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CHINA INSIDER

The moon race has the potential to revolutionize international relations more than any other facet of Sino-American competition. Experts believe that who gets there first wins.

CHINA'S LUNAR AMBITIONS

HOW CHINA PLANS TO TAKE THE
MOON, AND THEN EARTH

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CHINA'S LUNAR AMBITIONS

CCP Extending '3 Warfares' Strategy Into Space: Expert

'From the perspective of the PRC, we're at war,' space analyst says

ANDREW THORNEBROOKE

Chinese robot trundles about in the dust. It collects rock samples, measures chemical compounds, and observes craters never before seen by mankind. It's beyond the reach of U.S. sensors. It's beyond the rule of international laws and norms. It's on a mission.

It's on the dark side of the moon. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has been operating Yutu-2 on the far side of Luna since 2019. Ostensibly part of the CCP's lunar exploration program, rovers such as Yutu-2 are preparing the way for the construction of a new robotic research base on the moon. That base, in turn, will prepare the way for a crewed moon landing and a new lunar base managed jointly by China and Russia.

The exploration phase of this process, of which Yutu-2 is a part, is planned to extend through 2025 with six more missions conducted by China and Russia. Following that, construction on the base is expected to last until at least 2035, with full operational capacity being achieved by 2036.

The ambition piques the interest of scientists, ever hungry for new knowledge about Earth's only moon. The secrecy shrouding the project, however, unnerves strategists who don't see this little rover as merely one small step for mankind, but as one giant leap for Chinese military capabilities.

Indeed, some experts believe that Yutu-2's lunar rock collection isn't only a continuation of Sino-U.S. competition, but might actually provide the keys to victory in a future war.

Space Is a Warfighting Domain

Michael Listner is an attorney of a very peculiar sort. He specializes in space policy and has, for some years, led the publication of "The Précis," a legal newsletter that examines the basis of space law and its ramifications for international policy in every field from business to national security.

He says the CCP is extending its "Three Warfares" strategy into space. This vast new frontier will be central to the regime's campaigns of media aggrandizement, the subject of psychological warfare, and, vitally, the centerpiece of new legal battles that will reshape the international order as China seeks to claim the United States' global hegemony status for its own.

The strategy, he said, is designed to undermine and perhaps defeat the enemy without firing a shot.

"Space is a warfighting domain," Listner said. "It's going to be part of the struggle and it's going to be part of a future conflict."

"They are fighting on all these fronts right now," Listner added of the CCP's three warfares strategy in space. "In fact, I really look at it as preparing the battlefield."

That effort to shape the battlefield, central to any military, is particularly meaningful to Chinese military strategists who, since at least the fifth century B.C., have studied the writings of the eminent philosopher of war Sun Tzu, who argued that preparing the battlefield was the means of mastering the enemy.

As such, it's feared that the Chinese regime will effectively ensure that should conflict break out, it has the strategic advantage by preparing a favorable legal landscape, positioning assets in orbit, and building alliances in its space operations.

The reason for the continuation of this effort on the moon is simple enough: America can't work without space.

"The American dependence and reliance

100-TIMES

The CCP's expansion effort includes the development of hypersonic weapons, electromagnetic pulse devices, new naval vessels capable of launching rockets into space, and a nuclear reactor to power space travel, reportedly **100-times more powerful than those planned by the United States.**

(Above) Russia's Soyuz MS-13 spacecraft blast off from the launch pad at the Russian-leased Baikonur cosmodrome in Kazakhstan, on July 20, 2019.

(Right) The International Space Station in space on May 29, 2011.



KIRILL KUDRYAVTSEV/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES



NASA VIA GETTY IMAGES

China plans to launch

10,000 SATELLITES

by 2030.

(Left) Chief Master Sgt. Roger Towberman (R) of the U.S. Space Force and Secretary of the Air Force Barbara Barrett present the official flag of the U.S. Space Force in the Oval Office on May 15, 2020.

(Right) The newly designed rank insignia of Chief Master Sgt. Roger Towberman, the senior most enlisted in the US Space Force.



SAMUEL CORIUM-POOL/GETTY IMAGES



SAMUEL CORIUM-POOL/GETTY IMAGES

on space is almost absolute," said Paul Crespo, president of the Center for American Defense Studies.

"From communications to banking to air and ground travel and GPS, our economy, society, and military cannot survive without U.S. space dominance."

Crespo, a Marine veteran who served in the Defense Intelligence Agency, has spent years examining the CCP's malign influence abroad and its efforts to degrade and undermine its adversaries through dual-use technologies and legal warfare.

Both Crespo and Listner fear that the moon will be China's next "nine-dash line," and that it will be used to bend the rule of law to the CCP's advantage, just as it has in the South China Sea.

The Chinese regime claims about 85 percent of the disputed South China Sea demarcated by its nine-dash line, a claim that was rejected by a 2016 international tribunal. Several other countries also lay claim to parts of the waterway.

