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“Defending America from the Chinese Communist Party’s Political Warfare, Part I”
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Congressional Testimony of Col. Grant F. Newsham

Chair Comer, Ranking Member Raskin, and distinguished members of this Committee, thank you for the privilege and honor of inviting me to testify today.

I will be addressing how we need a fundamentally new understanding of - and strategy for - the defense of America given the success of the Chinese Communist Party’s political warfare against us.

A New Kind of Attack

The United States of America is exceptional for a range of reasons. Some are immutable, such as the nature of our founding. Others can be degraded and destroyed. One of our exceptional characteristics has been that, for much of our history, U.S. geography and power gave us a buffer of distance that meant that we could choose our foreign wars. The last serious foreign attack on the U.S. mainland was the War of 1812.

This advantage was noted right from the start, with George Washington stating in his Farewell Address: “Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course.”¹

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is determined to take away that advantage. Through a range of political warfare methods, it is embedding behind our lines, attacking us from the inside. We have never faced such a serious domestic attack and our strategic community is largely not designed to identify what is going on.

It is difficult to overestimate how ingrained the assumption of ‘fortress America’ has become in strategic circles. Yes, the non-continental United States is known to be vulnerable - as Pearl Harbor showed us. But debates around topics such as American isolationism assume that being isolated is an option - the actual debate revolves around is it desirable.

I’ll explain several ways the Chinese Communist Party is breaking our defensive isolation and undermining the protection once offered by our detached and distant situation.

As a starting point, it is important to remember that the People’s Republic of China (PRC) doesn’t operate like other countries, including what it expects of its citizens. Beijing expects them to be useful to the state when required, no matter their location.

¹ George Washington, “George Washington’s Farewell Address, 17 September 1796”, *The Avalon Project*, Lillian Goldman Law Library, 2008, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/washing.asp

The PRC's 2017 National Intelligence Law states: "Any organization or citizen shall support, assist and cooperate with the state intelligence work... The State commends and rewards individuals and organizations that have made significant contributions to national intelligence work."² While not stated, it is also known that those who don't support, assist and cooperate can have their families, friends and businesses harassed – or worse - until they comply.³

Additionally as Mark Kennedy, currently director of the Wilson Center's Wahba Institute for Strategic Competition, said: "That ability by the government to gain access to information is one of the reasons why people view the risk of dealing with a Chinese corporation similar to what they would view as the risk of dealing with the Chinese Communist Party or the government".⁴

This extended reach of the CCP, and its willingness to use its own people as pawns, is one of the reasons the biggest victims of the Chinese Communist Party are the Chinese people.

So, that said, how is China breaching our defenses and hitting us on the home front? I'll describe several aspects of the PRC's political warfare attack on America: chemical warfare, biological warfare, economic warfare, cyber warfare, territorial warfare, physical infiltration and psychological warfare. And then, what we should do about it.

Chemical warfare

China is hitting the U.S. homeland hard through chemical warfare by creating and participating in the distribution of drugs that are killing us in massive numbers.

Here's how this front in China's political warfare scheme is producing results akin to an all-out shooting war.

The People's Republic of China is pouring highly addictive and often deadly illicit drugs into the American bloodstream—killing tens of thousands a year, destroying families and communities, and cities like Baltimore, Philadelphia, and many others.

The drug is fentanyl.

Fentanyl, cheaper and thirty times more powerful than heroin, mostly originates in China, often moving via Mexico (and Mexican drug gangs) into the United States. The Chinese are also into

² "National Intelligence Law of the People's Republic," adopted at the 28th meeting of the Standing Committee of the 12th National People's Congress on June 27, 2017,

https://cs.brown.edu/courses/csci1800/sources/2017_PRC_NationalIntelligenceLaw.pdf

³ Alexandra Ma, 'Barging into your home, threatening your family, or making you disappear: Here's what China does to people who speak out against them', *Business Insider*, August 19, 2018,

<https://www.businessinsider.com/how-china-deals-with-dissent-threats-family-arrests-2018-8?op=1#1-make-you-disappear-1>

⁴ Ximena Bustillo and Connie Hanzhang Jin, 'China owns 380,000 acres of land in the U.S. Here's where', *All Things Considered*, NPR, <https://www.npr.org/2023/06/26/1184053690/chinese-owned-farmland-united-states>

the money laundering part of the business—helping drug gangs launder (or recycle) their massive earnings.

Casualties

The deluge started around 2013 and has picked up steadily since then.

In 2017, around 47,600 Americans died of opioid overdoses, many involving fentanyl.⁵

In a 2018 meeting with President Donald Trump, Chinese leader Xi Jinping pledged to restrict all fentanyl-like substances.⁶ Trump declared this a “gamechanger.” Not surprisingly, the fentanyl and drugs kept flowing.

In 2019, around 72,000 Americans died from overdoses, the majority from fentanyl.⁷ That’s nearly five times the number of American troops killed in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

In 2021, the fentanyl death count was 71,238, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.⁸

For Americans aged eighteen to forty-five, drug overdoses are the main cause of preventable death. That outpaces suicide, guns, and auto accidents.

China’s Chosen Weapon

The CCP has created a surveillance state that even George Orwell couldn’t have imagined. If it wants to find the producers, it can. The fact the Chinese regime doesn’t go after producers the way it goes after Uighurs, Christians, Falun Gong, or Hong Kongers—suggests the CCP is glad America is awash in fentanyl.

A former American intelligence officer who operated successfully in Asia for many years offered some insight:

The DEA and the rest of the U.S. Government live in a bubble and the Chinese and others simply tell them what they expect to hear...the feedback loop time and again confirms their false assumptions. Of course, we start by mirror imaging; assuming the Chinese services have the same objectives -- fight the scourge of drugs and other criminal businesses -- which is simply not true. But the Chinese tell us this all the time and we believe them despite the overwhelming evidence to the contrary.

⁵ Wilson N. et al., “Drug and Opioid-Involved Overdose Deaths – United States, 2017-2018”, MMWR Morb Mortal Weekly Report 2020, March 20, 2020, <https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/volumes/69/wr/mm6911a4.htm>

⁶ Jamie Ducharme, “China Has Promised to Crack Down on Fentanyl. Here’s What That Could mean for Overdose Deaths in the U.S.”, *Time*, December 03, 2018, <https://time.com/5469231/china-fentanyl-controlled-substance/>

⁷ Ahmad FB, Cisewski JA, Rossen LM, Sutton P., “Provisional Drug Overdose Death Counts”, National Center for Health Statistics. 2022, <https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/nvss/vsrr/drug-overdose-data.htm>

⁸ “U.S. Overdose Deaths in 2021 Increased Half as Much as in 2020- But Are Still Up 15%”, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, May 11, 2022, https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/pressroom/nchs_press_releases/2022/202205.htm

*The businesses simply don't exist without the direct cooperation and protection of the state security services. The police etc., are the mafia. They have the absolute monopoly over the use of violence and can make anyone disappear. The traditional, brand name organized crime only exist with the acquiescence of the security services.*⁹

Effects of China's Chemical Warfare

Fentanyl is ravaging all parts of American society, and the youth are particularly badly hit. About half of the deaths attributed to fentanyl are young people of military age. As it is, only around twenty-three percent of all seventeen to twenty-four year olds meet the standards for military service.¹⁰ The deaths, disabilities and social destruction caused by the Fentanyl epidemic is shrinking the already small candidate pool.

This is the equivalent of removing five or six divisions of Army or Marines off the rolls every year. And that's just the "KIA". Don't forget the "battlefield casualties" who survive but can no longer function as productive members of society—with health problems, poor education, and diminished functionality.

