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the NEWS

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on B6

“We’re sitting ducks here. We’re leaving ourselves open and we’re letting the Communist Party in China come in here and undermine our democracy.”

Senator Jacqui Lambie on the motion for a Senate inquiry into Australia’s relationship with China

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## A recent STRATEGIC REPORT

highlights the Chinese regime’s intention to rival the United States, Australia, and Japan in the Indo-Pacific region.

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After being called  
“BROKEN”

by President Trump, the WTO’s top court that rules on trade disputes is at an impasse after the U.S. failed to allow it to replace departing judges over concerns of “over-reach” and a “disregard” of WTO rules.

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## GLOBALISM

has peaked and trade volume has fallen not only between the United States and China, but throughout the eurozone and in Japan as well, James Gorrie writes.

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HUAWEI

# INSIDE HUAWEI CANADA

## ‘WOLF CULTURE’ AND ALLEGED DISCRIMINATION

Former employees discuss company’s efforts to become entrenched in Canada, fierce internal competition, and Chinese Communist Party sessions



Huawei Chief Financial Officer, Meng Wanzhou, leaves British Columbia Supreme Court, in Vancouver, on Sept. 24, 2019.

### Editor’s Note:

It’s been a year since Canada arrested Huawei executive Meng Wanzhou in Vancouver at the behest of the United States, with China imprisoning Canadians Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor shortly after.

Huawei is hardly a typical private company. It was founded by a former People’s Liberation Army officer and is required by Chinese law to hand over data to communist Beijing.

While Ottawa drags its feet on whether to ban the tech giant from Canada’s 5G network, the United States has levelled 23 criminal charges against the company and Meng.

Amid increasing restrictions south of the border, Huawei said this week that it is moving its U.S. R&D centre to Canada. The Epoch Times interviewed former employees of Huawei Canada, who talk about how the company seeks to entrench itself in Canadian society, stipulates mandatory participation in Chinese Communist Party sessions for expat personnel, promotes a demoralising “wolf culture,” and engages in alleged discriminatory practices.

OMID GHOREISHI

TORONTO—When Meng Wanzhou, the Huawei executive at the centre of a diplomatic row between China and Canada, visited the Toronto office of the Chinese telecom giant in 2016, the talk from local managers was that she didn’t like seeing so many “Chinese faces” in the office.

Meng, whose high-profile arrest in December 2018 started a downward spiral in relations between Beijing and Ottawa, was one of the founding directors of Huawei’s offices in Canada, and had a mission to establish a Canadian foothold for the controversial company founded by her father Ren Zhengfei, a former officer with the Chinese regime’s People’s Liberation Army.

Since Meng’s arrest, China has arrested Canadian citizens Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor, sentenced two other Canadians, Robert Schellenberg and Fan Wei, to death on drug smuggling charges, and blocked Canadian agricultural imports.

The Epoch Times spoke with former employees of Huawei’s Canadian headquarters, who allege discriminatory practices such as letting go of employees 35 and older, required participation in what is called Chinese Communist Party (CCP) study sessions in the company for expat employees, and the open promotion of “wolf culture” in the company.

### The Formative Years

Documents registered with the federal government obtained by The Epoch Times show Meng as one of the founding directors of Huawei Technologies Canada when the company was first registered in 2008. Her name was removed as a director in 2013, but she continued making occasional trips to Canada.

At the time, the Shenzhen-based company was in the midst of its expansion outside China, capturing market share by significantly underbidding competitors and getting help from Chinese

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They even had us read articles on the ‘wolf culture’ and share our understandings.

Mary Liu, former employee

AP PHOTO



Former MI6 official Christopher Steele in this file photo.

### IG’S FBI REPORT

## Steele Dossier Played ‘Essential’ Role in FBI Obtaining Spy Warrant on Trump Campaign Aide

JASPER FAKKERT

Inspector General (IG) Michael Horowitz confirmed in a nearly 500-page report that the FBI relied on information paid for by Hillary Clinton’s 2016 presidential campaign and the Democratic National Committee (DNC) to obtain a FISA warrant on Trump campaign aide Carter Page.

According to the IG report, which relied on interviews with over 100 witnesses, the FBI’s investigative team had unsuccessfully sought a FISA

warrant on Page in August 2016 as part of its “Crossfire Hurricane” investigation into the Trump campaign because “more information was needed to support a probable cause finding that Page was an agent of a foreign power.”

However, on Sept. 19, 2016, the same day that the FBI team received its first memos from former British intelligence officer Christopher Steele, “the

Continued on A6

### CHINA

## Chinese State Media Suggests People Vandalise White House After US Backs Hong Kong Bill

EVA FU

Two Chinese state media outlets called for netizens to “renovate” the White House, in response to the United States passing a law supportive of the Hong Kong pro-democracy movement—only to mistake the U.S. Capitol for the White House.

On Dec. 4, the country’s state broadcaster CCTV and Party mouthpiece

People’s Daily Overseas both posted on Facebook an image with the following words: “The United States passed the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act. You’re welcome to come ‘renovate’ the White House.”

The image showed the U.S. Cap-



People’s Daily social media post that calls on people to “renovate” the White House on Dec. 4, 2019.

itol building engulfed in flames, and surrounded by men sporting black shirts and yellow helmets—the sign

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### OPINION

## Durham Throws a Monkey Wrench in Horowitz’s Dumb Show

ROGER L. SIMON

When Justice Department Inspector General Michael Horowitz published his report on the Hillary Clinton email investigation, some of us began to suspect that he was the deep state’s most clever ultimate protector.

The IG’s strategy was to find a long list of malfeasances with which to excoriate an institution, in this case, the FBI—abuses that might, under normal circumstances, land multiple people in jail—slap the miscreants firmly on the wrist, and then let everyone off at the end with a disingenuous excuse (in the Clinton affair, a supposed similarity to the vastly less-serious accusations against Alberto Gonzalez, for which Bush’s attorney general was exonerated).

Thus, the organisation is preserved—they don’t call Horowitz an “institutionalist” for nothing—

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Accuracy  
& Integrity

The Epoch Times was founded in 2000 to provide honest and uncensored news coverage of China. Based in New York City, our newsroom is dedicated to restoring accuracy and integrity in media. We stand outside political interests and the pursuit of profit. And we stand against the systematic destruction of traditional culture by destructive ideologies such as communism.



# ‘We’re Sitting Ducks:’ Australian Politicians Warn of Threat From Chinese Regime

MIMI NGUYEN LY

More than a dozen Australian senators voted Tuesday calling for an investigation into Australia’s relationship with China, with one politician saying that Australia is a “sitting duck” to foreign influence from the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

“We’re sitting ducks here. We’re leaving ourselves open and we’re letting the Communist Party in China come in here and undermine our democracy,” Jacqui Lambie, an independent Australian senator, said late Tuesday in response to a motion to start a Senate inquiry into Australia’s relationship with China.

The motion, led by crossbencher Rex Patrick, was supported by all the other crossbenchers: Senators Lambie, Stirling Griff, Pauline Hanson, Malcolm Roberts, and Cory Bernardi. Senators from the Greens party also supported the motion.

The motion, which required a 23 majority vote to pass, failed at 15 votes. No senators from Australia’s two major political parties—the Liberal and Labor parties—indicated their support. A total of 38 votes were cast against the motion.

Patrick said that the inquiry should examine all aspects of Australia’s relationship with China, including trade relations between the two countries, Chinese investment in Australia’s infrastructure and agriculture, and the influence and alleged interference in Australia, which includes the CCP-linked activities in Australian university campuses, as well as the CCP’s role in cyberattacks.

### ‘Existential Threat’

Prior to the vote, Lambie accused the Liberal and Labor parties of lacking the courage to protect Australia from Chinese foreign influence, saying that such parties have not only been influenced by money from the CCP, but also have been responsible for Australia’s economic dependence on China.

Both Lambie and Patrick noted how Duncan Lewis, the former Director General of Security at the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), told Nine newspapers in November that the CCP is seeking to take over Australia’s political systems through “insidious” foreign interference investigations.

“It’s about time the people in this place woke up to China’s attempts to infiltrate our economy and our democracy,” Lambie said, later adding, “Everyone knows that the communist Chinese government uses money to influence our political processes.”

Lambie cited multiple examples



Senator Jacqui Lambie sits with Senator Stirling Griff (R) and Senator Rex Patrick (L) during a division in the Senate at Parliament House in Canberra, Australia, on July 4, 2019.

What is clear is that China is actively trying to reshape our democracy, and no one seems to be talking about that seriously enough.

Jacqui Lambie, Senator for Tasmania



Senator Malcolm Roberts rubs his eyes as he and Senator Pauline Hanson (R) listen to a debate in the Senate at Parliament House in Canberra, Australia, on July 29, 2019.

of such alleged attempts, including a case earlier this year where AU\$100,000 (\$68,284) in cash was donated to the New South Wales Labor party that became part of an investigation by the state’s corruption watchdog.

“Now we’ve heard that Chinese attempts to infiltrate our politics go even further ... They’re not just trying to influence politicians with money; they’re trying to get elected to sit in this chamber ... wherever they can buy or get seats in the Australian parliament, they’re coming,” Lambie said. “There are no security checks, there’s little to stop it from happening. It’s absolutely beyond shocking.”

“People are literally showing up dead. Someone who was supposedly cultivated by the Chinese government to run as a Liberal Party candidate in the Commonwealth Parliament has shown up dead,” Lambie added. “Nothing’s been proven but it’s really concerning ... I think we all know what’s going on here.”

Bo “Nick” Zhao, a Melbourne luxury car dealer, was found dead in a Melbourne motel room in March. His death is under investigation. Zhao had earlier told ASIO that he was offered “a seven-figure sum” to run for a seat in Australia’s federal parliament.

“What is clear is that China is actively trying to reshape our democ-

racy, and no one seems to be talking about that seriously enough. Honestly, where’s your courage? What are you scared of? This is not some wacky conspiracy theory. This is happening,” Lambie said.

“This is an existential threat to our society, and Australians are scared,” she later said. “They’re scared that our country is being bought up ... it is being bought up.”

Patrick noted how the Director General of Security Mike Burgess “couldn’t bring himself to actually name” China last week when he announced an ASIO investigation into allegations that the CCP tried to implant Zhao into Canberra.

“Obviously, there are considerable diplomatic sensitivities involved and we have allowed ourselves to become hugely economically dependent on the export of raw materials to the Chinese market,” Patrick said. “But it is a worrying thing when debate in this parliament is politically constipated for fear of reaction from Beijing.”

On trade, Lambie expressed disappointment and said that Liberal and Labor parties have failed to manage Australia’s economic dependence on China.

“The major parties have turned a blind eye ... We’re selling off Australian values for a quick buck,” she said. “A third of Australian exports are China-bound. We ship out more than \$120 billion in iron ore and coal exports to China and our universities—shame on them!—rake in over \$32 billion from international students.

“All up, we trade nearly \$194 billion worth of goods and services between China and Australia—more than we trade with Japan and the United States combined. Who does that? Who leaves us in a position like that? All that money is making us complacent. There’s no reason for us to be singularly focused on China.”

Prior to the vote, the Greens’ Senator Nick McKim said that the Liberal and Labor parties were “riddled with CCP influence as they are, riddled with dirty CCP money as they are—are going to collude, once again, to vote such an inquiry down.”

“I’m telling you now, you’re all standing on the wrong side of history here. History will be written one day,” McKim added.

“History will record those who stood up and tried to address this situation, and history will record those who rolled over and let the CCP tickle their collective bellies. And unfortunately, it remains the case that both major parties in this place will be on the wrong side of history.”

## Australia Considers Magnitsky-Style Law Like US to Sanction Human Rights Abusers

MIMI NGUYEN LY

Australia is considering a law similar to that of the United States’ Magnitsky Act that would seize the assets and ban visas of human rights violators.

Foreign Minister Marise Payne has called on the Australian parliament’s Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs to carry out a formal inquiry into whether Australia should introduce legislation comparable to the United States Magnitsky Act 2012. The law would target human rights violators and those “who have materially assisted, sponsored, or resourced significant corruption.”

The United States’ Magnitsky Act 2012 is named after Russian lawyer Sergei Magnitsky who died under torture in 2009 after exposing tax fraud in his country. He was being detained for a year in a Moscow prison at the time of his death.

British-American fund manager Bill Browder was the one to initiate efforts for legislation to target the Rus-

The real power of sanctions targeting individual human rights abusers comes when like-minded democracies act in concert with tough restrictions on their finances and travel ... If we act together, democracies with Magnitsky-style legislation will help reduce transnational criminality and corruption, bolstering our collective national sovereignty.

Senators Kimberley Kitching of the Labor Party and James Paterson of the Liberal party

sian officials believed to be responsible for Magnitsky’s death. He wanted to prevent them from investing in safe havens that were outside of Russia’s jurisdiction. The U.S. Congress passed the law in 2012 and then extended the original Russia-focused legislation to a Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act in 2016.

Similar Magnitsky-style legislation has since been passed in Canada and the United Kingdom.

Australian MP Kevin Andrews, Chair of the Human Rights Sub-Committee, said in a statement that the inquiry would assess how Australia’s current sanctions laws regarding human rights abuses compare to other countries, and how such laws can be strengthened.

“Australia’s efforts to combat human rights abuses are broad, and the ability to impose sanctions against individuals who hold assets in Australia and commit gross human rights abuses abroad is a valuable tool in fighting such abuses,” Andrews said, referring to the possible im-

plementation of a Magnitsky-style Act.

Politicians from the two major Australian political parties, Senators Kimberley Kitching of the Labor Party and James Paterson of the Liberal party, have publicly signalled their support for introducing such a law.

“Free countries need powerful weapons of democratic pushback in an age of rising authoritarianism. A Magnitsky-style act is the next logical step,” they wrote in an opinion piece in The Australian.

“The real power of sanctions targeting individual human rights abusers comes when like-minded democracies act in concert with tough restrictions on their finances and travel ... If we act together, democracies with Magnitsky-style legislation will help reduce transnational criminality and corruption, bolstering our collective national sovereignty.”

Browder, who is now the head of the Global Magnitsky Justice campaign, also indicated that he believes implementing a Magnitsky-style

law should be a natural course of action for Australia.

“The Magnitsky Act currently exists in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, it doesn’t make sense for Australia not to be in that grouping because Australia works with all those countries on security issues, intelligence, and other matters, and should also work on human rights sanctions,” he told the Australian Broadcasting Corporation radio on Thursday.

“Australia is a country that’s an attractive place for bad guys to put their money. It’s a rule of law country; it’s a place where property rights are respected.

“You end up getting people who’ve done really terrible things [and] make money in other countries coming to Australia, and this [a Magnitsky-style Act] is a very powerful tool, because people who do these terrible types of atrocities ... they want to have some place where they can put their families, keep their money, and if that’s closed up to them, that creates a disincentive to do these kinds of

things going forward,” he said.

Browder also noted that the act would apply to human rights violators across the globe, not just Russia, adding that such legislation is “particularly relevant” now, given the current issues in China, including “the Uyghurs [and] the Hong Kong situation.”

“It gives the West something to do, which causes real pain on a targeted basis to people who perpetrate these terrible atrocities, but it still allows the countries to do business with these other countries,” Browder said. “And so we can sanction Chinese officials and still have diplomatic relations with China, for example ... it causes pain specifically to the people who are perpetrating atrocities.”

Elaine Pearson, Australia Director at Human Rights Watch, wrote on Twitter on Thursday that Australia “certainly should adopt a targeted sanctions regime against human rights abusers ... good to see this inquiry is happening.”

The committee is welcoming submissions related to the inquiry up until Jan 31, 2020.



# Inside Huawei Canada: ‘Wolf Culture’ and Alleged Discrimination

CONTINUED FROM A1

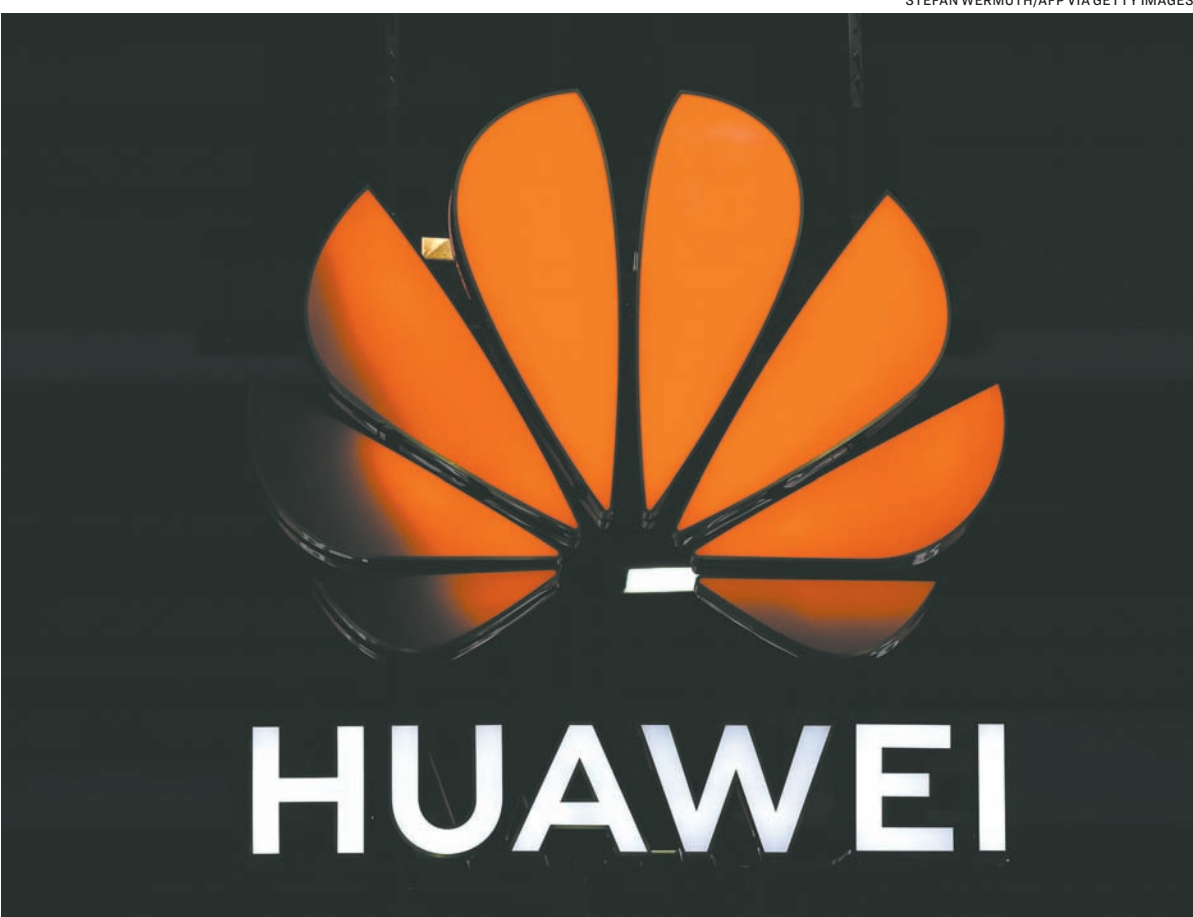
government subsidies and Chinese military “gift contracts” to lessen the pressure of turning a profit in new markets. By 2010, it was listed among the Global Fortune 500 corporations. Last year, its annual revenue passed \$100 billion.

“Huawei took the international telecoms equipment market by storm by charging about an average of 40 percent less than the market rates. They were able to do that because they were a [Chinese Communist] Party-related company,” Mark Anderson, CEO of Strategic News Service, said in a past interview.

Around the same time that Huawei was establishing its Canadian operations, Canada’s once-crown jewel tech company Nortel was on its way down, filing for bankruptcy in 2009 after its stock price dropped below \$1. Brian Shields, a former senior security adviser at Nortel, blames IP theft by Chinese hackers for the company’s demise, saying Chinese hackers were accessing confidential files from 2004 through 2009. The benefactor of Nortel’s fall, Shields said, was Huawei.

A partly redacted internal document from Global Affairs Canada dated Dec. 14, 2018, obtained by The Epoch Times under an Access to Information Act request, says that “with the demise of Nortel,” Huawei only faces competition from two companies in the West: Cisco and Ericsson.

The document adds that Huawei has over 850 employees across Canada, mainly in Ontario, and is the 25th-largest R&D investor in the country, maintaining partnerships with “nearly a dozen Canadian universities” as well as six regional and national telecom carriers.



An illuminated Huawei sign is on display during an event in Zurich, Switzerland, on Oct. 15, 2019.

Huawei took the international telecoms equipment market by storm by charging about an average of 40 percent less than the market rates.

