 M
1992	\$1.96 B
1993	\$2.49 B
1994	\$3.38 B
1995	\$7.3 B
1996	\$8.12 B
1997	\$5.48 B
1998	\$5.52 B
1999	\$4.56 B
2000	\$4.69 B
2001	\$4.25 B
2002	\$4.07 B
2003	\$5.59 B
2004	\$8.39 B
2005	\$16.55 B
2006	\$15.18 B
2007	\$14.75 B
2008	\$20.02 B
2009	\$9.91 B
2010	\$12.66 B
2011	\$13.45 B
2012	\$15.36 B
2013	\$14.61 B
2014	\$14.62 B
2015	\$13.83 B
2016	\$14.00 B
2017	\$14.14 B
2018	\$12.87 B

TOTAL U.S. CORPORATE INVESTMENT IN CHINA (1990 TO 2018)

\$269.43B

Source: The Rhodium Group



met James Vance, the American CEO of a supplier to Nashville's Hospital Corp. of America, a guy whose company made walking boots, air-casts, slings and other low end medical equipment. He said not long after China joined WTO his firm moved production mostly from the southeastern part of the U.S. to the province of Guangdong in southeastern China. The reason: "We could make the stuff so much cheaper and export it to the world than we could in the U.S. It was that simple." And because it was that simple, nearly everyone got into the act. By 2015, the share of China's exports to the U.S. that came from foreign-owned companies was no less than 60 percent.

A neighbor of mine in Beijing in the early 2000s headed Ford Motor Corp.'s massive new plant in the city of Chongqing, 900 miles to the southwest. (He

Even before China's historic RE-OPENING to the world, its market had always been a dream for foreign businessmen

would go out during the week and return to his family on weekends.) In an era when it was politically incorrect for an American corporate executive to say so, he told me one evening he thought eventually Ford would move more production to China, not just for the domestic market (which is now, by the number of vehicles sold, the largest car market in the world) but to send abroad as well. "This place will become just like Japan, an export powerhouse," he said. (Ironically, the fear of exactly that happening in such a high profile, politically sensitive industry, particularly in the developed world, has actually slowed China's emergence as an auto exporter.)

Over the last 30 years, prominent American companies have become part of the fabric of Chinese life. Starbucks is as ubiquitous in

GOOD OLD DAYS
Clockwise from top left: A busy Chinese electronics factory in Guangdong province; the Great Wall is better with a Coke; former GE CEO, Jack Welch, a fan of the largest and most important market in the world.

China's next goal was to join the World Trade Organization, the international body that sets the rules of global trade and is supposed to enforce them. WTO accession would be China's economic coming out party—the ultimate signal that Beijing had transformed itself into a global trading power. The U.S. business community was all for it, arguing that it meant "at long last that China agrees to play by the rules of the road," while ensuring that U.S. exporters "would benefit from a broad reduction in Chinese tariffs on imports," as a paper from the U.S.-China Business Council argued at the time.

In December of 2001, they got their wish. China officially acceded to the WTO. And the U.S. Chamber of Commerce practically turned handstands, issuing a statement saying that it was "unquestionably a win for U.S. exporters and U.S. consumers."

WTO accession served as rocket fuel to U.S. corporate investment in China. It skyrocketed in the first decade of the new century (see chart) In 2012 I

Beijing or Shanghai as it is in New York. General Motors sells more cars in China than anywhere else in the world. KFC and Papa John's are in all major cities. And Apple has opened 42 of its iconic retail stores.

But the company's reach in China goes far beyond that. An entire network of companies, led by Taiwan's Foxconn, assembles or supplies Apple products in China. Today, nearly five million Chinese are employed by companies in that network.

The decision to set up such China-centric supply chains would become the stuff of the "China Shock"—the outsourcing of manufacturing jobs that would, to the dismay of most of the U.S. corporate establishment, play a significant role in the election of Donald J. Trump more than a decade and a half later.

The belief among executives back in the early



CHINA'S DIRECT INVESTMENT IN THE U.S.

1990	\$50 M
1991	\$00.00
1992	\$00.00
1993	\$00.00
1994	\$50 M
1995	\$50 M
1996	\$50 M
1997	\$50 M
1998	\$50 M
1999	\$00.00
2000	\$68.26 M
2001	\$50 M
2002	\$102.82 M
2003	\$67.94 M
2004	\$191.54 M
2005	\$1.99 B
2006	\$196.7 M
2007	\$356.32 M
2008	\$766.45 M
2009	\$698.16 M
2010	\$4.57 B
2011	\$4.85 B
2012	\$7.41 B
2013	\$14.22 B
2014	\$12.68 B
2015	\$15.32 B
2016	\$46.49 B
2017	\$29.72 B
2018	\$5.39 B

TOTAL CHINESE INVESTMENT IN THE U.S. (1990 TO 2018)

\$145.14B

Source: The Rhodium Group

2000s was that China's economic reform would continue indefinitely, in part because Beijing had been embraced by the outside world. China would eventually become the world's largest economy, but that was OK, because it would be a "normal" country, playing by the rules as laid down in the post World War II U.S. dominated order. As former Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick famously wrote, the goal of western policy toward Beijing was to encourage it to become "a responsible stakeholder" in that established world order. All along, until Donald Trump came to office, the underlying assumption was that Beijing was willing to let the United States define what being a "responsible stakeholder" meant. That was a mistake.

Trouble in Paradise

FOR MOST OF THE FIRST DECADE OF THIS CENTURY, reform did continue. But the Fortune 500's love affair with the nation came back to bite them. Increasingly, China began to generate its own competitors to the foreign firms that had set up shop there. State owned companies in big industries (oil and gas, pharmaceuticals, finance and telecommunications among them) pushed their government to favor domestic players, and make life harder for foreigners. When Hu Jintao became President in 2003, he was receptive to that kind of pressure. Economic reform slowed.

Then something else happened: the 2008 global financial crisis, which tanked the U.S. and the rest of the developed world, but not China. The political leadership in Beijing looked around and said, in effect, "wait a minute: we were supposed to play by these guys' rules and look what happened to them." In the future, economically speaking, China would increasingly play by its own rules.

That has particularly been the case under Xi Jinping, who succeeded Hu in 2012. Xi is a nationalist who believes sooner or later China will be number one, and the sooner the better as far as he's concerned. The American business community began to understand that the ground in China was shifting under their feet soon after Xi took power. Xi's government made it plain, in its so called Made In China 2025 plan, that it sought to dominate key growth industries in the world. And though that meant for now Beijing would still buy high technology components from the U.S., it would do so only in the service of developing Chinese competitors, who, the govern-



CLOCKWISE FROM BOTTOM LEFT: JAMES ANDANSON/SYGMA/GETTY; VCG/GETTY; SELENSERGEN/GETTY; BROOKS KRAFT LLC/CORBIS/GETTY

ment hopes, will eventually supplant American, Japanese and European firms in every key industry. So much for the 1.2 billion consumers.

James McGregor, the former head of AmCham in Beijing and now the China CEO for APCO Worldwide, the consulting firm, says he's been shocked at how slow on the uptake many U.S. companies have been about what the trajectory in China is, and has been. He notes, "In industry after industry there is a smaller and smaller piece of the pie available to a lot of foreign firms. That's just a fact."

The reason they were slow to adapt to that is, well, things had been going so well. "A lot of them had convinced themselves that [Beijing] would ride the reform bicycle forever and the economy would grow and grow and everything would be fine." The fact that that wasn't happening put at risk all the hard work and investment needed to establish a beachhead in China.

Well before Donald Trump was elected, the carping about Beijing's policies from the Fortune 500 crowd intensified. In the annual reports issued by the American Chambers in both Beijing and Shanghai, the number of respondents who felt the regulatory environment in China was worsening steadily increased. A senior executive at Honeywell in 2015 told me flatly that his company was fed up with Beijing's demands for technology transfer. Friends at CISCO and MICROSOFT said the same. Privately, the complaints about companies like Huawei stealing intellectual property also ratcheted up.

Moaning and groaning was one thing. Actually doing something about it, from a corporate or governmental policy perspective, was another. It rarely happened. And for that, big business is partly to blame. Michael Froman, who was the United States Trade Representative under Barack Obama, acknowledges that businesses's unwillingness to put its name publicly on trade complaints—in bringing a high profile case to the WTO, for example—"was a definitely a real problem. Not many of these companies," he says, "wanted to stick their heads above the parapet for fear of taking incoming fire." In eight years of the Obama administration, 16 cases against China were brought to the WTO.

That number could well have been higher, trade hawks like Alan Tonelson believe, were it not for corporate America's relative passivity in the face of the economic challenges Beijing posed. The government

had been persuaded that, as in the 1950s in America (when the first "Who Lost China" debate raged) what was good for General Motors was good for the country.

Then came the election of Donald Trump, who came to office threatening holy hell if Beijing didn't reduce its trade surplus with the U.S., stop its intellectual property theft and forced technology transfer. Worn down by Beijing and shocked by Trump's election, some members of the Fortune 500 snapped out of their stupor. The status quo when it came to dealing with Beijing wasn't going to cut it.

In December of 2016, during the transition, a small group of senior executives from the U.S. semiconductor industry made the pilgrimage to Trump Tower to meet with incoming administration officials, including the man who would be the new U.S. Trade Representative, Robert Lighthizer.

The delegation, two sources present say, included a representative from Intel, who acknowledged his company was beyond fed up with IP theft, among other concerns. In an interview, Lighthizer is circumspect when asked if U.S. companies waited too long in allowing the government to get tougher with China. "That may be true of some, but not for

TRADE AHOY

Clockwise from top right: A container ship with goods from China sits in an Oakland port; National Economic Council Director Larry Kudlow, US Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin, and US Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer talk trade and tariffs with Chinese officials in February; and an Apple store in Hong Kong.



others,” he says, noting that in his years as a trade lawyer at Skadden Arps he brought several cases against China as an attorney for U.S. steel companies. But, he allows, “yes, I’d agree it was past time for a more robust response [to Beijing.]”