Despite the ruling, Beijing has built military outposts on artificial islands and reefs in the region, and deployed coast guard ships and Chinese fishing boats to intimidate foreign vessels, block access to waterways, and seize shoals and reefs.

Experts fear the CCP will use its moon and space infrastructure to similarly box out competition and control the happenings of the region, in violation of international laws and norms.

"The CCP has proven it has no respect for international law or norms, and is willing to bully, threaten, coerce and push its way into any place it deems vital to its strategic goals," Crespo said. "That's crystal clear

with its illegal expansion into, and claims on, most of the South China Sea."

"This certainly will be even more true for China in space where the norms are far less established and codified."

The United States' response to CCP space adventurism has been mixed.

During the administration of President Donald Trump, the nation took a hardline stance and sought to outpace the CCP to the moon. Indeed, the Artemis Accords were initially designed to guide those nations that were to partake in the Artemis Program, a U.S.-led effort to establish a base on the moon.

Trump's Space Policy Directive-1, likewise, sought to "lead an innovative and sustainable program of exploration with commercial and international partners to enable human expansion across the solar system and to bring back to Earth new knowledge and opportunities."

To accommodate these ambitions, NASA attempted to step up its original goal of establishing a moon presence from 2028 to 2024. That date was quickly pushed back to 2025, however. Since then, NASA has changed course again, and slated 2025 as the earliest date for a U.S. flight around the moon, but which won't land on the moon.

Usurping the Advantage

The moon race has the potential to revolutionize international relations more than any other facet of Sino-American competition. When it comes to dictating what the law is beyond the earth's atmosphere, Crespo and Listner believe that who gets there first wins.

"It's all really about great power competition," Listner said. "The general consensus about great power competition is who's going to eventually make the rules in an international arena. In other words, who's going to have the most influence in shaping what's legal and what the worldview looks like in the next few decades."

Listner described the struggle between the United States and China for influence in shaping the world and its norms as one of competing visions, in which two radically different ways of understanding and operating in the world are being pitted against one another.

That struggle, he said, is playing out in space.

"Right now, there are two competing vi-



A Long March 3B rocket carrying the Beidou-3GEO3 satellite lifts off from the Xichang Satellite Launch Center in Xichang, Sichuan Province, China, on June 23, 2020. The CCP publicly denies that its space systems and projects, including its moon plans and satellite, are used for military purposes.

sions," Listner said. "One is the Artemis Accords, which the Trump administration started."

"The Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China countered with their own competing vision, called the International Lunar Research station."

The Artemis Accords, Listner said, are a framework for international cooperation regarding the exploration and use of Luna, Mars, and other astronomical objects. The effort is based largely on the U.N. Outer Space Treaty of 1967, and seeks to affirm peaceful cooperation, promote interoperability, and register objects in space with uniform standards.

The Outer Space Treaty currently has 111 signatories, including China and Russia. The Artemis Accords, first signed in 2020, has 14 signatories; China and Russia didn't sign, viewing the effort as a commercial agreement needlessly favorable to the United States.

The International Lunar Research Station, on the other hand, is the CCP and Russia's effort to wrest international space leadership away from the United States' NASA, and champion a new, Eurasian order.

Indeed, little Yutu-2 is just the first of seven exploratory missions planned by China and Russia, which will prepare the way for the construction of the base. That matters when the future of space dominance is on the line.

"It's about the competing view of what the rule of law is going to be and who's going to make the rules on the lunar surface and in exploiting space," Listner said.

"Whoever gets there first and starts building will be the one who makes the rules."

To that end, Crespo warned that the CCP is attempting to reforge space in its own image, undercutting the United States' ability to sustain itself not only as a world superpower, but possibly as a civilization.

"Neutralizing our space dominance will severely hamper our ability to win any major conflict, and ultimately even our ability to maintain a stable, modern, functioning society," he said.

"If the Chinese move beyond simply neutralizing our dominance and gain clear space dominance themselves, that will become almost a fait accompli in terms of America losing its ability to remain a world power, and even simply an independent sovereign nation."

Listner said that it's gray-zone conflict at its finest, and that the United States and China are engaged in war by any other name.

"From the perspective of the PRC, we're at war," Listner said, referring to the People's Republic of China.

The Lunar Threat

That gray-zone conflict, in which nations engage in hostilities stopping somewhere short of opening fire, is in full swing in outer space.

"Any manned Chinese and/or Russian

base on the moon would provide them a significant strategic advantage militarily, legally, and economically," Crespo said.

In early December, Gen. David Thompson, the U.S. Space Force's first vice chief of space operations, said that the CCP is launching attacks on U.S. space infrastructure "every single day." These reversible attacks, in which U.S. satellite architecture or cyber systems are compromised temporarily, are largely understood to be a testing of the waters.

That is, preparation for a real war. Thompson said in separate remarks that the Chinese regime is developing space capabilities at double the rate of the United States. Moreover, its growing array of platforms designed for space warfare is growing.

