

**DEFENDING AMERICA
FROM THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY'S
POLITICAL WARFARE, PART I**

HEARING
BEFORE THE
**COMMITTEE ON
OVERSIGHT AND ACCOUNTABILITY**
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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**DEFENDING AMERICA
FROM THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY'S
POLITICAL WARFARE, PART I**

Wednesday, April 17, 2024

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND ACCOUNTABILITY
Washington, D.C.

The Committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:04 a.m., in room 2154, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. James Comer [Chairman of the Committee] presiding.

Present: Representatives Comer, Grothman, Cloud, Palmer, Higgins, Sessions, Biggs, Mace, LaTurner, Fallon, Perry, Timmons, Burchett, Greene, McClain, Langworthy, Burlison, Raskin, Norton, Lynch, Krishnamoorthi, Khanna, Ocasio-Cortez, Porter, Brown, Stansbury, Garcia, Frost, Lee, Crockett, Goldman, Moskowitz, Tlaib, and Pressley.

Chairman COMER. The hearing of the Committee on Oversight and Accountability will come to order. I want to welcome everyone.

Without objection, the Chair may declare a recess at any time.

I now recognize myself for the purpose of making an opening statement.

Today's hearing is an opportunity to understand what the Chinese Communist Party, the CCP, is and what it seeks to achieve in conducting warfare against the United States right now without having to fire a single shot. We will hear from three serious China experts, with decades of experience in U.S. intelligence, national security, and the military, about CCP political warfare. This will help the Committee understand what Federal agencies can and should be doing to safeguard the homeland.

What is the CCP? It is the ruling authoritarian regime of China. While it is enslaving its own people in forced labor camps in China, it is also brazenly engaging in dozens of forms of warfare against America. Each warfare tactic seeks the destruction of our country. For decades, the CCP has sought to infiltrate and influence every aspect of American society. Chief among the party's tactics is political warfare. Political warfare is meant to influence the emotions, motives, and behavior of Americans in a manner favorable to China's objectives. By waging political warfare, the CCP seeks to weaken America so that we cannot effectively fight in a kinetic war.

According to the CCP itself, the battlefield will be everywhere. It already is. American sectors and communities targeted by the CCP include farming, business, K–12 schools, universities, research institutions, technology, energy, food supply, the defense industry, critical infrastructure, consumer goods, ethnic groups, religious communities, media, social media, Silicon Valley, Wall Street, and more. By getting Americans dependent on cheap and sometimes dangerous goods made in China, digital fentanyl like TikTok and actual fentanyl, the CCP is determined to achieve its goal of defeating America on the global stage. If we do not understand what the CCP is and that this authoritarian regime considers America its main enemy, we cannot secure our country.

The CCP's methods are unconventional and may be hard to recognize, but its destructive ambitions to manipulate American minds, conduct espionage, steal intellectual property and trade secrets, bring fentanyl into our country, and many, many more nefarious influence operations, are actively being pursued right under our noses. China's goal is plain: to defeat America. How does it seek to achieve this? Through the operations of the united front. Now, what is the united front? It is a coalition used by the Chinese Communist Party to control, mobilize, and use nonmembers to advance CCP aims. These networks are organized in the United Front Work Department and dispersed throughout the entire party. General Secretary Xi has described the united front as the CCP's magic weapon.

The united front carries out relationship-focused influence campaigns through a multitude of proxies found in the business community, amongst cultural and political leaders, and in other influential circles in America and around the world to advance CCP interests. These proxies are individuals or entities used and manipulated by the united front to do the CCP's bidding for it. Why bother doing the dirty work yourself when you can co-opt and influence people to knowingly or unknowingly advance the CCP's interest for it?

One of the most destructive of the CCP's tactics is the crusade to intentionally divide Americans, often by exacerbating existing societal divisions. To be clear, it is the Chinese Communist Party who is to blame here, not people of Chinese descent who themselves are often singled out using these exact same CCP war tactics. To be even more blunt, to say that it is somehow racist or inappropriate for Congress to investigate the CCP threat is playing directly into the CCP's hands, and people who use this tactic are doing exactly what the CCP wants in order to avoid scrutiny or accountability for the CCP.

Government agencies have important responsibilities to the many American communities and sectors targeted by the CCP. The Oversight Committee's message to Federal agencies is this. The threat from the CCP is grave. You must step up and recognize what the CCP is seeking to do to our country. If agencies do not see that the CCP is our adversary, they cannot effectively counter China when it targets the American communities for whom the Federal Government is responsible. The Office of the Director of National Intelligence consistently recognizes the CCP as the threat to American security and our economy, yet too many agencies are

not doing enough because they do not have a China strategy, creative solutions, and proactive aggressive methods.

Our colleagues in the Minority appear uninterested in addressing CCP unrestricted warfare. Instead, of any number of experts on China who they could have invited, they have instead invited a professor whose expertise is in European history and Russia. Russia is, of course, an important issue, as anyone following the news can tell you. Vladimir Putin is a threat, a brute, and no friend to America, but I would not invite one of our China experts to talk about St. Petersburg and Moscow. And if Democrats do not want to confront the threat of the Chinese Communist Party's political warfare against the United States, I believe that is a serious mistake. It is a mistake because Democrats are doing exactly what the CCP expects from American politicians: argue among ourselves or look the other way and not confront the CCP's influence and infiltration tactics.

The Nation faces a real threat from CCP manipulation. It is a quiet, yet pervasive and dangerous threat that affects Americans every day. This Committee seeks to confront that threat, but Republicans are not going to stop Democrats from beclowning themselves talking about Russia during a hearing on China. While they seek to distract from our discussion about CCP influence, we will tackle the Chinese Communist Party's campaign to influence and weaken our country.

The solutions agencies adopt must not only eliminate CCP infiltration and influence from our country, they must help inspire and equip Americans to strengthen their communities, innovate, and create the technologies and phenomena that will secure a strong and prosperous future for our Nation. Strong American communities can resist even the most aggressive CCP political warfare, and as we resist CCP unrestricted warfare, we must remain a free society, bound by the Constitution. I thank the witnesses for appearing here today and look forward to their testimony. I now yield to the Ranking Member for his opening statement.

Mr. RASKIN. Thank you kindly, Mr. Chairman. Authoritarian states use propaganda to dehumanize their victims and to mask their brutality. The propagandist's purpose, Aldous Huxley said, is to "make one set of people forget that another set of people is human." Today, for example, Vladimir Putin tries to make people forget about the humanity of 38 million Ukrainians that he wants to control. He tries to make people forget about Alexei Navalny, whom he poisoned, falsely imprisoned, and killed. The Chinese Government tries to make people forget about the humanity of millions of Tibetans and Uyghurs, who President Xi mercilessly persecutes, incarcerates, and represses. But with their intensive programs of propaganda today, the autocrats seek not only to subdue their own populations, but to confuse and demoralize people who live in democratic societies.

Today's hearing is about China's political warfare, but China exists as part of an axis of authoritarian powers and parties, the center of which is Russia, whose propaganda playbook the CCP studies carefully and increasingly imitates and follows. In the struggle between democracy and authoritarianism today, the central military battlefield is, of course, Ukraine, which has been invaded and ham-

mered by Putin. More than 10,000 civilians have been killed and 12 million people have been driven from their homes. Russia spreads terror with rape, child kidnapping, torture, and murder, and China is assisting Russia in this filthy war of aggression by helping Putin rebuild its military industrial complex, and China is watching closely what happens in Ukraine.

As Prime Minister Kishida of Japan told us on the Floor last week, the Ukraine of today may be the East Asia of tomorrow. But if Ukraine is the central military battlefield in the showdown, the democratic societies of the world are the central psychological and political battlegrounds as the tyrants inject lies and disinformation into our politics. For a decade now, our intelligence community, law enforcement, and national security agencies have warned of the systematic and pervasive efforts by Vladimir Putin, his intelligence operatives, his internet research agency, and his allies to destabilize our politics, sabotage our campaigns, affect our election outcomes, and poison our society with divisive racial, ethnic, religious, and ideological propaganda.

Just this morning, Mr. Chairman, the *Washington Post* reported on a secret document written by Russia's foreign ministry that leaked out. As the article explains, "Russia is seeking to subvert Western support for Ukraine and disrupt the domestic politics of the United States and European countries through propaganda campaigns, supporting isolationist, and extremist policies." Russia's foreign ministry says that Ukraine is the main crucible of our times. According to the *Post*, the document says, "The outcome of Russia's war in Ukraine will, to a great degree, determine the outlines of the future world order," a clear indication Moscow sees the result of its invasion as inextricably bound up with its ability and that of other authoritarian nations to impose its will globally. Ukraine is where the world must stand against tyranny today.

And now China is following Russia very closely. An article this month in the *Washington Post*, titled, "China is Advancing Efforts to Influence the U.S. Election" raises alarm, it says, "In an echo of Russia's influence campaign before the 2016 election, China now appears to be trying to harness partisan divisions in America to undermine Biden Administration's policies." The Foundation for Defense of Democracies identified, as part of this effort, 170 inauthentic pages and accounts on Facebook that have been pushing anti-American messages, including pointed attacks on President Biden.