One estimate is that for every drug death there are ten addicts. And there's the cost of caring for them, and the devastated families left broke and broken—not to mention the drain on first responders, emergency services, hospitals, and local economies.

And it's not just military recruitment that is affected. Private sector employers often have trouble finding workers who can pass a drug test or are otherwise unaffected by addiction.

From China's perspective, what's not to like? you've weakening your avowed enemy—whom you plan to dominate by mid-century. And, even better, the CCP makes money from the drug trade, and in convertible currency. Buy fentanyl and you pay in dollars.

Dollars are needed to fund the People's Liberation Army's buildup, as well as everything the Chinese government needs to obtain from overseas—that requires real money. This includes buying companies and farmland in the United States, Belt and Road projects and, of course, the bribes and under-the-table grease to local politicians and officials.

Meanwhile, there is no serious attempt by the U.S. to get to the root of the fentanyl problem – Beijing.

So, what's the plan of our leaders? In January 2024, the U.S. and Chinese set up a working group to deal with the fentanyl problem¹¹ – buying China even more time. The Chinese Communist Party can stop its chemical warfare against America. It just doesn't have any reason

⁹ Personal correspondence.

¹⁰ Courtney Kube and Molly Boigon, "Every Branch of the Military is Struggling to Make its 2022 Recruiting Goals, Officials Say", *NBC News*, June 27, 2022, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/military/every-branch-us-military-struggling-meet-2022-recruiting-goals-officia-rcna35078>

¹¹ "Readout of the U.S.-PRC Bilateral Counternarcotics Working Group Inaugural Meeting", *The White House*, January 30, 2024, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/01/30/readout-of-the-u-s-prc-bilateral-counternarcotics-working-group-inaugural-meeting/>

to do so. It is successfully reaching through our border and killing us by the tens of thousands on our own soil, facing no defense, let alone retaliation.

Biological warfare

Bacteria and viruses can travel through borders even more easily than drugs. The People's Republic of China has been conducting biological weapons research for many years, and it has never been particularly forthcoming about its activities.

And, while the origin of Covid-19 has yet to be ascertained, what we do know is that once the coronavirus outbreak occurred in Wuhan in 2019 and could no longer be controlled or hidden, Beijing closed off Wuhan to domestic travel but still allowed Chinese – including from Wuhan - to travel throughout the world. Someone from Wuhan could travel to Seattle but not to Shanghai. As a result, the CCP (at the least) knowingly and opportunistically seeded the rest of the globe with the Covid-19 virus.

Consider the damage to the United States, and all without firing a shot.

Economic effects

Covid-19 was a powerful piece of economic warfare. It brought the United States economy that was humming along, to a standstill. In fact, the virus threw the economy in reverse—as the U.S. government shut down businesses and left millions jobless as a result.

The response to the pandemic contributed to massive U.S. government spending to counter the effects of the economic downturn. This further debased the U.S. dollar and ultimately led to the highest inflation in forty years—making life difficult for all citizens. It also threatens the dollar's role as the world's reserve currency, something China has been angling to overcome for many years.

Societal effects

It was also a broad political warfare win for China as it contributed to social and political polarization and a decreasing trust in institutions.

When Senator Tom Cotton suggested the virus might have come from the Wuhan Institute of Virology (WIV) and basic inquiries were warranted, he was savaged by the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, much of the rest of the media and America's pundit class.¹² They accused him

¹² Senator Tom Cotton, "Cotton Op-Ed in the Wall Street Journal 'Coronavirus and the Laboratories in Wuhan'", *Wall Street Journal*, April 21, 2020, <https://www.cotton.senate.gov/news/press-releases/-cotton-op-ed-in-the-wall-street-journal-and-145coronavirus-and-the-laboratories-in-wuhan-and-146>

of peddling debunked conspiracy theories. A year later when the possibility of a lab leak was accepted by elites, the *Washington Post* in part apologized.¹³

President Trump was similarly condemned as a racist and xenophobe for likewise pointing out the obvious—that the virus came from the People’s Republic of China. The Chinese government had even called it the “Wuhan virus” when it first appeared. Such was the hatred that it became nearly impossible to handle the normal business of running the country.

The PRCs longstanding elite capture efforts and use of (knowing and unknowing) proxies further paid off during the Covid pandemic, and led to decreasing trust among Americans in their institutions, another win for Beijing.

Dr. Anthony Fauci, the director of the National Institute of Health and President Trump’s lead medical advisor, was the public face of the administration’s pandemic response. He was curiously uninterested in the virus’s origins and outright dismissive of the idea WIV was the source. He was later shown to have more connections to Chinese virology research institutions than he first let on.¹⁴

Also running cover for the PRC was Peter Daszak, of the EcoHealth Alliance, who repeatedly insisted the virus couldn’t have come from the lab.¹⁵ He was not exactly a disinterested party, having worked with Wuhan Institute of Virology for years on bat research. The U.S. National Institute of Health (Dr. Fauci’s group) funded him.¹⁶

Even better for the Chinese, the Director General of the World Health Organization, Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, had deep connections with the PRC. He provided cover as well—particularly in the early days of the outbreak. He praised Chinese cooperation with the WHO, and also rejected the idea of a lab leak.

Unsurprisingly, this has led more Americans to question institutions, some many had never even known existed. This weakening of the social contract also benefits Beijing.

Psychological effects

¹³ Glenn Kessler, “Timeline: How the Wuhan Lab-Leak Theory Suddenly became Credible”, *Washington Post*, May 25, 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/05/25/timeline-how-wuhan-lab-leak-theory-suddenly-became-credible/>

¹⁴ Ed Browne, “Fauci Was ‘Untruthful’ to Congress About Wuhan Lab Research, New Documents Appear To Show”, *Newsweek*, September 09, 2021, <https://www.congress.gov/117/meeting/house/114270/documents/HHRG-117-GO24-20211201-SD004.pdf>

¹⁵ Harriet Alexander, “British Doctor Peter Daszak Who Tried To Gag Wuhan Lab Leak Theory Is Fired From UN Commission Investigating COVID After He Was Exposed For Organizing Letter Denying Leak Claim in the Lancet Medical Journal”, *DailyMail*, June 22, 2021, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-9710875/Peter-Daszak-removed-COVID-commission-following-bombshell-conflict-report.html>

¹⁶ Paul Farrell, “Outcry as British Researcher is Given Another US Grant to Investigate COVID – Despite Fears His Initial Work at Wuhan Lab Triggered Pandemic: Peter Daszak is Paid \$650,000 to Study Bat Coronaviruses – and ‘Assess their Ability to Infect Humans’”, *DailyMail*, October 03, 2022, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-11273773/Outcry-British-researcher-given-grant-NIH-investigate-COVID.html>

Beyond the economic and political chaos caused by Covid-19, it was immensely effective as psychological warfare in other ways as well.

The psychological effects on Americans of not just the illness but the response were astonishing. The Covid-19 virus created such terror that Americans, who saw themselves as the freest people on the planet, submitted to so-called lockdowns—in the name of public health.

Students and preschoolers went to remote learning. The harmful effects of two years of this anti-socialization on children are now being recognized as affecting their cognitive and social development. Additionally, all the time spent isolated and online left them increasingly exposed and conditioned to online manipulation via social media.

Unemployment and enforced idleness were similarly harmful—with attendant psychological and mental problems and increased alcohol and drug abuse.

The U.S. military was also hamstrung—and frightened—by the virus. Training and exercises were particularly affected. And one of the U.S. Navy's aircraft carriers dropped out of its normal patrol in the Western Pacific and pulled into Guam—it's skipper afraid of a Covid outbreak. The controversy over emergency-approved vaccines caused further disruption, including in the U.S. forces where it led to the forced separation of a number troops who refused to take the vaccines.