"[The Chinese] have robots in space that conduct attacks," Thompson said. "They can conduct jamming attacks and laser dazzling attacks. They have a full suite of cyber capabilities."

"If we don't start accelerating our development and delivery capabilities, they will exceed us. And 2030 is not an unreasonable estimate," he said.

Such advancements point to weaknesses in existing laws such as the Outer Space Treaty, which many people erroneously believe bans the development of space weapons.

"Conventional weapons in space aren't banned by the Outer Space Treaty, as can be seen by the Russian Federation's ASAT [Anti-satellite weapon] demonstration a few weeks ago," Listner said. "However, nuclear weapons in certain circumstances are prohibited by the Outer Space Treaty."

Listner's remarks refer to the recent demonstration by Russia of an ASAT missile that it used to explode a satellite in orbit. Critics accused Russia of putting the lives of astronauts at risk, as the thousands of pieces of debris could destroy space vehicles. The event was similar to an incident carried out by China in 2007.

Indeed, the CCP is rapidly expanding its military capabilities as part of an all-out push to usurp military and commercial dominance from the United States. That effort is designed to provide the CCP with an overwhelming new blitzkrieg of military technologies worthy of science fiction.

The effort includes the development of hypersonic weapons, electromagnetic pulse devices, new naval vessels capable of launching rockets into space, and a nuclear reactor to power space travel, reportedly 100 times more powerful than those planned by the United States.

In all, the CCP plans to launch 10,000 satellites by 2030 in its efforts to topple U.S. space dominance.

There are several ways in which the CCP could use the moon, or space assets more generally, to exploit weaknesses in its adversaries or further its weaponization efforts.

Increased presence would allow China greater communication and control of its space assets, most notably satellite architecture, which is key to U.S. and allied GPS systems that the military depends upon. Experts have long argued that a preemptive strike on U.S. GPS systems would be China's first move in a war, including one over Taiwan.

Other potentialities are more hypothetical, such as the long-theorized use of a kinetic bombardment system that could leverage Earth's gravitational pull against it. Such a system could effectively turn objects as simple as tungsten rods into weapons of mass destruction due to the velocity with which they would hit the earth.

This would effectively allow a satellite- or moon-based system to throw heavy objects at the Earth with the destructive power of a meteor, a feat for which the proposed weapon has long been termed "Rods from God."

Though costlier than other systems, the idea for such a system has existed since the Cold War, and the Pentagon reportedly considered developing it in 2006 before pursuing hypersonic glide vehicle research instead.

Listner said the CCP's continued conquest of space was partially owed to the failure of U.S. and allied leaders to recognize fundamental differences in Western and Eurasian ways of conceptualizing the world and politics.

"Fundamentally, we have to understand that the PRC and the Russian Federation do not think like the U.S. and Western nations," Listner said.

His comments reflected a growing consensus, recognized by new U.S. congressional reports, that the CCP is advancing a global campaign to champion Marxism as an alternative to American capitalism, and to supplant the United States as a global hegemon.

To this end, the international community may like to play at lawmaking, such as is the case with the Artemis Accords, but the CCP has demonstrated a repeated unwillingness to adhere to such norms.

"NGOs, peace groups, and disarmament groups believe the PRC and the Russians think like us when they don't," Listner said. "It's called 'mirror thinking,' and it's a very, very dangerous trap to play into."

A Base for Whom?

Perhaps nowhere is this trap more apparent than in the CCP's so-called dual-use policy.

The CCP publicly denies that its space systems and projects, including its moon plans and satellite, are used for military purposes. For instance, it characterized its grabber satellite as a means of cleaning space junk, and its hypersonic missile test as a reusable spacecraft.

Critics of the CCP point out that the ambiguity about whether such technology is ultimately civilian or military in nature is

a feature of dual use.

Dual use is the practical realization of the CCP's policy of "civil-military fusion," aimed at erasing all barriers between private and public life to ensure that all civilian technologies also advance Chinese military dominance.

The rockets used to launch Yutu-2 to Luna are one such example. The same type of rocket was used to launch the CCP's new hypersonic weapons system, which U.S. leaders fear is a nuclear first-strike weapon.

CCP leaders said that the test was for the benefit of its space program. "Virtually everything that enables a country to launch objects into space is indistinguishable from intercontinental ballistic missiles or hypersonic weapons," Crespo said. "For China, that distinction is fairly moot."

Crespo said that that ambiguity is part of the program, designed to obscure whether the military or civilian function of any project was intended to be dominant.

Such ambiguity makes a difference on the moon, where all Chinese taikonauts are in the employ of the Chinese military.

"Any moon base serves scientific purposes while also clearly providing China a strategic lunar presence that will need to be defended, and can be used for surveillance, reconnaissance or military attacks of all types against satellites and other space assets," Crespo said. "No lunar base will be purely civilian to the CCP."