Many of these disinformation notes bring Chinese and Russian propaganda together to undermine U.S. foreign policy. "In February, according to the Institute for Strategic Dialogue, a Chinese account on X, calling itself a Western name alongside a MAGA 2024 reference, shared a video from RT, the Russian Television Network controlled by the Kremlin, to claim that Mr. Biden and the CIA had sent a neo-Nazi gangster to fight in Ukraine." The narrative was debunked by the investigative group Bellingcat. But the very next day, the post received an enormous boost when Alex Jones, the podcaster known for spreading false claims and conspiracy theories, shared it on his platform with 2.2 million followers.

This kind of Chinese-Russian MAGA propaganda and disinformation circuit now penetrates Congress itself. For example, Putin is trying to stop the democracies from helping Ukraine by claiming that his war of conquest is really meant to remove Nazis from power, “denazification” he calls it. He invites us to believe that Ukraine is a Nazi state even though it is actually a liberal representative democracy committed to the equal rights of all of its citizens, and even though the people chose as their President, Volodymyr Zelenskyy, the only Jewish person serving as a president anywhere in the world outside of the state of Israel. Yet the denazification myth has spread to the MAGA precincts of Congress.

Just this week, one of our colleagues on the Committee, who was trying to topple the speaker of the House this week because he wants to allow a fair Floor vote on a security package to Ukraine, recycled a defamatory lie about Ukraine. She tweeted, “It is antisemitic to make Israeli aid contingent on funding Ukrainian Nazis.” I learned of this tweet from an outraged Ukrainian-American constituent whose Christian family was involved in saving Ukrainian Jews from both Hitler and Stalin. She said it was “painful beyond words to see Marjorie Taylor Greene publicly slandering Ukrainians, who are only trying to protect their fellow citizens from Russian mass murder.”

A similar disinformation ploy fundamentally distorted the work of our own Committee over the last year. The key evidence in this Committee’s protracted impeachment quest, Alexander Smirnov’s infamous FBI Form 1020, replete with salacious allegations about multimillion dollar bribes to President Biden, turned out to be a tissue of lies planted by a person with close and extensive ties to Russian intelligence. GOP Members of Congress have thus used Russian-generated disinformation to call democratic Ukraine an enemy of the United States, to deny the people of Ukraine desperately needed military help, and to try and impeach the President of the United States, who has committed no offence, much less an impeachable one.

Even with a decade of reports from national security and intelligence agencies establishing Russia’s active measure campaigns in our politics, many of our colleagues try to drown out such warnings by chanting “Russia hoax” or “Russia, Russia, Russia,” essentially asking us to believe Vladimir Putin over our own government agencies. I am happy to say it will not work anymore. The Republican Chairman of the House Intelligence Committee and the Republican Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee are themselves forcefully sounding the alarm about the saturation of American politics and Congress by Russian propaganda.

Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman, Michael McCaul, warned earlier this month that “Russian propaganda has made its way into the United States, unfortunately, and it has infected a good chunk of my party’s base.” Chairman McCaul has called out members of the GOP for spreading Russian propaganda. Intelligence Committee Chairman, Mike Turner, reiterated McCaul’s warning and added that specific disinformation ploys have penetrated Congress as a result of Russian propaganda. He said, “There are Members of Congress today who still incorrectly say that this conflict between Russia and Ukraine is over NATO, which, of course, it is

not.” Our rejection of foreign propaganda interference in our politics, Mr. Chairman, should not depend on whether our party is the victim or the beneficiary of the effort. We all lose when American political dialogue falls prey to the disinformation of foreign states who are not members of our political community. Foreign governments have no right to define our campaigns, control our elections, or thwart our legislative process.

The Ukrainian people are fighting a momentous battle against tyranny and corruption to defend democracy. We need to be on their side, and that means we need to disentrall ourselves from the disinformation and propaganda tactics being waged against us by all the autocratic powers, meaning Russia and China as well as Iran and North Korea. It is time we work together on this project, Mr. Chairman, and I look forward to hearing from our witnesses, especially Professor Snyder, a leading historian of Europe and leading analyst of how authoritarian governments work and how they try to undermine freedom and democracy. Thank you kindly, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

Chairman COMER. The Ranking Member yields back on his opening statement about the threat from China, I think.

I am pleased to introduce our witnesses here today. Colonel Grant Newsham is a retired U.S. Marine colonel. He is currently a research fellow at the Japan Forum for Strategic Studies focusing on Asia and Pacific defense, political, and economic matters. He is also a senior fellow for the Center for Security Policy. He was the first U.S. Marine liaison officer to the Japan Ground Self-Defense Force, and previously served as the reserve head of intelligence for Marine Forces, Pacific. He also has a substantial experience in Foreign Service. Colonel Newsham will be testifying in his personal capacity at today’s hearing.

Peter Mattis is the President of the Jamestown Foundation. Most recently, he was a senior fellow with the U.S. House Select Committee on the Strategic Competition between the U.S. and the CCP, on loan from the Special Competitive Studies Project where he was the Director of Intelligence. Prior to that position, he was appointed by the Senate to serve as the Staff Director of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China for the 116th Congress. He began his career as a counterintelligence analyst at the CIA.

General Robert Spalding is CEO of Sempre AI and a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute, where his work focuses on U.S.-China relations, economic and national security, and the Asia-Pacific military balance. He is a retired brigadier general in the U.S. Air Force and has more than 26 years of experience in strategy and diplomacy at the Departments of Defense and state. He has previously served as the Senior Director for Strategy on the National Security Council under the prior Administration. He also served as the former China strategist for the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the Pentagon and as a senior defense official and defense attaché in Beijing.

Professor Timothy Snyder is the Richard C. Levin Professor of History at Yale University with an interest in modern Eastern Europe. He is a permanent fellow at the Institute for Human Services in Vienna, Austria. He is an Emerson Prize awardee and Humanities and Literature awardee from the American Academy of Arts

and Letters. He is a Marshall Scholar and holds a doctor of philosophy in modern history.

Pursuant to Committee Rule 9(g), the witnesses will please stand and raise their right hand.

Do you all solemnly swear or affirm that the testimony that you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

[A chorus of ayes.]

Chairman COMER. Let the record show that the witnesses answered in the affirmative. Thank you, and you all may take a seat. We appreciate you all being here today and look forward to your testimony on this very important subject.

Let me remind the witnesses that we have read your written statement, and it will appear in full in the hearing record. Please limit your oral statements to 5 minutes. As a reminder, please press the button on the microphone in front of you so that it is on, and the Members can hear you. When you begin to speak, the light in front of you will turn green. After 4 minutes, the light will turn yellow. When the red light comes on, your 5 minutes have expired, and we would ask that you please wrap up.

I now recognize Colonel Newsham for his opening statement.

**STATEMENT OF RET. COL. GRANT NEWSHAM
U.S. MARINE CORPS**

Colonel NEWSHAM. Chair Comer, Ranking Member Raskin, and distinguished Members, thank you for inviting me to testify.

For most of our history, our geography gave us a buffer of distance that meant we could choose our foreign wars. The last serious attack on the U.S. mainland was the War of 1812. The non-continental U.S. is vulnerable as Pearl Harbor showed, but we have long thought no invader could get at our mainland, owing to our detached and distant situation as George Washington put it. The CCP is determined to take away that advantage and it has through various political warfare fronts. It is embedding behind our lines. We have never faced such a serious domestic attack. It is just one we refuse to recognize.

We are deeply penetrated, dying by the tens of thousands, and there is barely a response. For example, chemical warfare. Fentanyl killed over 70,000 Americans in 2021 alone. That is more than died in the Vietnam War. For Americans aged 18 to 45, drug overdoses are the main cause of preventable death. It is destroying families and communities and cities like Baltimore and Philadelphia. Not only can the CCP surveillance state find the producers if it wants, as a House report released yesterday showed, "China is subsidizing the production of fentanyl precursors and the U.S. is letting it happen."

The CCP is hitting us in many other ways. Chinese economic warfare is destroying our manufacturing and commercial sectors. We have lost millions of jobs, hundreds of billions a year in revenue, and entire sectors, including sectors critical for our defense: steel, semiconductor, batteries, and shipbuilding. Whole regions have been devastated. Meanwhile, we became dependent on the

PRC for everything from pharmaceuticals to components in F-35s. It is the largest wealth transfer in human history.

The most obvious eraser of the protection of distance is PRC cyber-attacks. The same Americans who are furious about the Chinese spy balloon floating over their heads have Chinese spy apps loaded on their phones sitting in their pockets. China's hacking of OPM, Office of Personnel and Management, alone gave them files of 22 million Americans holding security clearances.

For the first time in our history, our distance does not protect us. That is not the worst of it. The ultimate barrier for the PRC to breach is the one protecting your mind from PRC influence. Psychological warfare is the most important political warfare technique. It comes down to shaping how we think and, thus, act. Many of us think we are too smart, too well-educated to be influenced, but have you ever said, for example, China is just behaving this way because of a century of humiliation? You have been influenced by CCP PsyOps. India has suffered several centuries of similar humiliation, but it is a consensual democracy and does not bully its neighbors. CCP actions are not our fault. They are its choice. Parroting CCP talking points downplay or excuse threats posed by the PRC and justify inaction. We have never faced anything like this, and we are under constant attack from within.