So you see how it works: biological warfare ties in to other warfares—such as financial warfare, economic warfare, psychological warfare, international organization warfare, media warfare, etc., and all are mutually reinforcing. The cumulative effect wears down the opponent, affecting their ability to resist or to conduct kinetic operations.

The Covid case study, or test run depending on how you look it, had a global effect as well. It hit America's allies (and every other country) just as hard. It shook alliances as nations closed borders—and started to see neighbors as frightening, instead of friends.

What is certain is that strategists in Beijing will be studying the response for years – with the aim of being even more effective at bringing us to our knees next time.

Economic Warfare

Another major way China reaches across our border and damages us from the inside is economic. Beijing sees its economic, trade and commercial activities as feeding into a broader fight to the finish with the United States.

The CCP actively works to destroy the U.S. manufacturing and commercial sectors. It tries to lure companies to China where it is easier to steal technologies, techniques and clients. And it focuses on dominating key elements of the global supply chain to make China the world's center of economic gravity.

According to a study by Brookings¹⁷, this well-funded, targeted and persistent hollowing out of America’s economy, resulted in millions of lost jobs. Much of the steel and semiconductor business has disappeared, the U.S. textile and furniture industries are mostly gone. You can see the effects in Baltimore, East Cleveland or Erie, Pennsylvania. Remind yourself that what used to be there mostly went overseas—and most of that to China.

This is economic warfare.

WTO

Washington gave Beijing the go-ahead to attack on the trade front in 2001 when it let the PRC into the World Trade Organization (WTO) despite China not meeting the qualifications. The stated thinking was that by accommodating China –letting it into WTO and ignoring its behavior—the PRC would gradually play by the rules and even liberalize.

There were many in and around government who knew better. But plenty more were willing to pretend otherwise, and some actually did believe China could be turned into a liberal play-by-the-rules member of the international community.

It didn’t. Instead, we funded the strengthening and growth of the Chinese Communist Party.

A report by the Economic Policy Institute assessed that 3.7 million jobs – most of them in the manufacturing and technology sectors – were lost in the U.S. following China’s WTO entry.¹⁸

The U.S. suffered in this economic war that all too many of its political and business leaders didn’t quite recognize it was fighting.

Beijing is open about it aims of using economics for control. In 2020, Xi Jinping said “[We] must forge some ‘assassin’s mace’ technologies. We must sustain and enhance our superiority across the entire production chain...and we must tighten international production chains’ dependence on China, forming powerful countermeasures and deterrent capabilities based on artificially cutting off supply to foreigners.”¹⁹

Convincing oneself you had to be in the China market was easy. There was the dream—of selling one of something to every person in China. Or maybe it was the allure of cheap labor with no unions and weak environmental standards.

By drawing American and other foreign businesses into the PRC, Beijing made its rivals and enemies dependent on the China market, thus ensuring the foreigners would continue to supply necessary inputs (money, technology, manufacturing) to bolster CCP rule.

¹⁷ Autor, David, David Dorn, and Gordon Hanson. 2021. “On the Persistence of the China Shock.” Brookings Papers on Economic Activity, Fall. 381-447.

¹⁸ Robert E. Scott and Zane Mokhiber, “The China Toll Deepens”, *Economic Policy Institute*, October 23, 2018, <https://files.epi.org/pdf/156645.pdf>

¹⁹ Xi Jinping, “Certain Major Issues For Our National Medium- to Long-term Economic and Social Development Strategy”, *Center for Security and Emerging Technology*, November 01, 2020, https://cset.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/t0235_Qiushi_Xi_economy_EN.pdf

A 2022 Department of Defense (DOD) report²⁰ about the Chinese chokehold over key materials needed for the U.S. military is grim reading. The report describes the U.S. military as dependent on Chinese suppliers in a number of areas including batteries, microelectronics, and metal casings (think bullets).

This in turn restrains Washington's willingness to challenge Chinese behavior for fear of being shut out of the China market or being cut off from key products (such as medicines) that only China provides.

Chinese political influence has grown apace, and that's useful for fracturing U.S. alliances, peeling off America's friends and capturing international organizations.

Coming to America

But China didn't just pull business out of the U.S. Between 2002 and 2016, Chinese state-owned or state-linked companies spent 120 billion dollars buying up assets in the United States.

What American companies didn't give away, the Chinese stole—and still do. The damages: 225 to 600 billion dollars in losses every year.²¹ And it's not just the immediate monetary loss. You also lose the market, all future earnings and R&D development.

FBI Director Christopher Wray said in 2021 that the FBI opens a new case every ten hours involving Chinese and CCP sponsored theft—from consumer goods to satellite technology to agricultural seeds to military hardware. Nicholas Eftimiades, who literally wrote the book on Chinese espionage,²² keeps a database of PRC-related economic espionage cases. He is at seven hundred and counting. And those are just the ones who have been caught.

Military-Civil Fusion

The PRC's success on the economic front and its massive economic growth over the last thirty years has in turn made possible the People's Liberation Army's stunning military growth.

China's shipbuilding has become a dominant, world-class industry over the last three decades both in terms of sophistication and scale. And it's just as easy to build a civilian cargo ship as it is to build a naval warship. The PLA Navy is now considerably bigger than the U.S. Navy and the gap is widening.

U.S. shipbuilding? It has languished, along with U.S. Navy ship numbers.

²⁰ "Securing Defense-Critical Supply Chains: An Action Plan Developed in Response to President Biden's Executive Order 14017", *The United States Department of Defense*, February, 2022, <https://media.defense.gov/2022/Feb/24/2002944158/-1/-1/1/DOD-EO-14017-REPORT-SECURING-DEFENSE-CRITICAL-SUPPLY-CHAINS.PDF>

²¹ Mara Hvistendahl, "China's Theft of U.S. Trade Secrets Under Scrutiny", *Science*, February 28, 2017, <https://www.science.org/content/article/china-s-theft-us-trade-secrets-under-scrutiny>

²² Nicholas Eftimiades, *Chinese Intelligence Operations*, (Routledge, 2016)

Even if the United States decided to rebuild its fleet, it's not clear if we have the shipyards or the trained workers to do so (a by-product of China killing our manufacturing sector is it also obliterates the knowhow).

Too many Americans, in the ruling class at least, never saw—or wanted to see—commerce as a war. Not surprising, since a lot of them got rich from China—or at least selling out to China.

Professor William Hawkins states it well:

Beijing did not just build itself up to become a manufacturing giant dominating global supply chains, it tore down American industry and gutted the blue-collar middle class. It was like the U.S. heartland had been subjected to strategic bombing, but it was actually more like sabotage by Chinese collaborators among American capitalists who became 'transnational' as men without countries (except they actually were servicing one country without thinking about it). Our government cannot be indifferent to anything that moves across our borders (in or out) because it is these movements that shape the balance of power.²³

Three decades ago, the U.S. was the unquestioned superpower. Not anymore—and the U.S. government now refers to China as a peer competitor. This comes with attendant loss of American political influence worldwide—and diminished self-confidence.

Chinese economic warfare against us (and our friends) targeted us at home and has been very successful. Indeed, probably one of the easiest wars ever fought.

Cyber warfare

What made it easier is that, with much of the U.S. economy and society increasingly online, the protection of Washington's detached and distant situation is erased. The PRC is looting U.S. government and private industry networks of strategic data (including biometrics) and sector-dominating trade secrets. Yet it has escaped almost entirely unscathed, even though the Americans know who did it—and still does it.

The U.S. government's Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA) laid things out clearly:

The Chinese government... engages in malicious cyber activities to pursue its national interests. Malicious cyber activities attributed to the Chinese government targeted, and continue to target, a variety of industries and organizations in the United States, including healthcare, financial services, defense industrial base, energy, government facilities, chemical, critical manufacturing (including automotive and

²³ Personal Correspondence.