Mark Anderson, CEO of Strategic News Service

The document acknowledges that “the U.S. administration and U.S. senators have publicly urged Canada to ban Huawei from 5G networks.”

**Canadian Operations**

When Huawei first started operations in Canada, the focus was on securing contracts with the major telecom carriers in the country. Meng oversaw negotiations with Wind Mobile (now Freedom Mobile) to provide vendor financing. Huawei assumed the risk of financing with the backing of a Chinese bank. She leveraged her high-level finance connections and accompa-

nied a bank executive to Toronto to sign the vendor financing agreement during a visit to the office in 2008.

Documents obtained by The Epoch Times show the company filed an amendment with Corporations Canada to update its list of activities to include “financing (deferred payment and lending)” in 2012.

Seeing a friendlier environment in a provincial government in Ontario, the company started moving R&D personnel to its offices in the province from the United States, where it was increasingly coming under scrutiny for its ties with Beijing. This week, Huawei revealed plans

to move its entire research centre from the United States to Canada, as it faces sanctions in the United States.

Huawei launched an aggressive recruiting drive to attract Canadian technical talent, luring employees from Cisco, Alcatel-Lucent—another company that fell as Huawei ascended—and the bankrupt Nortel to join its ranks. In a five-year plan, it set out to recruit over 2,000 technical R&D personnel between 2015 and 2020. Its R&D operations in Ottawa were expanded to Toronto to take advantage of talent graduating from universities in Toronto.

Huawei managed to recruit all the top five 5G experts from Nortel, and they continued to work on the next evolution in wireless technology for Huawei. The federal government has so far not made a decision on whether to allow Huawei to be part of Canada’s 5G network or follow the advice of its allies to ban it.

The company was given a \$6.5 million grant in 2010 from Dalton McGuinty’s Ontario Liberal government for investing in its R&D centre in Ottawa and hiring local employees, and another provincial grant of \$16 million in support of its investment in the province by the government of Kathleen Wynne in 2016. The Ontario Research Fund also approved about \$740,000 for a joint project between Huawei, Carleton University, Telus, and Bell Mobility in 2011.

CBC reports the company funds \$56 million in academic research in Canada—against the advice of security experts—and a report by The Globe and Mail shows that in many cases research partly funded by the Canadian public at these universities ends up as intellectual property

*Continued on A4*

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# Inside Huawei Canada: ‘Wolf Culture’ and Alleged Discrimination

CONTINUED FROM A3

for Huawei.

The company’s operations in Canada (as in other countries) are divided into three business units: The carrier network business unit deals with selling products and solutions to carriers, with the bulk of the focus in Canada being on wireless solutions; the enterprise business unit provides data storage and analysis services; and the consumer business unit focuses on personal handset and device sales.

“Canadian operation of Huawei is very profitable compared to operations in other countries,” said Mary Liu, who worked as a high-ranking employee of the company in Toronto. (The Epoch Times is using aliases for former staff who wish to keep their identity private to avoid retaliation from Huawei and the Chinese regime.)

Liu added that to minimise Canadian taxes, the profit is offset with R&D costs and minimum transfer costs with other business units. According to Liu, Huawei successfully negotiated a favourable tax scheme base on a fixed annual profit rate of around 3 percent with the Canadian government, used as the base to pay business tax in Canada.

The true cost of the products is a well-hidden secret, with only a handful of trusted local employees being privy to that information, typically most of them expats transferred from China.

The company maintains a very centralised operation, with key financial decisions for offices abroad made in Shenzhen. All critical proposals and solution quotes to telecom companies must go back to the headquarters, which has a 10,000-strong financial team to serve global operations.

### Anchoring in Canadian Society

As Huawei started to grow, concerns in Canada as well as south of the border about its ties to Beijing also grew. In 2012, a U.S. congressional committee said the company was a threat to U.S. security; the same year, Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s government banned it from bidding on building the government’s telecommunications network.

The new push was for Huawei to become more deeply entrenched in Canadian society, especially as it had finally solidified deals with the major mobile providers in 2014,

including Rogers, Bell, and Telus. That is why Meng reportedly wanted to see more “non-Chinese” faces in the company’s offices, especially for those who interact with outside clients. (Amid the controversy surrounding 5G, Rogers has since limited its use of Huawei in favour of Ericsson.)

An aggressive advertising campaign saw the company being promoted at major entertainment events and becoming a sponsor of Hockey Night in Canada, showing its logo to millions of TV viewers each week.

Huawei added Scott Bradley, a well-connected former Bell executive and once-Liberal Party candidate, to its ranks in 2011. Bradley left his post as senior vice-president for corporate affairs in January this year, amid the Canada-China tensions following Meng’s arrest. Among his accomplishments was working with the Huawei Canada CEO to get an approved shortlist of products that the government would allow Huawei to sell in Canada.

Huawei has since hired other political insiders, including Alykhan Velshi, an aid to Harper when he was the prime minister, and Jake Enwright, a former spokesperson for Conservative Leader Andrew Scheer. Enwright left his post in April. The company has a number of other lobbyists on its roster who used to work for former Liberal or Conservative governments or major Canadian businesses.

### Alleged Discrimination

Former Huawei Canada staff The Epoch Times spoke to allege the company often discriminated based on race and age, with the latter being a legacy company culture imported from China.

Liu said she was told directly by her superiors that Chinese employees—even Chinese-Canadians—should be offered a lower level of compensation.

She recalls that in one meeting, a high-ranking executive was dismayed at high employee costs, saying his expectation was that the Chinese employees should be getting paid less.

“For non-technical staff and those who deal with the public, they preferred to have non-Chinese employees,” she said. The intention, she



Huawei founder Ren Zhengfei adjusts his headphones as he hosts a panel discussion in Shenzhen, China, on June 17, 2019.

explained, was to make the company appear to be well integrated in Canadian society.

She adds that Huawei “wanted to always keep a young workforce,” a policy that was imported by an executive who transferred from China around 2016. This policy, similar to the policy of hiring more non-Chinese locals, was reinforced by Meng, Liu said.

Under this policy, employees who are 35 and older and haven’t yet become managers are put in a pool maintained by headquarters in China, and if no divisions want them, they are let go, according to Liu.

The practice of dismissing employees 35 and older in Huawei in China has been widely reported in the Chinese media, with employees expressing concern about job security once they pass 34. This alleged policy has generated a lot of online discussion among Chinese citizens. Company executives in China have denied the existence of the practice.

The company is also currently facing public backlash in China over the treatment of an employee. Li Hongyuan, a 13-year Huawei veteran, was detained by police for 251 days last year after he asked for a severance payment when he was laid off, Reuters reported. His case has become a trending topic online, with Hu Xijin, editor-in-chief of Chinese state tabloid Global Times, saying “Huawei has lost love this time round.”

Olivia Bai, another long-time former employee in Canada, says younger employees would be cheaper for the company and also more likely to work longer hours.

“You always heard about this and that employee getting laid off because of age. It wasn’t written down anywhere, but it was widely talked about,” Bai said.

Anna Yee, who worked as a full-time employee, says she was diagnosed with cancer and took medical leave, coming back to work after she was cured. However, she said she was eventually let go because of her age, after the new initiative to keep a young workforce was imported.

Liu said she heard directly from her superiors that the company wanted to get rid of Yee because of her age. At the time, Yee was in her early 50s.

Yee said up to her termination, she

Louis Huang of Vancouver Freedom and Democracy for China holds photos of Canadians Michael Spavor and Michael Kovrig, who are being detained by China, outside British Columbia Supreme Court, in Vancouver, on March 6, 2019, as Huawei Chief Financial Officer Meng Wanzhou appears in court.



always had good reviews and was known as a hard worker.

“I loved working, and I always had good performance reviews,” she said.

After she was given her notice, Yee confronted her superiors by email, telling them what they had done amounted to age discrimination. She said the company denied any discrimination but boosted her severance package. She protested again, and the company increased its offer of severance again but didn’t reinstate her job. She is now considering legal options.

The Epoch Times contacted Huawei for comment but received no response.

**It’s normal for people to work an average of 10 hours a day, and then again after dinner, with no overtime pay.**

Olivia Bai, former long-time Huawei employee in Canada

### Communist Party Studies and ‘Wolf Culture’

According to former Huawei employees, expat staff transferred from China to Huawei Canada, which account for about 10 percent of the personnel in the Toronto headquarters, are required to participate in what is called Chinese Communist Party (CCP) study sessions every Saturday morning. Liu said she often heard complaints from some of the expats about having to attend these sessions.

In addition, all staff, including expats and locals, have to adhere to the company’s “wolf culture,” promoted by founder Ren, himself drawing from his background with the Chinese military. The purpose is to have all employees embrace the fearlessness and bloodthirsty nature of hungry wolves when pursuing the business interests of the company, being resilient while operating in harsh conditions as a team.

“They have the guidelines on Huawei’s internal website for all to see and follow. The idea is that you have to compete to succeed no matter what, even if it means competing with your fellow colleagues,” Liu said. “They even had us read articles on the ‘wolf culture’ and share our understandings, and then write up reports on the understandings and submit to the headquarters in China.”

Bai said the result of the promotion of wolf culture was that there was always a demoralising atmosphere of competition in the company, creating tension between employees and managers and between fellow colleagues, and putting pressure on people working long hours so as not to fall behind.

“It’s normal for people to work an average of 10 hours a day, and then again after dinner, with no overtime pay,” Bai said. “You hear stories about this or that employee complaining about the long hours and no overtime pay, and then getting let go. Of course they don’t officially say that’s the reason, but that’s what everyone says.”

She adds that typically in companies, if someone is not performing to the expected level, they would first receive a warning and review meetings so they would have a chance to improve their performance. But in Huawei, they would make the working conditions more difficult for the employee they wanted to let go, such as increasing their workload and giving them poor performance ratings, so they would leave on their own.

“It really was an unhappy place to work,” Bai said.

Huawei currently has a number of job postings online, mostly for R&D positions. However, the former employees say workers they know who are still with the company tell them Huawei is currently doing rounds of layoffs, especially in non-technical and sales-related positions related to the major carriers.

“My [former] colleagues tell me they’re just waiting to get notified of being laid off,” Bai said.

With reporting by Becky Zhou



# Report Highlights Beijing’s Plans in Indo-Pacific

FRANK FANG

A recent Australian report has illuminated the Chinese regime’s intention to rival other major powers, including the United States, Australia, and Japan, in the Indo-Pacific region.

The report, titled “Ocean horizons: Strengthening maritime security in Indo-Pacific island states,” was published by Canberra-based think tank Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) on Dec. 5.

Chinese influence and investment in the region, some of which is carried out through its foreign policy initiative known as “One Belt, One Road” (OBOR, also known as “Belt and Road”), can have “financial, strategic, and sovereignty implications” since countries could take on unsustainable Chinese debts, the report said.

China established OBOR in 2013 to build up Beijing-centered land and maritime trade networks by financing infrastructure projects throughout Southeast Asia, Africa, and Europe.

In 2017, Sri Lanka handed over control of its key port of Hambantota to Beijing in a 99-year lease, to pay off more than \$1 billion in debt for the port project. The incident has been seen as a case-study in the regime’s “debt-trap diplomacy,” the report noted.

The Pacific Island states of Tonga, Samoa, and Vanuatu, “appear to be among those most heavily indebted to China anywhere in the world,” the report stated.

The regime also intends to exert some military influence through OBOR. According to the report, China’s Defense Minister Wei Fenghe in 2019 told a gathering of military leaders from the South Pacific and the Caribbean in Beijing how OBOR would provide a “framework” for military cooperation.

In 2018, both the United States and Australia were alarmed when Vanuatu signed a \$100 million port project with China with possible military applications, although both countries denied the agreement involved building a Chinese military base, the report said.

“China also has growing economic and demographic interests in each region [Pacific and Indian Oceans] that could drive future military responses. Growing investments, including as part of the [OBOR], create new interests to be protected,” it said.

### Pacific Island Countries

Beijing has a clear diplomatic and strategic agenda in South Asia, including interest in the region’s fish stocks and minerals, much at the expense of U.S. allies Australia and Taiwan, the report stated.

Additionally, for Australia, any



Chinese People’s Liberation Army personnel attending the opening ceremony of China’s new military base in Djibouti on Aug. 1, 2017.

China also has growing economic and demographic interests in each region [Pacific and Indian oceans] that could drive future military responses. Growing investments, including as part of [OBOR], create new interests to be protected.

APSI report

Chinese military facility would be a “significant threat,” particularly to the key sea lanes that link the country to the United States.

In a February 2018 article, ASPI pointed out that Australia was dependent on trade routes in Southeast Asia, including important choke points such as the Strait of Malacca, as well as the Sunda and Lombok straits. If these routes and those in the East and South China seas became contested waters, the country would need to secure alternative routes through the Banda Sea and the east of Papua New Guinea—both of which are located to the north of Australia.

Recently, the Australian government opened two parliamentary inquiries into the country’s defense relationships, and trade and investment with Pacific Island nations.

“The recent switching of diplomatic allegiance from Taiwan to China by Solomon Islands and Kiribati underscores the difficulties of the China challenge, when Beijing is willing to offer large sums of money to small states,” the report said.

Beijing considers Taiwan a renegade province to be united with the mainland, with military force if necessary, even as the island is a de facto independent polity with its own military and democratically elected officials.

The Chinese regime has taken dif-

ferent tactics to diminish Taiwan’s legitimacy as a state. In recent years, it’s lured away Taiwan’s diplomatic allies with Chinese investment and loans—in what critics call “dollar diplomacy.”

Taiwan has lost seven allies since 2016: El Salvador, Burkina Faso, the Dominican Republic, Panama, São Tomé and Príncipe, the Solomon Islands, and Kiribati.

Taiwan’s government-run media outlet Central News Agency reported that Beijing promised the Solomon Islands \$500 million in aid for the diplomatic switch.

Chinese criminals have set up operations in Pacific Islands countries. According to the report, Chinese human traffickers have used Palau and Fiji as transit points for other destinations within the region.

### Indian Ocean Island States

The Chinese regime now has control of several ports in the Indian Ocean, including Pakistan’s Gwadar port, Maldives’ Feydhoo Finolhu port, and Sri Lanka’s Hambantota—as well as a military base in the small African country of Djibouti.

“We should expect the opening of other bases (or at least logistical support facilities) in the future in the western, central, and eastern Indian Ocean,” the report stated, given the regime’s dependence on trade routes in the region, particularly through

the Strait of Malacca, to ship its energy imports.

Similar to the South Pacific, the Indian Ocean’s rich fish stocks are also of interest to China.

“Madagascar, with weak governance institutions and significant natural resources, also has the potential to become the target of predatory initiatives from China,” the report stated. It said there have been “non-transparent attempts” by Chinese companies to obtain fishing rights in the East African country’s exclusive economic zones.

All of the small nations in both Indian and the Pacific Oceans are vulnerable when dealing with bigger countries, the report said.

“Their size and institutional weaknesses also place island states at a big disadvantage in dealing with large countries that may seek to gain undue economic or political influence,” it said.

The report offered several suggestions for these nations.

“The Indo-Pacific island states should work together to strengthen regional norms that will help them resist economic coercion and enhance transparency in decision-making,” it said.

The report also called on Australia, Japan, India, and the United States to coordinate their coast guard agencies to offer assistance to island and littoral nations.

## Canadian Senator Rebukes Beijing’s Threats Over Magnitsky Motion

OMID GHOREISHI

Sen. Leo Housakos, one of the senators behind a pending motion to sanction Chinese officials for rights violations, says the Canadian government “shouldn’t tolerate any threats from the Chinese regime” after Beijing’s ambassador threatened “very firm countermeasures” in response to the motion.

“Nothing is more egregious than the Chinese ambassador threatening the Canadian government,” Housakos said in an interview.

Housakos, a Conservative and former speaker of the Senate, and fellow Conservative Sen. Thanh Hai Ngo plan to table a motion next week calling for Ottawa to use the Magnitsky law to sanction Chinese officials involved in human rights abuses in Hong Kong and mainland China.

“It’s meant to hold accountable members of the Chinese and Hong Kong regimes who are trampling upon what are clearly fundamental

human rights and the fundamental rule of law,” Housakos said.

In response to the proposed motion, China’s ambassador to Canada Cong Peiwu said on Dec. 5 that Beijing would “firmly oppose this type of behaviour” and that it would cause “serious damage” to relations between the two countries.

“We’ll make very firm countermeasures to this,” Cong said. “It is not in the interest of the Canada side, so we do hope that we stop this kind of dangerous activity.”

Following Canada’s arrest of Huawei executive Meng Wanzhou in December 2018, China has arrested two Canadians, Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor, sentenced two other Canadian citizens to death on drug smuggling charges, and blocked agricultural imports from Canada.

Cong’s remarks are part of a pattern of increasingly forceful words leveled at Canada by Chinese ambassadors in recent times. Cong had



U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry (L) talks with Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Director General Cong Peiwu as he disembarks from his airplane upon arrival at Beijing International Airport in Beijing on May 16, 2015.

earlier warned Canadian parliamentarians not to follow U.S. lawmakers’ lead in passing legislation to sanction Chinese officials over the crackdown in Hong Kong. His predecessor, Lu Shaye, had called Canada and its Western allies white supremacists for calling for the release of Kovrig and Spavor.

“It’s a joke to call Canada a country that supports white supremacy when currently they [Beijing] have millions of minority Muslims [Uighurs in China’s Xinjiang province]

whom they are brutally trampling upon their basic right of freedom of expression and religion,” Housakos said.

The senator criticised Ottawa’s performance on China, saying the government has been “slapped around” but has not taken appropriate action in response.

“They seem to be appeasing and kowtowing to China’s brutal behaviour,” Housakos said.

He notes that it’s because of the lack of action on the part of the government that he is tabling the motion.

“We are a G7 country, we have economic leverage, we have political leverage, and it’s high time that Mr. [Prime Minister Justin] Trudeau stands up and defends Canadian values,” he said.

One of the actions Canada should take is “showing the door” to Huawei and China’s state-owned Bank of China in Canada, Housakos said.

“They [Beijing] are not preoccupied with the international rule of law; their main concern has always been the bottom line. So we have to make it clear to them that we’re not going to do business with a regime that is undemocratic and has no respect for human rights.”

With files from The Canadian Press



# Steele Dossier Played ‘Essential’ Role in FBI Obtaining Spy Warrant on Trump Campaign Aide

CONTINUED FROM A1

team contacted FBI OGC [Office of the General Counsel] again about seeking a FISA order for Page and specifically focused on Steele’s reporting in drafting the FISA request.”

Steele is the former British intelligence professional who founded a commercial investigative firm, Orbis Business Intelligence, and was hired by Fusion GPS to conduct opposition research into members of the Trump campaign. Fusion GPS, in turn, was retained by law firm Perkins Coie on behalf of the Clinton campaign and the DNC.

The Inspector General said Steele’s research played “a central and essential role” in the FBI and Justice Department’s efforts to obtain the spy warrant on Page.

The FBI, however, did not independently verify the allegations in the Steele dossier. An earlier analysis by The Epoch Times showed that special counsel Robert Mueller in his nearly two-year-long investigation did not confirm, nor provide any evidence for any of 103 specific claims in Steele’s memos, collectively known as the “Steele dossier.”

“We found that the FBI did not have information corroborating the specific allegations against Carter Page in Steele’s reporting when it relied upon his reports in the first FISA application or subsequent renewal applications,” the IG report stated.

According to the Inspector General, Steele himself was not even the original source of the information.

“Steele himself was not the originating source of any of the factual information in his reporting. Steele instead relied on a Primary Sub-source for in-



U.S. Justice Department Inspector General Michael Horowitz testifies to the Senate Judiciary Committee in Washington on June 18, 2018.

Despite the fact that Steele’s information was uncorroborated, was paid for by a political campaign, and could not be verified, the FBI used his claims in the FISA application.

formation, who used his/her network of sub-sources to gather information that was then passed to Steele,” the report said.

Steele’s political bias against then-presidential candidate Donald Trump had also been known to Steele’s handling agent as well as the supervisory intelligence analyst who supervised the investigative team’s analytical efforts.

Yet despite the fact that Steele’s information was uncorroborated, was paid for by a political campaign, and could not be verified, the FBI used his claims in the FISA application. In its report, the Inspector General said that “FBI policy mandates that the case agent ensure that all factual statements in a FISA application are ‘scrupulously accurate.’”

The Carter Page FISA application consisted of five main allegations. One of them accused Page of “coordination with the Russian government on 2016 U.S. presidential election activities.”

The FBI relied “entirely” on unsubstantiated information in the Steele



Carter Page participates in a discussion on ‘Politicisation of DOJ and the intelligence community in their efforts to undermine the president’ at the One America News studios on Capitol Hill on May 29, 2019.

dossier to substantiate that allegation.