The problem now is that Trump’s response has been to use the battering ram of tariffs, which some in the administration hope will force U.S. multinationals to rip up their China-centric supply lines. Anecdotally there are reports that some companies have begun to do that, but corporate resistance to it is, not surprisingly, intense. “Having spent so much time and money building out their supply chains, there aren’t too many CEOs who want to spend more time and money rebuilding them somewhere else,” says former Trade Representative Froman, now a senior executive at Mastercard. And with a Presidential election now less than 18 months away, the possibility that a Trump successor may not be a “tariff man” (or woman) also means companies are unlikely to tear up their supply lines, at least for now.

Beyond that, there is little consensus as to what U.S. policy should be toward China, whoever is inaugurated in 2021. “These guys just long for the



American companies have become part of the fabric of Chinese life. Starbucks is as **OMNIPRESENT** in Beijing as it is in New York. Apple opened 42 of its iconic stores.

good old days,” says trade analyst Tonelson. And he may be right. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, which insists today it did the right thing in helping lead the charge for China gaining permanent trade status and joining the WTO, is a staunch opponent of Trump’s tariffs. And a recent survey of American companies by AmCham Beijing showed that more than forty percent of respondents said they simply wanted a return to the “pre tariff status quo.”

That fact, make no mistake, will put smiles on the faces of Xi Jinping’s trade negotiators whenever they next meet their American counterparts. China knows that the recent history has been that the U.S. govern-

ment will dance to U.S. business’s tune. Trump and his team of advisers may not be inclined to do that. But their problem is, there are no easy solutions to resolving the trade issues that beset U.S.-China relations. Lighthizer has been telling Trump to hang tough and, if necessary, increase the tariffs on Beijing, arguing that that will force China to a deal sooner or later.

But corporate America hates that idea, and, problematically for Trump and his re-election prospects, so does the U.S. stock market. Increasing costs to U.S. businesses and consumers from goods made in China isn’t a winning formula on Wall Street, nor in 2020.

The truth now dawning on both the U.S. China policy crowd and the Fortune 500, is that there may not be any answer for the dilemmas Beijing now presents to the U.S. No less than Henry Kissinger, the man who, under Richard Nixon, secretly paved the way for the U.S. and China to re-establish relations, recently said he thought designing a “grand strategy” to deal with China today is “too hard.”

If that turns out to be true—and it may—American big business will have to stand up and partly take the blame. **■**

LIBELT

IN THIS CORNER

From left, Rep. Elijah Cummings (D-Md.), chairman of the House Committee on Oversight and Reform; Rep. Adam Schiff (D-Ca.), chairman of the House Committee on Intelligence; Rep. Jerrold Nadler (D-NY), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee; Rep. Richard Neal (D-Ma.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee; and Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Ca.), chairwoman of the House Financial Services Committee.



WAY MACKDOWN

BEHIND THE **BITTER** LEGAL CLASH
BETWEEN CONGRESS AND THE WHITE HOUSE
—AND WHO MIGHT WIN ▶▶

▶ BY Roger Parloff ▶ COLLAGE BY Gluekit





HIS IS ABNORMAL,” SAYS RICHARD Ben-Veniste. “The Founders set up a system of checks of balances, and one of those is that the legislature acts as a check on the executive.”

A former lead prosecutor with the Watergate Special Prosecution Force who is now a partner at Mayer Brown, Ben-Veniste is referring to the across-the-board resistance President Donald Trump and his administration have mounted against a broad array of House committee inquiries.

When Democrats took control of the House last January, visions of subpoena power danced in their heads. They would finally impose oversight over a President they saw as lawless, corrupt, possibly disloyal, and certainly running amok.

Since then, at least five committee chairs, led by House Judiciary Committee chairman Jerrold Nadler and House Oversight and Reform Committee chairman Elijah E. Cummings, have demanded documents or testimony from more than 100 Trump allies or businesses, including the Trump Organization, the Trump Foundation, and members of the president’s family, including his daughter Ivanka and sons Eric and Don, Jr.

Yet six months later, the question looms: Will they have anything to show for their efforts before the next election—just 17 months off.

“We’re fighting all of the subpoenas,” Trump bluntly told reporters last April.

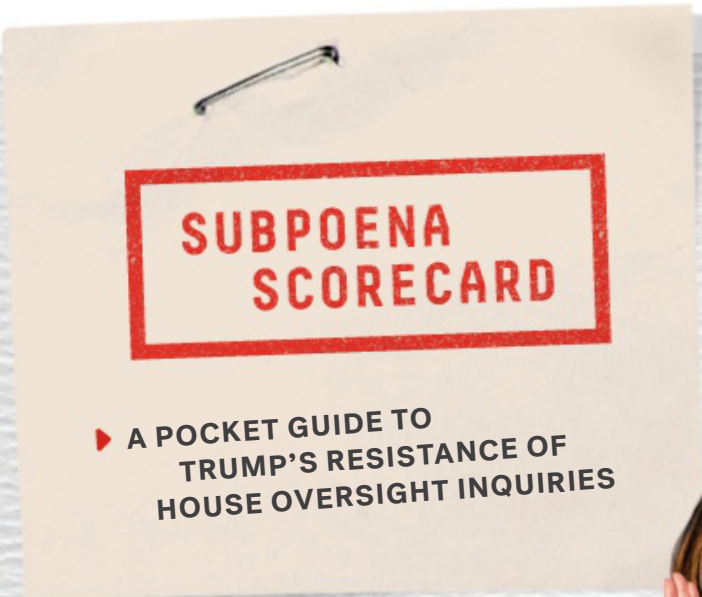
Though not literally true, his statement “forecast an approach that nobody’s taken in the past,” says Jonathan Shaub, an attorney who worked extensively on executive privilege and Congressional oversight issues while with the Justice Department’s Office of Legal Counsel from mid-2014 to mid-2017. “What is unprecedented is the number of both privilege and



immunity claims that have come about.”

“The current situation is extraordinary,” asserts Mark J. Rozell, dean of the Schar School of Policy and Government at George Mason University, and the author of a book on executive privilege. “Our system of separated powers relies on the existence of some constitutional grey areas where each branch tries to protect its own prerogatives while acknowledging the legitimacy of the powers of the other branches. ... It’s not working when the administration refuses any negotiation or cooperation with congressional requests for testimony or information but merely puts up privilege claims and other constraints.”

In April, Trump and his businesses filed two preemptive lawsuits to block third parties—two of



2018

November 7

Democrats win control of the House. Rep. Elijah E. Cummings, about to become chairman of the House Oversight and Reform Committee (HORC), declares “Right now, we have a President who is accountable to no one.”

2019

February 27

President Trump’s former personal lawyer Michael Cohen testifies before HORC: “Mr. Trump inflated his total assets when it served his purposes ... and deflated his assets to reduce his real estate taxes.”



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: JOE RAEDLE/GETTY; TETRA IMAGES/GETTY; ALEXSL/GETTY; STEPHANIE KEITH/GETTY; CHERISS MAY/NURPHOTO/GETTY; DORIA GRAY/GETTY; PREVIOUS SPREAD: GETTY [5]



Trump’s banks and his outside accounting firm—from turning over financial documents subpoenaed by chairpersons Maxine Waters (of the House Finance Committee) and Adam Schiff (of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence).

In May, White House counsel Pat Cipollone warned chairman Nadler that the White House would simply not allow House committees to attempt any “do-over” of Special Counsel Robert Mueller III’s investigation into collusion with Russia and obstruction of justice.

By then, the administration had begun invoking executive privilege, a related doctrine called “testimonial immunity,” and an array of other arguments in an effort to thwart, or at least slow, Democratic oversight inquiries. It has raised such obstacles against demands for testimony and records from former White House counsel Donald McGahn; McGahn’s chief of staff, Annie Donaldson; Commerce Secretary Wilbur L. Ross; former White House communications director Hope Hicks; Justice Department official John Gore; and former White House personnel office chief Carl Kline. (McGahn, Donaldson, and Hicks are sought to provide evidence about obstruction of justice; Ross and Gore, as to whether the administration’s addition of a citizenship question to the 2020 census form was intended to disadvantage nonwhite voters; and Kline, to explore why security clearances were granted to Trump son-in-law Jared Kushner and two dozen others, allegedly over the objection of career security officials. (Two committees have already recommended that Attorney General William Barr be held in contempt,

while one has recommended that Secretary Ross be.)

Finally, in May, Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin refused to turn over Trump’s tax returns to chairman Richard Neal (of the House Ways and Means Committee), in the face of a statute whose text appears to require him to do so, arguing that Neal’s demand lacked a “legitimate legislative purpose.”

The two of these disputes already in litigation—one in Washington, DC, and another in Manhattan—involve subpoenas to Trump’s banks and accounting firm. The cases are quickly climbing through the courts. This article focuses on them, because the law that will govern their outcome explains the overall legal landscape of Congressional oversight, and the role it has played in the nation’s history—at least until now. It provides the big-picture backdrop against which all the other disputes are playing out.

The prevailing wisdom is that Trump will lose these two particular cases. The federal district judges hearing them (both Obama appointees) each quickly ruled against Trump in May, less than a month after each suit was filed. One appeal will be heard on July 12 in Washington, DC, while the other will likely reach a different appellate panel, in Manhattan, a few weeks later.

“These should be easy cases for the courts of appeals,” contends Brianna Gorod, chief counsel for the left-of-center Constitutional Accountability Center, in an interview. “The president’s lawyers have offered an understanding of Congress’s oversight authority that is at odds with Supreme Court precedent and is so limited that it would significantly undermine this critical component of our nation’s system of checks and balances.”

But while the committees may well prevail in

EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE

President Trump’s lawyers argue that the Congressional subpoenas, among other things, have no “legitimate legislative purpose.”



March 4

House Judiciary Committee (HJC) chairman Jerrold Nadler sends letters demanding documents from 81 Trump-related people or entities.

April 2

HORC’s Cummings subpoenas Justice Department official John Gore to testify about why the administration is seeking to add a citizenship question to the census.