My recommendations relate to political warfare but are not a substitute for a powerful lethal military. They are mutually reinforcing. Urgently rebuilding our military and the defense industrial base is ultimately a political move, showing we recognize the threat we face and will do something about it. My recommendations: the U.S. Government needs to relearn political warfare, and someone needs to be responsible for the political warfare effort and its success or failure. Currently nobody is, and we should fight back; repeal China's permanent normal trade relations status; delist Chinese companies on U.S. exchanges if they do not immediately meet listing standards; institute a strict outbound review of investment into the PRC and tighten export controls on technology; make it more costly to act as a proxy for the CCP, including imposing real reporting requirements for individuals and entities operating on behalf of PRC interests and enforcing them.

The same with academia and PRC-linked money and research: make PRC human rights an issue constantly; protect all people of Chinese descent in the U.S. from intimidation by Chinese communist agents; bring back USIA and USIS and also the Foreign Broadcast Information Service to understand what the Communist Chinese say about us to each other; speak directly to the Chinese people; include exposing corruption of Chinese Communist Party elites, their overseas bank accounts, real estate holdings, businesses, and their relatives with green cards and support state and local governments taking efforts to protect themselves from PRC political warfare; and educate the public on the realities of communism and threats we are facing and tell how the average citizen can contribute to this effort.

So, what is at stake if we do not do this and more? America as an independent Nation. In the past, our enemies could not get into the heartland, thanks to our detached and distant situation. Now they are here. Thank you very much, sir.

Chairman COMER. Thank you. I now recognize Mr. Mattis for his opening statement.

**STATEMENT OF PETER MATTIS
PRESIDENT
JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION**

Mr. MATTIS. Thank you, Chairman Comer and Ranking Member Raskin, as well as all of the other distinguished Members who are here, because I think the opportunity to discuss this challenge is one that rarely comes about in this kind of forum and to see that this is a effort, hopefully. I am very happy to see this, especially after my last few times on the Hill.

The People's Republic of China, led by the Chinese Communist Party, challenges much of what the USA took for granted about the world. And I think it is telling that both the current Administration and the last one had a coherent statement about the challenge that the PRC was going to change—had the intent and the capacity to change the international order—and to challenge the U.S. position in it. The CCP has consistently stated its goals that it is trying to achieve a kind of comprehensive modernity, that it is trying to unify those areas that it claims as its own, such as Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan. And as we have seen in those areas, as well as East Turkestan and Tibet and Inner Mongolia, that it is not enough to have political control, but there is an economic, social, and cultural element to this unification as well.

The challenge comes from the CCP's political warfare against the United States, as we used to define it. This is using all of the elements of national power short of kinetic force to achieve political outcomes, and what the CCP calls united front work is a key part of this effort. And as you said, Mr. Chairman, united front work is a way of monitoring, mobilizing, and otherwise controlling groups and individuals outside the party. As Mao put it, "How do we mobilize our friends to isolate and strike at our enemies?"

It is also a large policy system that is much bigger than the united front work department. It includes members from the Politburo Standing Committee all the way down to local levels. It includes what we have called an advisory body in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conferences—that is, central, provincial, and local levels—by their own count includes roughly 700,000 people, and this is a kind of, if you will, united front militia outside the party that can be drawn in to work on the party's behalf.

The China model, as we understand it, relies on access to foreign research and technology and talent. Mr. Krishnamoorthi's committee has done an incredible job of explaining just how that technology and talent is there. It requires access to foreign capital, it requires access to legitimacy through business as usual, and through being a normal member of international organizations. United front and related efforts are affecting all of those things. The community groups that are put together are used to spot scientists and researchers who can be brought back to the PRC and participate in military modernization efforts.

There are efforts to control the means of perception and foreign banks and investment firms. And when you take a reasonable position to say, well, wait a minute, if the PRC is such a large economy, is such a significant player in the world, and that it should be represented and there should be some accommodation for its values, then we should remember that, No. 1, the U.N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are not about Western values or democratic values. They are about universal values, and the PRC is a party to them. And second, as the congressional-Executive Commission on China uncovered several years ago, the World Bank was funding vocational reeducation programs in Xinjiang at the height of the crackdown. And if the World Bank is funding what are essentially concentration camps, and something that our government has considered to be genocide, what is left to accommodate in terms of values?

So, I think there are a few principles that we need to remember on this in the response, in addition to the ones that you named of drawing clear distinctions in our own minds and in our actions about who the adversary is, and that it is not simply Chinese people, but it is the party itself and the party's actions. Second is that we cannot run faster, as someone liked to say, unless we protect ourselves. It does not matter how well you run, how much you train. If someone is trying to crack your kneecap and you cannot run, then you are never going to be in the race. And that is what this political warfare is doing to us at an economic level and to some of the companies and technologies that we would like to see in the United States, and that were in the United States and have been driven out by economic espionage and overcapacity being shipped to our shores.

Finally, enforcement will not be country agnostic. You know, in a common law system, our laws should be principles, but at the same time, it requires expertise and focus, and we have limited resources. And that means that all of our efforts to protect ourselves are going to be focused on particular countries, and we cannot focus across the border at all countries all the time. Thank you.

Chairman COMER. The Chair now recognizes General Spalding for his opening statement.

**STATEMENT OF RET. BRIG. GEN. ROBERT SPALDING
U.S. AIR FORCE
FOUNDER AND CEO
SEMPRE**

Dr. SPALDING. Chairman Comer, Ranking Member Raskin, thank you for allowing me to testify today.

Prior to founding my current company and prior to being the senior defense official in Beijing, as a Major, I got to study in China at Tongji University as an Olmstead scholar. After being a distinguished graduate at Defense Language Institute, I studied economics in Mandarin, and I really got to know the people, the culture, the geography of China. It was a very positive experience. And when I came home in 2004, I told my wife I want to live and work in China when I retire, and that was my experience leaving Beijing

or Shanghai in 2004. Some 14 years later, I returned with the knowledge of my prior understanding of China was flawed because earlier I had not fully understood the nature of the Chinese Communist Party.

Today, we are in a new cold war. Our adversaries wield weapons far beyond the traditional military arsenal, instead harnessing the power of communication to distort and manipulate the very fabric of our society. The relaxation of our security posture concerning active measures conducted by adversaries like China, Russia, North Korea, and Iran has left American institutions, those of its allies, and the entire international order vulnerable to relentless and ongoing political influence campaigns. These campaigns have fundamentally altered the essence of what was once recognized as the liberal democratic order.

I joined the military to support and defend the Constitution by learning how to apply force to attain a political outcome. In short, I was trained to break things. Clausewitz captured this reality when he wrote, "War is politics by other means." During the Kosovo War, President Clinton exemplified this concept as he used air power to stop Milosevic's genocide of the Kosovors. We used B-2s to take out key strategic targets of the Serbian elite, thus convincing them to surrender Milosevic to authorities. Milosevic eventually stood trial in The Hague.

Later, while working for the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs under the Obama Administration, I began to understand a new concept in warfare, not from a military strategist, but from a businessman involved in investing in China. Influence is far easier, less risky, and profoundly more effective than military weapons when conducted in our globally connected world. Chairman Mao Zedong, whose legacy is carried by Chairman Xi Jinping and the current communist party elites, describe it as warfare without bloodshed. I call it simply influence. During my subsequent years of service, I devoted as much attention to studying influence as I had to traditional military tactics. This is far more familiar to the members of the People's Liberation Army, the armed political wing of the Chinese Communist Party.

Today, the Chinese Communist Party and its proxies wage a global political war to influence the face of human civilization using the tools of statecraft, business, economics, trade, finance, academia, and especially technology. Chinese companies working on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party influence American businesses and financial institutions with seductive promises. In turn, these American organizations influence our political process to ensure we maintain an economic connection to the party's influence, simultaneously eliminating manufacturing jobs for America's working class. Our universities and educational system are influenced economically with grants and Chinese student tuition. Our best and brightest scientists are influenced to move technology to China.

State, local, and Federal politicians are influenced by Chinese investment and the often unfulfilled promise of jobs in their districts. Apps, like Temu, harvest user data, while other technology platforms, like TikTok, influence our thoughts and behaviors by sowing distrust in our political system, encouraging partisanship, and in-

doctrinating our younger generation with a CCP-oriented worldview. This is not by accident but through a measured socio-political model developed after a thorough study of how the Soviet Union succumbed to Western liberalism during the first cold war.

The Chinese Communist Party recognized to undermine our republic, they must first establish a facade of friendship and cooperation, positioning themselves as partners on issues such as climate change and peace, while clandestinely manipulating the mechanisms established in the aftermath of World War II to expand their influence and control. Their goal is to impose a system that, though seemingly free on the surface, mirrors the oppressive principles of the Soviet Union. To free ourselves and the world from this tyranny, we must completely separate the institutions of the free world from the Chinese Communist Party influence, or we continue the slow disintegration of our republic.

Chairman COMER. Thank you. The Chair now recognizes Professor Snyder.