“We found that the FBI did not have information corroborating the specific allegations against Carter Page in Steele’s reporting when it relied upon his reports in the first FISA application or subsequent renewal applications,” the IG report states.

According to the Inspector General, it was especially important, absent independent confirmation of Steele’s claims, for “the FISA applications to articulate the FBI’s knowledge of Steele’s background and its assessment of his reliability.”

Instead, the FBI informed the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court, which ruled four times in favour of a FISA warrant on Page, that Steele was “a reliable source.”

Other than one footnote included in the FISA application, after “persistent inquiries” by Stuart Evans, the National Security Division’s Deputy Assistant Attorney General, no mention was made of Steele’s work for a political campaign.

The Inspector General also says

it “identified multiple instances in which factual assertions relied upon in the first FISA application were inaccurate, incomplete, or unsupported by appropriate documentation, based upon information the FBI had in its possession at the time the application was filed.”

These examples include the fact that the FBI omitted information detailing the fact that Page had been an “operational contact,” for a U.S. government agency, and that he had provided information on his prior contact with Russian intelligence officers.

Another example states that the FBI “overstated the significance of Steele’s past reporting.”

Some information contained in the Steele dossier was also included in the Obama administration’s intelligence community assessment (ICA) on the actions by Russia to interfere in the 2016 election. According to the IG report, the ICA “was a topic of significant discussion between the FBI and the other agencies participating in it.”



World Trade Organisation (WTO) Director-General Roberto Azevedo arrives for the General Council at the WTO headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, Dec. 9, 2019.

## Fate of WTO’s Top Court Effectively Sealed by US Blocking Strategy

BOWEN XIAO

The United States said on Dec. 9 that it won’t back a proposal to allow the World Trade Organisation’s (WTO) top court to continue.

President Donald Trump is a longtime critic of the organisation, and for two years, his administration has been blocking appointments to the WTO’s seven-member Appellate Body that rules on trade disputes, with U.S. officials saying the court had overstepped its mandate.

While the Appellate Body needs a minimum of three judges to function, the terms of two of the three remaining members of the panel expire Dec. 10; the United States is blocking any possible replacements.

Another attempt was made on Dec. 9 to reach a consensus on arrangements for filling the vacancies, as well as obliging the appeals panel to issue rulings within 90 days. The WTO is the only international group that deals with the rules of trade between each country, via agreements among the organisation’s member nations.

The U.S. ambassador to the WTO, Dennis Shea, said other members hadn’t addressed Washington’s concerns about

what he called the court’s “over-reach” and “disregard” of WTO rules. Shea said the United States didn’t support the proposal to start filling Appellate Body positions.

The WTO didn’t immediately respond to a request by The Epoch Times for comment.

### China

Much of Trump’s criticisms against the WTO centre on how the organisation treats China. In binding rulings, WTO judges have given Beijing the benefit of the doubt on subsidies and rejected Washington’s concerns about unfair trading practices.

On Twitter in June, Trump called the organisation “broken” and said the world’s richest countries “claim to be developing countries to avoid WTO rules and get special treatment ... at the expense of the USA!”

In July, Trump pressed the WTO to stop allowing Beijing and other major economies to receive lenient treatment by proclaiming themselves “developing” countries. At the time, Trump directed U.S. Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer to “use all available means” to get the WTO to block countries from using the claim.

Developing countries get more time to open their economies, more leeway to subsidise their exports, and procedural advantages in WTO disputes. Countries can choose their own status, and other countries can challenge them.

Trump said the designation lets China and others take “unfair” advantage of the trade rules. If the United States decides the WTO hasn’t made “substantial progress” after 90 days, it will seek unilaterally to stop treating those countries as developing economies.

“China, which is a great economic power, is considered a Developing Nation within the World Trade Organisation,” Trump wrote on Twitter earlier this year. “They, therefore, get tremendous perks and advantages, especially over the U.S. Does anybody think this is fair. We were badly represented. The WTO is unfair to U.S.”

China’s trade ambassador, Zhang Xiangchen, reacted to the U.S. actions on Dec. 9, saying, “This is no doubt the most severe blow to the multilateral trading system since its establishment.”

David Walker, New Zealand’s ambassador who chairs the WTO’s committee on dispute settlement, proposed last week that it should at least be allowed to conclude four cases that have already had hearings.

Ten pending appeals would be left in limbo, along with a 100 or so more in the process.

At this year’s annual United Nations General Assembly, the 74th session, Trump said it was a mistake to allow China admittance into the WTO in 2001.

“Not only has China declined to adopt promised reforms, it has embraced an economic model dependent on massive market barriers, heavy state subsidies, currency manipulation, product dumping, forced technology transfers, and the theft of intellectual property and also trade secrets on a grand scale,” he said.

“The United States lost 60,000 factories after China entered the WTO. This is happening to other countries all over the globe.”

Reuters and The Associated Press contributed to this report

## Lawmakers Urge AG Barr to Prosecute Obscene Pornography Producers, Distributors

JANITA KAN

Four Republican lawmakers sent a letter to Attorney General William Barr to urge him to take action against producers and distributors of obscene pornography.

The letter, obtained by the National Review, was signed by Reps. Jim Banks (R-Ind.), Mark Meadows (R-N.C.), Vicky Hartzler (R-Mo.), and Brian Babin (R-Texas) and asks the Justice Department to enforce U.S. obscenity laws against the porn industry.

The congress members say the internet and evolving technologies are fueling an explosion in obscene pornography, which they say is coinciding with the increase of violence towards women and an increase in the volume of human trafficking as well as child pornography. Dr. Alvin Cooper, a sex research, said online pornography addiction is becoming a rising problem because the accessibility, affordability, anonymity provided by the internet makes the content more readily available, calling the phenomenon the “Triple A engine.”

“Victims are not limited to those directly exploited ... and include society writ large. This phenomenon is especially harmful to youth, who are being exposed to obscene pornography at exponentially younger ages,” they wrote in their letter dated Dec. 6.

The lawmakers referenced Barr’s previous work to effectively shut down the pornography industry when he served as President George H.W. Bush’s attorney general, but added that most of the prosecutions under that effort were halted when former Attorney General Eric Holder, an Obama appointee, dissolved the Obscenity Prosecution Task Force in 2011.

Some state legislatures have also raised concerns about the effects of pornography on children. Fifteen states have declared pornography a public health crisis as a result, the lawmakers said in their letter. A 2008 study found that nine out of 10 boys are exposed to online por-

nography before the age of 18 while six of 10 girls were exposed to it.

In 2016, then-presidential candidate Donald Trump signed a pledge to protect children from sexual exploitation online. The pledge says that if Trump is elected as president he would uphold the rule of law by aggressively enforcing existing federal laws to prevent the sexual exploitation of children online, including the federal obscenity laws, child pornography laws, sexual predation laws, and the sex trafficking laws. The lawmakers asked Barr to fulfil Trump’s campaign promise.

“Given the pervasiveness of obscenity it’s our recommendation that you declare the prosecution of obscene pornography a criminal justice priority and urge your U.S. attorneys to bring prosecutions against the major producers and distributors of such material,” they wrote in their letter.

The Justice Department established the Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section in 1987 under the Criminal Division of the department, which runs Project Safe Childhood, to protect children from sexual exploitation and prohibit the distribution of obscenity.

In October, Justice Department officials announced that over 300 people were arrested worldwide following an international operation to take down the largest secret child exploitation website hosted on the “dark web.”

U.S. prosecutors said the international operation, targeting both the website operator and users, led to investigations in 38 countries and yielded the arrests of 337 people suspected of possessing or sharing child sexual abuse content.

“The sexual exploitation of children is one of the worst forms of evil imaginable. Indeed these crimes are so heinous they are difficult even to speak about. But our government has no higher priority than the safety of our children,” U.S. Attorney Jessie K. Liu said at the time.



# University Goes on Offense in Cultural Battle, New Centre Debunks Christian Socialism

MATTHEW VADUM

Liberty University, a private Christian university in Lynchburg, Virginia, has launched a new think tank that it says will push back against the left’s efforts to turn young people and Christians into socialists by misrepresenting the Bible and U.S. Constitution.

The school, which describes itself as “a Christian academic community in the tradition of evangelical institutions of higher education,” created the Falkirk Centre for Faith & Liberty to go on the offensive against efforts to dilute the Judeo-Christian values found in the Bible and Constitution by those on the left seeking to promote ever-expanding government.

“The goal is to educate the public, especially the younger generation, on the fundamentals of American government, and what our founders were trying to accomplish,” Liberty President Jerry Falwell Jr. told The Epoch Times.

“We feel like the public schools in the last few decades and the mainline universities have either not taught American history at all or they’ve revised it to the point that it ignores the exceptionalism of the American experiment and emphasises only the negative things that were part of our history.”

“We just don’t want to see some of the disasters that have happened in history with communism and fascism and slavery, all the things that came out of the old world, to ever happen here.”

Falkirk was co-founded by Falwell and Turning Point USA founder Charlie Kirk, two ardent defenders of President Donald Trump, who appreciate his aggressive style. Falwell credits Kirk with coming up with the idea of creating the centre.

The launch took place on Nov. 30 in Lynchburg and was attended by more than 60 Christian leaders and influencers from across the nation.

The Falkirk Centre will operate as a wholly-owned subsidiary of Liberty University. Falkirk’s mission will be to “equip courageous champions to proclaim the Truth of Jesus Christ, to advance His Kingdom, and renew American ideals.”

According to the university, the Falkirk Centre is needed to combat the “powerful voices and institutions [that] are increasingly seeking to eliminate Judeo-Christian principles from American culture and society.”

“The news media, elected officials, academic institutions, and special interest groups have used their platforms to deny America’s legacy of foundational Judeo-Christian principles and replace them with the creeds of secularism, influencing upcoming generations of Americans at alarming rates.”



Jerry Falwell, Jr.

I think establishment Republicans are just as bad as liberal Democrats when it comes to taking our country in the wrong direction, so I've got no sympathy for the establishment Republicans at all.

Jerry Falwell Jr., President of Liberty University



MEGAN JELINGER/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES



Charlie Kirk and Rob Smith speak at Turning Point USA (TPUSA) Culture War event at the Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio, on Oct. 29, 2019.

The centre plans to “use a diverse variety of advocates and media strategies to promote the core beliefs of America’s Founders in limited government, free enterprise, individual rights and liberties endowed by our Creator, and their deliberate and intentional creation of a republic and not a theocracy.”

Falwell said it’s wrong for the left to use Christianity to advance their policy goals.

“When people like [House Speaker] Nancy Pelosi and [Democratic presidential candidate] Pete Buttigieg say it’s un-Christian not to have open borders or socialism, I think they’re perverting the Gospel.”

“I think establishment Republicans are just as bad as liberal Democrats when it comes to taking our country in the wrong direction, so I’ve got no sympathy for the establishment Republicans at all,” Falwell said.

“When you hear somebody like [former Ohio Gov.] John Kasich use the Gospel for socialistic programmes, it’s just to show that he has a basic mis-

understanding of the Gospel.”

Kirk told The Washington Examiner the Falkirk Centre hopes to answer a question often posed to him: “Was Jesus Christ a socialist?”

“We’re in a culture battle right now where you have to fight and play offense, and part of this effort is to try and play offense against the secular left,” he said.

“The fastest-growing religion in America is atheism and secularism, and with that is the rise of leftism and statism, and, as people veer away from the church and veer away from the Judeo-Christian values that built our country, people are more likely to embrace statism,” Kirk said.

Jesus, Falwell told The Epoch Times, “told us as individuals to help the poor; he never told us to vote for somebody who was going to take money from our neighbours and give it to the poor. So Jesus, in my opinion, was apolitical.”

“We think it’s a distortion of the teachings of Jesus by the left to suggest that he was a socialist,” Falwell said.



A U.S. soldier sits atop a Bradley armored personnel carrier as it drives near the town of Tal Tamr in the northeastern Syrian Hasakeh province on the border with Turkey, on Nov. 10, 2019.

## Pentagon Denies Report Claiming US Considering 14,000 More Troops for Middle East

ZACHARY STIEBER

The Pentagon issued a statement denying a report claiming the United States is considering sending 14,000 more troops to the Middle East.

“This reporting by the @WSJ is wrong. The U.S. is not sending 14,000 troops to the Middle East to confront Iran,” Department of Defence spokeswoman Alyssa Farah said in a statement late Dec. 4.

After some people said the statement appeared to skirt the thrust of the report—that the U.S. was considering sending, not already sending—Farah issued an additional statement.

“To be clear, the reporting is wrong. The U.S. is not considering sending 14,000 additional troops to the Middle East,” she added.

Farah also directly responded to Sen. Josh Hawley (R-Mo.), who shared a link to the Wall Street Journal and said that he wanted to hear in the Senate Armed Services subcommittee hearing why the Pentagon wants 14,000 more troops.

“Is the Pentagon preparing for a land war?” Hawley wondered. “Senator Hawley, this report is wrong,” Farah told him.

The Wall Street Journal cited unnamed “U.S. officials” in its report. No source was cited with any further identification. In addition to Farah, Pentagon spokeswoman Rebecca Rebarich went on the record appearing to rebut the report, telling the paper that Trump “has said for years that he doesn’t want to fight new wars in the Middle East.”

John Rood, the Pentagon’s No. 3 official, told reporters in Washington on Wednesday that there were “indications” of “potential Iranian aggression,” though he said he couldn’t disclose details.

“We’ve sent very clear and blunt signals to the Iranian government about the potential consequences of aggression,” Rood said.

Rood told lawmakers during the Senate Armed Services subcommittee hearing on Thursday that the article was “erroneous.”

“We are observing Iran’s behaviour with concern. As you know, in recent months they have conducted some attacks ... We continue to see threat reporting that concerns us as well.” Rood said the United States has deployed 14,000 troops in the last six months. “We haven’t made a decision to deploy an additional 14,000 troops,” he said.

## Chinese State Media Suggests People Vandalise White House After US Backs Hong Kong Bill

CONTINUED FROM A1

nature attire of Hong Kong demonstrators—smashing and throwing rocks at the building.

The posts were swiftly removed, but not before netizens spotted the mix-up.

Joshua Wong, leader of Hong Kong pro-democracy group Demosisto, posted a screenshot of the CCTV post, together with a side-by-side comparison of the White House and the U.S. Capitol.

Solomon Yue, national committeeman for the Republican Party of Oregon, took to Twitter to criticise Chinese state media for encouraging violence.

“Cancel People’s Daily and CCTV reporters’ [U.S.] visas for inciting vandalism against the White House,” he said.

For nearly six months, Hong-kongers have taken to the streets in a bid to resist the perceived Chinese regime’s increasing influence in the city.

Beijing has fiercely criticised Washington for passing the Hong

Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act, which could lead to sanctions against Chinese and Hong Kong officials involved in rights violations in the city.

The measure, which President Donald Trump signed into law on Nov. 27, requires the U.S. administration to certify annually if Hong Kong should continue to be granted special trading privileges with the United States.

On Dec. 2, China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced it would deny the U.S. Navy entry to Hong Kong ports. The regime also imposed unspecified sanctions on multiple U.S. pro-democracy organisations, including Freedom House and Human Rights Watch, saying they had “played an egregious role in the Hong Kong amendment bill disturbance.”

### Influence Campaign

The Chinese communist regime has routinely taken to Western social media as part of its overseas cam-

paign to shape the narrative on the ongoing Hong Kong protests, which it has framed as “rioting” and the work of “terrorists.”

In August, Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube—all of which are inaccessible in China—suspended hundreds of accounts tied to a Chinese state-backed disinformation campaign against the demonstrators.

In an Aug. 19 blog post, Twitter announced it closed 936 accounts linked with the Chinese regime that were “deliberately and specifically attempting to sow political discord in Hong Kong, including undermining the legitimacy and political positions of the protest movement on the ground.”

Recent tender documents from the state-controlled China News Service showed the outlet offered hundreds of thousands of dollars to expand its reach on Twitter and Facebook. The Central Cyberspace Affairs Commission, the top internet censor agency, also put out similar bids in August for carrying out

“online promotion of crucial topics.”

State-run outlets such as CCTV, Global Times, and China Daily have also been actively posting on social media as part of efforts to undermine the protest movement.

On Dec. 4, state-run Xinhua news agency posted a Twitter video showing dozens of pro-Beijing demonstrators in Hong Kong waving the regime’s red flags in a march to the U.S. consulate. They trampled on a U.S. flag to express their anger at the passage of the bill, and also punched and burned an effigy of Trump.

On Nov. 28, the day after Trump signed the Hong Kong legislation, the outlet’s Twitter account posted photos showing a small number of pro-Beijing activists rallying in protest in Hong Kong. One of the posts stated the bill “was strongly condemned and opposed in Hong Kong.” It made no mention of a rally held on the same day at Edinburgh Place, where thousands of Hong-kongers expressed appreciation for the U.S. enactment of the bill.



# Is a New Cold War Emerging Between America and China?

JAMES GORRIE



Commentary

Too often, history and experience open our eyes to one set of facts and yet leave us blind to others. Our experiences and the information upon which we base our judgements colour our perceptions and leads us to certain biases.

That’s why nations that prepare for the next war typically apply much of the same lessons it learned from the previous one, which can be costly. Trying to avoid repeating history can, in itself, be a flaw in one’s perception. It’s important to remain informed by history, but not trapped in it.

No Reason for a Cold War?

That’s a challenge for some in assessing the threat that the United States faces from China today.

Thus, historian Melvyn Loffler, Professor Emeritus at the University of Virginia, writes in The Atlantic recently, “The Chinese today are not seeking to destroy Americans’ way of life, as the Soviets were said to be doing in the 1940s.” He confidently concludes that there is no reason for a Cold War to emerge between the United States and China.

Loffler goes even further, claiming that “the Chinese accept fundamental aspects of our capitalist marketplace, and they have similar interests in halting climate change, fighting terrorists, and combatting pandemics.”

How does Loffler know this?

China Doesn’t Want to “Partner” With the US

Just because a Cold War scholar explains how the historical patterns of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union are much different than current political and economic frictions saturating the U.S.-China relationship, that doesn’t prove in the least that global dominance at the expense of the United

Hong Kong protesters take part in a ‘March of Gratitude’ rally to say thank you to the United States for passing a Hong Kong human rights bill to support Hong Kong’s autonomy from the communist mainland on Dec. 1, 2019.

It’s important to remain informed by history, but not trapped in it.



States is not China’s political and economic objective.

That is, in fact, precisely the Chinese Communist Party’s (CCP’s) publicly stated goal. They’ve painted themselves into a corner by doing so, and now have to deliver on that objective.

In order to realise this, however, it will require a fundamental change in America’s position in the world, from dominant superpower to a new, lower-tier nation with diminished status. Needless to say, that assessment approximates the viewpoint of the White House, which puts it at odds with Professor Loffler and much of American academia.

Who’s right?

China Rejects Liberal Trade Model

The simple fact is that there is an intense and very damaging trade war between the United States and China precisely because China does not “accept fundamental aspects of our capitalist marketplace.”

Their behaviour since joining the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2000 has

been in direct opposition to the open markets and free trade policies they promised to deliver.

Remember, the fundamental aspect of capitalism is the creation of wealth derived by profit-based market activity. That means leveraging the price mechanism and free flow of information for the efficient distribution of resources, capital investment and the production of the right goods in the right amount at the right or “market” price.

For the most part, the CCP has rejected these very basic aspects of capitalism. That’s understandable; for if they did, they would soon be out of power.

China’s “State Capitalism” is Mercantilism

Rather, China prefers the market share maximisation strategy of mercantilism. Specifically, for 30 years, China has leveraged wage level differentials to attract Western manufacturers, and then sold its cheaper products back to the Western economies at lower prices than domes-

# China’s One-Child Policy Is Stark Reminder That

CHRIS TALGO

Commentary

This year marks the 40th anniversary of one of the most dreadful public policies in recent memory: communist China’s one-child policy.

Fortunately, a new documentary, “One Child Nation,” is shining a much-needed light on the darkness that has shrouded this horrific programme since its inception four decades ago.

In summary, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) launched the one-child policy in 1979 in an attempt to boost the standard of living by artificially restricting the country’s rapidly rising population.

For decades, this policy was strictly enforced, especially in urban areas. Those who resisted were dealt with in excruciatingly brutal ways. In the first few years, families caught with more than one child paid extremely high fines, had property confiscated, or their homes literally demolished by the CCP’s village and provincial officials. The party also dispersed an army of “family planners” to ensure the policy was properly enforced.

Women who longed for more than one child were routinely implanted with contraceptive intrauterine devices after they bore their first child. If these women had the audacity to remove these devices and bear a second child, forced sterilisations



A scene from “One Child Nation,” which shows propaganda for the Chinese Communist Party’s one-child policy.

were regularly performed.