*aerospace), communications, IT (including managed service providers), international trade, education, video gaming, faith-based organizations, and law firms.*²⁴

According to the FBI report *China: The risk to corporate America*, “The annual cost to the U.S. economy of counterfeit goods, pirated software, and theft of trade secrets is between \$225 billion and \$600 billion.”²⁵ And the Chinese Communist Party is not just vacuuming up secrets and information, it uses cyber as an offensive weapon.

The U.S. Director of National Intelligence noted in 2021: “China presents a prolific and effective cyber-espionage threat, possesses substantial cyber-attack capabilities, and presents a growing influence threat... China can launch cyber attacks that, at a minimum, can cause localized, temporary disruptions to critical infrastructure within the United States.”²⁶

In 2018, security researchers at Symantec reported that a hacking attack originating from computers in the People’s Republic of China had burrowed deeply into the systems of satellite companies as well as defense and telecom companies in the United States and Southeast Asia.

Symantec’s technical director remarked that “(d)isruption to satellites could leave civilian as well as military installations subject to huge (real world) disruptions.”²⁷

From 2011 to 2013 Chinese hackers targeted 23 U.S. natural gas pipeline companies. Of the targeted companies, “13 were confirmed compromises, 3 were near misses, and 7 had an unknown depth of intrusion.”²⁸ In several cases the hackers obtained supervisory control over the pipeline. In other words, they controlled them. U.S. authorities assessed that the PRC hackers were “Chinese state-sponsored actors” aiming to develop the capability to conduct attacks on U.S. gas pipelines in the future.

The PRC is still at it. In early 2024, the U.S. Department of Justice announced it had disrupted an effort by Chinese state-sponsored hackers to compromise and maintain persistent access to U.S. critical infrastructure.²⁹

There is a long list of other examples of Chinese cyber warfare for strategic advantage. And many of the example are directly state linked. Here are some.

²⁴ “China Cyber Threat Overview and Advisories”, Cybersecurity & Infrastructure Security Agency, <https://www.cisa.gov/uscert/china>

²⁵ “China: The Risk to Corporate America”, Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2019, <https://www.fbi.gov/file-repository/china-risk-to-corporate-america-2019.pdf/view>

²⁶ “Annual Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community”, Office of the Director of National Intelligence, April 09, 2021, <https://www.dni.gov/files/ODNI/documents/assessments/ATA-2021-Unclassified-Report.pdf>

²⁷ Joseph Menn, “China-Based Campaign Breached Satellite, Defense Companies – Symantec”, *Reuters*, June 19, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/china-usa-cyber-idCNL1N1TL1K1>

²⁸ “Chinese Gas Pipeline Intrusion Campaign, 2011 to 2013”, Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, July 20, 2021, <https://www.cisa.gov/uscert/ncas/alerts/aa21-201a>

²⁹ <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/us-government-disrupts-botnet-peoples-republic-china-used-conceal-hacking-critical>

People’s Liberation Army vs. U.S. companies. In 2014, the Department of Justice charged five People’s Liberation Army members with hacking U.S. companies from 2006 to 2014.³⁰ The hackers reportedly belong to the Third Department, Unit 61398, in Shanghai—a PLA cyber espionage unit.

One target for destruction was an American solar power manufacturer, SolarWorld. The SolarWorld attack was in 2012. A decade later Chinese companies dominate the global solar products manufacturing business, with just a few beleaguered American producers left. And, adding insult to economic injury, U.S. solar installers are lobbying the U.S. government to play nice with Chinese manufacturers -- and drop investigations into their unfair trade practices.

Chinese Ministry of State Security & Coronavirus vaccines. In July 2020, the Department of Justice indicted two Chinese hackers for a decade-long hacking operation that included reconnaissance against U.S. companies working on coronavirus vaccines and treatments.³¹ According to the indictment, the two hackers cooperated with a Ministry of State Security agent from Guangdong.

Hainan State Security Department. In July 2021, the U.S. Department of Justice announced the indictment of four Chinese nationals for cyber theft of trade secrets from U.S. companies and a number of other foreign companies, as well as from universities and government entities from 2011 to 2018.³² Three of the suspects were Hainan State Security Department (HSSD) officers. The HSSD is an arm of the PRC’s Ministry of State Security (MSS).

The conspirators worked closely with Chinese universities and targeted a wide range of technologies (potentially dual-use) in fields such as: aviation, defense, health care, biopharmaceuticals, submersibles, autonomous vehicles, commercial aircraft servicing, and genetic-sequencing technology.

Hacking U.S. Military Technology

The People’s Republic of China’s computer hackers have also done well on U.S. military secrets, to include: Submarine technology, missile navigation and tracking systems and aerospace technology, including details of the US C-17 transport and F-35 stealth fighter among other platforms, that China has put to use in developing its own military aircraft.³³

³⁰ “U.S. Charges Five Chinese Military Hackers For Cyber Espionage Against U.S. Corporations and a Labor Organization For Commercial Advantage”, United States Department of Defense, May 19, 2014, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/us-charges-five-chinese-military-hackers-cyber-espionage-against-us-corporations-and-labor>

³¹ Confidential Business Information, Including COVID-19 Research”, United States Department of Defense, July 21, 2020, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/two-chinese-hackers-working-ministry-state-security-charged-global-computer-intrusion>

³² “Four Chinese Nationals Working With the Ministry of State Security Charged with Global Computer Intrusion Campaign Targeting Intellectual Property and Confidential Business Information, Including Infectious Disease Research”, United States Department of Justice, July 19, 2021, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/four-chinese-nationals-working-ministry-state-security-charged-global-computer-intrusion>

³³ Justin Ling, “Man Who Sold F-35 Secrets to China Pleads Guilty,” *Vice*, March 24, 2016, <https://www.vice.com/en/article/kz9xgn/man-who-sold-f-35-secrets-to-china-pleads-guilty>.

There is a psychological warfare angle to this as well. It is demoralizing, for example, when the United States introduces a new advanced weapon, and then a short while later the Chinese roll out something that looks like its twin, or at least a first-cousin. It also creates a paranoia that the Chinese are reading everything.

Chinese Hackers vs. You

Around 2014, the U.S. Office of Personnel Management was hacked by the Chinese. The hackers made off with the personnel records of around 22 million Americans holding security clearances. The records included the Standard Form 86 that is filled out when applying for a clearance, and it includes extremely detailed—and sometimes embarrassing—personal information.

But you don't even need to have a clearance, just a LinkedIn account. If you might be useful to the CCP, they will look for you wherever you are. According to a 2020 *Washington Times* report:

William R. Evanina, director of U.S. counterintelligence, singled out LinkedIn ... saying the networking platform could be weaponized by the members of the Chinese military whom the U.S. indicted on charges of hacking credit reporting giant Equifax and stealing data of more than 145 million Americans in 2017.... 'They have more than just your credit score; they have all of your data,' Mr. Evanina said. That includes Social Security numbers and other personally identifiable information such as bank account numbers.' Mr. Evanina said.³⁴

Territorial Warfare

Chemical, biological, economic and cyber attacks can all seamlessly penetrate borders, but there are potential issues with PRC-linked entities setting up within our physical borders with ill intent.

PRC-linked land ownership in the United States is raising concern, with more than two thirds of states either enacting or considering laws restricting or barring foreign land ownership largely over concerns about China.³⁵ One major case involved CCP-linked Chinese billionaire Sun Guangxin, who bought around 140,000 acres in Texas.