**STATEMENT OF DR. TIMOTHY DAVID SNYDER
RICHARD C. LEVIN PROFESSOR OF
HISTORY AND GLOBAL AFFAIRS
YALE UNIVERSITY**

Dr. SNYDER. Thank you very much, Mr. Comer. I appreciate your recognition of me as a historian. I do not have the nimble ability that Members and staffers do to leap from topic to topic. I am pleased I will not be asked to speak about appliances today. Our subject is disinformation. It is useful as a historian to be in a gathering like this one because one hears the insights of colleagues and recognizes that these are themes which we have known about for decades. I wrote a book about Soviet counterintelligence and active measures about the institutions which the Chinese Communist Party modeled. I wrote another book about Russian counterintelligence and active measures in the 2010's, which serves as a model for China today.

I want to take the term "political warfare" seriously and look at it all the way down, the way the Chinese themselves do. If we take political warfare seriously, we recognize that it only works if we take into account the overall context and take into account, as Mr. Comer himself said, our own role in it. Political warfare only works insofar as it works through us. The event in the world context about which we have to be aware, speaking as we are in April 2024, is the war in Ukraine. One cannot possibly understand Chinese political warfare without understanding the intense political significance that this war has for China right now.

In this war is at stake international order as such, which China wishes to change. In this war is at stake the reputation of democracy, which China wishes to bring down. In this war is at stake alliance structures, both in Europe and in Asia, which China seeks to damage, and in this war at stake is also the Ukrainian deterrence of Taiwan. These are all key Chinese interests, therefore, to separate a discussion of Chinese political warfare from the actual kinetic war, which is taking place in Ukraine.

The most significant war of the century and the most significant war since 1945 must be a category error. No actual Chinese participant in political warfare would make that mistake, and I urge you not to make that mistake. Chinese propaganda about this war rides Russian propaganda, both in its methods and in its themes and its particular tropes. If we follow Chinese propaganda about the ongoing Ukraine war, we notice a certain pattern, which is that the political warfare themes, which as colleagues have quite rightly said are meant to pass through us, have, in fact, done so.

If we take the example of Chinese state media and Group 912 of the Ministry of Public Security, we notice the following themes. First, Ukrainians are Nazis, a Russian theme picked up by China echoed on the House Floor. Second, it is all about NATO enlargement, a Russian theme picked up by China. Third, Ukraine is corrupt, a Russian theme picked up by China, echoed on the House Floor, echoed in the Senate by Senator Vance. Fourth, that democracies cannot do anything about Ukraine, that it is all pointless, a Russian theme echoed by Chinese propaganda picked up in House discussions. Fifth, we should pay attention to the border and not do anything about Ukraine, a Russian theme picked up by China, echoed in both chambers. Sixth, the Biden bribe, a Russian theme picked up and echoed by China, discussed in this very chamber.

These are all Chinese attempts to do exactly what colleagues in a defined political warfare is doing, to divide Americans, to make Americans weak, but also to draw Americans away from what is essentially taking place. Were one to be serious about Chinese political warfare, one would have to take into account the overall historical moment—the war in Ukraine, how important that war is for China, the opportunities that war poses for China. Chinese political warfare includes praising Members of this House who delay voting on Ukraine. Chinese political warfare includes the overall attempt to alter the system. For China, the war in Ukraine is a beautiful conjuncture to try to do just that.

So, Members, I would urge that we consider ourselves when we consider Chinese political warfare because as Mr. Comer has quite rightly argued, political warfare only works when it works in an overall structure, and that only works when it gets us to do things which are not in our own interests. Thank you very much.

Chairman COMER. The Chair now recognizes, for the questioning segment of our hearing, Mrs. McClain from Michigan for 5 minutes.

Mrs. MCCLAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to get back to the base of the hearing. I just want to make sure I am in the right hearing, which is defending America from the Chinese Communist Party's political warfare, correct? OK. Great. Thanks. OK. I want to focus on China, specifically as it pertains to EVs and the economic threat, OK? Electric vehicles, EVs, I believe, make us more dependent on China, and let me repeat, EVs make us dependent on China.

The United States, unless I am missing something, does not have the capability to produce enough EV batteries, the power source, for Biden's EV mandates. We have to get batteries from somewhere, and where do we get them from? China, OK, or another option is we could let the Chinese battery companies be built in

states like ours, which does not really help us national security-wise. If someone wants to buy an EV, hey, that is great. That is their option. They can have that choice, but you cannot force EVs on consumers when the demand does not exist. Our electric grid cannot handle it. Our country can't produce our own batteries.

Currently, some states, like California—all we have to do is look at the facts, I know that is a struggle sometimes—but they have rolling brownouts, right? If they have rolling brownouts, how are they going to sustain EVs? No one can answer that question. It is abundantly clear to most Americans that if U.S. energy and automotive sectors rely on China for goods, the United States will have no leverage in negotiations with China. China will dictate to us. I do not want to be in that position. Let me remind everyone, China is not our friend.

Colonel Newsham, can you tell this Committee how the Biden Administration has allowed ourselves to become solely dependent on China when it comes to renewable energies, especially as it pertains to the batteries?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Yes, ma'am. The Chinese have actually been doing their best to sort of take new technologies and dominate them, get the supply chains, for a long time. This has been sort of going on from previous administrations as well. But what they are saying, of course, with EVs and particularly an Administration which may be moving too fast to try and push green energy, green technologies, and even force EVs, that it creates a certain dependency, which works to China's benefit, because as you stated, they control good chunks of the supply chain, sort of the precursor minerals and materials that you need to make them.

Mrs. MCCLAIN. In a nutshell, being dependent on China. Does that help us?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Oh, it is going to kill us. The Chinese love it.

Mrs. MCCLAIN. All right. You and I agree. The International Energy Agency has stated that China produces approximately—get this—75 percent of the world's supply of lithium-ion batteries, and what do we need lithium-ion batteries for? Electric vehicles. Just recently, the Biden Administration finalized a rule that will further force the U.S. automotive industry toward electric vehicles. I love this concept that the government knows better than the American people what to drive, what kind of stove.

I mean, I actually believe in the American people, but the Biden Administration, they want to force us and mandate us. I do not agree with that. I believe in people, and I believe people can make the right decisions. Are you concerned that these policies will make Americans and American industry, which is the backbone of capitalism, even more reliant on China?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Yes.

Mrs. MCCLAIN. Wonderful. Wonderful. You and I agree again. What is concerning to me is the draconian mandate coming from this Biden Administration is just plain dumb. I mean, I still cannot get my arms around the government knows best. Let me share with the American people, the government has innovated nothing. If you want truly progress, it has to come from innovation and that innovation comes from industry. China is doing everything in its power to overtake the United States on the world stage, and we are

giving them a manufacturing gift that would be devastating to us. America is a Nation where consumers' choice must remain free, and I cannot understand why our government is placating to China. Wait, maybe I can think of about 8 million reasons why, and with that, I yield back.

Chairman COMER. The Chair now recognizes Ms. Norton from Washington, DC.

Ms. NORTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have heard reports of threats and attacks against Shen Yun performing arts in the United States by China on the basis of their practice of Falun Gong. Theaters received emails threatening mass shootings and bombings if they refuse to cancel Shen Yun performances. Shen Yun has reported multiple instances where the tires of their tour buses have been slashed. Mr. Mattis, what could the United States be doing to protect this group?

Mr. MATTIS. I think we actively have to be investigating those as crimes.

Ms. NORTON. Speak up, please.

Mr. MATTIS. We have to actively be investigating those as crimes, and they have to be a priority for investigative resources, and not simply for local police departments, but also for Federal law enforcement. And second, when we see those actions, they are, frankly, criminal acts by a foreign government against our people on our soil. This is something that has to be prioritized with a response in the bilateral relationship with the PRC rather than a shoulder shrug or something that we can quietly say that we talked about later.

Ms. NORTON. Professor Snyder, we have talked about the various ways autocratic regimes try to harm the adversaries from stealing intellectual property, to hacking the government's systems, and sowing chaos through disinformation. I would like to focus on another way in which foreign adversaries can target their adversaries by making money talk. Dr. Snyder, do authoritarian regimes sometimes use money to buy influence?

Dr. SNYDER. I want to thank the Member for bringing our attention to what is, of course, one of the absolute fundamentals of intelligence, practice, and recruitment. Colleagues have quite correctly drawn attention to the ways in which new technology allows one government to reach another government or one government to reach another set of citizens. That is all very true, but a very classic vulnerability was, is, and will always remain financial vulnerabilities.

And so, the need or the real or perceived need of, for example, a politician, the fact that a politician has made it known that the politician needs money is a classic vulnerability which intelligence operatives from any major state would pursue. So, the fact that, let us say, a president would make money while being president from Chinese businesses would be a signal, a classic signal of vulnerability, yes.

Ms. NORTON. The Constitution framers were certainly concerned about foreign powers using bribes and payments to undermine the American democratic experiment. That is why they included in the Constitution the Foreign Emoluments Clause, which prohibits all Federal officeholders, including the President, from accepting any

payment of “any kind whatsoever from any king, prince or foreign state” without seeking approval. Professor Snyder, could you explain why prohibiting the President from taking gifts from foreign leaders is an important safeguard for our democracy?

Dr. SNYDER. I thank the Member for that reminder. Once again, it shows us how history can be useful. In late 18th century, the American founders were also aware of not only the possibility of financial, but also psychological manipulation of our leaders. It speaks to a very fundamental issue. There are complex ways of manipulating leaders in another country. We have talked about some of those. One of the three forms of Chinese political warfare is psychological warfare. The very simplest form of psychological warfare is to put someone in your debt, and the simplest form of putting someone in your debt is by giving them money. So, thank you for that clarification.