To put this in perspective, 324 million Chinese women had intrauterine devices surgically implanted, and 108 million were forced to undergo sterilisation procedures from 1980 to 2014. During this period, untold numbers of abortions, including post-birth, were also instituted. Sadly, infanticide was routinely commit-

ted, too.

According to estimates, 500 million births were “prevented” during the one-child policy era, which was officially ended in 2014.

The story of this appalling programme took another sinister turn in 1992, when the CCP allowed international adoptions to take place. What followed was





CHRIS MCGRATH/GETTY IMAGES

The CCP’s sole objective with respect to the United States is to replace it as the sole superpower on the planet as soon as possible.

Protesters display placards during a rally to support press freedom in Hong Kong on March 2, 2014 at a time of growing unease for locals who see Beijing seeking to tighten its control over the semi-autonomous region.

tic producers can charge and remain in business. This resulted in eventual bankruptcy for thousands of Western domestic producers and expanded market share for Chinese firms.

Profits from these expanding firms are then taken by the Communist Party, and working capital for these now state-owned enterprises (SOEs) is either supplied by foreign direct investment or by the People’s Bank of China (PBOC) lending more and more money to firms that end up being owned by Party members, turning them into millionaires and billionaires.

What’s more telling is the “Made In China 2025” programme, the stated goal of which is to realign the world’s technology centres from the United States, Europe and Japan to China. The concurrent effect would be to destroy those nations’ research and high-tech capabilities, making the rest of the world dependent on China. The programme has since been renamed, but the objective remains the same.

**Not an Ally Against Terrorism or Pollution or Pandemics**

As for being part of the global fight against terrorism, China is a big supplier of high tech weapons to Iran, the world’s largest exporter of state-sponsored terrorism and an avowed enemy of the United States. China is also a major importer of Iranian oil.

But what about climate change? Is China the “crucial partner” that Loffler insists it is? No. Contrary to Loffler’s claim that China can’t be compared to the old Soviet Union, actually, it can. Both Russia and China had—and have—mostly command economies, which by definition rely on graft and corruption to function.

Because China’s economy is based almost entirely upon corruption, waste, fraud, and extreme pollution just come with the state capitalism territory. China has made little headway compared to the United States and Europe in that area.

In fact, both China and Russia are among the worst polluters in the world.

Other nations where corruption rules, such as Pakistan and India, are also big polluters. Most of the world’s pollution actually comes from Asiatic nations.

As far as fighting terrorism and pandemics are concerned, the CCP has been waging political and religious terrorism against its own citizens for decades. And pandemics? Not likely, given that the opioid addiction sweeping the United States, claiming tens of thousands of young American lives every year, is fuelled by Chinese fentanyl labs.

**The New Cold War is Already Here**

It shouldn’t be difficult to see that China is indeed waging a cold war against the United States, and has been since 2000. China is not interested in following the United States, or being subject to the rules that a global superpower imposes. The CCP’s sole objective with respect to the United States is to replace it as the sole superpower on the planet as soon as possible.

It makes much more sense to assess China’s policies on their face value based on the CCP leadership’s known intentions, China’s capabilities and the will of the Party leadership to leverage both of these to achieve their anti-U.S. objectives. All of these facts point to a sustained and dangerous effort to replace the United States in its role as the global hegemon. This is crystal clear to the White House. Why doesn’t academia see it?

*James Gorrie is a writer and speaker based in Southern California. He is the author of “The China Crisis.”*

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

PHILIPPE LOPEZ/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES



# Collectivism Is Evil

rampant corruption and a thriving black market for Chinese babies. In short, at least 130,000 Chinese children (perhaps millions, according to some experts) were taken from their birth parents and sold to state-run orphanages.

The orphanages then “sold” these children to American families (the average cost of a Chinese adoption ranged from at least \$10,000 to upwards of \$20,000), filling the pockets of CCP officials and their cronies who aided the process. Even more reprehensible, state-owned orphanages often lied to the adoptive parents, telling them the child they were adopting was “abandoned.” In reality, the CCP was shamefully running an international baby-selling scheme.

As “One Child Nation” shows, thousands of Chinese families to this day have no idea where their children (taken from them against their will) ended up. An international database has been created to attempt to reconnect some of these children with their birth parents. This process, however, has successfully reconnected only a handful of these children with their families in China.

At this point, you may be wondering, although this tragic tale is very sad, what is the relevance today? After all, the CCP abandoned the one-child policy five years ago.

Well, here is the rub: The one-child policy and the horrors it perpetuated on countless Chinese families are a

symptom of communist and socialist government. The one-child policy was a massive central planning scheme run amok. As the documentary shows in vivid and excruciating detail, the mass majority of Chinese citizens (including women who underwent sterilisations or had their children aborted) actually believe the policy was beneficial and necessary.

How is this possible? Because the government indoctrinated the people with endless propaganda promoting its one-child programme. Whether through veiled or outright threats, or all other sorts of brainwashing techniques, the CCP actually convinced hundreds of millions of people they were doing this for the “good of the nation.”

In other words, in China, individual freedom bows to the will of the CCP and its collectivist ideology.

And, coming full circle, here’s the crux of it all: The one-child policy and the horrors it inflicted upon a billion people were only possible because individual freedom, private property rights, and rule of law are antithetical to socialist, collectivist ideology.

With any luck, millions of Americans will watch “One Child Nation” and realise that socialism, communism, and collectivism are deranged ideas that always morph into mass murder and madness.

On a personal note, I am proud that

The one-child policy was a massive central planning scheme run amok.

my parents adopted a little girl from China more than a decade ago, during the height of the one-child policy. Today, she’s thriving and very glad to have the opportunity to live in the United States. I am now curious if she was a victim of the rampant human trafficking scheme perpetuated by the CCP—something we may never know.

One thing is certain. The one-child policy should forever be remembered for the sheer brutality and horror it inflicted for more than 30 years.

The one-child policy, of course, has completely backfired. China’s population is now under immense pressure because the one-child policy caused two catastrophic problems.

First, China has too few women compared with men, because male children were preferred to carry on the family lineage. Second, China has far too few young people to support its huge elderly population. To “solve” this new problem, the CCP launched a new national birth planning policy in 2016: the two-child policy.

As they say, central planners just never learn, do they?

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



# Will Regionalism Trump Globalism?

JAMES GORRIE



*Commentary*  
Things aren't looking good for globalism these days. With President Donald Trump signing the "Hong

Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act of 2019," any pretence of a trade deal being signed by the United States and China before Dec. 15 is out the window. Trump's recent statements all but confirmed that reality.

After being questioned at the NATO Summit, Trump warned that the trade war could go on past the 2020 election. That's a high probability, given recent statements from China's Vice President Wang Qishan about waiting until Trump is replaced.

But what if Trump wins re-election in 2020? Will a trade deal be worked out between China and the United States then?

Who knows?

In the meantime, trade volume isn't just slowing down between the United States and China, but throughout the eurozone and in Japan as well. On the plus side, the U.S. economy continues to do well. Overseas, business has grown in Vietnam and in other nations as they pick up China's manufacturing losses.

### Globalism has Peaked

In retrospect, globalism more or less peaked under former President Barack Obama with the variety of multilateral trade deals, climate agreements, and an unsigned but somehow legitimate nuclear accord with Iran.

For globalism to remain the dominant trend in the world, the United States must lead the way, and yet also cede the way to China. That curious, self-defeating dynamic, which began when the United States granted China most-favored nation status in 2000, is no longer in play.

With the United States having adopted America-first policies on trade and military alliances, it's now absent those agreements. As a result, the grand, globalist assumptions underlying globalism—especially China-centric globalism—have less force and credibility.

Given that fact, it's no stretch to say that the era of China free riding the rest of the world is winding down. Or at least China-centric globalism is lessening in some critical parts of the world, i.e., the United States and Europe. China may well come to rely even more on its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) to gain access to resources and markets.

What kind of global trade agreements can possibly emerge in a new, and a perhaps more fractured and riskier world?

### It was Never Just About Trade

The fact is, with China, the trade



ALEX WONG/GETTY IMAGES

With China, the trade war was never just about trade imbalances.

war was never just about trade imbalances. Trump, whatever his flaws may be, realised the threat that China posed not only to the U.S. economy, but to U.S. strategic interests as well.

His anti-China pronouncements and high tariffs highlighted the more sinister aspects of their adversarial trade policies, which include their plans to destroy the economies of the West. Sounds dramatic, but that's an accurate assessment.

That's why, whether Trump is in the White House in 2021 or not, the pre-Trump status quo is gone forever. The mystique of globalism has been shattered by China's own hubris, trade behaviour, and inhumanity. The CCP's vast catalogue of human rights abuses—from slave labor, mass imprisonment of minorities, and widespread police and paramilitary violence in Hong Kong and now the mainland—is now well known. Such behaviour is disagreeable to the liberal democracies in North America and Europe, not to mention most of Asia as well.

Added to that dismal portrait are decades of technology theft, cyber hacking, and an undisguised intent to tank the economies of Europe and the United States. Unlike in 1989, where the world overlooked the CCP's atrocities at Tiananmen Square in favour of the cheap labor and the seduction of China's billion-plus market, the bloom is off the China rose.

The bigger picture reveals the China-centric globalist picture as darker and much less benign than perhaps once imagined. Simply put, China is becoming much less

U.S. President Donald Trump (L) speaks during a meeting with Chinese Vice Premier Liu He (R) as other U.S. officials look on in the Oval Office of the White House on Feb. 22, 2019.

The mystique of globalism has been shattered by China's own hubris, trade behaviour, and inhumanity.



JUSTIN SULLIVAN/GETTY IMAGES

Stacks of shipping containers sit in a storage area at the Port of Oakland, California, on May 13, 2019.

alluring to Western economies than it has been in the past.

### A Return to Risky Regionalism?

If globalism has peaked, what could replace it?

We will likely see a return, at least to some degree, of regional trading blocs and bilateral trade agreements. Regional trading blocs have existed for centuries, of course, but will likely play a larger role in trade going forward.

Of course, that doesn't mean all aspects of global agreements on trade, the environment, and strategic alliances will simply go away. Those that are beneficial to all sides and are stabilising influences, to one extent or another, will likely remain in place. Those agreements that are too one-sided will be less successful over the long term.

For example, the eurozone, NAFTA/USMCA, and China's BRI will all continue to function in one fashion or another. Other international agreements will likely continue, as well. But some, such as the Transpacific Partnership and the Paris Climate Accords, will lack the official approval and participation of the United States.

Going forward, new agreements will likely be renegotiated on not just a bilateral basis but on a security basis. That's what the Trump administration is trying to accomplish with its trade agreements with Japan and the eurozone, as well as Eastern European countries such as Poland, Hungary, Ukraine, and others.

President Trump's spat with German Chancellor Angela Merkel regarding Germany buying Russian natural gas while the United States is paying for German security against Russia is a case in point. His promise to expand U.S.-UK trade after Brexit is another.

Would such agreements increase global trade or reduce it?

A good argument could be made

We will likely see a return ... of regional trading blocs and bilateral trade agreements.

either way, but certainly it will alter some trade flows. That's already happening.

### History Lessons to Consider

From a strategic standpoint, however, regionalism tends to increase global instability. Regional hegemonic powers tend to reject "external" actors—other, competing nations—that threaten their positions. Access to resources such as oil, natural gas, or agricultural assets play a huge policy role in nations that lack them and so must acquire them from outside suppliers.

The 1930s are a good historical example of this. As a rising power, resource-poor Japan chose foreign conquest in China and Oceania as a means of sustaining its dominant economic and military status in the Far East. That necessitated driving British, Dutch, and U.S. presences out of the region. It also, in their minds, made it necessary to attack the United States at Pearl Harbour.

But it's certainly not the case that the world has only had either globalism or regionalism, or that either have prevented competition among nations. Globalism has predominated over the past several decades, but regionalism has existed forever, and will continue to do so.

*James Gorrie is a writer and speaker based in Southern California. He is the author of "The China Crisis."*

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JUSTIN SULLIVAN/GETTY IMAGES

A container ship sits docked at the Port of Oakland, California, on May 13, 2019.



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ABOUT US

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We endeavor to educate readers about today’s most important topics, seeking to broaden and uplift minds. We believe that rational, balanced debate is key for fostering a healthy democracy and a compassionate society.

As an independent media outlet, we use our freedom to investigate issues overlooked—or avoided—by other media outlets. We seek to highlight solutions and what’s good in society rather than what divides us.

We report respectfully, compassionately, and rigorously.

We stand against the destruction wrought by communism, including the harm done to cultures around the world.

We are inspired in this by our own experience. The Epoch Times was founded in 2000 to bring honest and uncensored news to people oppressed by the lies and violence in communist China.

We still believe journalism is a noble vocation, but only when it genuinely seeks to serve its communities and help them to flourish. In all that we do, we will hold ourselves to the highest standards of integrity. This is our promise to you.

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SPECIAL SERIES

# How the Specter of Communism Is Ruling Our World

## How Communism Sows Chaos in Politics

The Epoch Times here serializes a translation from the Chinese of “How the Specter of Communism Is Ruling Our World,” a new book by the editorial team of the “Nine Commentaries on the Communist Party.”

Chapter Eight (Cont.)

4. Violence and Lies: The Primary Methods of Control in Communist Politics (cont.)

**c. How Communist Lies Confuse the West**  
Communism has a terrible reputation in the West, so lying is its only means of expanding its influence. Communist and left-wing groups use slogans like “freedom,” “progress,” and “the public interest” as a pretext for winning public support. In fact, their goal is to carry out their plan of advancing socialism. Their tactics mirror the communist promises of creating “heaven on earth.” Some parties promote policies that are basically communist but come packaged under another name. For instance, the establishment of a socialized health care system isn’t called socialist, but instead “people’s health care,” or they justify it as being based on public opinion. When they want to force employers to pay a minimum wage, they call it a “living wage.” All the while, Western governments get more powerful and intervene in people’s lives more and more.

Pro-communist politicians and interest groups make empty promises to get elected, something very similar to what communist parties did to win approval when they were just getting started. These politicians promise higher social welfare, or say that everyone will get a job and medical insurance. No one cares to talk about who will pay, or how the system will work out in the long term. They often don’t even plan to fulfill their promises in the first place. Benito Bernal, a congressional candidate on the U.S. West Coast, formerly on the left side of politics, recently disclosed that a political party once built a political organization with members that included federal departmental secretaries, federal senators and congressmen, and state and city council members. He says that they came up with a 25-year plan to manipulate different levels of government in order to campaign for the future presidency. Bernal discovered that the organization claimed to dedicate its resources to help communities resolve problems such as gang violence, school dropouts, teenage pregnancy, illegal immigrants, and social injustice. But its actual goal was to have all these people rely on the government. Bernal described this as a “system of slavery,” and said:

“When I questioned people in the organization, they asked me three questions instead. ‘First, if all the problems were solved, what would the next presidential candidate propose to help? Second, do you have any idea how much capital has come into our city to solve these problems? Third, do you know how many jobs are created to solve these problems?’ At the time, I wondered if these people were clearly telling me to profit from people’s pain, gang violence, and children killing each other.” Bernal said that if someone took the time to look at that party’s voting record, they would realize that the party wanted people to be disappointed, suppressed, and impoverished, so that it could profit from their misfortune. This is why he later decided to leave the party. In the 2008 U.S. presidential election, the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), a liberal group started in 1970, was found to have registered thousands of fraudulent voters.

In 2009, the group was again involved in a nationwide scandal. In the name of upholding justice and fighting for low-income households, it had received a large amount of government subsidies and federal bailout money, which were meant to be used to help those families with medical care and housing needs. Two investigators disguised as a prostitute and a pimp went to ACORN’s offices in several major cities to seek advice on how to operate their business, while secretly videotaping the interviews. Their videos show ACORN employees advising them on how to operate a brothel with a phony company and identity, and showed them how to launder money, hide the cash, avoid investigation, lie to the police, and evade taxes. Though ACORN repeatedly defended itself, its reputation was devastated and its funding withdrawn, forcing it to shutter a year later. Many political pledges seem tempting on the surface, but once carried out, result in ruin for people’s future. This is known as “the Curley Effect,” as studied by two Harvard professors.

Pro-communist politicians and interest groups make empty promises to get elected, and no one cares to talk about who will pay, or how the system will work out in the long term. They often don’t even plan to fulfill their promises in the first place.

Forbes summarizes the Curley Effect thusly: “A politician or a political party can achieve long-term dominance by tipping the balance of votes in their direction through the implementation of policies that strangle and stifle economic growth. Counterintuitively, making a city poorer leads to political success for the engineers of that impoverishment.” Specifically, politicians use warped and redistributionist fiscal and tax policies—such as giving tax incentives to trade unions, government programs, and minority enterprises—while increasing taxes on other enterprises and the wealthy. The result is that the beneficiaries of those policies (including the poor, trade unions, and so on) become reliant on the politicians who favor them, and then support them in elections. These “soak the rich” and high-tax policies are used to support governmental projects that encourages the wealthy and entrepreneurs (who don’t want their money taken and squandered) to leave the city, with the result that the opponents of the policies are fewer. Such politicians then have a stable, long-term

hold on that area, and can build their political machine. At the same time, the taxation and job opportunities in the city decrease year by year, and eventually the city goes bankrupt. The Forbes article points out that the influence of the Curley Effect is widespread, affecting the top ten poorest cities with a population of more than 250,000 in the United States. Today, one rich Western state, which has been mostly controlled by politicians on the Left, is facing the consequences of these policies. The Left also changes the meaning of words. For example, for conservatives “equality” means, roughly speaking, having equal opportunities. In this way, people will be able to compete fairly, and a natural meritocracy is formed. For leftists, however, the term means equal outcomes—meaning that whether or not people work hard, they receive the same outcome as others who don’t.

Conservatives believe that tolerance is inclusive of different beliefs and opinions; when personal interests are harmed, people should be broad-minded and generous. The Left often understands tolerance to mean tolerance of sin. Their understanding of freedom and justice differs quite markedly from the traditional concepts. Social-engineering policies, like celebrating homosexuality, having men and women use the same bathroom, legalizing marijuana, and other policies that undermine human ethics are all dubbed “progressive,” as if they were somehow moral advancements. In reality, all these policies undermine the moral laws laid down by God for man. This is how the policies on the left-wing of the political spectrum end up undermining morality. The communist evil specter uses this style of politics for its own ends.

In the past, people believed that the United States had a truly free society and was the last bastion against communism. But today, people see clearly that high taxation, a highly developed welfare state, collectivism, big government, social democracy, “social equality,” and the like—all derived in one way or another from socialist and Marxist-Leninist ideological DNA—are enshrined in policies and put into practice. In particular, the younger generation simply isn’t aware of the history of brutality in communist countries. They yearn for and pursue an illusory ideal, and are deceived by the new guise that communism has taken on. The result is that they unknowingly walk on a road to ruin.

**5. Totalitarianism: The Consequence of Communist Politics**  
It’s widely known that communist totalitarian countries control all aspects of the personal lives of their subjects. The nonviolent forms of communism gradually and continually expand government power, increasing control over social life and eventually moving toward an authoritarian system. In countries where communist totalitarian power has not yet been established, people are also in danger of losing their freedoms at almost any time. Even more frightening is the fact that modern totalitarianism uses science and technology to carry out personal surveillance and extreme control of life, something never seen before.

See next edition for the next installment.



# Durham Throws a Monkey Wrench in Horowitz’s Dumb Show

CONTINUED FROM A1

and life goes on as before, with only the slightest cosmetic alterations.

He has done much the same with his “Review of Four FISA Applications and Other Aspects of the FBI’s Crossfire Hurricane Investigation.” He found “17 significant errors,” one (we are assured low-level) attorney to have forged part of an email, and various other mistakes in the FISA process that (we are also assured) have already been corrected by FBI Director Christopher Wray.

All’s well that ends well. Even former FBI Director James Comey was happy, dashing off an op-ed in The Washington Post touting his and the organisation’s vindication.

Except, within hours of the release of the report, along comes U.S. Attorney John Durham—who has been investigating much of the same territory but with a wider berth and prosecutorial powers—to spoil the occasion:

“Based on the evidence collected to date, and while our investigation is ongoing, last month we advised the Inspector General that we do not agree with some of the report’s conclusions as to predication and how the FBI case was opened.”

Predication is, of course, the heart of the matter. Just why did the FBI open an investigation of Trump–Russia collusion that proved, after nearly two years, to be nonexistent? Was there real justification somewhere, no matter how obscure, as the IG suggests, or was it a set-up, as implied in Lee Smith’s recent book “The Plot Against the President”?