April 2

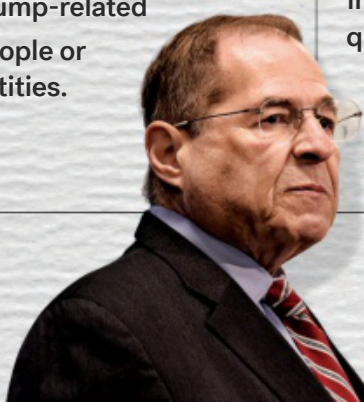
HORC’s Cummings subpoenas former White House official Carl Kline (now in the Department of Defense) regarding security clearances granted to Jared Kushner and others over the objections of career staff.

April 3

House Ways & Means Committee (HWMC) chairman Richard Neal writes the Internal Revenue Service commissioner demanding Trump’s personal and business tax returns from 2013 to 2018.

April 15

Cummings subpoenas accounting firm Mazars USA seeking documents prepared for Trump and his businesses from 2011-2018.



these first two cases, any that might follow—like, say, a court challenge to the administration’s attempts to keep Secretary Ross or former communications director Hicks from testifying— may be more challenging. They might raise novel and weighty questions about executive privilege and related doctrines.

“They’ll be closer calls,” says Shaub, who is now the assistant solicitor general of Tennessee. “The Supreme Court has never addressed an executive privilege dispute between Congress and the Executive Branch,” he adds.

The landmark *Nixon v. United States* case, in which the High Court ruled that President Nixon’s Oval Office tape recordings were not shielded by an “absolute” executive privilege, resolved a dispute between two executive branch officials—Nixon and Watergate Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski. (An “absolute” privilege is one that cannot be pierced under any circumstances. The Court found that executive privilege was, instead, only “qualified,” meaning that the lower court judge would be permitted to listen to the tapes and balance the prosecutor’s need for specific portions of them against the president’s need for confidentiality. Nixon resigned shortly after the ruling.)

Just as important, the executive privilege cases—especially those involving many pages of documents or testimony about multiple topics—may take so long to litigate that the administration will be able to run out the clock before the 2020 elections. When President Obama’s attorney general, Eric Holder, invoked the privilege in 2012 to resist a Republican inquiry into the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives’ “Fast and Furious” gunwalking scandal, it took four years to reach judicial resolution—just at the district court level. (Holder lost.)

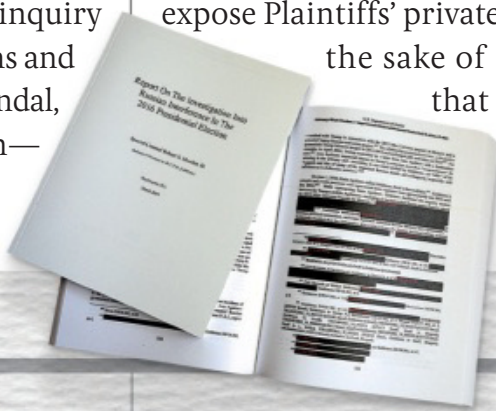
▶ “COURTS HAVE BEEN VERY HESITANT TO **INQUIRE** INTO WHAT CONGRESS’ MOTIVES ACTUALLY ARE.”

The subpoena cases now in the court system concern financial records of Trump and his family businesses. The records sought stretch back as far as 2010, well before Trump even began campaigning for the Presidency. So executive privilege—which provides some protection to sensitive deliberations a President has with close advisers about official duties—has no relevance here.

Instead, Trump’s lawyers argue that the inquiry is abusive, harassing, and an invasion of privacy serving no legitimate legislative purpose.

“These subpoenas are the epitome of an inquiry into private or personal matters,” argued Patrick Strawbridge, an attorney for Trump, last May in the Manhattan case.

The committee’s goal, Trump’s legal team allege in their complaint in the Washington case, “is to expose Plaintiffs’ private financial information for the sake of exposure, with the hope that it will turn up something that Democrats can use as a political tool against



April 15

The House Financial Services Committee (HFSC) chairwoman Maxine Waters and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (HPSCI) chairman Adam Schiff each issue nearly identical subpoenas to Deutsche Bank and Capital One Financial Corp. seeking financial documents concerning Trump, his children, and related business entities, dating back to 2010.

April 18

Attorney General William Barr releases redacted version of the report of Special Counsel Robert Mueller III on Russian election interference and obstruction of justice. HJC’s Nadler subpoenas the unredacted Mueller report and underlying evidence.

April 22

HJC chairman Nadler subpoenas White House counsel Donald F. McGahn II seeking documents and testimony.

APRIL 22

Trump and his businesses sue his accounting firm Mazars USA in federal court in Washington, D.C., to block it from complying with Cummings’ subpoena.



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: GERARDO MORA/GETTY; JIM WATSON/AFP/GETTY; NICHOLAS KAMM/AFP/GETTY; CATENARY MEDIA/GETTY; WIN MCNAMEE/GETTY; CAROLINE BREHMAN/CQ ROLL CALL/GETTY; MANDEL NGAN/AFP/GETTY



TAKING SIDES
Anti-Trump protesters in Orlando in June; U.S. Attorney General William Barr testifies last March before the Senate Judiciary Committee on the Russian interference into the 2016 election.

the president now and in the 2020 election.”

The first case, which Trump filed in Washington in April, aims to block a subpoena issued by House Oversight chairman Cummings to Mazars USA, an accounting firm that did work for Trump. The subpoena sprang in part from the testimony of Trump’s former personal lawyer Michael Cohen last February before Cummings’ committee.

“Mr. Trump inflated his total assets when it served his purposes . . . and deflated his assets to reduce his real estate taxes,” Cohen testified at the time. At least two of the three financial statements Cohen displayed as illustrations had been prepared by Mazars.

Cummings argues that the Mazars documents are relevant to potential legislation relating to presidential financial disclosure obligations and strengthening government ethics and conflicts of interest rules. (Some such bills have been introduced, though their chances of passage are next to nil.) Still other documents—relating to the Trump International Hotel at the site of the Old Post Office in Washington—relate to Congress’s constitutional obligation to oversee foreign and domestic “emoluments” (gifts and titles) to federal officials.

Trump’s second suit, in Manhattan, seeks to block subpoenas issued by chairpersons Waters and Schiff, to Deutsche Bank and Capital One Financial Corp. Deutsche Bank has been described by the New York Times as Trump’s “lender of last resort”—the bank that lent to him when no one else would—and one that advanced his businesses more than \$2 billion despite concerns about his solvency voiced by senior bank officials.

Waters and Schiff maintain that these subpoenas are relevant to potential legislation or appropria-



May 2
Attorney General Barr fails to appear before HJC, objecting to format in which he’d have to answer questions posed by staff counsel.

May 8
At the Justice Department’s request, President Trump invokes “protective” executive privilege to shield the unredacted Mueller report and underlying evidence.

April 23
Treasury fails to provide Trump’s tax returns to HWMC chairman Neal. White House instructs Carl Kline and John Gore not to comply with subpoenas.

April 24
Trump tells reporters: “We’re fighting all of the subpoenas.”

April 29
Trump, his family, and his businesses sue Deutsche Bank and Capital One in federal court in Manhattan to block compliance with subpoenas from HFSC chairwoman Waters and HPSCI chairman Schiff.



tions bills relating to “the safety of banking practices, money laundering in the financial sector, foreign influence in the political process, and the threat of foreign financial leverage, including over the president, his family, and his business.”

Trump’s lawyers reply that these legislative justifications are mere pretextual fig leaves.

“This is not a ‘case study’ of a well-known individual who frequently uses banks,” his lawyers wrote in a brief in May. “It is an attempt to collect private information about a political rival in the hopes of politically damaging him by 2020.”

And, as a factual matter, the Trump lawyers’ hunches about the representative’s motives might be right. But that doesn’t mean their legal claims have merit. That’s because nearly a hundred years of precedent appears to establish that, when it comes to Congressional oversight, courts give Congressional committees enormous deference and presume a legitimate legislative purpose.

“Courts have been very hesitant to inquire into what Congress’ motives actually are,” says Shaub, the former Office of Legal Counsel attorney.

The key Supreme Court precedent goes back to the Teapot Dome scandal of the Warren Harding administration in the 1920s. A Senate committee suspected Harding’s attorney general, Harry Daugherty, of wrongdoing. It subpoenaed the testimony of his brother, who was a bank president in Ohio. When the brother defied the subpoena, an Ohio federal district judge initially ruled for the him, overturning the Senate’s contempt citation. The district judge cited the political venom—the “extreme personal cast” and “spirit of hostility”—that the Senators had displayed toward the



attorney general, and characterized the Senators’ avowed legislative purpose as a pretextual “afterthought.” Because the Senate was really trying to show that Daugherty had committed a crime, the district judge added, it was, in effect, “exercising the judicial function,” which “it has no power to do.”

But the Supreme Court overturned the district judge, 8-0. It restored the contempt citation and found that, “so long as the subject was one on which legislation could be had,” the “presumption should be indulged that this was the real object.” In effect, so long as Congress could articulate a facially plausible reason to investigate, courts would not look behind that and try to read the minds of individual representatives.

Writing for the Court in that case, known as *McGrain v. Daugherty*, Justice Willis Van Devanter also declared that Congress’s “power of inquiry” was “an essential and appropriate auxiliary to the legislative function.” It had been “so regarded and employed in American legislatures [and the British Parliament]



May 20
US District Judge Amit P. Mehta, of Washington, DC, rules against Trump regarding Cummings’ subpoena to Mazars. Trump appeals.

May 8

Chairman Nadler’s HJC votes to recommend that AG Barr be held in contempt of Congress for failing to comply with subpoena for unredacted copy of Mueller report and investigative materials.

May 8

HSCI chairman Schiff also subpoenas the unredacted Mueller report.

May 15

White House counsel Pat Cipollone writes HJC chairman Nadler asserting that HJC cannot stage a “do-over” of the Mueller investigation.

May 20

Justice Department’s Office of Legal Counsel issues a formal opinion asserting that Congress does not have the power to compel testimony of any “senior White House adviser” about their official duties, even if they have left office.



