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BUSINESS MEETING

Wednesday, May 24, 2023

House of Representatives,

Select Committee on the Strategic Competition Between

the United States and the Chinese Communist Party,

Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 9:31 a.m., in Room 2118, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Mike Gallagher [chairman of the committee] presiding.

Chairman Gallagher. The select committee will come to order.

Welcome to the select committee's first business meeting to adopt bipartisan policy recommendations to combat the Chinese Communist Party's ongoing Uyghur genocide and to strengthen deterrence with respect to Taiwan.

I am very grateful to the ranking member for his support of these reports, which provides strong bipartisan policy recommendations on both of these very important issues.

These are our first attempts at a policy process. They do not represent the last word on either of these issues. They are, at least in respect to the Taiwan report, focused on action that can be incorporated in the NDAA because NDAA will be considered shortly, but we will continue to discuss these issues. They are very complex, and we welcome the views of members going forward.

We had a bipartisan hearing on the Uyghur genocide, with more than 100 pages of written expert testimony as well as extensive discussions and negotiations by staff. That actually pales in comparison to the work that this committee has done on Taiwan and deterrence.

We met with Taiwanese President Tsai on April 5th. We conducted a tabletop exercise on a Taiwan scenario on April 19th. We received extensive written testimony and recommendations, which we discussed in depth during our expert roundtable on April 26th. On May 11th, we heard from the administration in a closed-door highly classified briefing with the Pac Fleet Commander Admiral Paparo.

Based on all this information and discussion, we circulated initial drafts of the reports on May 13th. We provided a staff briefing on the reports on May 15th. We have spent the last week and a half incorporating the minority's views and negotiating

the text of the reports until 6 p.m. last night.

We did this in an attempt to make this bipartisan. It is not easy. Nobody gets 100 percent of what they want. But that is the goal. And I think it would send a powerful message, particularly in the current moment, to have a strong bipartisan message coming out of this committee.

We will consider the reports sequentially and then vote to adopt the reports together at the end of our meeting.

Without objection, the chair may declare the committee in recess at any time.

We will begin with the consideration of the report on the CCP's ongoing Uyghur genocide.

On April 4, 1945, U.S. Army Forces first liberated a Nazi concentration camp. This was part of the Buchenwald system. And Eisenhower, the Supreme Allied Commander at the time, visited the camp on April 12th. And he sent back a cable to General Marshall, and he said: The things I saw beggar description. The visual evidence and the verbal testimony of starvation, cruelty, and bestiality were so overpowering as to leave me a bit sick. I made the visit deliberately in order to be in a position to give firsthand evidence of these things if ever in the future there develops a tendency to charge these allegations merely to propaganda.

With VE Day still almost a month away, Eisenhower then fired off an extraordinary request that 12 bipartisan Members of Congress fly over an active war zone to see the atrocities. He foresaw that a bipartisan delegation from Congress had a special role to play in exposing the Nazi genocide.

At our select committee hearing on the ongoing Uyghur genocide, Congress was once again witness to soul-chilling evidence of crimes against humanity. What we heard from experts of the policy of forced sterilization, forced IUD insertion, and forced

abortion easily clears any commonly used definition of genocide.

We heard that detainment of Uyghurs is the largest internment of an ethno-religious minority since the Holocaust. We heard that the entire region has been turned into an open-air prison through the most oppressive techno-totalitarian surveillance system ever devised.

We heard from Nury Turkel that American companies are financing the state-sponsored forced labor programs. But, most importantly, we heard from Gulbahar Haitiwaji and Qelbinur Sidik, firsthand witnesses in the camps.

I was struck by something that Naomi Kikoler from the Holocaust Museum told us, that visitors often wonder what they would do if they had lived through the Holocaust. Today she said: We want people to ask, now that I know, what will I do?

Well, today, with these policy recommendations, we on the select committee can answer that question. Let's send a bipartisan message that Congress will stand up to genocide, the crime above all crimes, in the 118th Congress.

And, with that, I will recognize the ranking member, Raja Krishnamoorthi, for his opening remarks.

[The statement of Chairman Gallagher follows:]

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Mr. Krishnamoorthi. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and thank you to your staff and thank you to our staff and the staff of all the members in helping to produce our first two committee reports.