Durham apparently has found evidence of something untoward. He advised Horowitz of his information at least a month ago, but the IG apparently ignored it or dis-



Justice Department Inspector General Michael Horowitz (L) and FBI Director Christopher Wray before testifying to the Senate Judiciary Committee on “Examining the Inspector General’s First Report on Justice Department and FBI Actions in Advance of the 2016 Presidential Election” in Washington, on June 18, 2018.

Durham apparently has found evidence of something untoward.

agreed. This isn’t a minor difference of opinion. It’s the essence.

So who’s right here?

I’m betting on Durham. Government employees—people in his position—almost never speak out at moments like this, unless they have the goods. It’s not the least bit collegial and could cost them their careers. Durham must have been extremely disturbed and concerned the public was being misinformed.

He and his boss, Attorney General William Barr, have journeyed to Europe on several occasions, gathering pertinent information from intelligence agencies. As Durham points out:

“I have the utmost respect for the mission of the Office of Inspector General and the comprehensive work that went into the report prepared by Mr. Horowitz and his staff. However, our investigation is not limited to developing information from within component parts of the Justice Department. Our investigation has included developing information from other persons and entities, both in the U.S. and outside of the U.S.”

We will have to wait for details of what Durham learned in Italy and the United Kingdom and elsewhere, but I would suggest that it’s time to step back and apply Occam’s razor (i.e., common sense).

An investigation that went on for years produced nothing of any substance. What started it? It could

have been an accident, though I’m not sure how. It could have been a trigger of some unknown sort, but a “low bar,” as Horowitz infers. Or it could have been deception. Whatever it was—it was wrong.

It will take strong men such as Durham and Barr, not an obfuscator such as Horowitz, to make sure it doesn’t happen again.

Roger L. Simon is *The Epoch Times’* senior political analyst. His most recent novel is “*The GOAT*.”

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

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## Experiencing the World’s First 20-Hour Flight

Qantas used this test trip to explore ways to reduce its inevitable downside: Soul-crushing, body-buckling jet lag.

See B2



## Change the World? Change Yourself!

Before you can solve gargantuan, globe-spanning problems, you must first solve yourself.

See B12

# LIFE

THE EPOCH TIMES



Disappointment feels awful; it is a part of life and is actually a positive and healthy emotion.

Instead of talking about the gifts under the tree, you could talk about the fun they will have with friends and family.

## Disappointment About Gifts Is Good for Kids Who Have Enough

Learning to navigate the feeling of disappointment is a critical ability for a child’s growth

NIKKI MARTYN & ELENA MERENDA

Disappointment is a natural human emotion that occurs after a perceived failure. For our young children, this perceived failure can look like not getting the

toy they wanted, not being invited to a classmate’s birthday party or losing their favorite stuffed animal.

It is essential for children’s mental health, well-being and overall development that they experience how to deal with disappointment well. But this can be difficult for parents to handle, particularly around holidays that have grown to involve consumerism, gift-giving, and expectations.

North American culture often mistakenly links love and happiness with material goods such as toys; the Santa story promises magical wish fulfillment. This can cause conflict for parents when children do not get the

**Research has linked gratitude to significant health and wellness benefits.**

“right” gift.

On holidays, there’s social and personal pressure to provide “happiness” and “joy” to children through material objects, which can be confused with providing the necessities. For parents who do not have the resources to provide the “perfect” or “desired” gift, this can cause additional stress, shame, guilt and fear around disappointment.

Parents may feel as though they have let down their child and that they have impacted the child’s experience or memory of their “special day.”

Continued on B5



# I Just Took the *World's First 20-Hour Flight.* Here's What It Did to Me

ANGUS WHITLEY

I've just endured the world's newest, longest flight, a 10,100-mile nonstop ultra-marathon from New York to Sydney. It took about 19 and a half hours, and was almost as demanding as that sounds.

The record-breaking Qantas Airways Ltd. flight touched down early morning on Oct. 20 in Australia. The Boeing Co. Dreamliner delivered its few dozen passengers—including yours truly—to their destination more or less intact, even if some of us were not quite sure what day it was.

Qantas wants to begin flying the time-saving route commercially as soon as 2022, so the airline used this test trip to explore ways to reduce its inevitable downside: soul-crushing, body-buckling jet lag. Here's how my journey unfolded in real time.

Off the Ground

It's shortly after 9 p.m. in New York, our plane has just left JFK International Airport and it's already become a flying laboratory. Since the goal is to adapt to our destination's time zone as fast as possible, we click into the Sydney clock right off the bat. That means no snoozing. The lights stay up and we're under instructions to stay awake for at least six hours—until it's evening in Australia.

This immediately causes trouble for some passengers.

Down one side of the business-class section, six Qantas frequent flyers are following a pre-planned schedule for eating and drinking

(including limiting alcohol), exercise, and sleep. They wear movement and light readers on their wrists and have been asked to log their activities; they've already been under observation for a few days and will be monitored for 21 days in total. Most of them are bingeing on movies or reading books, but one of them is dozing within minutes. To be fair, I feel his pain. It may be the middle of the day in Sydney, but my body is telling me it's pushing midnight in New York.

2 Hours in

It's feeding time, and a key moment in the experiment. The specially designed dishes are supposed to fire me up, and a flavorful serving of poached prawns with chili and lime is like a gentle culinary slap in the face. Spicy Chinese-style cod with jasmine rice and sesame seeds repeats the explosive action. I'm momentarily awake.

The plane's 40 passengers, including media, are all in business

- 1. The crew disembarks in Sydney.
- 2. Qantas Captain Sean Golding (L) and First Officer Jeremy Sutherland (R).
- 3. Professor Marie Carroll from the University of Sydney's Charles Perkins Centre leads exercises for the passengers being monitored.
- 4. One of the dishes served aboard.

class: With so few passengers, nobody needs to travel economy. In an interview, Chief Executive Officer Alan Joyce tells me the real Project Sunrise flights—if they go ahead—will have more legroom in economy than standard planes, and there will be some space at the back of the aircraft for stretching.

The six human guinea pigs at the heart of the research are seated on one side of the cabin. I want to do my own set of tests to see how my body is holding up.

After speaking to a travel doctor in Sydney before the trip, I'm armed with equipment to monitor my blood pressure, heart rate, and oxygen-saturation levels. I've also got a memory test and a mood questionnaire. I want to see if a flight this long impairs my brain or dims my spirits.

The three-hourly tests I take during the first half of the flight reflect the demands of this trip.

ALL PHOTOS BY JAMES D MORGAN/QANTAS





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My blood pressure is elevated, though not high, and my heart rate picking up. My mood is light, though darkening very gradually.

3 Hours in

The physical pressure of this experiment is clear. Around me, passengers are standing up just to stay awake. The crew have been asked to keep sleep diaries, and to use iPads to rate their fatigue, reaction times, workload, and stress. That dozy frequent flyer at the front of the plane is asleep, again.

While I'm finding this regime fairly challenging—and I'm not even in a do-it-tough economy seat—I try to keep things in perspective. After I first wrote about this upcoming flight last week, one reader emailed to urge me into a stouter mindset. During the Korean War in the early 1950s, he said, he regularly flew 40-hour reconnaissance missions with crew rotations every six hours. "Man up," the 83-year-old told me. Point taken.

4 Hours in

Marie Carroll, a professor at the University of Sydney who's overseeing the passenger research on the flight, rallies her troops at the back of the plane.

"This is the time, guys, when we really have to work through this," she tells them. Moments later, they're leaning against the food trolleys in the galley, stretching. Next, they perform upright press-

ups among the empty economy sets. As a finale, they attempt synchronized dance moves in the aisles. All in the name of science.

It looks like cabaret, but beating jet lag is serious business. Beyond the sleepless nights and daytime fatigue, experts say critical processes including heart function and metabolism are upset when the body clock gets disrupted.

The airline used this test trip to explore ways to reduce its inevitable downside: Soul-crushing, body-buckling jet lag.

7 Hours in

A second meal arrives. For me, being fed twice in a relatively quick succession has really helped time pass quickly during the first part of the flight. This part of the menu should mean the next few hours slip by, too: It's heavy on carbohydrates and designed to send us to sleep. The sweet potato soup with crème fraîche is thick and luxurious, the toasted cheese sandwich less so. The chef on the plane tells me he's been preparing our meals for three days.

The lights are dimmed at last, and it feels like I've been released. I crash for six hours straight.

That's longer than I can remember sleeping without waking on any other flight, even with the business-class privilege of a flat bed.

14 Hours in

Across the board, my own medical tests suggest I'm coping. My blood pressure, which the doctor in Sydney said would be a good gauge of stress and fatigue, is back to normal. My heart's pumping slower, I ace my memory test, and my questionnaire shows my mood is brighter.

The research on the passengers and crew will feed into Project Sunrise, Qantas's plan to start direct commercial services connecting Sydney with New York and London. Other super-long flights from Australia's eastern seaboard to South America and Africa might follow, Qantas says.

Onboard, Joyce tells me he'll "absolutely" roll out this flight's regime on his other long routes—if the science shows it helps. The trick is accommodating those who want to drink and snooze at will, Joyce says.

But don't go booking your round-the-world flights just yet. Qantas needs new planes from Boeing or Airbus SE that can do the job with a full load of passengers, and a new deal with crew to work longer than 20 hours. "It needs everything to come together," Joyce says. He initially had dreams of turning these super-long flights into flying hotels, with sleeping berths

or a work-out zone. That vision gave way to reality when profit margins proved too tight to waste space on such luxuries.

Since the goal is to adapt to our destination's time zone as fast as possible, we click into the Sydney clock right off the bat.

Our plane doesn't have the range to haul a full load of passengers with luggage to Sydney. It took off with its fuel tanks maxed out—about 101 tons. To keep the weight down, there's no cargo, and food and drink are limited. In New York, the captain had seemed confident we'd make it to Sydney with gas to spare. He planned on landing with six tons of fuel, enough to stay airborne for another 90 minutes.

17 Hours in

Breakfast time, and there's no limp sausage. Instead, it's a bowl of ancient grains, avocado puree, warm halloumi cheese, and a herb salad. This flight is turning everything on its head.

One of the frequent flyers, Sydney-based investor Nick Mole, says he got almost eight hours'

sleep and feels good. What about a full day's work after landing? "I probably could do that," he says. He thinks the bigger test will be how he copes in a couple of days.

Preparing to Land

I feel better now than I did after flying to New York from Sydney a few days ago with one stop. The dozen or so hours it took to reach Los Angeles were followed by a grating hour and a half queuing at immigration with hundreds of other zombified travelers.

As our plane approaches its destination, Joyce addresses everybody on board. He tells us the flight has given him more confidence that Project Sunrise can work. And come Sunday lunchtime in Sydney, I'm feeling jaded but far from debilitated. I even make it through a children's birthday party, surely an acid test of anyone's nerves.

Personally, I would choose a direct Sydney-New York flight over one with a layover. But it won't suit everyone: It took discipline and work to stick to the no-sleep routine in the first half of this flight. There may be a benefit to switching to the destination time immediately, but it comes at a price. I feel like I had to earn it.

The author traveled to New York at Bloomberg's expense to join the Qantas flight back to Sydney.

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LITERATURE

# The Old Stories Are Best: Adam and Eve

JAMES SALE

In my last article for The Epoch Times, “What’s Wrong With the World,” I touched on the fact that there is what I called a “triumvirate of psychopathologies” that afflict us as human beings, and that these three psychological problems were evident from the very beginning.

Indeed, that is the joy of the earlier, older stories. While simple from a narrative point of view, at the same time they seem to contain more and greater explicatory power. The story of Adam and Eve is a perfect example of this.

Blame, Projection, Denial

First, let’s recall what the three major psychopathologies are. As human beings we tend to, first, blame others, especially when we are at fault; second, project onto others our own fears, insecurities, and motives; and, third, deny reality, which is to say that we refuse to accept how things are even when the evidence is staring us in the face.

This last problem—denial—is arguably the worst tendency of all. No matter what the evidence, some people insist on not accepting it because they are wedded to their own pet theory. For example, Sir Fred Hoyle, a most eminent British scientist of the 20th century, refused to accept the evidence for the Big Bang Theory—that the universe had a beginning—till his dying day in 2001. Part of this rejection was entirely theological: He considered the theory to be pseudoscience because, as he said in a BBC interview, “It is deep within the psyche of most scientists to believe in the first page of Genesis.”

Madness, in a sense, is the refusal to accept reality as it is and to impose on it the unreal structures that we desire or that we prefer.

The Very First Question

But how, then, does the story of Adam and Eve reflect these three pathologies? Consider the story in Genesis chapter 3. In the first verse we find the serpent being introduced, which is described as “more crafty than any beast of the field,” and it speaks.

Two things to note at this point: First, if the serpent is “speaking,” then, as I see it, we are clearly not dealing with a literal snake but something or someone more potent and intelligent, of which the serpent forms some sort of representation so that we can understand. In other words, we are in the realm of poetry whereby truths are being expressed which are difficult to express otherwise.

Second, we note that after the previous two chapters and their total of 56 verses, we come to an interrogative sentence posed by the serpent. It is, in fact, the first question that the Bible poses, which is, “Indeed, has God said, ‘You shall not eat from any tree of the garden?’”

We notice the craftiness of the serpent immediately, although Eve apparently doesn’t, for God did not say “you shall not eat from any tree,” but rather that from “any tree of the garden you may eat freely; but from the tree of knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat.” In other words, the ban was only for one specific tree. The serpent, thus, exaggerates the prohibition to make it seem worse than it is.

We can infer that this form of marketing—via exaggeration—initiated the first doubt in Eve’s mind, the first doubt in a human mind. She thinks: What had God said, in fact? Swiftly, she has a more serious doubt, not exactly of what God had said, but whether God’s words were true. Would they die? Believing the serpent, she thinks: No! And underlying this question



PUBLIC DOMAIN

lay an even profounder question: Was the creation “good,” as God claimed in chapter 1?

The serpent invited Eve to doubt the goodness of creation, of the world, and of our very selves. Are we good?

**Leaving Goodness Behind**

And the answer is, of course, that we are not good, for Adam and Eve chose evil as we do now. Metaphorically and perhaps literally too, they ate evil (symbolized by the fruit) and in doing so began to see things differently. Rather like a drug entering the body, the poison’s first symptoms might be mild, but eventually reality acquires a hallucinatory quality that can no longer be controlled.

The psychopathologies come rushing in. First, Adam denies his guilt. Asked the direct question by God, “Have you eaten...,” he equivocates. He cannot be guilty because he blames Eve and holds her responsible for his actions. See how the words “I ate” come right at the end of his sentence: “The woman Thou gavest to be with me, she gave me from the tree, and I ate,” as if he is distancing himself from them so that they are as far away from him along the sentence structure as they can be.

So denial and blame form a double whammy! Eve, suddenly finding herself entirely responsible for the mistake, immediately shifts into similar gear. Her sentence is less convoluted, but it’s blame first: “The serpent deceived me, and I ate.”

Both, then, individually and collectively, claim that they are not responsible for their actions, and blame another. Surely, too, this is not wholly unfamiliar to us. Are we exculpated from our crimes because we were deceived by someone when we committed them? Certainly, in courts this excuse is frequently used. However, here

▲  
“The Rebuke of Adam and Eve,”1740, by Charles Joseph Natoire. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

As human beings we tend to, first, blame others, especially when we are at fault.

blaming doesn’t work—and denial is futile.

What can Adam deny? His (and Eve’s) attempt to clothe—to cover—himself is tangible, visible evidence of his guilt.

**Life Is Bad**

On top of these denials and blames, intriguingly, they project their guilt. Adam, incredibly if we think about it, projects his guilt onto God Himself! “The woman Thou gavest to be with me, she gave me ....” In other words, Your actions caused this mess. If You hadn’t given me Eve, then I would not have eaten: My guilt is Your guilt; if I have done wrong, it is because You have done wrong.

Or, another possibility is that contrary to what God said, life is bad. In this brilliant psychological and spiritual moment of utter intensity, the created turns on the Creator and imputes to Him his own faults and wrongdoing.

Eve goes the other way. Rather than projecting onto God, she imputes the guilt and wrongdoing onto the serpent which deceived her. Keep in mind, of course, that God created the serpent, so there is an indirect imputation of blame on God too!

Eve makes it sound very straightforward, but if we go back to the text, we find something quite different from a simple misdirection. First, she listens to the serpent, then she sees that the tree is “good for food” and also a “delight to the eyes,” and that the tree itself was “desirable to make one wise.” There is a complete sensuous (and later writers, for example Milton in “Paradise Lost,” also add sensual) feast going on here: She hears, she sees, she experiences gustatory and hunger pangs.

There is nothing, of course, wrong in itself with sensuous experience, for the world is beautiful, but what Eve is subtly doing—following perhaps the craft of the serpent—is pil-

ing on reasons why she could not help but eat the fruit. In other words, the very beauty of the world (which God created) seduced her into error. She fell in love with what God had created rather than with the Creator Himself, and so broke faith.

And perhaps above all the sensuous reasons, she gets at last to the cognitive one: wishing to possess wisdom—a vaulting ambition to be as God or like God. This blasphemous desire conceals yet another critique of the Creator, for it implies a defect in creation, as if she and Adam were not already wise.

She blames the serpent, but she also projects onto it: The serpent is really responsible for the entire imperfection of creation, though God is the real target as He created the serpent too.

How contemporary this all is! Because the most common objection to the existence of God is why or how God allows evil to exist.

However, if we take the Christian interpretation of these passages, God—remarkably and perhaps with compassion—seems to accept partially both projections. In the case of Eve’s assertions, we learn from God’s curse that the serpent is doomed, for it will be wounded in the head, which is fatal; whereas the serpent will only wound Adam’s seed in the heel, which is not fatal, and which is seen as a prophecy of the wounding of Christ on the cross.

In the case of Adam’s projection, God becomes the Man who ultimately receives the final punishment for the transgression. It is as if God atones for only creating a “good” cosmos rather than a perfect one (a perfect one could not fall into error)—which St. Augustine referred to as the fortunate fall (felix culpa) whereby mankind obtains a greater good than could be obtained merely by remaining good.

The Consequences of Blame, Projection, and Denial

Be that as it may, we have at the point of the Fall two good human beings, a man and a woman, who now endemically suffer from blaming, projecting, and denying. And if the consequences of this are bad when facing God, they are scarcely less awful when confronting each other.

To see the full force of this observation, consider the situation a few years later: “Where is Abel your brother?” And Cain’s reply? Denial. “I do not know.” The bloody history of the world begins.

Check yourself: How often do you find yourself blaming others for your problems and difficulties? How often do you find yourself projecting onto others—neighborhoods, races, gender, age, and so on—issues that really have their root in you?

And finally, are you in denial? What facts won’t you accept, will deny to your dying day? These things on a personal, local, national, and international level are what drive evil today. The fault is in us, and until we can accept this and take responsibility, the situations we find ourselves in are beyond repair and can only worsen. Adam and Eve have a lot to tell us.

All quotes are from the New American Standard version of the Bible.

James Sale is an English businessman whose company, Motivational Maps Ltd., operates in 14 countries. He is the author of over 40 books on management and education from major international publishers including Macmillan, Pearson, and Routledge. As a poet, he won First Prize in The Society of Classical Poets’ 2017 competition and recently spoke at the group’s first symposium held at New York’s Princeton Club.



# The Power of Words

Written or spoken, they can make or break our day

JEFF MINICK

Long ago, when I was a kid, I watched a television advertisement for Anacin that remained stuck in my head all these years. A mother and grown daughter are working in a kitchen. The mother wonders whether the soup needs more salt, and the daughter retorts, “Mother, please! I’d rather do it myself.” The voice-over then says, calmly and coolly, “Control yourself. Sure you’ve got a headache. You’re tense. Irritable. But don’t take it out on her.” Maybe one reason that ad rented a permanent apartment in my brain has to do with the power of words.