CLOCKWISE FROM BOTTOM LEFT: MICHAEL BROCHSTEIN/SOPA IMAGES/LIGHTROCKET/GETTY; TIMOTHY A. CLARY/AP/GETTY; BETTMANN ARCHIVE/GETTY; ERIK MCCREGOR/PACIFIC PRESS/LIGHTROCKET/GETTY; AURORA SAMPERIO/NURPHOTO/GETTY; KIYOSHI TANNO/GETTY; MARK WILSON/GETTY

WHAT IS AVAXHOME?

AVAXHOME-

the biggest Internet portal,
providing you various content:
brand new books, trending movies,
fresh magazines, hot games,
recent software, latest music releases.

Unlimited satisfaction one low price

Cheap constant access to piping hot media

Protect your downloadings from Big brother

Safer, than torrent-trackers

18 years of seamless operation and our users' satisfaction

All languages

Brand new content

One site



AVXLIVE **ICU**

AvaxHome - Your End Place

We have everything for all of your needs. Just open <https://avxlive.icu>

PARALLELS?

President Trump and children, from left Eric, Ivanka and Donald Jr.; Below, President Richard Nixon announcing he will turn over 1200 pages of Watergate scandal-related transcripts to the House Judiciary Committee.

before the Constitution was framed and ratified,” he continued. As early as 1792, he noted, when the House subpoenaed documents relating to the US Army’s defeat in a battle against American Indians, the step was supported by then representative James Madison and four other framers of the Constitution.

On the other hand, Trump’s lawyers rely on a 1957 Supreme Court case that arose during the McCarthy era—a witch hunt. That case, known as *Watkins v. United States*, involved a labor organizer who had been subpoenaed before a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee. He had been held in criminal contempt when he refused to name names of associates he believed to be communists. In a 6-1 decision, authored by Chief Justice Earl Warren, the Court lifted the contempt citation and exonerated the labor organizer, explaining: “There is no congressional power to expose for the sake of exposure where the predominant result can be only an invasion of the private rights of individuals.”

Though most of the ruling was ostensibly based on technical, procedural flaws in the committee’s subpoenas, in truth Warren’s decision is hard to square with Van Devanter’s reasoning in *McGrain*. The outcome obviously reflected the justices’ concerns about the First Amendment speech and association rights of political leftists, and the abusive nature of the inquiry.

Importantly, though, just two years later, the Supreme Court addressed a nearly indistinguishable McCarthy-era case—and came out the other way. In that one, *Barenblatt v. United States*, a teaching assistant had been held in contempt for refusing to answer questions about whether he was or ever had been a member of the communist party. This time the Court sustained his contempt conviction, appearing to return to its earlier approach.

“The investigation here involved was related to a valid legislative purpose,” wrote Justice John Harlan II, “since Congress has wide power to legislate in the field of communist activity in this country.” (Chief Justice Warren dissented this time, along with three other champions of First Amendment rights: Justices Hugo Black, William O. Douglas, and William Brennan, Jr.)

As a practical matter, this later case appears to have restored the presumptions of *McGrain*, while leaving some room for court oversight in cases of extreme legislative abuse.

But readers have probably noticed that there’s been something conspicuously missing from all of the discussion so far about whether the House committees investigating Trump have a “legitimate purpose.” There’s been no mention of the i-word: impeachment. Isn’t that the obvious, number-one, real-world reason the House is seeking all this information? To help it decide whether to exercise its

▶ THOSE HOPING TO SEE TRUMP GET A JUDICIAL SPANKING FROM A UNANIMOUS SUPREME COURT MAY BE DISAPPOINTED

**May 21**

Following White House instructions, McGahn does not appear before HJC.

May 21

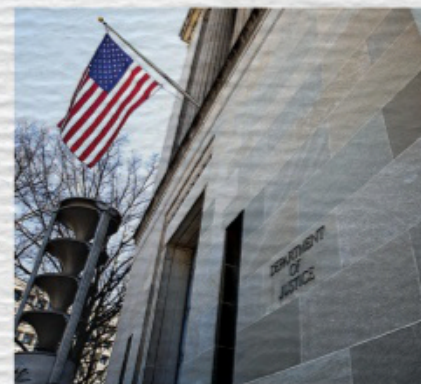
HJC chairman Nadler subpoenas former White House communications director Hope Hicks and McGahn’s former chief of staff Annie Donaldson seeking documents and testimony.

May 22

US District Judge Edgardo Ramos, of Manhattan, rules against Trump regarding Waters’ and Schiff’s subpoenas to Deutsche Bank and Capital One. Trump appeals.

May 23

Justice Department’s Office of Legal Counsel issues formal opinion (disclosed June 11) asserting that it is “unconstitutional” for Congress to require former Executive Branch officials (like McGahn) to testify without an Executive Branch attorney present to invoke executive privilege.



constitutional impeachment power? And isn't that a legitimate purpose for an inquiry?

Oddly, in the House committees' briefing before the lower court, this was the dog that didn't bark. Apparently their lawyers were uncertain whether Congress could justify a subpoena on those grounds without first convening a formal impeachment proceeding. (The committees' lead lawyer in both cases, House general counsel Douglas Letter, did not respond to an emailed inquiry.)

Despite the omission, US District Judge Amit Mehta of Washington, DC—presiding over the case involving the subpoena to the Mazars accounting firm—brought it up on his own. Though he based his May 20 ruling—rejecting Trump's arguments—mainly on the McGrain line of precedents, he also finally addressed the elephant in the room.

"It is simply not fathomable," he wrote, "that a Constitution that grants Congress the power to remove a President for reasons including criminal behavior would deny Congress the power to investigate him for unlawful conduct—past or present—even without formally opening an impeachment inquiry."

Mehta also observed that, in the cases of both Nixon and President Bill Clinton, Congress began investigating before initiating impeachment proceedings. In Clinton's case, moreover, the inquiry—stemming from the Whitewater land deals—involved alleged wrongdoing many years before he ran for President.

"Congress plainly views itself as having sweeping authority to investigate illegal conduct of a President, before and after taking office," Mehta wrote. "This court is not prepared to roll back the tide of history."

US District Judge Edgardo Ramos, of Manhattan, dismissed Trump's argu-

▶ "IT IS AN ATTEMPT TO COLLECT PRIVATE INFORMATION ABOUT A POLITICAL RIVAL IN THE HOPES OF POLITICALLY DAMAGING HIM BY 2020."

ments two days later, in a ruling read from the bench. "Simply put," he concluded, "the committees' subpoenas all are in furtherance of facially legitimate legislative purposes."

It is likely that the two federal appellate panels will rule in these cases by August. If they come out the same way as one another, the Supreme Court would most likely decline review in the fall, when it returns from its summer recess. In the unlikely event that the appeals courts reach inconsistent rulings, the Court would probably hear the cases. And even without a split, says Supreme Court advocate Thomas Goldstein, of Goldstein & Russell, there is at least an outside chance that the Court might still take the cases, given the importance of the separation-of-powers issues presented. Even in that event, though, we will almost certainly have a ruling before the next election.

Still, those hoping to see Trump get a judicial spanking from a unanimous Supreme Court, the way President Richard



June 4

White House instructs former communications director Hicks and McGahn's former chief of staff Donaldson not to honor subpoenas, citing executive privilege. Hicks says she'll hand over documents relating to the campaign anyway.

June 4

During a closed door meeting with Nadler, House Majority Leader Nancy Pelosi says, "I don't want to see [Trump] impeached, I want to see him in prison." The statement is leaked and widely reported the next morning.

June 10

HJC chairman Nadler and AG Barr reach compromise regarding providing underlying evidence behind the Mueller report, averting House vote to hold Barr in contempt.

June 11

House, in a party-line vote, passes a resolution to streamline its ability to issue subpoenas and to enforce them in civil suits in federal court.

June 12

HORC votes to recommend that AG Barr and Commerce Secretary Wilbur L. Ross be held in contempt over refusal to cooperate with probes into the addition of a citizenship question on census forms.



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: JOSE MORE/JVW PICS/UNIVERSAL IMAGES GROUP/GETTY; BURAZIN/GETTY; MANDEL GANAP/GETTY; CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY; DNY59/GETTY; EVELYN HOCKSTEIN/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY





SHOW US THE MONEY

Protesters demanding, like Congressional Democrats, that President Trump release his tax returns; the Trump International Hotel in Washington D.C.

Nixon did in the Oval Office tapes case, may be disappointed. That dispute arose a different setting, before a different Court, in different era. As noted earlier, that case didn't involve Congressional oversight at all. It stemmed from a criminal prosecution of eight Watergate defendants. Both the prosecution and the defendants wanted access to Nixon's tapes—an urgent and specific need that judges might regard as more pressing than an oversight committee's more diffuse oversight demands. Finally, an impeachment inquiry had already been convened at the time of Nixon v. United States, and Nixon was advancing an extreme position, seeking “absolute” immunity.

On top of all that, add in the fact that we're just living in different times. If the Supreme Court does elect to hear one these cases, it need not rigidly follow precedent—and, in any case, has some conflicting precedents to choose from. With the swearing in last October of Justice Brett Kavanaugh, the Court appears to be the most conservative since 1937. More disorienting still, pro-Trump and anti-Trump partisans see the world through radically different lenses. Lawyers and judges are not immune to these funhouse-mirror distortions. When Attorney General Barr summarily exonerated Trump of obstruction of justice charges in the face of evidence that more than 1,000 former federal prosecutors have since opined would merit indictment, even many old-school Republicans—who had supported Barr's nomination—were left shell-shocked.

These days, partisanship conquers all. It's hard to imagine that this Court's intensely polarized membership would all come together and sign a ruling that would chastise the president and vindicate his harshest critics. **N**



FUTURE

June 12

Former White House communications director Hicks agrees to testify behind closed doors in executive session.

June 13

HPSCI chairman Schiff issues subpoenas to former national security adviser Michael T. Flynn and former Trump campaign aide Rick Gates seeking documents and testimony.