Ms. NORTON. Earlier this year, the Committee’s Democratic staff released a report detailing how some of the most authoritarian governments in the world paid nearly \$8 million to President Trump through his businesses while he was Commander-in-Chief, a clear violation of the Foreign Emoluments Clause. These countries sought and, in many cases, received favorable treatment from the Trump Administration. More than \$5.5 million dollars came from the People’s Republic of China and state-owned entities, including millions from the major Chinese bank.

During this time, despite evidence that the ICBC, that Chinese bank, and other Chinese banks were working with North Korean front companies and pleas from House Republicans to sanction these banks, Donald Trump and his Administration refused to take any option. The figures we have on Donald Trump’s receipt of money—

Chairman COMER. The gentlelady’s time is expired, but if you want to answer where she is coming from about Trump. Who were you addressing the question to? The professor?

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Snyder, yes.

Chairman COMER. OK. So, she went a minute and 15 over, but OK.

Dr. SNYDER. I would be very surprised if any colleagues would disagree with the proposition that it is extremely dangerous for a head of state—we do not need to mention a name—to be in that kind of financial relationship with foreign entities. Colleagues’ writings have emphasized the point that China uses its corporations as an instrument of manipulation. Thank you.

Chairman COMER. The Chair now recognizes Mr. Palmer from Alabama for 5 minutes.

Mr. PALMER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Newsham, what are the Thousand Talents Program and other similar programs rebranded under different names?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Sir, I will address the Thousand Talents key program. Basically, the Chinese Communist Party looks overseas for people who have technology, information that it wants, particularly technology that it can use to buildup its own economy, its military, and it gets them on the payroll. And they do it everywhere, and there is obviously a well-known case of a Harvard pro-

fessor who got signed up for it and made a lot of money. He got caught, got punished, but he was just the tip of the iceberg.

Mr. PALMER. So, despite the name, which would indicate that, you know, they are trying to promote the development of intellectual capabilities among people, that type thing, what it really is, is a spy buying program.

Colonel NEWSHAM. That is really all it is. They are buying technology, as I said, that is going to be used to dominate us or kill Americans if a fight comes.

Mr. PALMER. Right. And how are these programs linked to the Chinese Communist Party?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Well, they are run directly by the Chinese Communist Party. This is not an independent operation going. It is Chinese government.

Mr. PALMER. Can you repeat the goal of these type programs? You commented on the goal of these programs. Can you repeat that with emphasis because the American people and my colleagues need to understand what is at stake here.

Colonel NEWSHAM. It very much is to buildup the Chinese economy, and there is no distinction between the Chinese economy and its military. And the objective is to dominate us economically and militarily, and, if necessary, to beat us on the battlefield if the time should come, if it is even necessary.

Mr. PALMER. So, what can Federal agencies do to protect American data technology, intellectual property from the Chinese Communist Party from stealing it?

Colonel NEWSHAM. You are going to have to first admit you have got a problem. We spent decades thinking that this was all innocuous. It was harmless. Chinese were just like us. One thing you can do is to stop letting Chinese researchers into American laboratories. We have huge problems at Los Alamos, for example. It seems like every university laboratory which comes up with some new discovery, there are always Chinese researchers in there. You do not want to do anything that is going to help the country that is trying to kill you, and that is one thing you do. Do not let these people in. And there are obviously the basic infrastructure, sort of protections you need, but we have just opened the doors and, unfortunately, let in people who wish us ill. And I just would say, read the Chinese press for a week if you want to get some idea of what they think of us.

Mr. PALMER. It is not just technology for our power grid or our military. I mean, we are very dependent on China supply chain for key components that our military has to have. And I keep trying to warn people about this, and we have got colleagues in Congress who refused to allow mining, refused to allow the development of processing and refinery facilities to mine and refine what we need from critical minerals and rare earth elements, which make us dependent on China for those things. We brag about funding manufacturing plants to make semiconductors and microchips and we do not make anything. We assemble them from parts we get from China, so, and it is not just that. Could you comment on us allowing China to buy farmland and the agricultural research that is taking place?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Yes, sir. An important point of that is, actually, it goes beyond just growing crops and shipping them off to China, but rather seed technology to key advantage for U.S. companies for the United States, and it can also be used as offensive platforms as well. Do not be surprised at some point in the future if our farmers have put seeds in the ground and they are sterile. There is more to it, as I said, than just the Chinese wanting to guarantee their food imports.

Mr. PALMER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a comment about where we are heading with this hearing, and with all due respect to my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, this is not about Donald Trump. This is very serious. If you want to make it about that, we can make it about that, but for crying out loud for one time, let us put the national security interest of this country ahead of our political interest. And I understand that you can make a point, but so can we. We have got all kinds of evidence, but I think this is one time that we should stick to national security because this is serious, serious business. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

Chairman COMER. Very good. The Chair now recognizes Mr. Krishnamoorthi from Illinois.

Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHI. Thank you, Mr. Chair. As the Ranking Member of this Select Committee on the Strategic Competition with the CCP, I would like to start off by saying that in addressing the threat of the CCP, we have no quarrel with the Chinese people or people of Chinese origin or Asian origin for that matter. That is why we should never engage in any anti-Chinese or anti-Asian stereotyping or prejudice. And I think, Mr. Comer, you started off with that sentiment at the start of this hearing, so I want to just say thank you, and I hope everybody remembers that today as we discuss the CCP competition.

General Spalding, while we do not agree on everything, I know we agree on this. One, the CCP is a very real threat, and two, the CCP wants to see Republicans and Democrats divided. You wrote on X last year in this tweet that, "There are three major parties in American politics. There is the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, and the Chinese Communist Party. In particular, the CCP seeks to keep the other two fighting." So General Spalding, you would agree that the CCP seeks to keep Democrats and Republicans fighting with each other because as long as we fight, the CCP can continue to sow doubt about U.S. leadership, right?

Dr. SPALDING. Thank you, Congressman. Absolutely.

Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHI. And in doing so, they also can discredit democracy in favor of dictatorships, right?

Dr. SPALDING. That is part of the campaign.

Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHI. And divide us with regard to our approach to countering CCP military aggression, correct?

Dr. SPALDING. It is more about getting us to not counter their political aggression, although military aggression will come into play at some point.

Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHI. I agree that partisanship is really unproductive when we are up against this very serious threat of the CCP, and I hope that we can at least unite in recognizing the challenges facing us although we might disagree about how to approach

them. Next, I want to talk about another topic, namely biotech and the CCP's influence over one of our critical supply chains, namely pharmaceuticals. Mr. Mattis, I know you are familiar with the PRC biotech company called WuXi AppTec, correct?

Mr. MATTIS. That is correct.

Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY. They are one of the biggest biotech companies in the world, and many American companies actually contract with them to produce their pharmaceuticals. Now, Xi Jinping himself has repeatedly highlighted biotech's importance to the CCP's national goals, and you agree that the WuXi AppTec Company is critical to CCP achieving those biotech national goals, right?

Mr. MATTIS. That is correct.

Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY. Here is the thing. Published reports say that WuXi is transferring U.S. intellectual property to Beijing without consent, so in order to get ahead, WuXi AppTec is stealing American intellectual property, correct?

Mr. MATTIS. I believe that is correct, although we have not proven it in a court of law yet.

Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY. Well, I have introduced the BIOSECURE Act on a bipartisan basis, which prevents Federal taxpayer dollars from flowing to biotech companies of concern, including WuXi AppTec. WuXi has been lobbying against that bill furiously on Capitol Hill claiming that they have no relationship with the CCP and somehow they are a private company, but, Mr. Mattis, these are falsehoods, right?

Mr. MATTIS. That is correct, because even if a company is ostensibly private inside the PRC, if it is hosting a party committee, if it is intimately connected with national strategies, like the military-civil fusion development strategy, you are talking about a company that has sort of geared its progress and its orientation toward the party's interests and will be responsive to the party's demands.

Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY. Mr. Comer, I know you care about this issue, and I hope we can collectively pass the bipartisan BIOSECURE bill sooner rather than later to address this very real threat with regard to biotech. I will turn to my final topic, and this is related to Taiwan.

Recently, I went to Taiwan on a bipartisan CODEL to discuss the importance of deterring CCP aggression. Interestingly, the No. 1 topic that came up in every single meeting in Taiwan was Ukraine. Every single person that we met with in Taiwan asked us, are you going to pass aid to Ukraine. Why? Because they see it as vital in sending a message to Beijing to deter military aggression by Beijing against Taiwan. So, Colonel Newsham, you would agree that the CCP is closely watching our support for Ukraine to inform its own approach to Taiwan, right?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Yes, they are watching it closely. They are also watching it regardless of what we do. It is the outcome of Putin's invasion of Ukraine. They are watching it very closely, and they are learning their lessons.

Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY. You cannot be strong on Taiwan and weak on Ukraine, and so I hope that this week, more than any other week, we remember that, and we pass aid to Ukraine now. Thank you so much, and I yield back.

Chairman COMER. The Chair now recognizes Mr. Grothman from Wisconsin.