I think that we worked in a truly bipartisan way to incorporate priorities on the Democratic side. And I am glad that you acknowledge that this is the first of many suggestions that we will continue to work on with regard to these topics. And I look forward to delving even deeper into these topics as we go forward.

Consistent with our mandate, the select committee will attempt to produce a bipartisan report after every hearing that includes our findings and legislative recommendations that we will subsequently try to advance during the Congress.

I am not aware of any other committee or commission that is doing this, and I am excited to be working in an innovative way with all of you to break new ground.

I am proud to support the CCP's ongoing Uyghur genocide report and hope it has the unanimous support of all members here.

A few weeks ago, we heard harrowing testimony of Uyghur and Muslim women who were jailed in mass internment camps in Xinjiang. The pain and suffering these women endured is horrifying, and I think it is fair to say that many of us will not forget the testimony that we heard that day. It was so haunting.

We know that the evidence has included not only firsthand testimony but also thousands and thousands of pages of leaked internal CCP documents, photographs, and satellite imagery. The genocide is real, and it is not too late to confront these atrocities so that, quote/unquote, never again can actually become a reality.

This report provides a blueprint for congressional action, including recommendations to, among other things: One, pass legislation to sanction key PRC

tech companies involved in the genocide; two, strengthen U.S. diplomatic efforts and foreign assistance programs that promote awareness of Uyghur human rights abuses, including Radio Free Asia and the National Endowment for Democracy; three, strengthen enforcement of the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act by reducing the de minimis threshold for duty-free shipments from the PRC and providing additional resources for Customs and Border Protection to identify products made with forced labor; and, four, among other things, prohibit the TSP and Federal retirement accounts from investing in U.S.-sanctioned PRC entities.

This report and these recommendations deserve the full support of the select committee and, indeed, the entire Congress. I look forward to their adoption and our work together, Democrats and Republicans, to move these recommendations into legislation as soon as possible. Thank you.

[The statement of Mr. Krishnamoorthi follows:]

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Chairman Gallagher. Thank you, Ranking Member Krishnamoorthi.

I now call up the select committee report on the CCP's ongoing Uyghur genocide.

The clerk shall designate the report.

The Clerk. The Select Committee Report on the CCP's Ongoing Uyghur Genocide.

Chairman Gallagher. Without objection, the report will be considered read and open for debate.

[The report follows:]

\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*

Chairman Gallagher. Do any other members wish to speak on the report?

There being no further request to speak on the report, under committee rule 2(e), we will postpone the vote on this report and move to consideration of the Ten for Taiwan report.

I now call up the select committee's Ten for Taiwan report. The report was circulated in advance and printed copies are available.

The clerk shall designate the report.

The Clerk. The Select Committee's Ten for Taiwan Report.

Chairman Gallagher. Without objection, the report will be considered read and open for debate.

[The report follows:]

\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*



Chairman Gallagher. 80,000 PLA troops on the Island of Taiwan, runways on Guam destroyed, dozens of our F-35s vaporized, our long-range munitions largely depleted in just 6 days, financial markets tanking, Chinese banks kicked off the SWIFT system, shipping insurance halted, global trade frozen.

At the select committee's tabletop exercise, we saw the terrifying results of deterrence failure. Today is about doing what we can to make sure that that game stays fictional.

So what did we learn? Neither Taiwan nor the United States seeks to change the status quo across the strait. A peaceful order has enabled the economic rise of countries across Asia. Only Beijing seeks to upend the status quo.

Many war game planners also believe the PLA's vast and most likely strategy would involve a first strike on U.S. Forces in the region to try and neutralize us and cow our allies. Neither the U.S. nor Taiwan have nearly enough critical munitions in theater to deter the CCP.

So, if we want to have a hope of preventing war -- and that is what it is all about -- we need to provide Taiwan with the weapons that they have purchased. We must clear the backlog, the \$19 billion FMS backlog. That is an embarrassment. We also need to reinvigorate our defense industrial base yesterday and start cranking out critical munitions, like long-range antiship missiles.

It is imperative to get our allies and partners on board with the idea of economic deterrence long before any shooting starts. Russian sanctions negotiations will look like a cakewalk by comparison.

We hosted a roundtable with three great experts who drilled down into the commonsense bipartisan things we can do in this NDAA to strengthen deterrence in the

Taiwan Strait and prevent war. Together with the minority staff and member office input, we put together ten policy recommendations that can enhance deterrence now and can pass this Congress.