June 19

Former White House communications director Hicks, following the White House's instructions, refuses to testify before Nadler's HJC about her time in the Administration.

July 12

Oral argument in the case regarding the subpoena to Mazars before the US Court of Appeals in Washington, DC.

July 18

Completion of briefing before the US Court of Appeals in Manhattan in the case over the subpoenas issued to Deutsche Bank and Capital One. **Q**



MOONSHOTS

From Thin Air

Engineer Lourens Boot is using a state-of-the-art textile to mimic the water cycle and generate new sources of clean water for agriculture and drinking



➤ *IN HONOR OF THE 50TH anniversary of NASA astronauts landing on the moon, Newsweek is spotlighting pioneers in science and technology, highlighting their very own moonshots and how they hope to change the world.*

Lourens Boot is the cofounder and CEO of Sponsh, a Dutch company that aims to generate water from one of the world's most abundant resources: the air around us. A finalist for the Mohammed bin Rashid Initiative for Global Prosperity's Sustainable Energy challenge, Sponsh wants to solve the world's pressing water-shortage problems.

What is your moonshot?

Our moonshot is to provide affordable water for everyone around the globe.

What's the big problem you set out to solve?

We all know that water is the source of life. Without water, everything stops. But we also know that it's getting scarcer and scarcer every year. We want to tackle that by providing water from an untapped reservoir: the air around us.

How does that work?

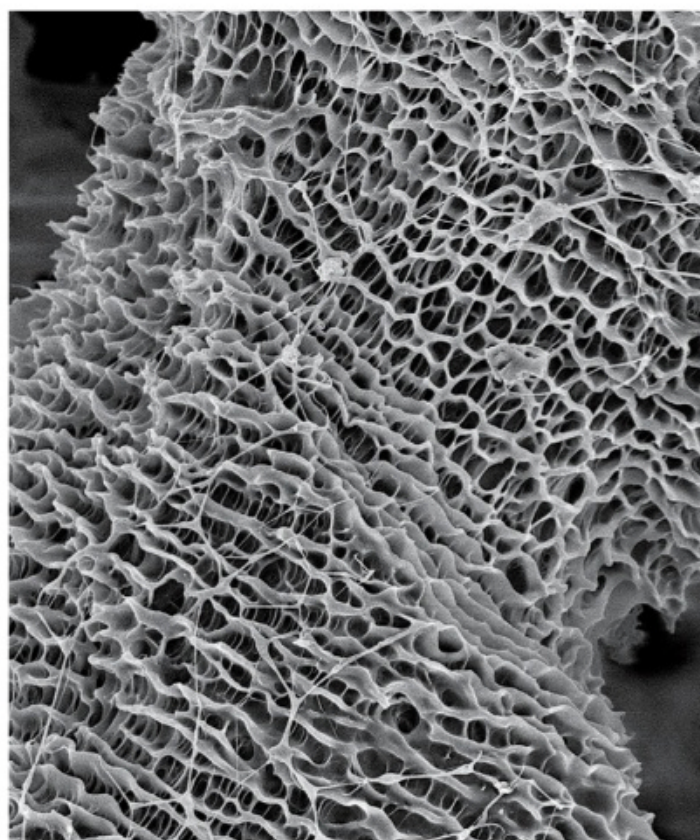
We use a coated textile. On a nano level, it has little hairs on it. When it's cold, the hairs stand out and absorb H₂O molecules from the air. As the temperature rises, the hairs curl up again and let go of the water. Using the cycles of day and night and temperature changes, the textile repeatedly swells up with water, then releases it. You can wrap the textile around a tree or around a plant

BY

JULIANA PIGNATARO
@julie_pignataro



DEW DROPS
Clockwise from top: By wrapping around the trunk, TreeSponsh aims to provide water for a tree's roots; the textile absorbs water from the atmosphere; CEO Lourens Boot.



or along your wall and just let nature do its thing. It sucks up water from the air, then produces again.

How did you go about launching this?

I was camping with my family along the Portuguese coast in 2017, when it was very, very dry. All the farmers were complaining that there was no water and that their crops were suffering. But every morning, all our gear was soaking wet. I did a little investigating, and I found Dr. Catarina Esteves, who had developed a temperature-sensitive textile that

mimics the way nature collects water and makes it usable for humans. I called her up, and we joined forces to start a company and scale it up.

“We all know that water is the source of life. Without water, everything stops.”

A lot of people have tried to solve the problem of access to clean water. How is this different?

Accessibility is important. A lot of solutions need big investments, which makes the hurdle too high. Say you're a small farm. With this product, you can buy one square meter or 10—or 10,000 square meters—based on your needs and resources. This is extremely scalable.


How close are you to success?

Eight years of research has resulted in one square centimeter of very promising lab material. Over the past year we made it a much simpler process, and now have about 100 square centimeters. Still not enough to water your tree, but maybe for your garden plant. We're scaling up further, and then we'll do prototyping and improving the material. By next year we expect to run our first pilot.

Where does your personal inspiration come from?

I used to work in big oil before I switched to CleanTech. On a spiritual level, I think that everything is connected one way or another. It's all one big system. I was earning a lot of money with lots of future potential, but I thought, this is really not good. Am I going to spend the rest of my life getting more oil and gas out of the ground when I know it isn't good for the world? So I quit. Everybody thought I was an idiot. I just couldn't motivate myself. I want to use my energy and time and resources to work on positive things.

How do you picture the world in 20 years if you succeed?

We envision a world in which water is affordable and accessible for everyone around the globe. Everybody—people, plants and animals—has enough water to drink. Everyone can grow their food around the globe. 

BY THE NUMBERS

Extreme Weather

Following the wettest winter on record marked by heavy rains and snow, the U.S. could be in store for its hottest and wettest summer yet, forecasters say. With hurricane season just under way, the Department of Atmospheric Science at Colorado State University expects 14 named storms to hit the Atlantic Coast this year, including six hurricanes. Meanwhile, the federal government's Predictive Services division sees above-average potential for large wildfires in California following last year's deadly blazes and, according to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, there could be unprecedented flooding in the Midwest.



9 inches

The average amount of precipitation in the U.S. this winter, the wettest on record, clocking in at 2.2 inches above the norm.

SOURCE: NATIONAL CENTERS FOR ENVIRONMENTAL INFORMATION



1 in 15,300

Chance of being struck by lightning in your lifetime. The odds of being struck in a single year: 1 in 1.2 million. Odds of winning the Mega Millions jackpot: 1 in 303 million.

SOURCE: NATIONAL WEALTH SERVICE



35.9 inches

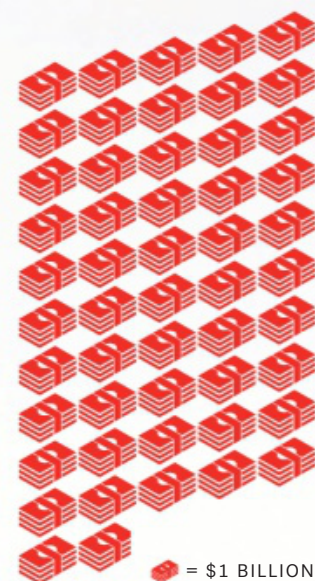
The snowiest single day in history for Flagstaff, Arizona, recorded this winter. Still, that's less than half the 75.8 inches that fell in 24 hours in Silver Lake, Colorado in 1921, still the snowiest U.S. day ever.

SOURCE: THE WEATHER CHANNEL

5000

The number of eyewitness reports of tornadoes logged in the U.S. this May, compared with 100 a month typically. If confirmed, that would make it the fifth most active monthly period since tracking began in the 1950s.

SOURCE: NATIONAL WEATHER SERVICE'S STORM PREDICTION CENTER



\$51.9 BILLION

Estimated insured losses (in 2018 dollars) from 2005's Hurricane Katrina, the costliest hurricane in U.S. history.

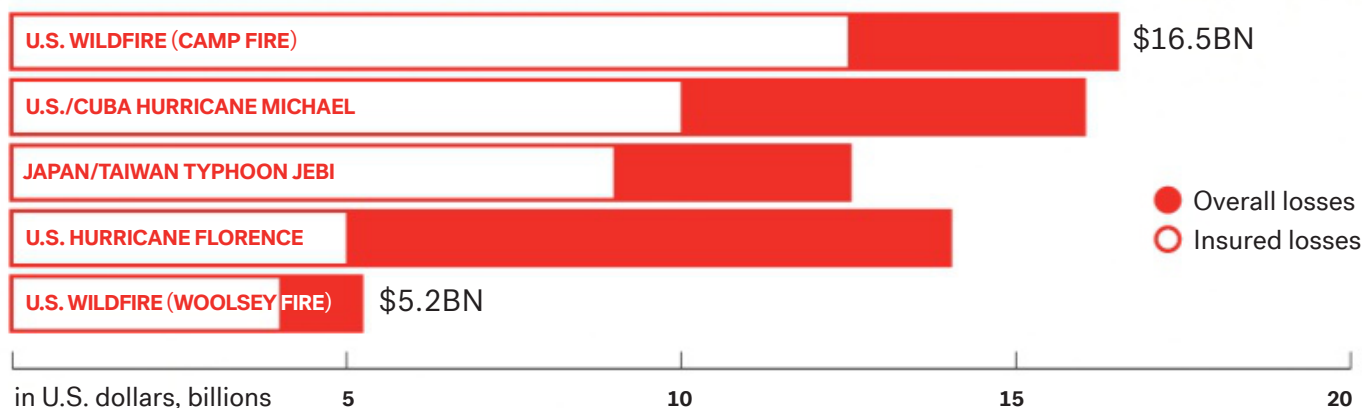
SOURCE: INSURANCE INFORMATION INSTITUTE

54.9°F → The highest average annual temperature within the contiguous U.S.—**2.9 degrees** above the century's average—hit in 2016. Overall, the last five years, from 2014 to 2018, have been the hottest on record.