The size wasn't as concerning as the location – near Laughlin Air Force Base. Also of concern was Sun's plans to set up a wind farm to feed into the Texas' electricity grid. The potential for the installation to be used for intelligence collection as well as the potential for affecting Texas

³⁴ Ryan Lovelace, "LinkedIn Looms as China Security Threat, U.S. Officials Warn", *Washington Times*, February 18, 2020, <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2020/feb/18/linkedin-looms-china-security-threat-us-officials/>

³⁵ Phelim Kine, "US states are cutting off Chinese citizens and companies from land ownership", *Politico*, April 3, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/04/03/state-laws-china-land-buying-00150030>

grid integrity (and other concerns) resulted in the State of Texas taking action against the building of the wind farm.³⁶

Another concern is the concentration of U.S. land in the hands of a small number of CCP-linked people or entities. As of July 2023, Sun owns 40% of the Chinese-owned land in the U.S.³⁷ Some note that the amounts of U.S. land owned by Chinese individuals and entities aren't that large compared to the total U.S. landmass. Fine but, as seen from the above, of bigger concern is locations of the land. Plots located near critical infrastructure, including military bases, enable electronic surveillance, intelligence gathering, operations launch sites, access to the grid and more.

Questions over these issues is sometimes dismissed as American racism. In that context, it is useful to see how others view the issue. In the Republic of Palau, in the western Pacific, the U.S. military is putting in a radar installation on the island of Angaur. There have been repeated attempts by a Chinese representative to buy land near the site – a small island with a small population and little economic activity.

According to Palau's President Surangel Whipps Jr.:

The gentlemen that were in charge of the construction were telling me, oh, yeah, just last week he was here with a bunch of Chinese because they have this whole plot of land on the eastern side of the runway... And he was proposing that that would be a hotel site for the Chinese in the middle of the radar site. I thought it was kind of funny, but, I mean, that's just what they're doing all the time."³⁸

In much of the world, it's just a given that Chinese 'investors' will try to gain access to land near the critical infrastructure of the United States and its allies. So, why wouldn't they do that, and more, in the U.S. itself. And if one thinks that is innocuous, try building an American owned and run wind farm near a Chinese military base in China. A little reciprocity goes a long way in gaining perspective.

Or, going back to the biological warfare section, try running an illegal American biolab in China - 35 miles from a critical Chinese People's Liberation Army military base. That's the equivalent of what happened in Reedley, California where an illegal Chinese-owned and operated biolab was found, by accident, 35 miles from Lemoore Naval Air Station - a major base for the Navy's F-18.³⁹ Why shoot down the planes over China if you can sicken the pilots in California?

³⁶ John Hyatt, "Why A Secretive Chinese Billionaire Bought 140,000 Acres Of Land In Texas", Forbes, August 9, 2021, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/johnhyatt/2021/08/09/why-a-secretive-chinese-billionaire-bought-140000-acres-of-land-in-texas/?sh=24e27d5478c3>

³⁷ Ximena Bustillo and Connie Hanzhang Jin, 'China owns 380,000 acres of land in the U.S. Here's where', *All Things Considered*, NPR, <https://www.npr.org/2023/06/26/1184053690/chinese-owned-farmland-united-states>

³⁸ https://www.fdd.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/Events_UnitedStatesPalau_Transcript_v03.pdf

³⁹ "Investigation Into The Reedley Biolab", The Select Committee on the Chinese Communist Party, *United States Congress*, <https://selectcommitteeontheccp.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/selectcommitteeontheccp.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/scc-reedley-report-11.15.pdf>

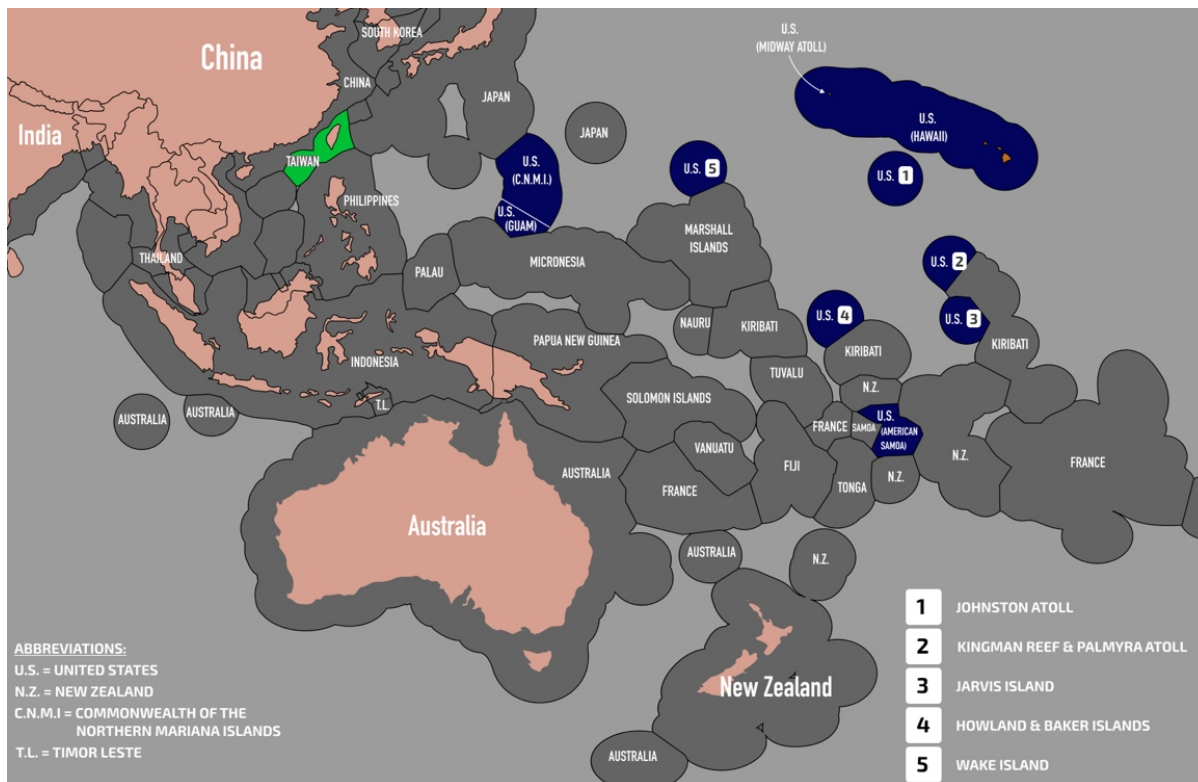
Physical Infiltration

Chinese citizens are also illegally entering the United States at unprecedented rates. On the Southwestern border alone, Border Patrol reported nearly 6,000 encounters with Chinese citizens in December 2023, up from around 900 a year earlier.⁴⁰

This flow is obfuscated by the massive wave of those crossing in the same location from other countries, making it difficult to track the subsequent activities of the Chinese nationals coming in that way. To get an idea of what the intent of some might be, we can look at what is happening in a different part of the United States.

The Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) is very much part of the United States - as its House delegate, Representative Sablan can tell you. It is where the United States and Japan share a maritime border. Around 50,000 people live in CNMI and the main island in the chain, Saipan, is around 2,500km east of Taiwan and 6,000km west of Honolulu, Hawaii.

Being the part of the U.S. that is the closest to China - along with neighboring Guam – and being of strategic military importance, it is not surprising that it is at the forefront of visible, overt PRC-linked malign activity.



⁴⁰ John Gramlich, “Migration encounters at the U.S. – Mexico border hit a record high at the end of 2023”, *Pew Research Center*, February 15, 2024, <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/02/15/migrant-encounters-at-the-us-mexico-border-hit-a-record-high-at-the-end-of-2023>

From 2009 onwards, People’s Republic of China (PRC) citizens have been allowed to enter CNMI as tourists, visa-free, for short-term business or tourism. This is the only part of the United States where Chinese can arrive without a visa. As a result, CNMI can serve as a useful case study to see what happens when poorly vetted PRC citizens come into the United States.