A World to Gain

Space has been described by researcher Paul Szymanski as "the most obscure battlefield." Its obscurity doesn't, however, diminish its centrality to the future of nations. To the contrary, the economic, military, and political ramifications of space, and of the control of Luna, in particular, are nigh impossible to overstate.

"Space is America's greatest asset and its greatest vulnerability," Crespo said. "The Chinese and Russians see it as our Achilles heel."

To that end, one may consider the strategic value of space as the foremost point of CCP ambitions. It is the gateway through which one growing power might leapfrog a global hegemon to dictate the future of earthly affairs.

Indeed, it isn't an overstatement to say that the moon is to the CCP what the Alps were to Hannibal. Should it be taken, the rest may fall like dominoes.

"The stakes are that high," Crespo said. "Whoever controls space may control the world."

Andrew Thornebrooke is a reporter for The Epoch Times covering China-related issues with a focus on defense, military affairs, and national security. He holds a master's in military history from Norwich University.

ECONOMIC ABUSES

20 Years After Joining WTO, China Still 'Far Away' From Meeting Commitments: Experts

MICHAEL WASHBURN

Beijing's refusal to abide by the letter and spirit of its World Trade Organization (WTO) membership over the two decades since its admission to that body call for a shift in strategy on the part of countries that respect and seek to enforce the rules, experts say.

China joined the WTO on Dec. 11, 2001, and the 20th anniversary of its membership has inspired numerous reflections on the milestone, as well as complaints and protests by other member nations objecting to the communist regime's continuing reliance on heavy-handed and non-market-oriented trade and labor practices, from massive agricultural subsidies to forced labor.



Stephen Ezell, vice president of the Information Technology and Innovation Foundation.

A Pattern of Ongoing Violations

For many observers, Beijing is guilty not just of incidental violations of the terms of its membership, but of a general approach to trade and labor that is antithetical to the WTO's rules and founding principles.

"When China joined the WTO, it agreed to join a global trade organization predicated on tenets of private enterprise-led, market-based rules governed trade, in accordance with the foundation principles of non-discrimination, reciprocity, and transparency," said Stephen Ezell, vice president for global innovation at the Information Technology and Innovation Foundation.

"And China has never been further away than it is today from generally adhering to those principles. They're as far away as they've ever been."

In spite of the expectation and requirement that Chinese authorities not interfere directly or indirectly in the commercial decisions of state-owned enterprises (SOEs), they are subject to Chinese Communist Party (CCP) oversight.

A July report published by Ezell's organization, "False Promises II: The Continuing

Gap Between China's WTO Commitments and Its Practices," notes that as of 2016, there were 150,000 state-owned or state-controlled enterprises in China at the level of local government or the central level, employing some 30 million workers and holding assets totaling \$15.2 trillion.

Membership in the WTO would, in theory, lead to a sharp reduction in the number of SOEs and their prevalence in China's industrial output, but the actual trend is closer to the opposite. The report charts

the growth of the SOE sector both in market capitalization and in total numbers, and notes that as of 2019, of the 109 Chinese firms listed in the Fortune Global 500, 93 were SOEs. The prevalence of SOEs has been particularly marked in the banking sector, where state-owned and state-controlled banks predominate, the report notes. SOEs enjoy an array of advantages over private firms in areas ranging from tax advantages to the availability and terms of loans.

"The continuing prevalence of state-owned enterprises is a very clear example of China not adhering to rules," Ezell said. Other areas of noncompliance involve subsidies to agricultural businesses and forced technology transfers. Under WTO rules, a member must notify the organization of the provision of a subsidy in a timely manner, but Beijing has failed to do so and didn't even provide notification of provincial-level subsidies until 2019, Ezell said.

The phenomenon of forced technology transfers is even more concerning, he said. When non-Chinese corporations seek to compete in the Chinese market, they often have no choice but to reveal sensitive and proprietary trade technology and secrets to their competitors in China as part of the process. Ezell cited Kawasaki Rail Car and Siemens as two examples of foreign firms that had to divulge the technology involved in their high-speed rail systems when seeking entry to China.

"They were forced to give away their tech-



A shipping terminal in Nantong, Jiangsu Province, China, on April 7, 2021.

nology and find themselves competing against Chinese companies [using their technology] a couple of years later in global markets," Ezell said.

A related problem that has drawn international attention is Beijing's lack of respect for commonly understood rules and protocols governing intellectual property, he said. Chinese firms have brazenly misappropriated the IP of foreign competitors, a practice that has only gotten worse over time in the face of the outcry against it.

"Despite repeated CCP assurances that this practice would abate, it continues to proceed apace. In every tech industry, from biotechnology to aerospace to telecom equipment, China is engaged in state-sanctioned IP theft. That is fundamentally antithetical to the commitment China made when it joined the WTO," Ezell said.