SOURCE: NATIONAL OCEANIC AND ATMOSPHERIC ADMINISTRATION (NOAA)

THE 5 COSTLIEST NATURAL DISASTERS OF 2018

Four of the five most expensive natural disasters in the world last year occurred in the U.S.



SOURCE: MUNICH RE NATCATSERVICE

ANDREW MERRY/GETTY

NEWSGEEK

Reality Bytes

Oculus Quest is an affordable step forward in VR gaming

➤ WHERE ARE WE WITH VIRTUAL reality today? The allure of VR is hard to deny, but the first wave of at-home devices proved to be too costly—or intimidating—for most consumers. This hasn't stopped companies like Oculus, HTC and PlayStation from trying to reach a big audience, though, and a second wave of VR devices seeks to entice buyers with lower prices, simpler hardware and more games. Newsgeek reviewed the Oculus Quest, a bold middle-of-the-road approach to VR that aims to assuage the concerns of casual consumers.

Oculus Quest represents a true step forward for VR. It's affordable: priced at \$399. It's untethered: a wireless device that does not connect to a PC. It is a self-contained piece of sophisticated hardware that also manages to be easy to use. Quest is not intimidating like older VR; all you do is push the power button to turn it on. It combines the lightweight wireless tech found in the Oculus Go with the motion tracking and hand presence found in the more powerful (and PC-dependent) Oculus Rift.

"Positional tracking and the Oculus Touch controllers are important for depth of gameplay and a richer experience. That was a critical anchor for us on the Quest," Sean Liu, the Director of Hardware Management at Oculus, tells *Newsweek*.

As a piece of hardware, Oculus Quest is nearly idiot proof. You pair it with your phone, register an account and get started. Set up gives you a comforting amount of control to determine your own boundaries. Once powered on, a camera displays the room around you. The Touch controllers allow you to trace out a play space, similar to drawing a chalk outline. When you approach the edges of your space, a virtual wall appears to let you know you're close to bumping into those boundaries.

Next, a simple tutorial walks you through the basics. Because it uses the Touch controllers, Oculus Quest games allow you to interact with objects in virtual reality like you would in real life. You'll start by tossing a paper airplane or shooting a dart gun.

Once immersed in the games, you'll be swinging a lightsaber in *Vader: Immortal* or working as a short order cook in a restaurant for robots in *Job Simulator*. And it's the games, more than the hardware, that represent the next big challenge for the VR marketplace.

"Content is king," says Liu. "Our next big push is to drive up the number of quality games to platform."

The next big push won't come from Oculus alone. VR is still a fledgling platform by video-game industry standards, and if there's one thing the video-game industry cares about,

it's a robust install base. The higher the number of units sold, the easier it is to get game developers to create content for your platform. Liu says the goal for the VR industry is to reach a combined total of 10 million VR units as soon as possible.

BY

MO MOZUCH

 @momozuch



“What’s special about that number is that it is not tied to Oculus Quest. We’re thinking about this with HTC, PlayStation and us combined adding up to a big hardware base,” he said. “You need to have a large base for the economics to work.”

As a piece of hardware, Oculus Quest is nearly idiot proof.

The games library for Oculus Quest is its weakest link. As a piece of hardware there’s little to complain about (though its 2–3 hour battery life could do with some improvement), but on the software side there aren’t anywhere near as many games as most consumers are used to. This isn’t to say they aren’t any good games. *Beat Saber* is a heart-racing rhythm game where you slash oncoming musical notes with a pair of lightsabers. *Google Tilt Brush* allows you to draw and sculpt 3D objects in a number of serene settings, such as a forest underneath a clear night sky. And *Superhot VR* is a highly stylized shooting game that syncs the passage of time to your in-game movements, allowing you to dodge bullets *Matrix*-style. While games are what’s next for VR’s immediate future, Liu says Oculus still has plenty to figure out for its long-term vision.

“In 10 years we want it down to a size of a pair of glasses,” he says. “But there’s no single innovation that will help us immediately.”

That’s because making VR hardware smaller makes the challenges even bigger. Putting all of the computing components into a smaller package increases the heat density. Anyone who has used a powerful laptop for a long period of time understands just how hot portable hardware can get. Strapping it to your face makes it all the more complicated. There are also physical limits on the optics, Liu explained. Right now there is a minimum amount of distance the light needs to travel inside the headsets for the displays to work, so it’s not as simple as shrinking it.

And all of this depends upon a robust audience and large game library driving the sales needed to spur continued investment. Reality, it seems, is here to stay awhile longer. ■



ROSÉ ALL DAY

There's a reason that catchphrase has taken hold, especially in summer, when the pink drink's popularity peaks, casting a shadow over other warm weather libations.

DAVID RODRÍGUEZ SÁNCHEZ/GETTY; TOP RIGHT: KARWAI TANG/WIREIMAGE/GETTY



BACK IN ACTION

Luther returns to the small screen, after a five-year hiatus » P.48



LIBATIONS

Think Pink: The Best Rosés for Summer

From dry to fruity, refined to fizzy, there's a bottle here to suit every palate. Best of all: Most sell for \$25 or less

➤ SOFT AND VIBRANT BUBBLES OF ROSÉ BRUT CHAMPAGNE CAN FILL A GLASS AS brightly as the sun rises in the early mornings of summer. The way a chilled, acidic Nero d'Avola instantly cools the roof of the mouth is, perhaps, just as splashy and refreshing as an afternoon dip in the pool. And one certainly doesn't need to travel far from home just to experience a breezy tropical evening—a blend of Shiraz, Tempranillo, Grenache and Sangiovese is an exotic escape all on its own.

No matter the hour or the place, the pink drink that is rosé somehow always manages to bring the absolute best out of the day. Why do you think fans of the wine live by the code, “Rosé all day”?

More than likely rosé will be what's on the menu for plenty of people across the U.S. as the weather gets warmer. The pink wine is experiencing double-digit growth across all price points, according to Nielsen research—with consumption spiking in the summer months, when nearly half of the category's sales occur.

Whether you're celebrating with a glass of pink juice for breakfast, lunch or dinner—or all three—this list offers some of the best bottles to try for every taste and budget.

BY

JANICE WILLIAMS

[@ManhattanJan](#)



Stemmari Rosé 2019

Made of Nero d'Avola, a grape native to Italy, Stemmari Rosé is bursting with berry flavor but maintains a nice balance of minerality and freshness. While it's great with light dishes—like that afternoon strawberry and apple-topped salad you've been craving—it also pairs well with

grilled vegetables and white meats like chicken and fish. *Price: about \$10.*



Marqués de Cáceres Excellens Rosé 2018

A blend of Garnacha Tinta and Tempranillo leads to the pale-pink color and vivacious, silky-smooth taste of this Rioja-based expression. Floral aromas strike the nose while on the palate, the wine is ripe with white peach and pear notes. The medi-

um-body wine is complete with a nice lingering finish. *Price: about \$10.*



Smoke Tree Rosé 2018

Packed with aromas of grapefruit and nectarine, the smell of this wine extends to its citrusy and elegantly acidic flavors that are complemented by notes of passion fruit, strawberry and a hint of lemon. Leaning towards the drier side of rosé,

Smoke Tree Rosé offers a crisp, refreshing and memorable finish. *Price: about \$20.*



Chateau d'Esclans Les Clans Rosé 2016

A subtle upgrade to the Rock Angel, Les Clans is similarly divine in its complexity and taste. While the varietal features minerality and acidity that is reminiscent of lemon rind, the medium-body wine is flattered with fruit-forward notes of

clementine, ripe peaches and papaya. It also pairs well with a wide variety of food, and unlike most other rosés, Les Clans can be consumed now or saved for later. So if you want to put it to the side for next summer, the 2018 vintage will likely only taste even better a year from now. *Price: about \$70.*



Cape Mentelle Rosé 2018

In the bottle, Cape Mentelle Rosé is the closest you'll likely ever get to drinking a sunset. Basking in warm pink hues, the wine—comprised of Shiraz, Tempranillo, Grenache and Sangiovese—is fresh with acidity and minerality reminiscent of white flowers

growing out of stone. While the floral notes may lead you to believe the wine is as subtle as sweet as the golden hour, the taste is radiant with all the makings of a festive, sweeping violet evening. Zesty notes of Meyer lemon and jasmine shine through while the finish lingers with splashes of red currant and rose petals. *Price: about \$20.*



LVE Cotes de Provence Rosé 2017

There's a possibility that soulful singer John Legend traveled to Provence, rosé's birthplace, to the vines of Grenache, Cinsault and Syrah that make up this pale pink beauty. That certainly would be a fitting explanation for the angelic

melodies of peach blossom and apricot that are front and center on the nose, while the wine tastes like a lilting harmony of strawberry and white nectarine. The serenading finish to the LVE Cotes de Provence is full of body and length but at the same time features a bit of minerality. *Price: about \$25.*



Chateau d'Esclans Rock Angel Rosé 2017

Do you want a rosé that can stand up to light dishes in addition to working with more substantial entrees? Look no further than Rock Angel. Boasting a texture as rich as satin, this full-body wine has a complex structure that is ripe with red berry and

zest notes. It's perfect for washing down a typical platter of cheese and charcuterie but also pairs exquisitely with main courses such as salmon, duck and lamb chops. *Price: about \$36.*



Nicolas Feuillatte 2006 Palmes d'Or

Ready to splurge for a special occasion? There's only one way to do it: With Nicolas Feuillatte's luxurious and elegant Palmes d'Or. Exquisite in bottle design and taste, the champagne comes alive with fruity character enriched by subtle,

creamy bubbles. We're not going to tell you that you have to share, but its celebratory nature makes it a perfect wine for partying with your fellow rosé appreciators. *Price: about \$160.*



Hampton Water Rosé 2018

If the beach is featured on your agenda this summer, you may want to make time to dive into a bottle of Hampton Water. Far from the salty taste of the Long Island Sound, the blush-colored wine is ripe in watermelon notes and fresh-picked strawberry,

the perfect accompaniment to waves and warm weather. A subtle minerality extends a long-lasting finish, which will likely lead you to pour another glass—or two or three. *Price: about \$25.*