**Strength, Inspiration, Love**  
Words can make or break our day. Whether written or spoken, they can buck up the disheartened, those beaten down by circumstances and failure, those for whom compliments are as rare as a snowstorm in July. If we find ourselves locked in some gloomy attic of the mind or spirit, words of encouragement can become candles illuminating the darkness, unlocking the door, guiding us down the shadowy stairwell, and escorting us into the sunshine. A simple “Well-done!” uttered by that usually taciturn boss can leave her assistant walking on air for the rest of the day. Many coaches, teachers, motivational speakers, and others bring words into play to rally their listeners, infuse their hearts with pride and courage, challenge them, and point them to the uplands of greater accomplishments. The 14-year-old who receives a couple of sentences of praise from his teacher for his history essay finds himself striving even harder for excellence. In Kenneth Branagh’s film “Henry V,” when we listen to the speech the king delivers to his men before the Battle of Agincourt, some of us find ourselves as ready as any of those English

knight to pluck up a shield, raise high a sword, and charge across the field. Words also usher in romance and love. Few of us can write like William Shakespeare or Elizabeth Barrett Browning, but passion can transform even that inarticulate woodworker or that shy barista into rough poets, makers of spoken verse or love letters whose fumbling rhythms and awkward meanings are treasured by the beloved. A Pennsylvania dairy farmer I knew long ago used to rise well before dawn to milk the cows. In the kitchen, he often left little notes to his wife. One morning he scratched out a few lines telling her how much he loved her. When he was late returning from the barn, she went and found him collapsed of a heart attack, never to regain consciousness. That woman had lost her husband, but she kept his simple note until her own death some 20 years later. At the right moment, just a brief “I love you, you know” can flash across the heart like lightning in a storm-black sky.

**The Other Side of the Coin**  
Which brings us to the dark side of language. Words can heal, raise our spirits, and speak to us of love and affection, but they also have the power to cut us to the quick or leave a gaping wound. We may forgive the cruel remark of a friend, an employer, or a spouse, but forgetting is another matter altogether. An example: When I was a seventh-grader in a military school, a new cadet 200 miles from home, I asked an eighth-grader if I could borrow a pencil. “Minick,” he said, “I wouldn’t give you the sweat off my back.” I have long forgotten that cadet’s name, and have no idea



At the right moment, just a brief “I love you, you know” can flash across the heart like lightning in a storm-black sky.

why he despised me, but that dismissal and the sneer on his face are as vivid to me as the day they were delivered. The mother whose toddler goes into a meltdown where he screams “I hate you!” will probably forget that moment, but the mom whose 16-year-old shrieks the same words will likely find the moment emblazoned forever on her memory. That barb, those three simple syllables, will remain a wound in her heart for as long as she lives. (A note of consolation for moms with difficult teens: Odds are that the kid who curses you will be weeping at your funeral.)

**Words Without Faces**  
Today, the opportunities to hurt others with words have grown immeasurably. With our technology, we can debase a stranger thousands of miles away while hiding our identity behind a pseudonym, we can end a relationship with a short, cruel text, and we can revile those whose politics differ from ours without fear of repercussion. Liberated from uncomfortable face-to-face encounters, freed even from taking responsibility for our words, some hurl insult and obscene deprecation with utter abandon, ditching manners and decorum, and reveling in the role of bully. Because of that technology, what we write can also come back to haunt us. The grown man who at age 15 wrote something stupid online about race or sex, the 30-year-old actress who sent out

a private text message 10 years earlier about a director she despised, the politician who tweets out a remark that is later twisted by doxxers into sentiments he never intended: They and others can find themselves, stunned and shamed, at the center of a firestorm. Most of us have heard that old chant from childhood: “Sticks and stones may break my bones, But words will never hurt me.” Even when I was a child, this lesson from the playground made little sense to me. Far from never painning me, words possessed the power of a stick of dynamite, and the explosion could damage me far more than mere sticks and stones. Long forgotten are the aches and physical wounds of my childhood—the bruises from backyard football, the cuts and sores incurred in “dirt clod battles,” the knees scraped riding a bike and the fingers jammed playing baseball—but many of the lacerations rent by words remain. To make sense, at least for me, that nursery chant should run: “Sticks and stones may break my bones, But words ... words can break my heart.”

*Jeff Minick has four children and a growing platoon of grandchildren. For 20 years, he taught history, literature, and Latin to seminars of homeschooling students in Asheville, N.C. Today, he lives and writes in Front Royal, Va. See [JeffMinick.com](http://JeffMinick.com) to follow his blog.*

# Disappointment About Gifts Is Good for Kids Who Have Enough

Learning to navigate the feeling of disappointment is a critical ability for a child’s growth

Continued from B1

This is especially true if the child has difficulty with or is learning to regulate emotions and expresses disappointment through tantrums or sulking. These behaviors can affect parents profoundly, often leading them to feel bad about themselves or that the child does not love them.

**Focus on Traditions Over Gifts**  
The holiday season should be about love, connection and spending time together. This is at the core of all family traditions and what children will remember and bring with them as they develop and eventually have their own families. Traditions and rituals are important for creating meaning and a sense of belonging. Being a part of something greater than yourself or your immediate family and creating positive loving memories and security are all important for children’s emotional, social and cognitive development. To help children understand the “true” meaning of a holiday season, you might delve more into your own traditions. Or you might like to create new family traditions that provide opportunities to connect with each other and your wider community. Experiences such as baking for others and donating to a food bank or toy drive can help children to understand that the holidays are for making a positive difference.

**Emphasize Giving, Not Receiving**  
Changing our focus from giving rather than



The holiday season should be about love, connection, and spending time together.

receiving can help our children develop and appreciate the strength in gratitude. Research has linked gratitude to significant health and wellness benefits such as improving self-esteem, improving sleep, and developing empathy. The other thing to know is that although disappointment feels awful, it is a part of life and is actually a positive and healthy emotion that’s central to children’s emotional, cognitive and social development throughout their lives. Parents naturally try to protect their children from pain, to make them feel better from what we deem as negative emotions such as anger, sadness and disappointment. But it is important for us to equip them with the tools to manage “special” day and day-to-day disappointments. Because ultimately, as they grow older, those disappointing moments in life become more profound. When parents support children in dealing with disappointment it can lead to the development of adaptation and resilience, which are both important for children in order for

them to bounce back from difficult experiences throughout life. Here are some more ways you can help children deal with disappointment:

- 1. Acknowledge Your Child’s Feelings**  
Let them know that you understand. It is important to label and validate children’s feelings. Tell your child that you recognize why they are feeling disappointed and that it’s OK to express this emotion. In order for children to develop a positive sense of self, empathy and social skills, they need to be able to feel, label, and talk about all feelings.
- 2. Share Your Own Disappointments**  
Often times, when children are disappointed about not receiving what they wanted, they also feel badly because they are told to feel fortunate and thankful for what they have. To encourage children to embrace and express their emotions, it is helpful to share a story of a time when you also felt disap-

pointment. Perhaps you can remember a holiday when you were young, when you too were disappointed over a dream gift that never arrived. Empathizing with your child’s emotional experience will remind them that they are not alone and that their emotions are valid.

**3. Be Mindful, Stay Present**  
It’s always important, but especially during the holiday season, to be intentional about the expectations you set for your children. Instead of talking about the gifts under the tree, you could talk about the fun they will have with friends and family during your holiday traditions. Be present through the disappointment and the behavior. Disappointment can feel awful for children. The emotion and the behavior will pass, and your child will be stronger and more resilient when they know the boundaries.

**4. Don’t Label Your Child**  
During this time, it is important to be mindful of your own language and attitudes. Don’t say: “You’re acting like a baby.” Although it is difficult, try not to label your child, even if the label describes what he or she has done. You can use questions to motivate change, such as “Are your actions safe?” or “Are your words kind?” Although the holiday season brings out the best and worst in all of us, if we want to support our child’s growth and development it is important that we help them learn to manage and deal with their disappointments everyday. Through loving, caring relationships our children will always grow and prosper.

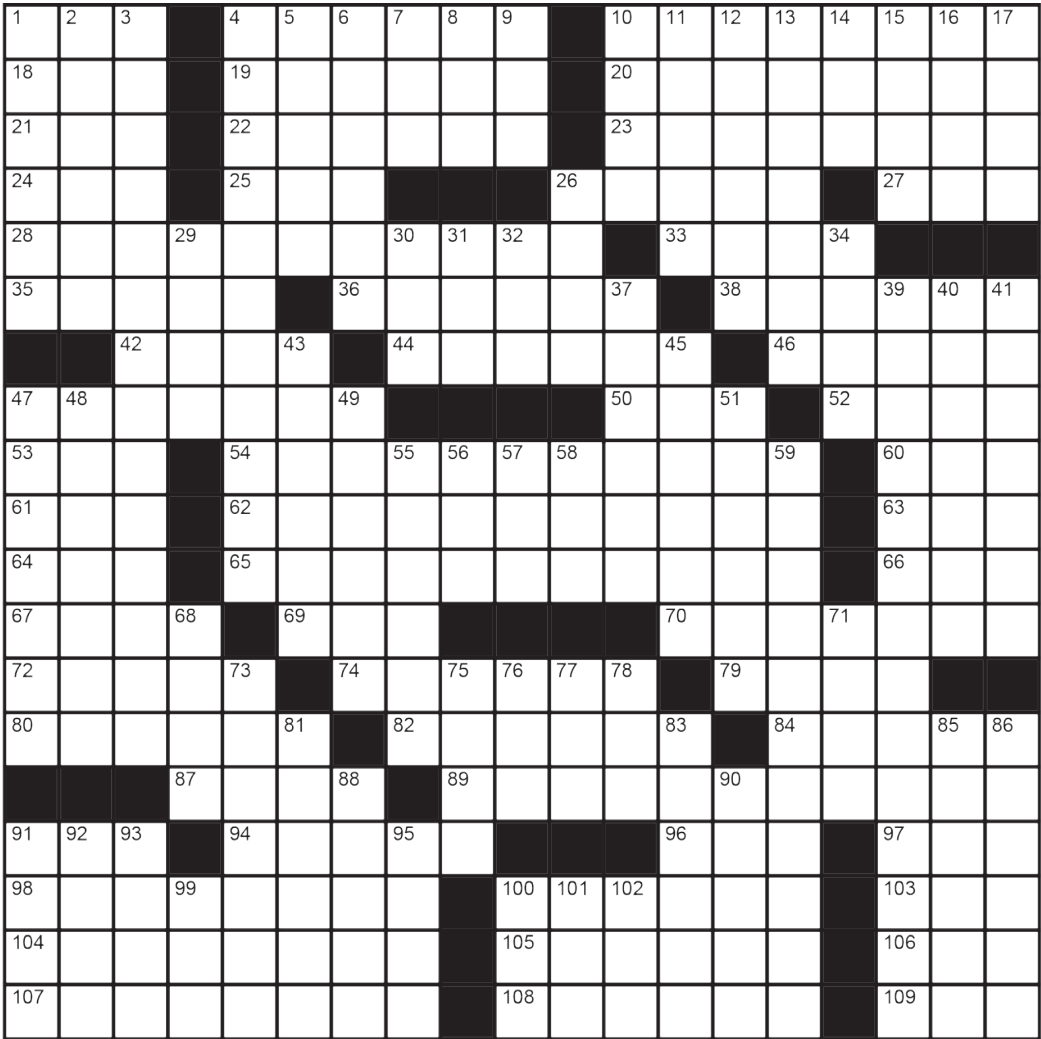
*Nikki Martyn is the program head of early childhood studies at the University of Guelph-Humber in Canada and Elena Merenda is the assistant program head of early childhood studies at the University of Guelph-Humber. This article was first published on [The Conversation](http://TheConversation.com).*



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Across

- 1. Ocean
- 4. Pole-mounted blade weapon
- 10. Didn't malfunction
- 18. SHO alternative
- 19. Check
- 20. These people defend our Freedom
- 21. One of two in "Hamil-ton"
- 22. Part of ERA
- 23. Austria neighbor
- 24. Clavell's "\_\_\_-Pan"
- 25. "Star Trek" rank: Abbr.
- 26. Zebra giraffe
- 27. "If only \_\_\_ listened ..."

- 28. Display
- 33. Some are corny
- 35. Any compass point
- 36. Flower part
- 38. Bureau part
- 42. Losing proposition?
- 44. Smaller than a tec-tonic plate
- 46. Develop
- 47. Tack item
- 50. Away from to?
- 52. Whenever
- 53. Barbarian
- 54. Pest exterminators
- 60. Comedian Aykroyd
- 61. "Evolve" artist
- DiFranco

- 62. Thalidomide, e.g.
- 63. Make up one's mind
- 64. Namely
- 65. Bootstrapper
- 66. Itsy-bitsy
- 67. Consort of Osiris
- 69. "...\_\_\_ what your coun-try can do..."
- 70. Defamation
- 72. Pricing gimmick
- 74. Focal point
- 79. Wrangle
- 80. A skein that has landed
- 82. Like good jokes
- 84. Warms up
- 87. Four-letter word

- 89. Arm of the Mediter-ranean
- 91. "What's that?"
- 94. "I \_\_\_ return"
- 96. Layer
- 97. Prince, e.g.
- 98. Curse
- 100. Burial markers
- 103. Ill temper
- 104. Advance copy of a video sent to critics
- 105. Looks for
- 106. Nothing at all
- 107. Scatter fertilizer over a lawn
- 108. Entanglement
- 109. Chipper

Down

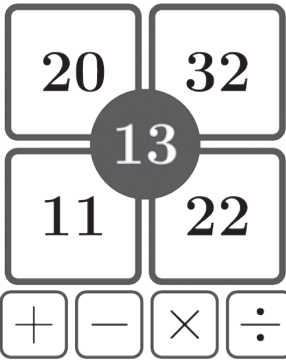
- 1. Engine part
- 2. Convert to money, Brit-ish style
- 3. Posing
- 4. Elite Army group
- 5. Inclined
- 6. Avian lung outgrowth
- 7. Roadhouse
- 8. Contend (for)
- 9. Sign off
- 10. Trans-Siberian Rail-road city
- 11. Rice dish
- 12. Emulated running mates?
- 13. Casino on the Strip
- 14. Scarfed down
- 15. Trig. function
- 16. Border lake
- 17. Twosome
- 26. Change for a five
- 29. Mideast ruler
- 30. Tartan cap
- 31. "A Kiss Before Dying" novelist Levin

- 32. Photo \_\_\_
- 34. Tropical root
- 37. Barbells user
- 39. Coverup
- 40. One that got away
- 41. Go back in
- 43. Serving dish
- 45. Areas of activity
- 47. Hair razing?
- 48. Arab League member
- 49. Davenport site
- 51. Bay windows
- 55. Battier
- 56. "\_\_\_ De-Lovely"
- 57. Bunk
- 58. \_\_\_ Khan
- 59. Pugnacity
- 68. \_\_\_ lily
- 71. Dealer's nemesis
- 73. Broadsword man
- 75. Freshwater duck
- 76. Contraction, e.g.
- 77. Negative conjunction
- 78. Frazier foe
- 81. Fruit-ripening gas
- 83. Showy bloom
- 85. Bradley University site
- 86. In a rational fashion
- 88. Harness pieces
- 90. Milk dispensers
- 91. "And \_\_\_ thou slain the Jabberwock?"
- 92. Extraordinary
- 93. Stringed instrument
- 95. "Rear Window" villain Thorwald, played by Ray-mond Burr
- 99. One of the Kennedys
- 100. Houston of the Re-public of Texas
- 101. Couple
- 102. Mr. Potato Head piece

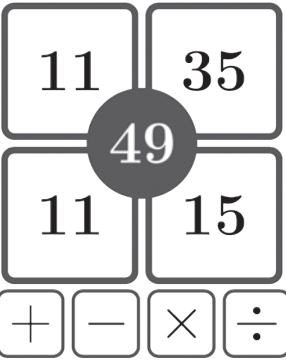
4NUMBERS

CONSTRUCTED BY C. CHANG  
AT 4NUMS.COM

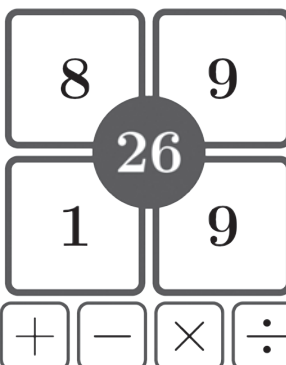
Use the four numbers in the corners, and the operands (+, -, X, and ÷) to **build an equation** to get the solution in the middle. There may be more than one "unique" so-lution but, there may also be "equivalent" solutions. For example: 6 + (7X3) +1 =28 and 1+ (7X3) +6 =28



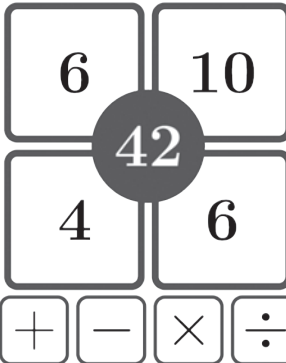
Hard 1 - 1 Solution



Hard 2 - 1 Solution



Easy 1 - 1 Solution



Easy 2 - 2 Solutions

WORDSEARCH

CONSTRUCTED BY TOM HOUSTON  
EPOCH TIMES STAFF

Help with Today's Crossword Puzzle?

S T I R R U P C A R P E L C W  
L I F T E R N R O E V T N T H  
A E T H E N E T F R O N T S T  
N P E O R I A E G J S F A W U  
D D Q F V T C A L Q N C X T N  
E R A I S J O N A O N H Q E I  
R Q R H P F P A I E P C L R S  
R E T O L D R T V H O E E A I  
S P T U C I A H E S B T D T A  
A T A I R T A E Z L F F A O G  
N E A R N E D M S A I I W G A  
E S T E L A E A D S G M A E G  
L Y T V J O F N S H A V I N G  
Y S O C K D R A W E R M T I L  
O R I E L S M M O R A S S C E

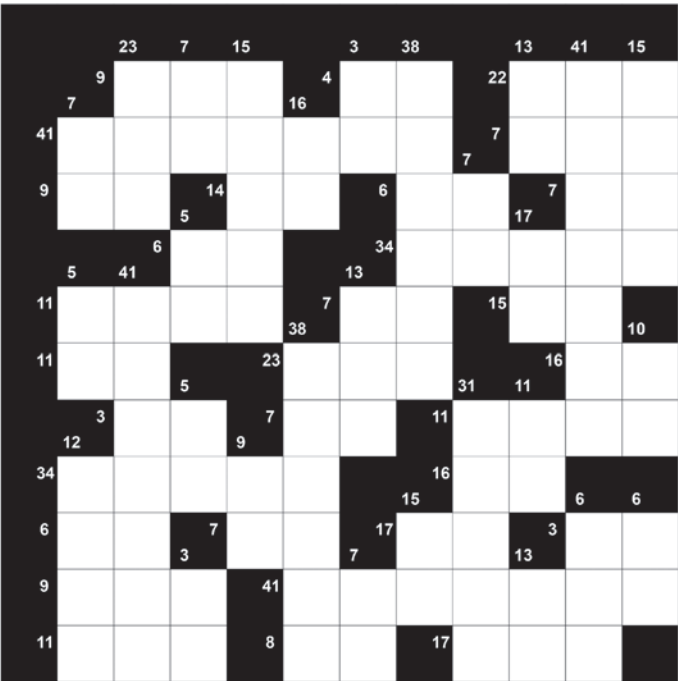
- |        |         |             |
|--------|---------|-------------|
| CARPEL | LIFTER  | STATOR      |
| DAFTER | MASSIF  | STELAE      |
| DAHLIA | MORASS  | STIRRUP     |
| DRAWER | ORIELS  | TUNISIA     |
| EARNED | PARLOR  | TUREEN      |
| ELOPED | PEORIA  | ANATHEMA    |
| ENCASH | RETOLD  | AWAITS      |
| ETHENE | SANELY  | OSTENTATION |
| FRONTS | SHAVING | RETINA      |
| GAGGLE | SLANDER | RIVIERA     |
| GLAIVE | SLASHER | TERATOGENIC |

KAKURO

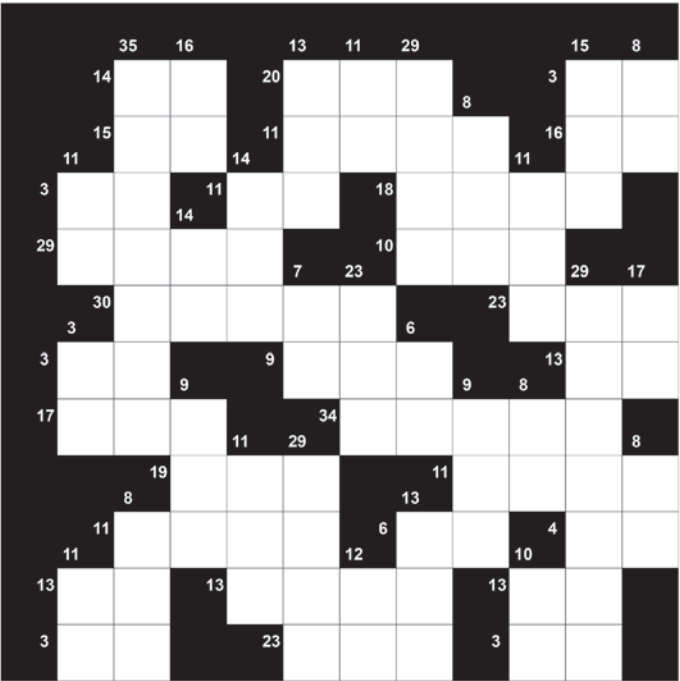
CONSTRUCTED BY EPOCH TIMES STAFF

Kakuro puzzles are like crosswords that use numbers instead of words. The goal is to fill the blank squares associated with a clue (called a "run") with the numbers 1-9 so that the numbers add up to the corresponding clues. Like Sudoku, digits in a run cannot repeat. When the grid is filled, the puzzle is complete.