Ezell described IP theft as not just the work of a few random actors, but as a government-sanctioned approach specifically aimed at giving SOEs an advantage in violation of WTO rules and international law.

"The CCP is insinuating itself into every corner of Chinese economic activity, by design and by intent. That means that instruc-

tions are coming from the top," he said.

A Big Mistake

For some observers, the record of widespread, chronic, and ongoing violations affirms the sense they had at the time that discussions took place regarding China's WTO admission two decades ago.

"Twenty years ago, I wrote an article in the Wall Street Journal saying I didn't think we should let China into the WTO because they wouldn't meet their obligations. They clearly have not," said Thomas J. Dueterberg, a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute.

The question isn't whether China's presence in the WTO can be justified, but how to respond to the violations in the face of the failure of sanctions to pressure Beijing to modify or end its more egregious practices, he said.

Scrapping sanctions may not be the right reaction. At this juncture, Dueterberg believes, allied democratic nations must continue to apply pressure.

"We can enforce the rules as we see them, and the Trump administration was pretty strong on that. The Biden administration

has not lifted any of the tariffs on China just yet, so we need to keep the pressure on," Dueterberg said.

"It's worth trying to reform the WTO and to put stronger rules in place, especially on subsidies and digital trade."

But such reforms, while desirable, may not go far enough. He sees a crucial role for alternative trade agreements and systems with a regional character.

"We can move in and build up trade agreements on a regional basis, as we did with the North American Free Trade Agreement, but I also think the U.S. needs to join the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership," Dueterberg said, referring to an 11-nation regional pact from which the Trump administration withdrew. The Biden administration has indicated that it has no plans to join the trade agreement, known as the CPTPP.

Such a trade alliance may prove more effective in the end than even a retooled WTO, where internal tensions on the China question have at times posed a hurdle for effective reforms.

"The U.S. has been talking to Europe and

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Stephen Ezell, vice president global innovation



Leaders pose for the official picture before signing the rebranded 11-nation Pacific trade pact Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership in Santiago, Chile, on March 8, 2018.



The World Trade Organization's logo at its headquarters in Geneva on Oct. 2, 2018.

Japan, but the Europeans have been very reluctant to take a strong stance against China, and to get new rules into the WTO is a tall order because normally it requires a very high degree of consensus," Dueterberg said. "The Chinese will never agree to it, and they have allies they have bought off or pressured to side with them."

Hence, the utility of a new alliance, such as the CPTPP, in which China's influence can't block effective reforms. The United States needs to work on this issue with like-minded powers such as the UK, Canada, Australia, and Japan, which aren't afraid to denounce the Beijing regime's practices, he said.

"But if we can get the Europeans to be stronger proponents of being tough on China, that would be great too," he added.

Dueterberg also doesn't rule out the possibility of telling Chinese-owned firms such as Alibaba and TikTok that they may not operate in the United States, given the restrictions hampering U.S. firms looking to do business in China. Such a move could ramp up pressure on Beijing to modify its disregard of the letter and spirit of a free-trade-based global economic order.

A NATO for Trade

Ezell said he sees potential for a trade, economic, and security network of like-minded nations to push back against the CCP's abusive policies and practices. What NATO is for national defense, this network would be for global trade. Ezell gave an example of how this system would work in practice.

"When we find Chinese companies that are continuing to engage in IP theft, we should collectively deny those Chinese companies access to all markets in this partnership," he said. "We can have a NATO for trade, countries that would act collectively when enterprises are harmed by Chinese behavior, to impose serious consequences and collectively strengthen the high standards for market-based trade."

Michael Washburn is a New York-based freelance reporter who covers China-related topics. He has a background in legal and financial journalism, and also writes about arts and culture. Additionally, he is the host of the weekly podcast "Reading the Globe." His books include "The Upturned and Other Stories," "When We're Grownups," and "Stranger, Stranger."

OPINION

Apple Gives \$275 Billion to China

Forced tech transfer to China is stab in the back to America

ANDERS CORR



Apple Chief Executive Tim Cook inked a \$275 billion giveaway in 2016 that explains the tech company's success in China, according to secret documents reportedly seen by The Information.

The Chinese market is no small part of Apple's approximately \$3 trillion market capitalization. This makes it the world's largest company. So the Apple CEO could be incentivized to give away the company's technology and ignore human rights abuses to maximize his bonuses in the short term, while not only selling out Apple shareholders, but U.S. democracy as well.

What did Apple give away to maintain its access to the Chinese market in 2016? At the time, Chinese authorities were angry about Apple not doing enough for China's economy and shutting "down iTunes books and movies in April 2016," according to the report's source.

To sweeten the negotiations, Cook apparently agreed to a \$1 billion investment in Didi Global, Uber's Chinese competitor, at a critical time in the fight between the two companies for ride-hailing market shares in China. A few days later, Apple agreed to spend \$275 billion in China over five years, including on what should be con-

The secret agreement with Beijing stated that Apple would 'use more components from Chinese suppliers in its devices, sign deals with Chinese software firms, collaborate on technology with Chinese universities, and directly invest in Chinese tech companies,' according to The Information's Wayne Ma.