According to CNMI Governor Arnold I. Palacios’ August 2023 testimony⁴¹ to the Oversight Hearing of the U.S. House Committee on Natural Resources, the influx of PRC citizens has resulted in a range of problems for the territory and: “was fraught with controversy—from human trafficking to birth tourism, labour abuse, money laundering, and public corruption.” This includes Chinese in CNMI using the U.S. postal service to distribute illegal drugs,⁴² and buying U.S. driver’s licences.⁴³

They also established political and economic influence and an exclusive licence was granted to a Chinese casino operator that was, explained the Governor, “mired in litigation and criminal investigation practically from the start... The Chinese casino on Saipan at its peak raked in billions of U.S. dollars in monthly rolling chip volumes from just 16 VIP tables, outdoing even the glitziest casinos in Macau.”



Figure 1: Now closed PRC-linked casino in Saipan.

While that Casino is currently closed, another PRC-linked casino recently opened on the CNMI island of Tinian. The U.S. Air Force is building a \$409 million airfield on Tinian.⁴⁴ The new casino is on the dual use harbor, overlooking one of the locations where building material will be brought ashore.

PRC-linked money, influence and infrastructure is destabilizing CNMI and affecting local politics, the judiciary, the media and society – and emplacing itself in strategic locations. It is also contributing to a corrosive spread of criminality that is reaching beyond CNMI.

⁴¹ Governor Arnold I. Palacios, “Oral Testimony of Governor Arnold I. Palacios Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands,” *Oversight Hearing of the U.S. House Committee on Natural Resources*, August 24, 2023, <https://governor.gov.mp/news/oral-testimony-of-governor-arnold-i-palacios-commonwealth-of-the-northern-mariana-islands>

⁴² “CNMI Customs confiscate \$700K ‘ice’ at post office,” *Islands Business* (Fiji), March 23, 2022, <https://islandsbusiness.com/news-break/cnmi-largest-drug-haul-in-five-years>

⁴³ U.S. Attorney’s Office, Districts of Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands, News Release, “Chinese Illegals: CNMI DMV Chief Convicted of License Fraud,” December 19, 2023, <https://www.hawaii-freepress.com/Articles-Main/ID/40274/Chinese-Illegals-CNMI-DMV-Chief-Convicted-of-License-Fraud>

⁴⁴ Noah Robertson, “US Air Force issues \$409 million award for long-sought Pacific airfield”, *Air Force Times*, 10 April 2024, <https://www.airforcetimes.com/global/asia-pacific/2024/04/10/us-air-force-issues-409-million-award-for-long-sought-pacific-airfield/>

In a 30 November 2023 letter⁴⁵ to Secretary Mayorkas asking Homeland to close the loophole and require Chinese coming to CNMI to have a visa, thirty-two members of Congress, including several from this Committee (including Representatives Higgins, LaTurner and Waltz) explain that: “Chinese citizens were caught entering Saipan and then using messaging apps to coordinate illegal jobs and illegal boat rides to Guam,⁴⁶ home to highly strategic U.S. military installations.” On Guam, they have been found by U.S. military personnel breaching security on at least one U.S. military base.

From a Chinese strategic perspective, Guam is critical. Xi has repeatedly said that one of his main goals is to take Taiwan, by force if necessary. If Guam is operational, that becomes a lot harder. While China does have what it calls its “Guam killer” missiles, it would likely prefer to render Guam inoperable in ways that are less likely to trigger a response. Having people on the ground who entered the U.S. without a visa then illegally slipped in to Guam - making them largely invisible - could be helpful. Especially when combined with digital entry points, as seen with the PRC-linked Volt Typhoon hacks of Guam critical infrastructure.⁴⁷

Citizens from a range of other countries visit CNMI. Currently the majority of tourists are from South Korea. In the past, Japanese were heavily involved in the CNMI tourism sector. There are many Filipinos living and working in CNMI. But no nationality, apart from those from the PRC, has created political and social disruption to the point of putting critical infrastructure and even democracy itself at risk in this corner of the United States.

Psychological warfare

While all of the above describes how the CCP is the first foreign nation to successfully and repeatedly breach our detached and distant situation in two centuries, the ultimate barrier for the PRC to breach is the one protecting your mind from PRC influence.

Psychological warfare is arguably the most important of the political warfare techniques. Chinese psychological warfare seeks to change an opponent’s thinking and behavior in a way that is favorable to PRC interests and objectives. It aims to weaken the opponent’s will and ability to resist through non-kinetic means. Successful Chinese psychological warfare makes the other side more accommodating, less willing or able to resist, and there is a point at which even if you realize the danger and are willing to “go kinetic,” you think there is no point—it’s futile.

It comes down to getting into our heads and disabling us from the inside.

Most people have heard of psychological operations—or psyops. Many of us think we are too smart, too well educated, and too discerning to be influenced by psychological warfare. But if

⁴⁵ https://dunn.house.gov/_cache/files/a/7/a7be6e9c-aa2c-4c5b-844f-0f9477022930/5C3DD18E5C7728487178D0D0CFACAAAD.20231130152328384.pdf

⁴⁶ Alex Wilson, “Chinese citizens use Northern Marianas as illegal pathway to Guam, authorities say,” *Stars and Stripes*, February 27, 2024. (https://www.stripes.com/theaters/asia_pacific/2024-02-26/guam-china-illegal-entry-northern-marianas-13130497.html)

⁴⁷ <https://www.wired.com/story/china-volt-typhoon-hack-us-critical-infrastructure/>

you've ever said or thought any of the following, you've been influenced by Chinese psyops - especially if, after thinking about for a minute, you realize you knew the right answer all along.

1. *China just wants to reunify with Taiwan*

First, Taiwan has never been part of Communist China. It is an invasion not a reunification. Second, it will not end with Taiwan. The PRC's map of 'China' includes parts of several other countries is also wants to 'reunify' with, including India, Japan, Philippines and others.

2. *Chinese culture isn't compatible with democracy*

The Han Chinese in Taiwan have embraced democracy and flourished under freedom without losing touch with their cultural roots. Imagine how Chinese in China could flourish without the CCP's boot on their neck.

3. *China is militarizing/aggressive/expansionist because of the trauma of a century of humiliation*

By that definition of humiliation (being colonized), India has suffered *several* centuries of humiliation, but it has chosen another path forward. Chinese Communist Party actions are not our fault, they are its choice.

4. *The United States must have China's help on climate change, North Korea, etc.*

China has no intention of helping the United States on 'climate change' – since doing so would slow China's growth – and, based on past experience, China doesn't expect any real cost will be imposed on it for not complying. Meanwhile, it is glad to have Washington hand-cuff its own economy. As for North Korea, Beijing considers North Korea (even nuclear armed) as a useful distraction for the United States, and when the time comes – say, to attack Taiwan – China will expect North Korean support to further distract the Americans and the Japanese.

5. *China is no longer communist. It is capitalist.*

Ask Jack Ma how capitalist it is. If you can find him.

6. *Criticizing China is racist.*

China is controlled by the Chinese Communist Party. The biggest victims of the Chinese Communist Party are the Chinese people. The Chinese Communist Party has killed 50 million of its own people in peacetime and good weather. It has put over a million of them in concentration camps for religious or political beliefs. It forcibly removes and sells organs from live Chinese citizens. If one cares about the Chinese people, it is a duty to criticize the Chinese Communist Party.

Parroting those CCP talking points function to downplay or excuse threats posed by the People's Republic of China, and to justify inaction, lethargy or compliance in the face of outrageous,

inhumane CCP behavior. It's all part of being conditioned to think the PRC is not a threat or cannot or should not be resisted, as that will only make things worse.