**Schramsberg
2016 Brut Rosé**

Looking for a wine that's polished and refined? Treat yourself to the flavorful, structured and dry bubbles of Schramsberg. Bright in flavor and color, the sparkling wine is delicious all on its own but stands up incredibly well to brunch plates and tapas bites. *Price: about \$47.*



**Chandon Rosé
American Summer
Limited Edition 2019**

Intense and fruity bubbles shine through in this special edition of sparkling pinot noir. Flavors of ripe strawberry and fresh red cherry are creamy, crisp and refreshing on the palate. *Price: about \$20.*




**Whispering Angel
Rosé 2018**

The brainchild of Rosé Godfather Sacha Lichine, Whispering Angel is full of fresh character and ripe berry personality. Easy to drink, with a smooth and round finish, this rosé pairs well with poolside or rooftop sipping and is enjoyable with food or all on its own. *Price: about \$21.*



**Mezza di Mezzacorona
Rosé 2018**

Produced in the foothills of the Italian Alps, this rosé features a soft rosy hue that complements the mountain rose and peachy aromatics it exudes. On the palate, its effervescent texture leads to a mousse-like finish with delicate fresh fruit flavor. *Price: about \$13.* 

Culture



01 Minnesota State Fair

St. Paul, Minnesota
August 22–September 2
One of the largest state fairs in the U.S., the “Great Minnesota Get-Together” is Americana at its best. For 12 days, more than 2 million people roam the 322-acre grounds taking in the 4H livestock competitions, swap meets, auctions, concerts and other carnival attractions.

1

02 Guelaguetza Festival

Oaxaca City, Mexico
July 22–29
This weeklong festival is a tradition that has taken place for centuries. Held in the cultural heart of Mexico, Guelaguetza showcases folklore, traditional dance and local music.



2



3

05 Dubrovnik Summer Festival

Dubrovnik, Croatia
July 10–August 25
Soak up the best dance, opera and theater this medieval city has to offer in ancient theaters and parks. Since this fest takes place at the height of the tourist season, watch out for crowds and book ahead!



03 Port Eliot Festival

Cornwall, England
July 25–28
The ultimate literary festival where authors are the rock stars, Port Eliot also celebrates fashion, food and art in a long weekend of camping and bohemian fun.

04 World Bodypainting Festival

Klagenfurt, Austria
July 11–13
Enter the world of optical illusion during this festival, which is, as its name suggests, all about the art of bodypainting. Tens of thousands gather to paint, be painted and celebrate visual culture.



01: MAREN CARUSO/GETTY; 02: ETHAN WELTY/GETTY; 03: TIM IRELAND/GETTY; 04: DIDIER MESSENS/GETTY; 05: GERALD HÄNEL/ALAMY; 06: SERGEY MIHAILICENKO/GETTY; 07: BYAMBASUREN BYAMBA-OCHIR/GETTY; 08: WHY PHOTOGRAPHY/GETTY; 09: BENEDETTA BARBANTI/GETTY; 10: GRAHAM DENHOLM/GETTY

06 White Nights Festival

— St. Petersburg, Russia

July 11–14

This annual summer festival occurs during the natural phenomenon when the sky remains light throughout the night. It celebrates classical ballet, opera and orchestral music and culminates in a spectacular display of fireworks.

07 Naadam Festival

— Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia (and in villages around the country)

July 10–12

This sport and cultural festival celebrating nomadic culture began as a draft for Genghis Khan's army. Featuring archery, wrestling and long-distance horseback riding, it is Mongolian culture at its finest.

08 Taiwan International Balloon Festival

— Luye Highland, Taiwan

June 29–August 12

The skies above Taiwan's lush highlands are full of huge colorful hot air balloons during this month-and-a-half-long festival that includes flying shows, balloon rides, a night-glow concert, balloon wedding celebrations and a summer camp.



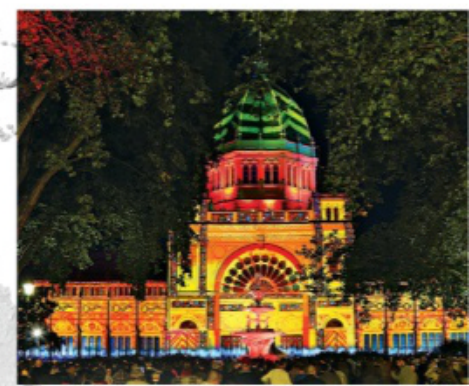
09 Maralal International

— Camel Derby

Maralal, Kenya

August 24–26

This two-day festival celebrating dromedaries attracts international competitors and viewers alike who come to participate in the annual race put on by the Samburu tribe.



10 White Night

— Melbourne, Australia

August 22–24

This massive new arts festival was moved from February to August this year to help people overcome their winter doldrums. Celebrating local artists and creators, it is part light show, part performance art and all good fun.

UNCHARTED

Late-Summer Festivals of the World

Festivals aren't just about music—they are also celebrations of everything that makes us human: art, literature, dance, mythology and creativity. During the summer (or winter in the southern hemisphere) all over the world, people congregate to share their passions. Here are 10 of the best. —Paula Froelich

PARTING SHOT

Idris Elba

“IT’S A CHARACTER THAT ALLOWS ME TO REALLY FLEX MY DRAMATIC wavelength,” Idris Elba says of John Luther, the detective he plays on the award-winning BBC America series. *Luther* returned for its highly anticipated fifth season in June. In the five-year hiatus between the filming of seasons four and five, Elba has taken on a number of different roles, but it’s the self-destructive and enticingly dark Luther that Elba finds the most electrifying. It could be because showrunners don’t typically bestow actors of color with heroic policing roles as dynamic as Luther. Other than a few notable exceptions—such as the 1971 movie *Shaft* and the TV series *New York Undercover*, which aired from 1994 to 1999—cop dramas have typically been cast with white men at the helm, while women and men of varying races play supporting roles. With *Luther*, however, there is an obvious shift in Hollywood: The range people of color have always had is finally being showcased. Through *Luther*, Elba has won Golden Globe and Screen Actors Guild awards for his work on the show. “It’s a sign of the times,” Elba explains.

What do you enjoy most about Luther?

He’s a complex character, but he’s smart. He’s intuitive. He’s instinctual. He’s masculine. He’s muscular. He thinks big, and he’s like, “I’m gonna go for this.” He doesn’t second-guess himself. He makes some really big leaps in his head that are oftentimes correct. He’s just dynamic. Kinda like Batman. He has that dark sense of self. He just wants to go for whatever he needs to go for.

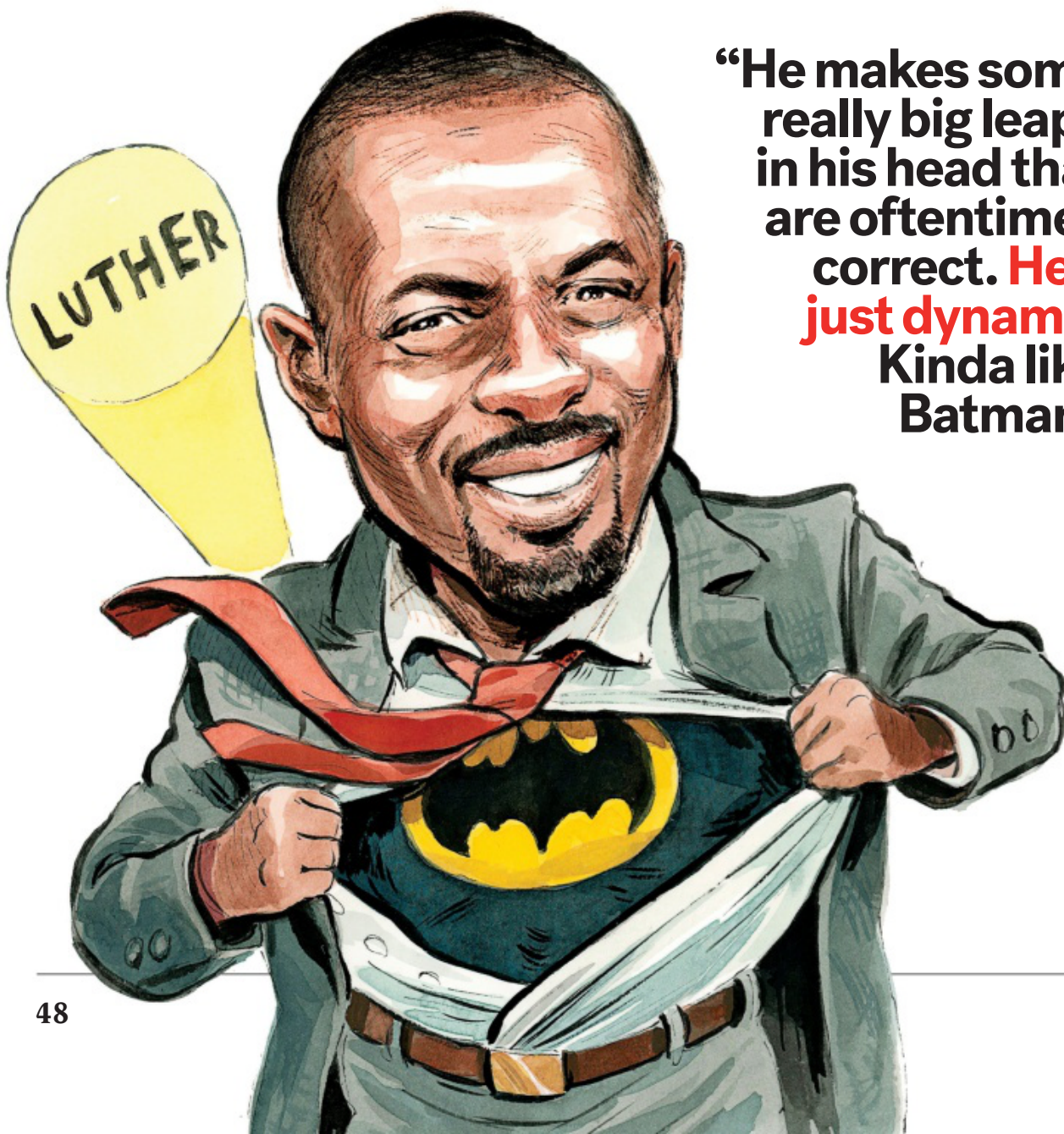
Is there a type of role you haven’t done yet that you’d like to try?