This is not a comprehensive list of everything we need to do. This is what I believe and the ranking member believes is achievable in this Congress that will make a very real impact.

I know there is some concern from commentators that examining our deterrence posture out in the open, as the committee did, was too provocative. By showing that we are taking deterrence serious, however, we are actually demonstrating an unwavering interest in peace. That deters aggression.

And, in closing, I want to recommend that everyone in the audience read the written testimony that Oriana Skylar Mastro submitted. She lays out four principles of deterrence that are well worth reading, but for right now I am just going to skip to number four. She said: How do we signal to China that taking Taiwan will be too costly or too difficult? Step one, make it true. Then talk to me about messaging.

So that is our job. Make it true, bring our allies on board, make sure that deterrence failure in our war game stays fictional.

With that, I recognize Ranking Member Krishnamoorthi for his remarks.

[The statement of Chairman Gallagher follows:]

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Mr. Krishnamoorthi. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And thank you again for the bipartisanship that was displayed by our staffs and members in the formation of this particular report. This report included the contributions of many members of the select committee as well as outside other committees of jurisdiction, including the House Armed Services Committee as well as the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and we thank them very much for their valuable input.

It must be clear that the goal of these recommendations are to actively deter aggression and prevent conflict. We must prevent a war. We must prevent a cold war and a hot war, any hostilities with regard to Taiwan. But the way to do that is we have to be prepared.

The findings and recommendations in the report are consistent with the Taiwan Relations Act and the U.S. One China policy that have been the foundation for peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait for decades.

But make no mistake: The CCP's increasingly aggressive words and action toward Taiwan are to be taken seriously, and appropriate policies are necessary to deter further aggression and avoid conflict.

The recommendations include jump-starting our munitions industrial base and quickly providing Taiwan with weapon systems already approved by Congress.

That being said, I would like to point your -- I would like to turn your attention to the second recommendation of this report, which is very important. It focuses on developing joint plans with allies and partners and boosting economic engagement, including a tax agreement, advancing trade negotiations and joint standards and procedures to combat coercive economic policies. It also includes a recommendation that the NATO Plus arrangement include India.

The U.S.-Taiwan relationship is built on a foundation of security, prosperity, and our shared democratic values. The people of Taiwan deserve to live in peace and free from threats and intimidation.

I believe the policies included in this report would further peace and stability, and I fully support the findings and recommendations with the hope that we will further delve deeper into each of those findings as we prepare legislative recommendations going forward.

Thank you, and I yield back.

[The statement of Mr. Krishnamoorthi follows:]

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Chairman Gallagher. Do any other members wish to speak on the Ten for Taiwan report?

Mr. Wittman is recognized.

Mr. Wittman. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank the committee members.

Specifically, I think there has been a tremendous amount of effort that has been put into both of these reports. I thank the staff. What an exhaustive effort here on all the things that we have done.

Mr. Chairman, thank you. This has been a very intense but important effort to make sure we understand the full scope of what needs to be done.

I think this Ten for Taiwan report is really our mission objective. Let's make sure that we get these things done. I think you are exactly right in what needs to happen with these 10 recommendations.

I think there are two elements here of what we have to take after this report as the next step. First of all is there is existing NDAA language that you point to that says we have got to make sure that this gets fully implemented.

I think it would be great for this committee to communicate with committees of jurisdiction like Armed Services Committee to say, can you inquire of the Pentagon to get a progress update and then look at what is the future path to make sure these things are done?

There are some other elements in here too that I think there is still a window for us to get things done in the NDAA. So we will look forward to working with you and what language we might be able to put in this year's NDAA to make sure we put these things in place in real time.

So, again, thanks for the effort here. I think these are exactly the direction that we need to go.

Chairman Gallagher. Thank you, sir. And we are lucky to have two Armed Services subcommittee chairs on the select committee to help us in that.

Mr. Kim.

Mr. Kim. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

One thing that I think is unique about this committee is our ability to look across the totality of different jurisdictions and committees here in Congress. A number of us are in the Armed Services Committee that meets in this room, but when we wear the hat of the select committee, we have an opportunity to do something different, which is to think about this in a comprehensive way, to think about this in a way that can try to knit together the kind of strategic approach that I think all of us recognize is necessary for such an enormous challenge.

I support a number of the issues and recommendations in this report, but I don't think it takes into account the kind of comprehensive approach that we can be doing on this front.