Mr. GROTHMAN. Just to respond a little different view of Ukraine. I voted for Ukraine 6 times, but right now we have a situation in which the refusal to close the border forces members of the Republican Party to try to leverage something that should be automatic anyway. But in any event. And this is for General Spalding. In an effort to attain narrative dominance and advance CPP's destructive ambitions, the CCP carefully crafts a global narrative surrounding itself and PRC. They do so via different economic and political incentives, taking advantage of America's free speech and free market, but what is the Chinese narrative regarding PRC and CCP?

Dr. SPALDING. Well, the narrative is that they cloak everything behind the PRC. In actuality, within China, there are two constitutions. There is the Chinese Communist Party and then there is a PRC constitution. The Chinese Communist Party constitution says that the Chinese Communist Party actually is a sovereign, and I think that is the challenge of our executive branch, is identifying who the sovereign is and identifying the type of system that they represent.

Mr. GROTHMAN. And what is their goal?

Dr. SPALDING. Their goal is to maintain power in China and to restore the dominance of China as a nation in the world.

Mr. GROTHMAN. Can you give me examples of what they have done to shape the global narrative between PRC and CCP?

Dr. SPALDING. Well, the most effective thing they have done is to develop this very powerful technology that fuels the influence campaigns that come out of TikTok. So, they have actually adopted Silicon Valley's tactics, techniques, and procedures of influence for commercial gain and move that into social and political gain. So, they are actually able to use that platform to influence 180 million Americans toward a Chinese-centric worldview.

Mr. GROTHMAN. OK. I know they are American private businesses owned by some of the wealthiest people in the country. I think of the NBA. I think of Hollywood. Can you give us examples of how they weigh in with these money hungry billionaires to maybe forward the Chinese communist agenda?

Dr. SPALDING. Well, a good example is just the issue of TikTok. TikTok has American investors, American investors that have an interest in that maintaining a connection to the Chinese Communist Party because that is what TikTok wants. And, therefore, they lobby the Congress to make sure that there is no bill passed with regard to defunding of TikTok.

Mr. GROTHMAN. OK. Somebody was telling me the other day there is a big movie out of China right now, in the last couple of years, the narrative being that America started the Korean War. Could you maybe elaborate on that or any one of the four of you?

Dr. SPALDING. Well, it is not just now that it has been going on. There is actually a great museum in Dandong, China that you can go to that talks about the aggressiveness of America and how, you know, China was helping the great Korean people, so it has been going on for a long time.

Mr. GROTHMAN. OK. How does the CCP use social media to change how young people think? Can you give us a specific example of something that young people are breathing in that is not true?

Dr. SPALDING. TikTok is a great example. About 30 percent of young people now get their news from TikTok. And there has been evidence shown of Chinese Communist Party messages embedded in TikTok, different venues, different times, different people, to, essentially, influence different groups toward a China-centric worldview.

Mr. GROTHMAN. Can you just give us an example?

Dr. SPALDING. Yes. So, I think one of them is that, you know, China is not a hegemonic country, so why does the United States seek to cast China as a hegemonic country. This is one example of a message that they would put in.

Mr. GROTHMAN. And what is the narrative as they tried to tear down America? Can you give me an example there?

Dr. SPALDING. Well, essentially, that democracy is chaotic, that Washington D.C. cannot get anything done, and that if you want the kind of, you know, government and system that exists in China, then you should have a single party system.

Mr. GROTHMAN. OK. Do they cause American young people to have a negative view of America? Could you give us examples of it?

Dr. SPALDING. Perfect example is when Secretary Blinken met with his counterparts in Alaska, and they classified America as a systemically racist country.

Mr. GROTHMAN. Racist?

Dr. SPALDING. That is what the representative from China said.

Mr. GROTHMAN. I could not believe that. You have got a country where—I mean, the whole world is trying to get in there and people are saying we are racist? OK. Thanks.

Chairman COMER. The Chair now recognizes Mr. Khanna from California.

Mr. KHANNA. Thank you, Mr. Chair. Professor Snyder, thank you for your scholarship. Thank you for your very strong opening statement showing the links between China and Russia that many Members of Congress are already praising. My friend, Richard Levin, would be proud of you having his professorship. But I want to ask you, just like you linked China and Russia, also about the Middle East, and the reality is that, as we consider the security supplemental, these issues all have become interlinked. Fifty-six Members of Congress, including Speaker Pelosi and myself, wrote a letter to President Biden and Secretary Blinken asking them to stop any offensive weapons transfer to Israel. Do you agree with Speaker Pelosi, myself, and 56 Members, especially given what you have written about Netanyahu, that this is not the time to provide offensive weapons?

Dr. SNYDER. I think that it is a mistake to believe that there is a military solution in Gaza and that everything that can be gained in Gaza by military means was gained long ago, and that the Administration should be using every possible leverage to secure a political solution, including and not limited to the recommendation that you make.

Mr. KHANNA. I appreciate that. A lot of my Democratic colleagues listen to you religiously, so I am hoping they will listen to you about this. One of the things some of us who have signed that letter have said is have a clean vote on Ukraine. I support it. Most people support it. I think you would get a total Democratic caucus supporting it. And when it comes to the Israel aid, many of us would support the defensive aid, some may not, but many would support Iron Dome and others. We just do not want the offensive weapons linked in that package. Do you agree that it makes sense to have separate votes on Ukraine, Taiwan, Israel?

Dr. SNYDER. I am going to refer to Mr. Comer's, you know, definition of the limits of my expertise. These are political matters on which you will have better judgment than I.

Mr. KHANNA. But you have good judgment. I mean, what would you recommend if there is—

Dr. SNYDER. I believe that it was politically understandable but strategically erroneous from the beginning to link the Israel-Gaza conflict with the Russia-Ukraine war. There are two very different kinds of conflicts, and almost any attempt to bring the two of them together creates more friction and misunderstanding than anything else. While I believe that Israel had to be supported after October 7, after the horrifying terrorist attacks in Israel, it was a mistake politically, I believe, to link that to an event of an entirely different category, which is the largest land war in the world taking place, the largest land war in Europe since 1945, an encounter of two states, one of which has a second largest military in the world. These are two very different kinds of conflicts.

The Israeli-Gaza conflict will hopefully be brought to a political solution this summer. The Russia-Ukraine war, on the other hand, is an interstate conflict, which will be won or lost on the battlefield, and which requires an entirely different kind and a more serious kind of American engagement over the long run. So, if you ask me as an American citizen and as an expert on the region, this is what I think. There are two very different kinds of conflict, and thus far, I believe politically linking the two has made it harder rather than easier to pass support for Ukraine. And that has had terrifying costs, not just on the Ukrainian battlefield where people are dying unnecessarily, and not just for Ukrainian civilians who are losing territory and as a result being killed or tortured, but also for our overall position in the world.

Mr. KHANNA. I really appreciate you saying that because there many of us, the minority in the Democratic caucus, but who have been making your point that let us not have a linkage of these two so that we can vote clearly for the Ukraine aid. Some of us are fine also providing defensive weapons, but do not want to just give a *carte blanche* to Netanyahu, which I think you have articulated here. I am hopeful our leadership will listen to you. I am hopeful Speaker Johnson will listen to you. And I think as much as those who praised your opening statement praise that, they should listen to your advice on this issue. I will give you the last word.

Dr. SNYDER. Well, then if I could have the last word. The point that I made earlier about the linkage between China's political warfare and Ukraine is very real. All of the Chinese messaging on this issue is on one side of this issue, all of it. And so, if we are

serious about resisting Chinese political warfare, passing aid for Ukraine this week would be a sign of that seriousness. Thank you.

Mr. GOLDMAN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Chairman COMER. The time has expired. The Chair now recognizes Mr. Cloud from Texas.

Mr. CLOUD. Thank you, Chairman. Thank you, witnesses, for being here. I do want to thank the Chairman for hosting this Committee. There cannot be a more important topic facing our country right now.

Sun Tzu once said, he said, "If one party is at war with another and the other party does not realize it is at war, the party who knows it is at war almost always has the advantage and usually wins." And right now, we find ourselves at a place in our country where we have not acknowledged that China is in an unrestricted warfare against our country. And we know from unrestricted warfare that they say they use things like psychological warfare; smuggling; media; drug; network technological warfare; fabrication warfare; resource warfare; economic aid warfare, in which we just continue to spend our money on things; cultural warfare; international law warfare; infrastructure, terrorism, chemical warfare; biological warfare. A number of these things we have seen already at work, or the beginning of them, taking a foothold within our borders, and the whole idea of unrestricted warfare, of course, is to take out our country without firing a shot.

I found it very concerning, of course, last week when I was in a Committee hearing with Secretary Mayorkas, our Homeland Security Secretary, that it was a term that he seemed puzzled by when I brought up unrestricted warfare and the need for us to do things like secure our borders to protect against it. When I go through this list, you know, smuggling, drug fare, chemical warfare, economic aid warfare, all affecting or are involved in what is going on on our Southern border, not to mention all the potential terrorists that have come into our country. We know a number of single adult Chinese males are coming in, and you do not usually leave China without their permission. And so, we have tens of thousands that have come in, and so we have got to really be careful about what is going on.