Psychological warfare and the military

Too much of the American defense establishment had been conditioned (with Chinese help) over the years to believe that it faced no real threat from the PRC, and that engagement and understanding would solve any problems.

To their credit many people have woken up to the Chinese threat in recent years. But it took them a while.

What led to such Chinese psychological warfare success and too many American government and business elites missing the oncoming Chinese threat?

There's not one single reason, but the PRC understands its targets. It can, and does, use any combination of charm, blandishments, cash, flattery, threats (open and veiled), soothing language, in-person hospitality, promises of "opening up" and the allure of access and favors for special friends to entice and convince that with just more effort or a little more time...everything will come right.

Former Assistant Secretary of Defense, Professor Joseph Nye typified that approach in his 2013 *New York Times* article 'Work With China, Don't Contain It': "When I worked on the Pentagon's East Asia strategy in 1994, during the Clinton administration, we rejected the idea of containment for two reasons. If we treated China as an enemy, we were guaranteeing a future enemy. If we treated China as a friend, we kept open the possibility of a more peaceful future."⁴⁸

Internalize this idea and it's easy to convince yourself that if China is acting like an enemy it must be something America is doing wrong - even if decades of treating China like a friend has just resulted in China engaging in one of the fastest peacetime military build-ups the world has ever seen.

Chinese psychological warfare has created a degree of fear on the U.S. side, shaping policy and strategy. U.S. policy towards Taiwan, for example, has for years been based on a fear of 'provoking' China. It accepted the "treat China like an enemy" paradigm, and then let China tell us what makes them feel like an enemy - and so is something we shouldn't do. Talk about getting into our heads.

Such was the ingrained fear of challenging the Chinese, that when a senior U.S. military officer at INDOPACOM in 2015 was asked: why are you appeasing China? He answered: "What are we supposed to do? Go to war with them?"

Psychological Warfare – enlisting U.S. media and U.S. education

⁴⁸ Joseph S. Nye Jr., "Work With China, Don't Contain It", *New York Times*, January 25, 2013, <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/26/opinion/work-with-china-dont-contain-it.html>

The Chinese communists figured out a long time ago that you can enhance control over what people think by controlling what they read, hear, and learn. They did this in China, but have been successful in the United States too.

Indeed, the PRC's psychological warfare against the United States has been much easier and effective because American media – especially corporate houses with interests in China - largely averted their gaze or tried to give the Chinese Communist Party the benefit of the doubt for far too long. And some still do.

As for American universities, Beijing correctly calculated the price of academia's principles equals 'x' number of Chinese students paying full tuition. Handsome donations to university 'China centers' also work, along with visas, business class tickets and seminar invitations for professors and administrators.

Psychological Warfare and U.S. business

After 50 years, U.S. business is still keen to get into the People's Republic of China. One notes the recent fawning by US business elites in Beijing when granted an audience with Xi Jinping. And recall the two standing ovations by a roomful of prominent American business executives (who had paid handsomely for the privilege) in November 2023 during Xi Jinping's visit to America.

Americans routinely do the sort of business, with IP sharing, forced joint ventures and more, in China they would never do in Wisconsin, or in any of the other forty-nine states.

That is successful psychological warfare. It also reinforces Chinese economic warfare and makes chemical (fentanyl) warfare more effective by making sure manufacturing (and jobs) don't come back to America. At the same time it is funding the PLA buildup for the day it's time for kinetic warfare.

And the gravy for the PRC is that it is American lobbyists making sure U.S. government policy doesn't change—even as their fellow citizens are harmed.

No matter what the PRC does—threatens U.S. ships in international waters, harasses and sinks other nations fishing boats, withholds life-saving medical care from a Nobel Prize winner and let him die, lock up citizens *en masse* in concentration camps, gets caught red handed stealing American trade secrets, and government secrets—there is an amen chorus of bureaucrats, PhDs, business and financial types, government officials, politicians and pundits who can tell you why there's nothing to worry about from Communist China.

And, they add, anyone who says otherwise is racist, stupid, a hawk (or even a super hawk).

But there is some good news. More are starting to recognize the PRC as a threat. And are willing to do something about it.

Conclusion and Recommendations

We have never faced anything like this before. As a country, as individuals, we are under constant attack from within, and we don't know how to see it.

For the first time in centuries, we no longer have the luxury of distance. We are being killed in our homes by fentanyl. Our cities and economy are taking hit after hit from Covid, unfair trade, intellectual property theft and hacking. We don't know who is buying land near our critical infrastructure or wandering illegally around our military bases. And we don't know how to think about it all - the same Americans who were furious about a Chinese spy balloon floating over their heads have Chinese spy apps loaded on their phones, sitting in their pockets.

The first thing we have to do is understand and admit the threat we are facing from the Peoples' Republic of China – and take responsibility for dealing with it. Which is why I am grateful to the Committee for wanting to do exactly that, and for holding this Hearing.

Given the topic of the Hearing, the recommendations below pertain to political warfare with the caveat that political warfare is not a substitute for a powerful military that can defeat the nation's enemies. They are mutually reinforcing. The US military and the defense industrial base must be rebuilt as the highest priority. Building up our defenses and rebuilding the military is ultimately a political move. Demonstrating we recognize the threat we face... and are prepared to do something about it.

Political Warfare and the American Government

Listen to testimony of State Department and Department of Defense officials and, while there is an awareness of PRC influence efforts, there is little apparent sense that we are facing a concerted, systematic, multi-front Chinese Communist Party political-driven warfare campaign – one that needs to be addressed and, as importantly, countered with our own political warfare scheme.

Most people under 40 don't have any familiarity with the recent history – and horrors – of communist, totalitarian regimes. Indeed, there seems to be an infatuation with Marxism on college campuses. The realities of life under communism need to be shared, including from a young age.

Additionally, the U.S. government seems to have forgotten how to tell the story of America and its principles. Government departments assigned this role, such as State Department's Global Engagement Center are not particularly effective. Private outlets, such as *China Uncensored*,⁴⁹ are excellent at educating large audiences about PRC malign affairs, and the need to do something about them. These shows are factual, informative, produced on a shoestring budget, have nearly two million subscribers, and the Chinese government hates them.

Some recommendations for defending from PRC political warfare and improving U.S. government counters are:

⁴⁹ <https://www.chinauncensored.tv/>

- Recognize that nearly every U.S. government department and agency has a role in countering Chinese political warfare, including State, Defense, Commerce, Treasury, Homeland, Drug Enforcement, Education, Energy, Transportation, and Agriculture. Department of State in particular, but most other U.S. government departments and agencies as well need to relearn political warfare, and make it part of training syllabuses – and an essential part of their missions. We used to know how to do ‘political warfare’ during the Cold War but sometime in the late 1980s we discarded it. We need to relearn it.
- Currently, what Foreign Service Officer or Department of Defense employee wants to make a name for themselves in the political warfare field – if that’s even possible? And ask yourself, ‘who is responsible for political warfare – and taking on Chinese political warfare in particular – inside the US government?’ The answer is, at best, unclear. Somebody specific needs to be in charge of the overall U.S. political warfare effort – both defensive and offensive – as well as at the department and agency levels. This would have multiple benefits, including making it harder for blame for failure to be passed.
- USIA and USIS, or something like them, ought to be reestablished. Yes, they were not perfect, but they did much good work and, if properly resourced and run, can play an important role in an American political warfare effort. And also, rebuild the Foreign Broadcast Information Service that offered English translations of what the Chinese communists were saying in Chinese which is often very different from what they release in English. If more people hear what they say about us to each other, the threat will become much clearer.
- Support state and local governments taking efforts to protect themselves from Chinese political warfare – to include CCP-related entities and individuals seeking access to key infrastructure and transport nodes, buying real estate and agricultural land, and making investments that give the CCP a foothold in the United States from which to influence and create dependencies. Organizations such as America First Policy Institute (AFPI) and American Global Strategies (AGS) have done useful ‘educational’ work at state government levels to raise awareness. And a number of states have taken the initiative to address PRC threats. It would be helpful to consolidate and coordinate efforts so states can learn from each other’s toolkits.
- Educate the public on the realities of communism and the threats we are facing – as this Hearing is doing. Talk about the issue, from as many angles as possible. In the last U.S. administration, high level officials regularly spoke openly about what we are facing from the PRC, including speeches by Attorney General Bill Barr, Defense Secretary Mark Esper, FBI Director Christopher Wray, and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo. It is important to get ordinary American citizens involved in understanding and addressing the PRC political warfare challenge. This starts with awareness, and then advice on how they, as individuals, can contribute – even something as modest as not downloading ‘Tik-Tok.’