I am glad that there is the number two recommendation being about economic and diplomacy issues, but there is so much more to unpack, and presenting something that has 9 out of the 10 recommendations being security-focused and not diving in deeper. While we did have a number of different engagements that helped inform us on this front, an ability to be able to speak with the Department of State and have further discussions in that kind of capacity I think would have helped us have a more rounded and comprehensive approach to look at this, and kind of framing this document as sort of across-the-board recommendations for Taiwan, not just more narrowly on the security side, I think gives the impression that these are sort of the top recommendations writ

large and doesn't go into enough of what we can be doing in terms of economic deterrence, diplomatic deterrence, and other capacities that we know are so important in building that global coalition.

So I just want to add my thoughts here and urge the select committee to make sure that we are engaging this in that kind of comprehensive approach.

Thank you, and I yield back.

Chairman Gallagher. Thank you. We have invited the State Department to testify before the committee. As yet, they have not accepted that invitation. So any help from the members on the committee would be welcome.

And I agree that would be a very productive conversation to have with them.

So Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson. I just want to make a note about process, Mr. Chairman. I think the four corners of these two documents speak for themselves. They are high-quality work. But I think what is most impressive is the extent to which they built on real sustained and thoughtful engagement of this committee.

I mean, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Ranking Member, staff, you really did make sure that we had the hearings, we had the exercises, we had the thoughtful discussions that went into building the kind of trust, building the shared understanding that were necessary for these documents to mean something and I think to be a clarion call for our work together moving forward.

And so, Mr. Chairman, those are my brief comments just not only in support of the work product but of the fact that this is a committee that really does work, and I know it is not accidental. Thanks.

Chairman Gallagher. Thank you. We will now proceed -- oh, Mr. Moulton.

Mr. Moulton. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I sit on the Armed Services Committee, and all these 10 recommendations are familiar to me from my work on the Armed Services Committee. And I agree that they are very important.

The military itself talks about the four realms of deterrence, military deterrence, but also economic deterrence, diplomatic deterrence and informational deterrence.

And it is really important that, as we strive to having a comprehensive China strategy, which I think is what is really lacking and in many ways why this committee exists, that we fill out those other three components. And so that is work ahead of us.

We have to get this out because the NDAA is coming up for a markup hopefully soon, Mr. Chairman. And that is why the recommendations for the military aspect of things need to be here today. But there is much more work ahead of us on this committee. Thank you.

Chairman Gallagher. Mr. Barr.

Mr. Barr. I thank the chairman for the recognition. And I thank my colleagues, all of my colleagues for their work and contribution, the staff for their contribution to these too.

And I just want to also recognize the chairman's leadership in approaching this in a comprehensive way. And there is more work to be done for sure, but I appreciate the chairman's focus on the security piece as it relates to diplomacy and making sure that deterrence is meaningful.

And negotiations through diplomacy are more effective when there is strategic deterrence, and so the security issues do matter in the effectiveness of our diplomacy. And I know the chairman is also focused on the economic deterrence piece, and I appreciate him working with me on the capital flows issue.

And, with respect to the report on Uyghur genocide -- and I fully support



recommendation number four in here related to capital flows -- but I would also just add that focus on the Thrift Savings Plan is not the only focus of this select committee. We are going to be taking a more comprehensive view towards not just the Thrift Savings Plan but other sources of Western capital unwittingly financing Chinese military, technology, and surveillance companies. That is coming. That is part of our committee's bipartisan work to come, and that is going to fill out our policy response.

With that, I yield.

Chairman Gallagher. We will now proceed to vote on the adoption of both these bipartisan reports.

There being no further debate on the select committee's report on the CCP's ongoing Uyghur genocide, the question now arises on adopting and favorably reporting the report to the House.

All those in favor, say aye.

All those opposed, say nay.

The ayes have it. The report is adopted and will be favorably reported to the House.

There being no further debate on the select committee's Ten for Taiwan report, the question now arises on adopting and favorably reporting that report to the House.

All those in favor, say aye.

All those opposed, say nay.

The ayes have it. The report is adopted and will be favorably reported to the House.

Having adopted the reports, do any members wish to give notice of their intent to file additional views?

Without objection, staff is authorized to make technical and conforming changes

to the report considered by the committee today. So ordered.

And the select committee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 9:52 a.m., the committee was adjourned.]