Protesters hold signs as they gather during a rally for Uyghur Freedom in New York on March 22, 2021.

sidered forced technology development and transfer.

According to The Information's Wayne Ma, the deal "committed Apple to aiding roughly a dozen causes favored by China," including "a pledge to help Chinese manufacturers develop 'the most advanced manufacturing technologies' and 'support the training of high-quality Chinese talents.'"

The secret agreement with Beijing stated that Apple would "use more components from Chinese suppliers in its devices, sign deals with Chinese software firms, collaborate on technology with Chinese universities, and directly invest in Chinese tech companies," according to Ma.

"Apple promised to invest 'many billions of dollars more' than what the company was already spending annually in China," he said. "Some of that money would go to-

ward building new retail stores, research and development centers, and renewable energy projects."

Apple is among other U.S. corporations—including Nike and Coca-Cola—lobbying Congress against the core provisions in a measure that was just approved by the House against the use of Uyghur forced labor in China. The provisions reasonably assume, because of China's opaque labor standards and the lack of a free press, that goods made in Xinjiang are produced with forced labor, except where companies prove otherwise. Much of the world's cotton and polysilicon, used in Apple products, come from Xinjiang.

Uyghurs from the Xinjiang region, as well as Tibetans and Falun Gong practitioners, are undergoing genocide in China, according to the definition in the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The Uyghur genocide has been recognized by the United States, the UK, Canada, and several European government entities. Part of this genocide is forced labor, which Apple apparently doesn't care much about relative to its China-linked revenues.

One of Apple's Xinjiang-related lobbying firms, led by former staffers of Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.)—whose family has business interests in China—is called "Fierce Government Relations."

The fierceness is coming from the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). According to a 2020 report from the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI), Apple is a beneficiary of Xinjiang's forced labor transfer programs through Apple suppliers O-Film Technology and Foxconn.

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People wearing face masks try out the latest iPhone 13 handsets at an Apple Store in Beijing on Sept. 28, 2021.

"Under conditions that strongly suggest forced labour, Uyghurs are working in factories that are in the supply chains of at least 82 well-known global brands in the technology, clothing, and automotive sectors, including Apple, BMW, Gap, Huawei, Nike, Samsung, Sony, and Volkswagen," ASPI report authors Vicky Xiuzhong Xu, Danielle Cave, James Leibold, Kelsey Munro, and Nathan Ruser wrote.

The report states that O-Film technology accepts what appears to be forced Uyghur laborers. Yet Apple was supplied by O-Film. Cook visited the company, and promoted it on social media and through an Apple press release that was later deleted.

"Prior to Cook's visit, between 28 April and 1 May 2017, 700 Uyghurs were reportedly transferred from Lop County, Hotan Prefecture, in Xinjiang to work at a sepa-

rate O-Film factory in Nanchang, Jiangxi province," the ASPI report reads.

A local Xinjiang paper said that workers at O-Film had minders from Lop County who were "politically reliable." The workers "were expected to 'gradually alter their ideology' and turn into 'modern, capable youth' who 'understand the Party's blessing, feel gratitude toward the Party, and contribute to stability,'" according to the report.

That sounds like forced labor. It's time for U.S. corporations, including Apple, to improve their ethical practices. They shouldn't be involved with any country, government, or political party that's committing even a single genocide, much less three.

China is that country. Beijing is that government. The CCP is that party. End U.S. complicity with forced labor and genocide now.

Views expressed in this article are the opinions of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of The Epoch Times.

Anders Corr has a bachelor's/master's in political science from Yale University (2001) and a doctorate in government from Harvard University (2008). He is a principal at Corr Analytics Inc., publisher of the Journal of Political Risk, and has conducted extensive research in North America, Europe, and Asia. His latest books are "The Concentration of Power: Institutionalization, Hierarchy, and Hegemony" (2021) and "Great Powers, Grand Strategies: the New Game in the South China Sea" (2018).

ORGAN HARVESTING

World Must Challenge the CCP's 'Evil Designs,' End Forced Organ Harvesting: Rep. Perry

MELANIE SUN/THE EPOCH TIMES

EVA FU

The Chinese Communist Party has industrialized the murder of prisoners of conscience for their organs, a practice that must be stopped, a group of lawmakers from the United States and other countries said on International Human Rights Day.

"These are living people having their organs taken from them," Rep. Scott Perry (R-Pa.) said at a Dec. 10 webinar hosted by Doctors Against Forced Organ Harvesting, a Washington-based medical ethics group. "We must challenge the evil designs of the Chinese Communist Party, which entails highlighting its wanton disregard for basic standards of human decency."