Make it more costly to act as a proxy for the Chinese Communist Party in the United States

American money, research and skills have greatly aided the Chinese Communist Party in its ambitions to weaken - if not destroy - us. Some recommendations on how to counter that:

- Use ‘reciprocity’ as a basic standard for dealings with the PRC – to include when examining ‘inward’ Chinese investment into the United States. If Americans cannot do something in the PRC, Chinese citizens and proxies should not be able to do it in the United States
- Delist Chinese companies on US exchanges that do not immediately meet listing standards applying to all other (including US) companies. If there was ever a depressing example of collusion between Wall Street, financial regulators and lawyers, and ultimately Washington, D.C., this is it. Allowing PRC companies to list in the U.S. and get access to American capital markets without playing by everyone else’s rules is baffling. Efforts in recent times to address this issue are a charade.
- Impose comprehensive and public reporting requirements for individuals, companies, law firms, etc., operating on behalf of Chinese interests – to include Chinese commercial entities that invariably, through China’s own laws, tie-in with the Chinese government.
- Department of Justice needs to seriously and impartially enforce the Foreign Agents Registration Act, as well as expose all business dealings and consulting relationships – direct, indirect, laundered – of all U.S. officials, politicians, researchers, etc. If they want to work for the U.S. government, they have to put everything out on the table – unlike current disclosure statements that are hopelessly, and probably intentionally, vague.
- Require and enforce strict reporting requirements for academic institutions accepting financial contributions from PRC and PRC-related sources and performing research on behalf of Chinese entities. If necessary, give academic institutions a choice between accepting Chinese money or receiving US government grants and other support. This approach worked well when it came to dealing with Chinese government funded and sponsored Confucius Institutes on American campuses.
- Impose much stricter scrutiny of Chinese researchers and students before issuing visas – and especially when seeking access to U.S. research institutes. Given what we know of PRC intentions, past behavior and espionage (unfortunately often successful) there should be a presumption against issuing such visas and access for individuals in STEM areas.
- Institute strict export controls on technology exports to the PRC – akin to the COCOM system from the Cold War. Current Department of Commerce-administered restrictions are a sieve with huge holes, and virtually no ability to verify end-use in China. The PRC puts dual-use technologies to good work via its ‘military-civil fusion’ concept – as displayed in the ‘spy balloon’ incident (much of the technology in it was foreign,

including of U.S.-origin), and the recently launched C-919 aircraft – civilian in name, but a perfectly capable military transport. It would not be flying without U.S. technology.

- Just as doing business with apartheid-era South Africa became ‘radioactive’ for private companies from a legal and reputational standpoint, private companies should have to make the same calculations when considering business with the PRC. Similarly, graduate students and researchers who choose to work in Chinese labs and research institutes should know it might affect their abilities to get clearances or be eligible for some Government grants in the future.
- Institute a strict ‘outbound’ review of all investment in the PRC. President Biden’s executive order in August 2023 restricting investment in certain technology areas is a good step, but should be expanded – to include a much wider range of technologies, including hypersonic, space systems, and new biotechnologies, for example. A rough guideline: Considering that the PRC considers the United States as its ‘main enemy’ it is logical to avoid allowing anything that gives the PRC a material advantage or support.
- Encourage and support shareholder lawsuits against companies that are putting shareholder money into the PRC – where rule of law, property rights, and the sanctity of contract don’t exist, and it is Chinese government’s stated policy to eliminate foreign competition. State Attorneys General ought to also take up the mantle if interest at the federal level is lacking.
- This is the big one. Repeal China’s permanent normal trade relations status (PNTR), which provides China access to U.S. markets on generous terms. Such favored treatment requires a level of reciprocity and a demonstrated compliance with global trading rules that the PRC has yet to achieve. Moreover, the PRC’s behavior towards the United States – and American companies – is not normal. Quite the opposite.

Protect Chinese people

Again, this is a fight against the Chinese Communist Party, and the biggest victims of the Chinese Communist Party are the Chinese people. They need our help.

- Protect all people of Chinese descent (citizens or non-citizens) living in the United States from intimidation, harassment, and violence by CCP agents. Close down all unofficial police stations and prosecute people involved in running them. If consular and diplomatic officials are involved in efforts to terrorize ‘the diaspora’, expel them from the United States, and consider closing down consulates – as was done with the PRC consulate in Houston during the Trump Administration.
- Make PRC human rights an issue – constantly. Include assessments in any legislation related to China. ‘Delinking’ human rights was a mistake that needs correcting. Human rights really gets to the heart of the fight. The U.S. and the PRC are two completely different systems. One is humane (for all its problems). One is inhumane – viewing the

individual as an asset of the state (which is one reason why China does not have an illegal immigration problem).

- Make things personal for CCP elites – who are otherwise glad to have the Chinese people absorb any amount of hardship. Help the Chinese people get the information they need about their leadership by exposing elite corruption that includes ‘unexplained wealth’ in the form of overseas bank accounts, real estate, and businesses, and family members with residence permits. Senator Marco Rubio’s recent efforts in this regard deserve bipartisan support.
- Speak directly to the Chinese people in ways they can understand. Then-deputy National Security Advisor, Matthew Pottinger’s speeches in 2020, delivered in Mandarin, were an example of effective ‘political warfare’ – directed towards a PRC audience. More of this ‘discourse warfare’ (as the PRC calls it) is needed – and to be done by policymakers from different ‘perches’ and in a systematic way – in other words, according to a plan. Relearn political warfare and this will all come naturally.

The Stakes

Make no mistake: the goal of the Chinese Communist Party is to take away our freedom.

We often hear that China wants to “win without fighting.” But the more literal translation of that Mandarin expression is “get the enemy to submit without fighting.”

That is a big difference. A nation can **win** a war, and then the two sides move on, eventually work together, and even reconcile. I say this as a Marine who worked to help the Japan Self-Defense Force develop its first amphibious capability since World War II.

Submission is different. It’s a permanent state of subjugation. We won’t move on from submission. If we try to stand up, we will be smacked down again.

That is what the Chinese Communist Party wants to do to the United States of America.

Make us submit.

Forever.

So, what’s at stake? The United States as an independent nation — or even a unified nation — is at stake. But ultimately, it’s our freedom that is at risk — from the Chinese communists and even from other Americans working for them, knowingly or not.

Go to Hong Kong to see what Chinese communist domination looks like—and how fast it can happen. Or talk to someone from Eastern Europe back when the communists were in control.

In the past, when America has been hit, it has had time to catch its breath, recover, and go on the offensive. Our enemies couldn't get across the oceans or into the heartland thanks to our detached and distant situation.

This time, they are here.