Large: Hard



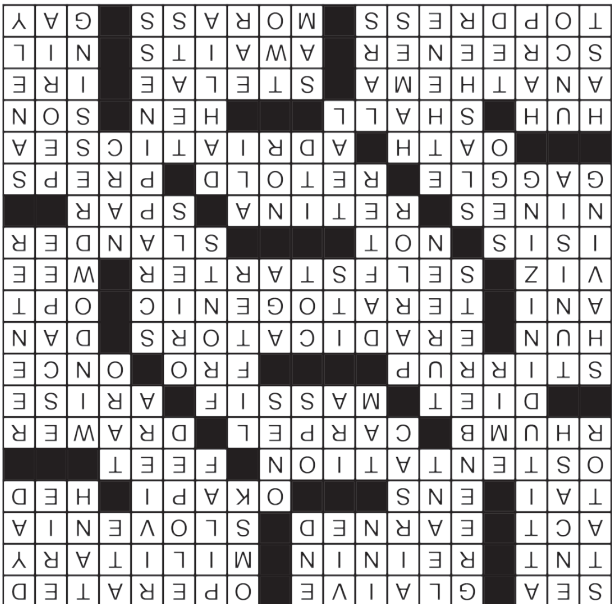
Large: Easy



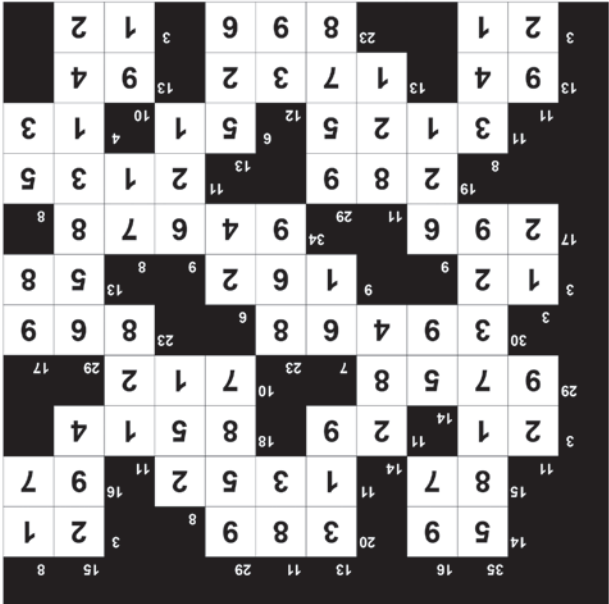
WORK SPACE

SOLUTIONS

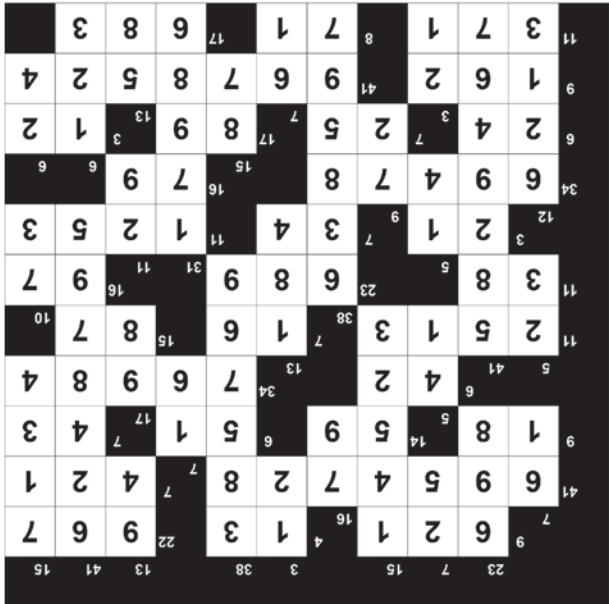
CROSSWORD



KAKURO LARGE: EASY



KAKURO LARGE: HARD



4NUMBERS

- HARD 1**  
20 ÷ (32 ÷ 11 + 11) = 22
- HARD 2**  
35 + 15 - 11 ÷ 11 = 35
- EASY 1**  
1 × (8 + 6 + 6) = 9
- EASY 2**  
6 × 6 + 10 - 4 = 42  
(10 - 4) × 6 + 6 = 42



SUPERSUDOKU

CONSTRUCTED BY KANNAN SANKARAN

Fill in the boxes using numbers from 0 to 9 and letters from A to F so that each column, each row, and each 4x4 square contain all ten numbers and six letters only once.

	1	F	2	C	A		3			4	B		0		
					B		E			C	8		2		F
5	4		6				0				B				C
		B	7				E		A	3	0	5	4		8
B	2		0		F	C		1							D
E	3		4		5	D		8		7					2
			1	0		7	2		3	B	D			E	
	D			B		8	5	0		C	3	6			1
6		4	D	F		3	9	0		A				2	
	9			5	2	E		3	4		7	F			
3					1		7		2	9		C		4	6
2						A		F	6			D		9	5
D		2	F	3	4	9		7				6	1		
1			5					2				8		7	B
4		7		8	0		D		E						
		8		6	7			C		1	F	4	D	0	

SUDOKU

Hard

Fill in the boxes using numbers between 1 and 9 so that each column, each row, and each 3x3 square contain all nine numbers only once.

6				2				9
	9		4			8	2	
	7				6			
		6	5		4		1	
4				8				5
	3		1		2	4		
			2				3	
	5	4			3		6	
3				5				1

Easy

			6	8	2			
		6				2		
	2	7	1		5	9	6	
6		8	9		3	4		2
3				2				6
2		9	4		8	3		5
	8	1	2		6	7	3	
		5				1		
			7	1	9			

KAKURO

CONSTRUCTED BY EPOCH TIMES STAFF

Kakuro puzzles are like crosswords that use numbers instead of words. The goal is to fill the blank squares associated with a clue (called a “run”) with the numbers 1-9 so that the numbers add up to the corresponding clues. Like Sudoku, digits in a run cannot repeat. When the grid is filled, the puzzle is complete.

Easy

	4		24				38		3
12							6		
				41	16	28			
28									
		22							
		3				16			
10					7				3
28									
41									
				12					
	11	7					12	4	
7					7				
15							11		

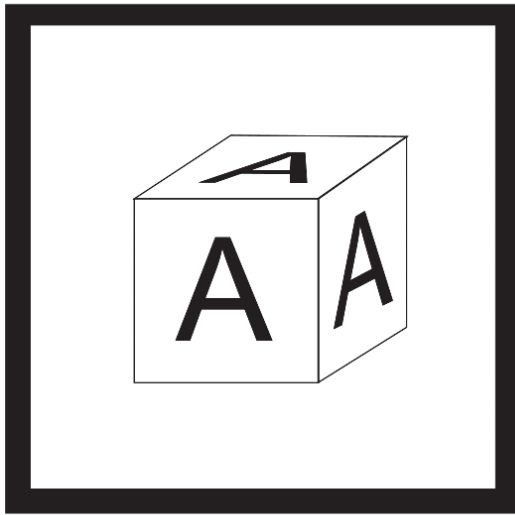
Hard

	4		24	35	12	16	7	8
28								
40								
		16			4			
				8				
			16					
	15	15					34	6
29								
14								
			23	12	16			
	34							
12								17
29								
41								



Guess the hidden saying, phrase or word(s) suggested by the picture!

SOLUTION BELOW



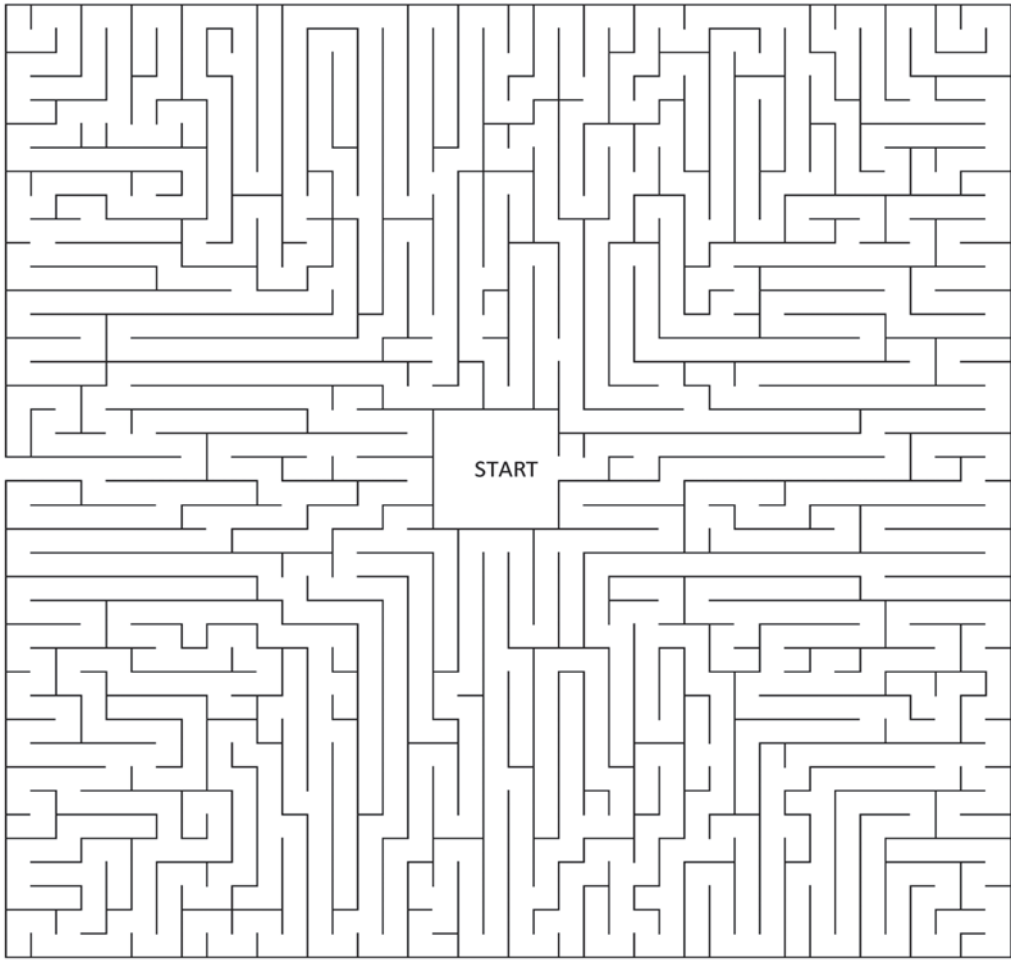
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FREE THE CHILDREN  
children helping children through education

EPOCH ESCAPE MAZE



FEEDBACK@EPOCHTIMES.COM

WE HAVE MADE SOME CHANGES TO OUR PUZZLE PAGE IN RESPONSE TO PUZZLER'S FEEDBACK. LET US KNOW WHAT YOU THINK!

WORK SPACE

CRYPTIC QUOTE

Quote by: Aristotle

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
				K																					

I V O L L W P K U O H D K W D K C I V U D H W J K C  
, L D R K H O L D C G D C W P K G I C W  
R K L I U K T

WORK SPACE

EPOCH DOKU

CONSTRUCTED BY EPOCH TIMES STAFF

6	7+	48*		4-	8+
2/					
	5+	8+		7+	6*
2-		4-			
	72*	13+		4-	2-
		1			

KEN 算 KEN

1. Each row and each column must contain the numbers 1 through 6 without repeating. 2. The numbers within the heavily outlined boxes, called cages, must combine using the given operation (in any order) to produce the target numbers in the top-left corners. 3. Freebies: Fill in single-box cages with the number in the top-left corner.

2÷	3÷		4	40×
	3	6+		
9+		1	1-	11+
3-		1-	1-	
3-	5-		36×	5
			6+	

SOLUTIONS

SUPERSUDOKU

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R
4	5	6	7	8	9	0	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S
5	6	7	8	9	0	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T
6	7	8	9	0	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U
7	8	9	0	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V
8	9	0	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W
9	0	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
0	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A
C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B
D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C
E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D
F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E
G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F
H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R
T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S
U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T
V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U
W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V
X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W
Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y

SUDOKU: EASY

4	3	2	1	6	5	8
7	6	5	8	3	4	1
9	8	1	2	5	6	7
2	1	9	4	6	8	3
3	7	4	5	2	1	8
6	5	8	9	7	3	4
8	2	7	1	4	5	9
5	4	6	3	9	7	2
1	9	3	6	8	2	5

KENKEN

5	6	2	3	4	1
2	1	4	6	5	3
1	4	3	5	6	2
4	5	1	2	3	6
3	5	1	2	4	6
2	6	4	1	5	3

CRYPTIC QUOTE

Of all the varieties of virtues, liberalism is the most beloved.

OUTSIDE THE BOX  
Cuba

EASY KAKURO

3	8		9	16
	4	1	2	7
		3	1	12
		6	4	7
	</			





Haiyan Kong spent five years working on “April 25th, 1999,” an oil painting of Falun Gong practitioners in Beijing on that day. The painting spans over 4 1/2 yards and includes 400 figures, 200 of them with visible faces of Falun Gong practitioners from around the world who posed for the artist (Top, the painting in full length. Above and R, details from the painting).

# Finding Hope and Renewal in Art

‘April 25th, 1999’ by Haiyan Kong Wins Gold at 5th NTD International Figure Painting Competition

**THE CONTEXT:  
APRIL 25, 1999, IN BEIJING**

Falun Gong was introduced to the public in China in 1992, and by the end of the decade, 70 million–100 million people were practicing the spiritual discipline, according to government surveys. Harassment of these adherents by the Chinese Communist Party’s (CCP) Propaganda Ministry began as early as mid-1996, but things came to a head in 1999. After a slanderous article was published in a national magazine, many practitioners went to Tianjin to correct the record and, after several dozen arrests, were directed to the State Council Appeals Office on Fuyou Street in Beijing. On April 25, Falun Gong practitioners of all walks of life arrived outside the State Council Appeals Office to find there were already hundreds of security officers deployed and directing people to stand across the street, lining up on the sidewalks and wrapping around the corner. The CCP had orchestrated the event in order to use the photos out of context and frame these people as a threat.

CATHERINE YANG

Haiyan Kong lay awake the night of April 24, 1999, unable to get a wink of sleep. Would she go tomorrow, or stay home? She would undoubtedly be safe if she stayed home that weekend. But if she didn’t speak out for what was right and true, how would she live with herself? If everyone turned a blind eye to injustice and kept their heads down to go about their day, what kind of society would that be?

“If everyone indeed thought that way, there would be no April 25 to speak of. And then what? We would be a society without humanity,” Kong said.

At the time, Kong had been an adherent of the spiritual practice Falun Gong for five years. Falun Gong, or Falun Dafa, was introduced to the public in China in 1992, and taught people to follow the principles of truthfulness, compassion, and forbearance.

The day before, a few dozen people protested outside a college in Tianjin, a port city of Beijing, because a state-run newspaper had published blatantly false information, mischaracterizing a practitioner of Falun Gong. Riot police descended on the protesters, beating many and arresting 45 people.

One of these people was Kong’s friend, and they sometimes read together in the evenings. But when Kong visited this friend on her way home that night, the apartment was empty. She knew her friend had been arrested for merely wanting the truth to come to light. Kong decided that sleepless night that she would go to Beijing the next day, and make an appeal at the State Appeals Office asking for the arrested practitioners to be released.

Little did she know, she would be one of about 10,000 people coming out in support of Falun Gong at the State Appeals Office that day.

**Five Years in the Making**

Kong is an artist, and ever since that historic day, she has had a wish to memorialize the scene through art.

It would be years before she would have the opportunity to do so, but for the last five years, Kong, who lives in Hong Kong, has worked on the massive oil painting that now spans more than 4 1/2 yards.

It was on display at the Salmagundi Club in New York the week of Thanksgiving, and just won the gold prize at the 5th NTD International Figure Painting Competition.

“I am grateful,” Kong said. “I’m grateful for this competition and the opportunity to show this work. I’m very grateful that I have been able to practice Falun Dafa, which not only changed my health, but changed my perspective and outlook on the world, without which I could not have created this painting. And I’m so grateful for all of my family and friends who have continued to support me throughout it all.”

The long, horizontal format of the painting is reminiscent of Chinese scroll paintings, Kong said, and you can look at it walking slowly from one end to the other. There are three main events within the painting as you do so, like an interaction between one of the protesters and the police standing guard.

The painting doesn’t contain 10,000 figures—there are about 400 figures, and 200 of them with visible, discernible faces. Kong arrived in New York in August in order to see the painting in the space where it would hang, and add finishing details. She had been working on the painting in her home, which is small, so it was the first time she had been able to step back and see it in its full length from a few yards away.

When you look at the painting up close, you will find a sea of solemn faces staring back at you, each a portrait of faithful conviction, even in the faces so small to span only half an inch.

Every one of these figures is a real person.

“I have their names, I have their stories,” Kong said.

But they are not the original protesters of April 25, 1999.

“That was what I originally wanted to do, I wanted to paint the people who had come to Beijing on that day, but when I looked at the photographs I could find, they were far too blurry for me to make out the faces,” Kong said. So she reached out to other Falun Dafa practitioners she knew, who would kindly introduce her to other Falun Dafa practitioners they knew, and for the last five years Kong has photographed and painted their likeness into the painting.

“They all went out of their way for me, they went above and beyond for me,” Kong said. “They matched the expressions I needed. Some cried hearing the stories of the people they were posing for. A woman was moved to tears, but then she composed herself to do this for me.”

There was a woman who hadn’t worn high heels like the figure she would be posing for, but without complaint stood on her toes as if she were wearing heels. There was a busy musician who traveled around the world frequently, but he took the time to pose for Kong in multiple sessions, over several years.

The work is surprisingly complex, and truly a labor of love not just for Kong, but for many.

“I have five years worth of stories,” Kong said. Living in Hong Kong at the time presented unique challenges. Kong needed to find the kind of trees that were planted along the street in front of the Chinese Communist Party’s headquarters in Beijing, and it turned out there was only one location in all of Hong Kong where these Chinese scholar trees grew. She was unable to find traditional art materials such as certain pigments and brushes in Hong Kong, and other Falun Gong practitioners helped her place an order for brushes from France, and guide her in Taiwan to buy pigments.

“If it wasn’t for Falun Dafa practitioners, this painting would not have happened,” Kong said.

Some of the practitioners Kong corresponded with were artists as well, and they provided invaluable insight—techniques and secrets of the trade that she says artists normally wouldn’t so openly share.

Because of this, Kong’s artistic skills have made a stunning improvement.

In fact, five years ago, Kong had submitted another work into the NTD competition, and it marked her foray back into representational styles. It was a difficult process and, she now admits, rather clumsy. But



ALL PHOTOS BY HAIYAN KONG UNLESS NOTED OTHERWISE



she received such meaningful feedback that it encouraged her to pursue traditional art, and set her on the path she is on today.

**A Long, Artistic Journey**  
Kong loved art even as a child. Her father, who was in the arts as well, saw her talent and let her take lessons. Kong had two tutors who taught her drawing and painting in the traditional style, and then for university, she applied to several of the top art schools.

At the time, much as it is today, the trend was toward abstract expressionism. This was the norm, and this was all that was taught. Kong hadn't thought much of it, because this was the acknowledged mainstream form of fine art.

"We'd have model drawing classes, and a good drawing would be one where the model did not look like the model. The goal was not to make art that looked like the thing it was representing," Kong said. "The goal was to be individual, or I guess you can call it 'original.'" Students were encouraged to develop a style so obtuse as to be unreplicable—thus creating a signature, or brand. They were taught this was the way to attain success.

And it was true in Kong's case. She received good reviews and inquiries from collectors after her graduation exhibition and had a second exhibition a few years later that was also deemed a success.

But though Kong was well on her way to fame and making a name for herself, she started to wonder whether this was what she really wanted to pursue as an artist.

As an artist, she viewed a lot of works, and it was clear that the trend was increasingly toward the avant-garde. But it was also clear that artists weren't just seeking uniqueness, but darkness, or an irrational state of mind. It was chaos and despair rendered in painting and sculpture, and Kong started to consider whether this was the best way to represent the world. Art holds a mirror up to society, after all.