The Chinese regime has for years been engaging in forced organ harvesting of prisoners of conscience on a "substantial scale," a 2019 independent people's tribunal determined. The practice involves prisoners' organs being carved out while they're still alive, and then sold to locals and tourists seeking a transplant, a gruesome business that amasses significant gains for the regime.

The main source of the organs is imprisoned Falun Gong practitioners, the tribunal found, adding that it found no evidence that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has ceased its behavior.

Falun Gong is a spiritual discipline featuring a set of moral teachings based on the principles of truthfulness, compassion, and tolerance, along with a set of meditative exercises. It grew to about 70 million to 100 million adherents in China by 1999, when the regime deemed its vast popularity a threat and ordered an expansive campaign to eradicate the group.

Millions from the group have suffered in

These are living people having their organs taken from them.

U.S. Rep Scott Perry (R-Pa.)

various torture and detention facilities over the two decades since.

Perry, who described the CCP's persecution of Falun Gong adherents as "evil and perverse," said that in the coming days, he will be unveiling a proposal that would hold the perpetrators of forced organ harvesting to account.

Titled the Falun Gong Protection Act, the measure would press the Chinese regime to "abandon its cruel, regressive extermination agenda" toward the faith group—including forced organ harvesting, unjust imprisonment, and forced labor, he said.

'Commercialized Murder'

An exhibition titled "Real Bodies," which has toured around the world showcasing plastinated body parts sourced from China, has raised troubling questions. The body parts are sourced from Dalian, a city in northeastern China known for the severity

TING SHEN-POOL/GETTY IMAGES



Rep. Scott Perry (R-Pa.) on Capitol Hill on March 10, 2021.

JIM WATSON/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES



Falun Gong practitioners re-enact illegal payment for human organs in Washington on April 19, 2016.



of local officials' persecution of Falun Gong practitioners.

Philip Hunt, a member of the UK House of Lords, recalled one such exhibition on display in his hometown of Birmingham in 2018. While advertised as a "thought-provoking" way to "explore the inner workings of the human form," those bodies were used without clear evidence of consent, he said.

He added that until 2013, Dalian had been home to a forced labor camp tasked with torturing Falun Gong detainees.

Hunt introduced the Organ Tourism and Cadavers on Display Bill, seeking to halt the "dreadful traveling circus of body exhibitions" and prevent UK citizens from traveling to China for organ transplantation. The bill went through its second reading in the House of Lords in July but has yet to be approved.

"The commercial exploitation of body

parts in all its forms is surely unethical and unsavory. When it is combined with mass killing by an authoritarian state, we cannot stand by and do nothing," Hunt said during the webinar.

Forced organ harvesting, he said, is "commercialized murder and, without doubt, among the worst of crimes."

While the CCP's oppression of Uyghurs and other Muslim minorities in Xinjiang has been determined to be a genocide by various official bodies, the regime's persecution of Falun Gong hasn't been adequately addressed, according to Perry. Some experts have described the campaign, including the state-sanctioned forced organ harvesting, as genocidal.

A definition of the nature of the regime's campaign against Falun Gong is "sorely missing" in the United States' China pol-

icy, Perry said. His bill would push the U.S. State Department to formally decide whether the persecution constitutes crimes against humanity and genocide, he said.

To end these ongoing abuses, people who have the freedom need to speak out, said Garnett Genuis, a member of Canada's Parliament.

Genuis's grandmother is a Holocaust survivor who wouldn't have lived without the help of sympathetic locals, who provided shelter and vocally opposed the killing, he said.

After World War II, the world vowed to "never again" allow a repeat of those horrific abuses. But it failed in this, and now has a responsibility to "intervene while we still can, to do what we can to make good on that promise," Genuis said.

Annick Ponthier, a Belgian politician, first

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Philip Hunt, member of the UK House of Lords

learned about organ harvesting in 2020 after viewing the ruling of the 2019 tribunal. She now wants her country, and the European Union at large, to end investment deals with China to avoid becoming "accomplices in the big crimes they commit."

Beijing's authorities "have no regard for human life if those lives don't further their internal communist agenda, and their ambitions to become a global superpower," she said.

With the regime having no intention of limiting its authoritarian model within Chinese borders, she said, a stance against the Chinese Communist Party "becomes a stance for human rights around the world."

Eva Fu is a New York-based writer for The Epoch Times focusing on U.S.-China relations, religious freedom, and human rights.

CHINESE REGIME

American Jailed for 3 Years in China for Buying Toy Guns Online

FRANK DONG

In 2017, Cheng San, a Taiwanese American game designer, found himself at the pointy end of the Chinese regime's crusade against gun ownership.

He was sentenced to three years in jail for buying toy guns online—deemed an illegal act by authorities applying the regime's harsh and broadly defined gun-control laws.

Now back in the United States after serving his sentence, Cheng wants justice.

Cheng, a 47-year-old Taiwanese American, was the CEO of Keyloft Inc., a New York-based company that designed game apps for smartphones. While in Beijing in April 2016, his firm started working on a first-person shooter video game app.