But I was struck, Colonel Newsham, about something you said, because you mentioned the largest wealth transfer in history. And it reminded me of a 2008 U.S. National Intelligence Council report where it predicted this: "The unprecedented shift in relative wealth and economic power roughly from the West to East is now underway and will continue." That report went on to say, "The United States' relative strength, even in the military realm, will decline and U.S. leverage will become more constrained." It went on to explain why. It said, "in terms of size, speed and directional flow, the transfer of global wealth and economic power is now underway roughly from West to East without precedent in modern history."

So, this has, like, never happened before, and, instead, it derives itself from two sources. One, we are sending oil and gas revenues overseas and we are sending manufacturing overseas. And so, I am very concerned about the policies, and especially this Administration has embraced that continue to do these things. Now, this has been happening over decades, but certainly we have seen kind of

the pedal been put on the gas or the foot been put on the gas pedal when it comes to this. Could you speak to what is happening in this transfer of wealth and political influence, and dynamic going from east to west?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Yes, sir. As you noted correctly, it has been going on for a long time. I used to work for Motorola, in fact, and I watched them commit suicide in China. And that was in the 1990s into the 2000s, so it is going a long time, but it is still going on. And there seems to be some sign that some industries and businessmen are waking up to the danger of putting your money into a system like that, plus the fact that they are out to kill us, putting it simply.

NSA really has not stopped—energy as one particular area where it is baffling that we are giving up that advantage, and the Chinese are taking advantage of it. Other enemies are as well, but also, we mentioned earlier, was the so-called green technologies. Well, China stole the technologies for those. They started manufacturing them in China, and, with illegal subsidies, et cetera, can now dump them onto the world markets like the U.S. And now, even better, they have U.S. solar companies lobbying Congress not to crack down on Chinese illegal trade activities and stolen technology because they are getting cheap stuff from China. It is a win-win from China's perspective, but it has not stopped. There are some signs we are waking up, but, unfortunately, we are not near where we need to be.

Mr. CLOUD. Now, one of the things you will hear China talk about, they are very out there, along with Russia and Iran and other countries, about working to create a multipolar world, in other words, to bring the United States down from our superpower influence. In 2018, I think it is July 22, Biden said in a speech as Vice President, he said we are trying to create a multipolar world. And so, it concerns me that we have somebody in the White House right now who does not share the objective that most of us have of a strong U.S. presence that remains a city on a hill for the world, and then we have somebody in the White House who has these objectives at play.

I wanted to see if you could speak to one other thing. Alexander Solzhenitsyn said, "To destroy people, you must first sever their roots." And so, we see an ideology in many of our institutions, specifically our learning institutions, to kind of rewrite American history to get people to not appreciate our founders and sometimes, just frankly, ignore our U.S. history. For the imperfect country we are—every country is—we have been a tremendous positive influence in the world. Could you speak to what you have seen happening in our universities?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Well, it is not an acceptable thought to consider America a good, decent Nation, and that is unfortunately, how it is turned out, and you can imagine what the damage is there. The idea that we have seen in things like the 1619 Project that America is fundamentally evil, well, you can see how that plays out. I would note that America has an illegal immigration problem, China does not, and that tells you a lot.

Chairman COMER. The Chair now recognizes Ms. Ocasio-Cortez from New York for 5 minutes.

Ms. OCASIO-CORTEZ. Thank you so much, Chairman. I appreciate it, and thank you to all of our witnesses for sharing your expertise today. Dr. Snyder, your opening was, I think, very illuminating as to the connections here between different geopolitical theaters and how we can make sure that we continue to defend democracy, both domestically in the United States, but also globally.

I wanted to touch a little bit briefly on and pick up a little bit very briefly on your exchange with Representative Khanna here in what you assessed as a mistake in tying Ukraine to the conflict in Gaza and also, presently, as you mentioned, the necessity of passing aid to Ukraine as quickly as possible. Could you speak a little bit, expand a little bit more on where you see that entanglement or detriment in tying the conflict in Ukraine with what is happening in Gaza, and with the Netanyahu's Government's decisions to advance in Gaza, and how the U.S. relates to both of those things differently?

Dr. SNYDER. Happy to do my best. With respect to the general premise, I just want to emphasize the general premise of your question. These things are all connected. If you are a Chinese political warrior and you are concerned with public opinion, law, and psychology, you are not going to respect the safe spaces of the country that you are trying to weaken. So, we might say, I do not want to talk about Ukraine and Chinese political warfare at the same time, but there are no Chinese political warriors who are doing that.

Ms. OCASIO-CORTEZ. Correct.

Dr. SNYDER. We might say, we do not want to talk about Trump, because that is too sensitive, but you can precisely not expect Chinese political warriors to respect your safe spaces. It is precisely your safe spaces, your tender spots that they are going to go after, and this is not just a speculation by me. It is the actual record of what actual Chinese propaganda does. It goes after the safe spaces that you want yourself not to talk about.

On the issue of Gaza and Ukraine, I will be as specific as I can. As I read it, in late 2023, in a different political context than the one we are in now and in a different stage of the war in Gaza than the one we are in now, the Biden Administration made a political calculation that bringing Israel and Ukraine together would be the most likely way to get people from both sides of the aisle to vote for a substantial bill. I believe that was a reason at the time. I was not party to those considerations. However, months later, with two other things having happened, the first being that the war in Israel has gone through several stages in the meantime, and are having gotten past any place where the Israeli military response is going to lead to a political solution, and second, the extreme difficulty in getting Ukraine aid to pass in any form, those two things changed the overall political situation.

For me, who is not in the legislature and not in the executive branch, what I see is the qualitative difference between the two events, that Russia invading Ukraine objectively aids the Chinese position in profound ways which their political warriors try to exploit, but it also threatens world order in ways that are essential to the United States and to its European partners, whereas the conflict in Gaza is a horrifying terrorist operation, which must lead

to some kind of political solution that will not be solved militarily. That is my assessment.

Ms. OCASIO-CORTEZ. Thank you. Thank you so much, Dr. Snyder. And I think what you laid out as so clearly there and in your opening as well, is that the core and the key that we have here is, geopolitically and stability, is in supporting Ukraine in this moment. Having U.S. military assistance, and broader global assistance to Ukraine should be one of our top geopolitical priorities because it is the key in defending democracy geopolitically, whether your interest is in China, whether the interest is in anywhere else. All of the focus here is in Ukraine and in supporting and ensuring that Putin and an authoritarian regime in Russia does not prevail in changing the geopolitical order, rule of law, and functioning democracy worldwide.

And, frankly, I think it is important, from my vantage point on the second point, is that anything that impedes the swiftness and the urgency of our ability to get that support to Ukraine is overall contributing to the volatility of our situation. Would you say that that is a fair assessment?

Dr. SNYDER. All of the hostile and Russia and Chinese observers and political warriors want this to drag out as long as possible and praise those who make it drag out, so of course my answer would be in the affirmative. The front in Ukraine is threatened in ways it does not have to be. The population is threatened in ways it does not have to be. This is a relatively easy war for us to influence in the correct way. It matters to us for all the reasons that you have given, and we ought to do so as quickly as possible.

Ms. OCASIO-CORTEZ. Thank you. Thank you, Dr. Snyder.

Chairman COMER. The Chair now recognizes Mr. Higgins from Louisiana.

Mr. HIGGINS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My Democrat colleagues and some of my Republican colleagues were focused on using this area to promote sending billions more American treasure to Ukraine. And I have been to Ukraine, I support Ukrainian people's right to defend themselves, but I work for the American citizenry, as do 434 colleagues up here and a hundred senators, allegedly. Meanwhile, our own border is dissolved, gentlemen. And China, who we are talking about today as the purpose of this hearing, to discuss Chinese threat, the CCP is deeply embedded in partnership with the cartels that are trafficking drugs and human beings into our country, to the horrific impact of the American communities from sea to shining sea. So, I am going to discuss that for a minute, and I am going to ask Colonel Newsham to comment on this relationship between the Chinese partnership with the cartels in the development and production of chemicals are produced fentanyl.

Fentanyl, we are talking about a couple of hundred thousand Americans dead in the last 3 years from fentanyl poisoning. It is called a point on the streets. It is a little point on the end of an ink pen. That is why they call it a point, by the way. It is a dosage. It is so powerful. It is deadly in the way that Americans are ingesting that are ingesting this drug that they do not anticipate that they are ingesting fentanyl. They are being poisoned by that and dying, and this coming from China to our Southern border, partnered with the cartels, under this Administration's wide open

border. And today— today—right now, across the campus in the Senate, they are in a process of rejecting a legitimate accountability, an impeachment of Secretary Mayorkas, and you are going to make noise about sending money to Ukraine? How about let us take care of America? How about let us hold this Administration accountable for the disintegration of our Southern border.

Colonel Newsham, would you consider the production of chemicals that produce fentanyl by the CCP to be a form of warfare?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Oh, it is definitely an act of war, sir. They know exactly what is going on. They are allowing it to happen.

Mr. HIGGINS. We have casualties in that war, do we not, sir? A couple of hundred thousand Americans dead because of that war.

Colonel NEWSHAM. It is actually a lot more than that, on account of—

Mr. HIGGINS. I am a Republican, sir. I am being conservative.

Colonel NEWSHAM. You are about three times conservative.