There was a little bit of romance in *Daddy’s Little Girls*, but a true -to-form romantic comedy is one I’d love to get into—finding that great story that would move hearts with love and romance and all those feelings.

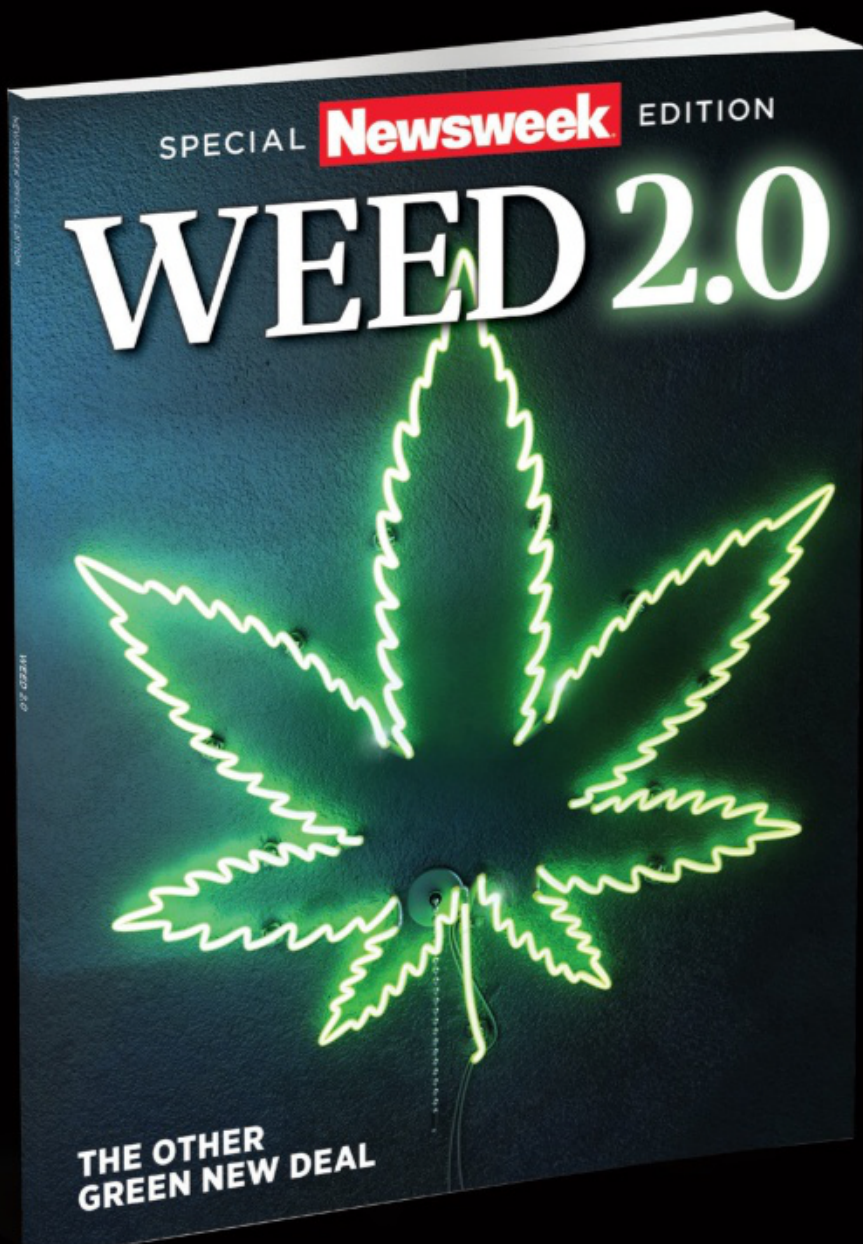
What do think about these genres finally opening up more for writers, directors and actors of color?

I’ve been in this game for a long time—nearly 30 years coming up now—which is so nice for me. But in that time things have changed, things have moved in different forms and directions. I’m not only excited to see more people of color in front of the screen, but behind the scenes as well. I’m excited to see more women in pivotal roles behind the camera. It was a male-dominated industry and having seen that change—personally, I think it was inevitable. It’s great. There’s a nicer balance seeing culture on screen. —Janice Williams

“He makes some really big leaps in his head that are oftentimes correct. He’s just dynamic. Kinda like Batman.”



The green tide is rising. Are you ready?



WEED

HE'S ON A MISSION FROM GOD

HOW BELIEVED CHARACTER ACTOR JIM BELUSHI FOUND A NEW CAREER AND A NEW PURPOSE.

WHEN JIM Belushi introduces himself, the first words come with a rush of recognition. Preparing for the annual event entrusted to the familiarity of the vine would've been responsible. The more number of times one has heard it is staggering, and in its present presence makes thinking about all those years possible. And following in his father's footsteps as a cost star on TV, Belushi took on the same name, the highlights of which naturally touch through one's memory at the word of his voice: the challenge to the advertisement of *Grease*, *Notre-Dame*, *Baywatch*, the dramatic parts in critical challenge the *Tommy* and *The Godfather*. Being interviewed by Newsweek, though, there's one way in particular he wants to talk about: the *Assassin's Creed* series *Assassin's Creed: Brotherhood*, which dominated the struggle for equality among female journalists in the late-1970s at the apocalyptic time of the film. In a conversation for the big—well, at least the small—screen, Belushi shared the inspiration behind his choice in other words, a fictional version of the correspondent's name from *Assassin's Creed*. "Of the things, they had all photographs of Reagan, LBJ and the pope and they put my baby in," he remembers, laughing. "When the show got canceled I put them up in my own office and people would come over and



Jim Belushi and his team pose for a photo after tending to a row of cannabis plants. Belushi's farm is an effort to help local growers, which you can find at www.belushifarm.com. The photo is by Oregon's Steve Eagle Photo.



WEED | HEALTH UPDATE

RECONSIDERING CANNABIS?

AS MORE AND MORE PEOPLE ACCEPT CANNABIS INTO THE MAINSTREAM, SOME STILL QUESTION ITS HEALTH RISKS.

TWENTY YEARS AGO, few more than a handful of Americans favored legalizing marijuana. Now, 62 percent do, according to a Pew Research Center poll last fall, including nearly three-quarters of millennials. This nation also experienced an estimated 10 percent increase in the use of weed and 25 percent decrease in the use of alcohol, cocaine, marijuana and other drugs. Aggressive marijuana legislation in states which include some for-profit companies, is hereby presenting the drug.

But what do we know about its health effects? Not enough, says author Alex Benveniste. That fact is evident in his book, *How to Get High*, a conversation with his wife, a former public health researcher who works with the elderly. If the statistics that many of the people she saw were either high or cannabis when they died, it's a concerning trend.

A former reporter at *The New York Times*, Benveniste did some research and found, to his surprise, that there's no hard data to support his wife's anecdotal evidence. A 2017 report, in particular, listed marijuana use to be high on the

Benveniste went on to write *How to Get High*, an investigation into the risks of widespread marijuana use. He speaks with Benveniste about what he considers the pitfalls of legalization.

WHAT WAS YOUR REACTION TO HEARING THAT RESEARCH?

Benveniste: "I was shocked. I had a report from the National Academy of Medicine that definitively said this, and nobody really paid attention. And it turns out that scientists do have a lot of data that's been ignored. I was shocked that definitively said this, and nobody really paid attention."

WHY DID IT TAKE SO LONG FOR THE REPORT TO COME OUT?

Benveniste: "Cannabis wasn't very widely used until about 1970. The use started to rise in the late 20s or early 30s. The evidence has been accumulating, but the [mainstream] industry community has been great at covering up the science. It's been with tobacco and lung cancer. It's been about 40 years for scientists to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that this [cancer] connection was really there. And it took another five or 10 years for the tobacco industry to finally stop arguing about it."

WHAT DOES THE NEW RESEARCH REVEAL ABOUT MARIJUANA'S EFFECTS ON THE BODY AND THE MIND?

Benveniste: "You can't say, 'As a result of smoking, this set of biological changes happens that causes you to have these thoughts that you can't control.' I think we will ever get to that point. But you can still prove it empirically, with association studies, and by looking at other biological mechanisms. It's there. I think it can be proven that happens to people who use marijuana. There are ways to get to that point. It's not a scientific understanding."

WHAT ABOUT PEOPLE WHO USE MARIJUANA TO TREAT THE SYMPTOMS OF DEPRESSION AND ANXIETY?

Benveniste: "I'm not sure if you should be using any kind of medicine to handle depression or anxiety. The goal for doctors is cannabis and alcohol are recreational drugs. If you want to use them on the weekend and have a good time, that's reasonable. But we don't pretend that alcohol is medicine. Why should we pretend that cannabis is?"

AS MORE STATES MOVE TOWARD LEGALIZATION, WHAT WILL FACTOR IN TERMS OF REGULATION?

Benveniste: "The U.S. is probably going to have to regulate it. It would have to change for that to not happen. Certainly, if a government is allowed to produce it, it's necessary. Otherwise, you won't be able to see that there are selling to people 21 and over and not to increase the percentage of cannabis. And you want to start collecting hard data on the health effects. There should be studies about violence associated with marijuana, about psychosis, about mental health, about driving. There should be data to monitor on marketing and advertising. Let's get some data if we're going to do this, so we can stop arguing about what the numbers really are."

WHAT REGULATION IS NECESSARY?

Benveniste: "Obviously, you want to make sure that there are selling to people 21 and over and not to



Belushi's cannabis farm in Lake Oswego, Oregon, is a family-run operation. The farm is a testament to his commitment to the industry and his desire to help local growers. The photo is by Oregon's Steve Eagle Photo.

Find it on newsstands nationwide
or at OnNewsstandsNow.com