To help his team optimize their designs, Cheng and his employees, over the course of the six-month project, bought more than 60 replica guns on Taobao, one of China's most popular shopping platforms, owned by tech giant Alibaba. None of the toy guns were lethal, according to the listed product descriptions, and each cost less than \$20.



Cheng San, a Taiwanese American game designer, speaks at a press conference in Flushing, New York, on Dec. 9, 2021.

Cheng couldn't have expected what would happen next.

In June 2017, police showed up at Cheng's Beijing residence and arrested him on charges of holding guns illegally. A total of 137 people, employees and their family members, were arrested in the same case, Cheng said at a Dec. 9 press conference in Flushing, New York.

Arrest

China has some of the world's strictest gun laws, which prohibit people from purchasing or owning any gun. What constitutes an illegal gun is broadly defined under its laws and regulations. The police asserted that nine of the purchased replicas had met the standard of an illegal gun.

When Cheng was arrested, according to his account given at the press conference, he saw an officer holding a thick stack of documents showing all the records of the replica gun purchases. As someone familiar with data systems, Cheng immediately realized such customers' personal information was owned and held by Alibaba, and the only way that police could have obtained it was

if the company released it to them.

Cheng questioned the rationale of the arrest, pointing out that if the prop guns had violated the law, Alibaba and Taobao shouldn't have been permitted to sell them in the first place. If this had happened in the United States, in the case of a customer buying illegal goods at Amazon, he argued, law enforcement agencies would take action against Amazon rather than the shoppers.

Cheng pleaded not guilty, but he was convicted and sentenced to three years in prison. At his insistence, the verdict included a reference that all the "guns" involved were bought online at Taobao.

While detained, to Cheng's surprise, he met about two dozen others who were similarly arrested for illegal gun possession.

Alibaba

Cheng, now residing in New Jersey, accuses Alibaba of misusing customers' information and abetting the police to wrongly persecute, which, in his opinion, amounts to violations of human rights.

He said that a police officer told him that Alibaba got a big bonus from the police whenever it released customers' information. It made him believe, he told the press, that Alibaba, driven by money, has set traps for buyers.

Cheng also condemned Taobao's practice of enticing shoppers to buy questionable items with pop-up ads and promotions. Taobao boasts that it is China's Amazon. "Can Amazon promote and sell illegal goods to implicate its customers?" Cheng said.

He showed a screenshot of web pages of AliExpress, another e-commerce site owned by Alibaba, promoting a variety of illicit items, from counterfeit U.S. banknotes and coins to fake vaccination cards, and FBI or New York Police Department badges.

Taobao, one of China's largest shopping platforms, has for years attracted scrutiny for selling pirated and counterfeit goods. The U.S. trade representative has placed the e-commerce giant on its annual list of "notorious markets" for the past five years.

While in China, Cheng and his employees hired lawyers to try to hold Alibaba to account, only to find that they couldn't even file a case against the tech giant, which at the time was one of China's most powerful companies, with deep connections to the Chinese Communist Party, he said. Some of his employees pursuing the case were also detained, and an Alibaba lawyer threatened to accuse them of harassment.

Alibaba officials didn't respond to a request for comment by press time.

Despite being jailed for three years, Cheng says he's luckier than his Chinese employees, most of whom had much longer sentences, calculated based on how many replica guns they had bought. His U.S. citizenship aside, Cheng believes that his contention that Taobao was the culprit helped him get a shorter sentence.

According to Cheng, a Chinese citizen unrelated to his case was sentenced to life imprisonment for buying 49 toy samurai swords online.

A loving dad who bought a toy gun for his kid's birthday may end up in jail for many years. It has harmed so many families.

Cheng San, American game designer

Accountability

Cheng's experience took a severe toll on him. While in jail, he attempted suicide three times. The company he founded, which, at one point, he was looking to take public, went bankrupt as he languished in detention.

Now, more than one year after his release,

Cheng still has nightmares every night and often can't figure out where he is upon waking up.

"When I fall asleep, I go back to the jail," he said. "I looked like a lunatic right after I came back to America. I kept wandering at home anxiously."

Cheng said he's on medication for his post-traumatic stress disorder and is being treated by four psychiatrists.

Given that Taobao is an international shopping platform, Cheng is concerned that Alibaba is misusing its vast databases of customers' personal information from all over the world. According to an Alexa ranking, Taobao was the eighth-most-visited website globally in 2021.

Cheng is urging that governments strengthen supervision of Alibaba and Taobao. Meanwhile, he calls on Apple to stop running Taobao ads and urges shoppers to delete Taobao apps.

"A loving dad who bought a toy gun for his kid's birthday may end up in jail for many years. It has harmed so many families," Cheng said.

"It must be stopped."

Frank Dong is a devoted journalist with more than 20 years of experience. He is a freelance contributor covering China-related topics for The Epoch Times.



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