She remembers a moment during her second exhibition, when a foreigner who'd come to the gallery with friends got down on his knees in front of one of her abstract works and bowed his head to it. Kong says it isn't a good memory. He tried to buy the painting, but she felt she couldn't sell it to him. Now she is glad she didn't—it was dark, and she doesn't believe it would have been good for him to live with a painting like that.

There was another instance of feedback that was more personal, but it would only make sense to Kong in retrospect.

Kong's son was born around the time she was a rising artist, and her home was



CHUNG HO/THE EPOCH TIMES

**I want to convey compassion, and give people something bright and uplifting. And I believe many artists in the world want to create traditional arts and present traditional values.**

Haiyan Kong

also her studio. But her baby would always cry when he saw her works, and she ended up having to flip them around to face the walls. Kong's mother later told her that the room she used as her studio always had such a dark, gloomy, and oppressive feeling, and it was difficult for her to even set foot in it. Kong says it's a testament to how deeply led astray she was that all this went unnoticed by her at first.

**Truthfulness, Compassion, Forbearance**  
But then in 1993, Kong was walking through a park when she saw a group of people doing slow, meditative exercises, like those of tai chi. They had a banner that read "truthfulness, compassion, forbearance," and she felt an immediate connection.

These three words, which turned out to be the three principles taught in Falun Gong, were exactly what she wanted to represent in her work. Truthfulness, compassion, and forbearance seemed to sum up the goodness of humankind, and Kong knew that was the path she wanted to walk as an artist.

"I felt I had finally found what humans are supposed to be," Kong said. Having been immersed in darkness and chaos for years, this was a revelation. "My whole attitude changed. From then on, I changed."

She started practicing Falun Gong herself, and in addition to her new outlook on life, improved her physical health dramatically.

Kong then made the decision to stop selling her modern art, which was still fetching high prices on the market. It wasn't as difficult a decision as one might think. Then for the next several years, Kong worked as a university art instructor and taught basics and fundamentals.

But raising her skills as a representational artist able to depict and communicate something truly meaningful would take a lot of work.

"Actually, my original training [with my tutors] was traditional. I had to really work to forget all of my training, it was really hard. It was actually a lot of work," Kong said. In university, they studied things like the "reality of flatness" and other modern and post-modern art philosophies in an effort to achieve that ego-centric originality.

When she started making representational art again, Kong realized just how much her skills had decayed.

"It was difficult," she said heavily. "I had forgotten the fundamentals after university, and at first I would draw something, and the lines wouldn't be straight, the eyes would be off. I had trained myself to draw in that crooked style."

"A lot of it has to do with seeing," Kong

said. She was learning to see the world differently again, through a lens of truth, compassion, and forbearance this time.

While living in Hong Kong, where she had moved in 2007, she heard about the Zhen Shan Ren ("Truthfulness Compassion Forbearance") Art Exhibition, which was put together by practitioners of Falun Gong from around the world. It was an effort to depict the peaceful meditation practice through fine arts as well as reveal the ongoing persecution of Falun Gong by the Chinese Communist Party.

Kong immediately thought again of her wish to paint the April 25 event.

"This is a historic event, a protest of this scale," Kong said. "And it was completely peaceful."

"I'd lived in Beijing for 20 years, I went to the April 25th protest. I knew these streets of Beijing, and I wanted to paint this," Kong said.

But she realized her skills weren't up to scratch, and she wasn't able to finish a piece in time. Over the years, the Zhen Shan Ren Art Exhibition has gone on to tour in 900 cities in 50 countries worldwide.

But an opportunity arose for Kong when she heard about the NTD International Figure Painting Competition, which would be held in New York in 2014. She submitted a portrait of a child that, though rough around the edges, made it to the finalist round. She was afforded the opportunity to meet many other artists, including fellow finalists and the judges, who shared their own experiences and invaluable encouragement.

"I set my heart on this effort of being a better artist," Kong said. "And through my study, I also came to realize with conviction the responsibility of an artist."

Kong says an artist has a responsibility to society, and thus a personal moral responsibility as well. When a work of art is hung in someone's home or displayed for all to see, it carries a bit of the artist's character as well, and Kong feels it's only right that the effect should be a good one. Her wish to do right by others comes from her practicing Falun Gong.

Art is a powerful medium, and it inevitably influences its viewers, Kong said, and an artist has to make a choice as to which path they will follow.

"I want to convey compassion, and give people something bright and uplifting," Kong said. "And I believe many artists in the world want to create traditional arts and present traditional values. That's why a competition like this, that gives artists a chance to show these works to the world, is important."



ALL ILLUSTRATIONS BY ELENA MEDVEDEVA/SHUTTERSTOCK

# Holiday Gift Guide

## Gifts for Kids, Big and Little



BARBARA DANZA

Oh, they're so excited! The countdown is on. The joy of giving to children this time of year brings out the kid in all of us. But how do you choose the best gifts for the young ones in your life? You may think it's about scoring the latest toy craze or splurging on the newest digital device. Toy crazes tend to fade fast, though, and digital devices often do more harm than good. The best gifts are those that take into consideration the interests of the individual child. Very young children benefit most from well-made, simple playthings that encourage their active

imagination, innate curiosity, and that are good, old-fashioned fun. Big kids need their budding interests stoked—like adding kindling to a campfire. Tools and resources that will help them dive deep into what's sparked that light inside have the potential to benefit them for a lifetime. So, rather than just stocking up on plastic, made-in-China toys that will all too soon find their way to the "donate" pile, and rather than giving devices that encourage escape from the real world and addiction to a digital one—here are some gifts that will enhance the lives of the children you're giving to this season and make their holiday magical.

### FOR LITTLE ONES



COURTESY OF HANSA



COURTESY OF AURORA

#### Stuffed Animals

Play is the important work of children, and stuffed animals often become the stars of the many stories their imaginations bring to life. What child doesn't love their special stuffies? While stuffed animals are easy to come by, well-made ones require some digging. Look for those that aren't made in China, for starters. The brand Aurora has many options like the 10.5-inch Coco Bear (\$12). If a special, more lifelike stuffed animal is what you're looking for, check out the incredible offerings of Hansa, like the 24-inch Nordic Reindeer (\$139.90), the Grey and White Kitten (\$37.95), or countless others.



COURTESY OF LLOREN

#### Baby Dolls

Little mommies love to dress up and take care of their very own beautiful baby. It's lovely to watch young girls who are naturally drawn to this type of play. The search for a high-quality baby doll that isn't made in China may be the most challenging search of all. However, the beauty and craftsmanship of the dolls you can find are worth the effort. Llorens dolls are all made in Spain. They have a number of lovely options in various skin tones and ethnicities, all very lifelike; some can take a bath and some even cry. This isn't your typical toy-store doll—what a special gift it would be to a little one in your life.



COURTESY OF PLANTOYS

#### Pretend Play

Pretend play is an essential part of child development. Some toys become staple tools in such play and make excellent holiday gifts. A dollhouse is an invitation for imaginative play and creativity. The Playmobil Deluxe Dollhouse (\$119.99) is a great option. Made in Germany, Playmobil products stand the test of time and incorporate building skills as well as imaginative play into all of their sets. If wooden toys are what you're looking for, PlanToys offers a number of dollhouse options, including the simple Slide N Go Dollhouse (\$160), which would make a perfect starter home for little ones.



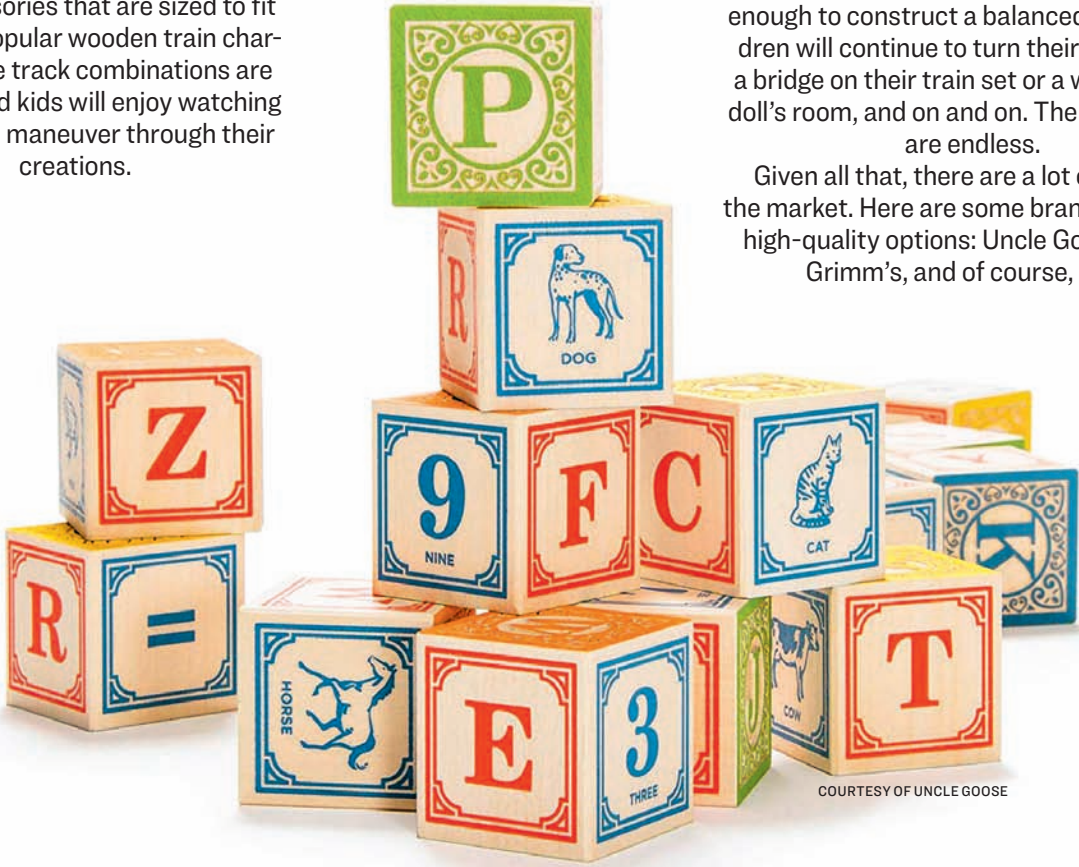
COURTESY OF MAPLE LANDMARK

#### Trains

Soon into their play, it comes time for kids to create their very own world, complete with roadways, buildings, scenery, and train lines. Vermont's Maple Landmark offers a variety of well-made wooden train track sets and accessories that are sized to fit the most popular wooden train characters. The track combinations are endless, and kids will enjoy watching their trains maneuver through their creations.

#### Blocks

Blocks are truly the building, well, blocks of play. The youngest of children can benefit from simply handling blocks, and their play will advance with these simple toys as they grow. Long after their motor skills are developed enough to construct a balanced tower, children will continue to turn their blocks into a bridge on their train set or a wall for their doll's room, and on and on. The possibilities are endless. Given all that, there are a lot of blocks on the market. Here are some brands that offer high-quality options: Uncle Goose, Haba, Grimm's, and of course, Lego.



COURTESY OF UNCLE GOOSE

### FOR BIG KIDS

#### Lessons

As kids get older, they tend to show interests, to varying degrees, in specific subjects. Perhaps it's astronomy, oil painting, football, percussion, gardening, sewing, or wood-working. The greatest gift you can give them is an encouragement in those sorts of pursuits. Gifting lessons is one way to do that. If you're not an expert in their field of interest, outsource the learning to someone who is, and encourage them along the way. They'll surely appreciate that you noticed and saw them for who they are. Experiences are (almost) always better than things.

#### Journal and Pens

As kids get older, they tend to have big ideas. For the pensive type, it's helpful to get those thoughts down on paper. A journal with quality paper like the Leuchtturm1917 series (\$19.95), along with some colorful pens like the Staedtler Triplus Fineliner set (20 for \$22).



COURTESY OF LEUCHTTURM1917  
COURTESY OF STAEDTLER

A Leuchtturm notebook, along with some colorful pens from Staedtler, make a great gift for the pensive type.

#### Tools and Gear

Another way to encourage the budding interests and curiosities of bigger kids is to give them the tools and gear they need to do what they want to do. Give an artist art supplies, a scientist lab tools, a sports player sports equipment. They'll use and appreciate gifts like this, and who knows how far in life such a gesture may take them.

#### Gift Cards

Some people think that gift cards are impersonal, but everybody loves to receive gift cards. Choose cards from stores that match a big kid's interest to give them an extra resource to keep pursuing something they're passionate about.





CANDICE PICARD/UNSPLASH



At a very basic level, yang can be increased by physical activity such as regular exercise, walking, and spending time outdoors.

PRESERVE HEALTH

# Mental Health and Chinese Medicine

*The mind and body are connected in ways that can help or hinder each other*

CHRISTINA XU

Mental illness is common in today’s fast-paced, lonely, nutrient-deprived world.

It’s projected that one in five Americans will experience a mental illness, and most of us will experience a mental health problem at some time in our lives, with anxiety and depressive disorders being the most common ailments.

In Chinese medicine, the key to treating mental ailments is to identify the patient’s specific symptoms and treat them with the appropriate herbs, acupuncture, and lifestyle changes.

**Generate Yang to Balance Yin**  
The root cause of an illness is an imbalance in the body. Too much heat (inflammation), or too little water (dehydration) are two common imbalances that lead to a wide range of health issues. In traditional Chinese medicine (TCM), these are seen in terms of yin and yang. For example, water is considered yin, while heat is considered yang.

In terms of mental health, many conditions arise from what are known as the three lows, where yang is deficient.

**The first is a low mood level.** This refers to persistent sadness, feeling useless or unable to cope with life, feeling bored all the time, or increased feelings of anxiety and isolation.

**Second is a low level of activity.** For example, loss of interest in anything, feeling tired all the time, wanting to go to sleep and never wake up again, finding no fun or enjoyment in life, loss of energy.

**Third, a low mentality.** This refers to slow thinking, and poor reaction time. It causes inefficiency in study or work, leading to difficulties in making personal and business decisions.

Most of the symptoms belong to yin. So one of the solutions might be to produce more yang to balance them out.

At a very basic level, yang can be increased by physical activity such as regular exercise, walking, and spending time outdoors. Research

has found several benefits to these as well, though doctors rarely prescribe walking or time in nature in Western clinical practice.

**Acupoints for Self-Assistance**  
While walking and physical exercise are acknowledged in Western medicine, the idea of acupoints isn’t as clearly understood. This is largely because Western medicine has yet to accept that the human body is highly dependent on energetic systems.

Our cells go through a variety of processes, requiring very specific balances of nutrients, vitamins, minerals, air, and food to create the energy that moves our body. Our brains require electrical connection to let our neurons fire and run the body.

In TCM, this life energy is known as “qi.” Breathing and eating create qi in the human body. Lungs extract the qi by breathing, while the stomach and spleen system extract qi from food and water and then deliver it to the whole body.

Acupoints tie into this energetic system by stimulating areas that are connected to specific functions. The following points are commonly used in managing neurological and mental health issues.

**Baihui Points:** In Chinese, the name of these points means “a hundred channels meet together.” It’s closely related to the brain and is the key point for regulating brain function. To locate the Baihui point, draw a line from your nose to the center of the top of the head. Draw another line between two ear tips to the top of the scalp. The Baihui point is located at the intersection.

Use your fingers to lightly massage this point, or gently hit with an empty fist.

**Neiguan (P6):** Neiguan is the gateway for the human body to communicate with the outside world. Neiguan points can help people achieve better sleep, treat insomnia, relieve stress, and stop nausea from motion sickness. To locate the Neiguan point, lift fists or palms so that two tendons appear in the wrist. The point is located in the middle of the tendons and 3 fingers width from the wrist-line.

In traditional Chinese medicine, emotions are tied to the interdependence of internal organ systems and their functions.



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Acupuncture is sometimes used in treatments aimed at ailments like depression or anxiety.

Use your thumb to massage the point.

**Shenmen (HT7):** The Chinese name is the spirit gate. It’s good for emotional issues, especially those related to sleep or mental manifestations such as insomnia and muddled thinking. The Shenmen point extends from the little finger to the lateral stripes of the wrist, at the end of the root of the palm.

You can use the other thumb to massage this point. Alternatively, you can put your hand on the table with this point touching the table, and roll your hand left and right, using your weight of hand to massage it. This is easy to do while you’re at work or studying.

**Emotional and Physical Health**  
In TCM theory, it’s understood that emotions and the body have an influence on each other. This is something many of us know intuitively, like how stress may give us an upset stomach, or how exercising makes us feel happier.

In TCM, emotions are tied to the interdependence of internal organ systems and their functions.

This is in contrast to Western medicine, which has historically viewed organs as having a single specific physical function only, independent of the whole system, akin to a component in a car. This thinking is proving inadequate, though, with the discovery of the microbiome and an ever-expanding fact-base showing ties between mind and body, like the fact that some neurotransmitters are produced in the stomach. These new findings, however, will likely take years to make their way into actual clinical practice.

Emotional management is very important to the health of the body. Emotions follow thoughts, so paying attention to what you’re thinking can help resolve many of these types of issues.

*Christina Xu holds a bachelor’s degree from Beijing University of Chinese Medicine. Now based in Australia, she dedicates her time to advocating for and promoting the benefits of TCM to mainstream Western society. Learn more at [PreserveHealth.com.au](http://PreserveHealth.com.au)*



# Want to Change the World? First Change Yourself

Don't underestimate the power that self-improvement can release in your circle

TYLER BRANDT

The world is an imperfect place, full of suffering and tragedy. The humanitarian in each of us longs to change the world. For example, maybe you would like to alleviate crippling poverty, disease, or mental illness. Maybe you wish people would stop killing each other, be it by homicide, war, or even genocide. Maybe you wish every human being could have a roof over her head, a stable income, and something decent to eat.

But doubts may creep in. Who are you to make these things happen? Isn't it true that you are just a small pawn in an intricate game, subject to the arbitrary power of ruthless politicians and corrupt corporations? Maybe the only way to make a change is through the political process: by supporting some political savior or by becoming one yourself. Or maybe you become deeply nihilistic, give up all hope of changing anything, and distract yourself from the awful tragedy of the world by pursuing a life of shallow pleasures. After all, you are just one individual in the face of billions of others.

The question becomes: What can you do in this imperfect world?

Maybe what you need is a change in perspective.

**First Change Yourself**

Before you can get to the level of solving such gargantuan, globe-spanning problems, you must first change yourself. It sounds insignificant, but don't underestimate the power that self-improvement can bring.

Ask yourself what things you can do today to make the world a better place. What bad habits are you clinging to? What behaviors do you wish to change? Are you following a path that brings you fulfillment? Are you taking adequate time to recognize the importance of the others around you? Could your room use a little cleaning? Could the rest of your home use some work, too?

This is the central message of Jordan B. Peterson, a psychologist whose perspective has taken the world of public discourse by storm and has transformed the lives of many.

When many consider the flawed nature of existence, they think that change must happen at the highest level possible. Perhaps they wish for sweeping global legislation regarding climate change or poverty alleviation. Perhaps they blame politicians for the world's woes and seek to elect "better" politicians or wish to overturn the entire system. While the motivation is understandable, not only is it difficult to



A moment to consider who you are and what you would do with yourself can be the first step on a journey to make the world a better place.

design perfect systems, it is also near impossible to actually implement them.

As Peterson says:

You want to be very careful about doing large-scale experimentation with large-scale systems because the probability that if you implement a scheme in a large-scale social system that the scheme will have the result you intended is negligible. What will happen will be something that you don't intend and, even worse, something that works at counter-purposes to your original intent.

If we accept this premise, what can we do if we still want to achieve good in the world? To that, Peterson says:

You try not to step outside the boundaries of your competence and you start small and you start with the things that you actually could adjust, that you actually do understand, that you actually could fix.

You should restrict your attempts to fix things to what's at hand. So there's probably things about you that you could fix, things that you know that aren't right.

After starting small and realizing how difficult it is to even change things at the individual level, we might develop some humility and rescind our grandiose plans for the world. As Peterson says:

It's hard to put yourself together, it's really hard to put your family together, why the hell do you think you can put the world together? Because obviously the world is more complicated than you and your family. So if you're stymied in your attempts even to set your own house in order, which of course you are, then you would think that what that would do would be to make you very very leery about announcing your broadscale plans for social revolution.

As soon as you start improving, others around will take notice. Hopefully, your growth inspires people in your immediate sphere to grow alongside you. But, if others try to bring you down out of jealousy, don't let that distract you. All you can do is offer a shining example for those ready to follow it.

If every individual would dedicate themselves towards first bettering their own corner of the world—the part where they have the most interest and the best incentives—imagine how much better the whole world would be.

*Tyler Brandt is an associate editor at FEE. He is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin–Madison with a bachelor's in political science. This article was first published on FEE.org*

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