Mr. HIGGINS. Roger that. The CCP continues to take advantage of the policies of this Administration. And Secretary Mayorkas, we are attempting to hold accountable, and who is stopping us from holding that man accountable? He has been impeached by the People's House. Why will he potentially and probably not be removed from office? Who is stopping that? Democrats. What are they making noise about today? Sending money to Ukraine instead of dealing with the Chinese threat where you have 200,000 Americans dead. Pay attention, America. This is your House, and this is a very real threat that we face right now, deal with political crap instead of forcing accountability.

The CCP has partnered with the cartels, Colonel Newsham. That is my perspective. Am I correct there?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. HIGGINS. Continued production of fentanyl, and its import into the cartel pipelines as it heads to the Southern border of our country, does it not send a clear message to the Chinese? The policies of this country, this executive branch, they are allowing millions and millions, 12 million illegals now in 3 years, untold thousands and thousands, hundreds of thousands of pounds likely of fentanyl into our country, does it not embolden the Chinese to continue that policy?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Yes, sir, it does. And I would note from a military perspective, if you are guarding your front and you are not paying attention to the rear and your enemy is pouring in, you are going to lose.

Mr. HIGGINS. Thank you to all the panelists for being here today. Thank you, Mr. Chairman for convening this hearing. I yield.

Chairman COMER. The gentleman yields back. The Chair now recognizes Ms. Brown from Ohio.

Ms. BROWN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As a member of the Select Committee on Strategic Competition with the Chinese Communist Party, I know all too well the threats we face from the CCP disinformation, election interference, and efforts to destabilize democracy around the world. We also know that the CCP is not acting alone. President Xi is united with our most significant adversaries: North Korea, Iran, and, yes, Vladimir Putin's Russia. These nations are attacking not only us, but threatening our democratic

allies as well, like Israel, Ukraine, and Taiwan. The propaganda campaign waged by the CCP against Taiwan and other CCP targets, like Tibet and the Uyghurs, directly mirrors what Iran is spreading about Israel and Russia about Ukraine.

In fact, we have Republican members of this body repeating Russian disinformation, or, as I like to call it, lies, as it relates to Ukrainian President Zelensky. But do not take my word for it. Republican leaders of the Intelligence Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee, both said it themselves.

Although we know the 2020 election was the safest and most secure election in the history of this country, the completely false narrative is that it was stolen or somehow rigged against a certain candidate continues to this day. I remain concerned about foreign disinformation interference in our upcoming electoral process. Russia and China are seeking to capitalize on the Big Lie, creating even more chaos, confusion, and distrust before November. That is why I have already sent a letter to the Department of Homeland Security, the Department of Justice, and the Election Assistance Commission to report on foreign efforts to misuse our adversaries' latest tool, artificial intelligence in our election, and I am working on legislation to prevent AI misuse as a way to intimidate voters.

So, Dr. Snyder, can you explain how Russia and the CCP are capitalizing on each other's propagandist efforts to spread disinformation in this year's election and what Congress can do to combat these efforts?

Dr. SNYDER. First of all, I want to thank you, Representative, for using the word "lie," which is very important. If we thought about the mandate of these hearings in a positive way, we would be thinking about what one would do, starting from the United States, to ensure that Americans are and can be well informed. Responding negatively, no matter how well, to Russia or China will never be enough. There will always have to be a positive response to ensure that there is investigative journalism and information available to Americans.

As far as Russia and China in these coming elections, in a general way, one can say that there are Chinese institutions that are modeled on Russian institutions. If you follow what Group 912 of the Chinese Ministry of Public Security is doing, it looks like a kind of bad copy of what the Internet Research Agency in Russia was doing. It is all state rather than being quasi private. Its themes and its tropes are much less skillful, but the basic idea is the same, to convince Americans that elections are basically pointless and then also, in this case, to undermine the Biden Administration and to promote the Trump candidacy. That is what its actors are doing at the moment, so there is that relationship. The overall aim, of course, is to get us into a situation where we do not believe in ourselves, and we do not believe in our system. I believe colleagues would agree that, that negation is the basic aim in an electoral year or at any other time.

Ms. BROWN. Thank you. And, Dr. Snyder, how has the twice-impeached, 4 times indicted ex-President played into Russian and CCP disinformation over the course of this election cycle so far? And, as an expert in this field, does this concern you?

Dr. SNYDER. I am very concerned. By the way and, again, this goes to the point about safe spaces. It is precisely the things that make you uncomfortable or irritated or generate some kind of negative reaction that you have to be alert to when you are discussing political warfare. If it makes you uncomfortable, if it gets into your safe space, that means the political warfare is probably working. I say that to preface the point that January 6 is incredibly important in Russian messaging. It demonstrates, from the Russian point of view how, unstable democracies are, and that message has also been picked up by China and its internet messaging in the years 2023 and 2024.

Ms. BROWN. Thank you. It is clear we cannot abandon our allies in the face of a large-scale global and coordinated effort to influence our democratic electoral process. Every Member of this body is the product of democracy at work. We must send a strong message to our adversaries we are united and ensuring every step of the democratic process from registering to vote to casting your ballot on Election Day is protected. And with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Chairman COMER. The Chair now recognizes Ms. Mace from South Carolina.

Ms. MACE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, on this hearing about Communist China and the threats to our Nation. As you know, Mr. Chairman, I think almost all Republicans in the House of Representatives are actually banned from Russia. I have heard a lot of Russian disinformation, misinformation today, and I would argue that democracy is not throwing your No. 1 political opponent off the ballot in a state so that you can, you know, threaten democracy.

So, the Chinese Communist Party is the greatest threat to the free world known to man. They are methodical, they are intentional, and they are dangerous. Unlike our country's more brazen enemies, the CCP plays the long game and acts covertly in an attempt to seemingly keep their hands clean. America sees right through it, and most of us—key word, “most of us”—know better. Whether it be through deadly Chinese fentanyl smuggled across our Southern borders; cyber warfare; or stealing of American data, intellectual property, trade secrets, et cetera, the Biden Administration has failed to protect Americans not only at our wide-open Southern border, but also our interest from the communist threat, all while funding Jihad terrorism around the world. That is what this Administration does.

So last month, a former employee at one of the largest American technology companies, who was a Chinese spy, was indicted and charged with 4 counts of theft of trade secrets in connection with a plan to steal proprietary information related to artificial intelligence from the company. The theft of advanced technologies plays into CCP cyber warfare and threatens America's national security. My first question today goes to General Spalding. To advance its destructive ambitions, the CCP wants to become a cyber superpower. Do they aim to do this by having CCP-backed operatives in America stealing emerging technologies from American companies?

Dr. SPALDING. They do, and they also seek to gather as much data as they can about the United States in order to become, in their term, an AI superpower.

Ms. MACE. Volt Typhoon has been recognized by the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, CISA, as a CCP hacker group that could disrupt critical communications and infrastructure, especially during times and in future crises. The Volt Typhoon CCP hackers were able to plant themselves inside U.S. Government systems, granting the CCP the ability to disrupt and distract cyber activity, including critical infrastructure at any given point in time. Does the CCP have the ability to hack into our government systems using its hacking operations, like Volt Typhoon and others?

Dr. SPALDING. Absolutely, and there are even more.

Ms. MACE. Even more. How does the CCP manage to hack into these systems? How do they do it?

Dr. SPALDING. Well, we spend a lot of money on kind of the hard iron of national security. They spend a lot of money on infiltration, political influence, and, in particular, having, you know, millions of hackers that are, you know, focused on these types of disruptive activities.

Ms. MACE. And they are doing it all day, every day, aren't they?

Dr. SPALDING. Every day.

Ms. MACE. If the U.S. Government buys and uses equipment manufactured in China, could the CCP potentially access information on that equipment?

Dr. SPALDING. Absolutely, and that is one of the reasons why we pushed to get Huawei out of telecommunications networks around the free world.

Ms. MACE. What is the most vulnerable equipment, like, that the government could purchase?

Dr. SPALDING. Well, I mean, obviously, routers, but for our electric grid, those large power transformers that, for the most part, come from China, are one of the biggest ones because it takes years to build.

Ms. MACE. OK. And then what are the dangers of CCP cyber warfare for just everyday Americans and then also critical infrastructure?

Dr. SPALDING. It is really about taking your data that comes from you being on these platforms, whether it be TikTok or Facebook or any of the others, and then learning how to influence you to not be a fan of a republic and to embrace a more authoritarian system. I mean, that is essentially what they are trying to do, and they have been very successful at it.

Ms. MACE. The CCP is trying to do that, but also, I mean, there are American companies, there are social media companies, there are apps that are essentially doing the same thing. Would you agree with that?

Dr. SPALDING. I would agree with that, and I think that is part of the process. For some reason, we find ourselves in a global narrative system that is essentially aligned across the board between the free world and the authoritarian systems, which is something that has precipitated because of the rise of the internet and its influence on our lives.

Ms. MACE. And we have seen the Biden Administration try to influence social media companies, including, you know, weaponizing the FBI in that effort. So, thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I yield back.

Chairman COMER. The Chair now recognizes Ms. Stansbury from New Mexico.

Ms. STANSBURY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and, gentlemen, welcome, and for those of you that have served this great Nation, thank you for your service. I very much appreciate it. And I am especially grateful to have the opportunity today to talk about threats to our democracy, especially from China and our foreign adversaries, because these threats to our democracy and global and domestic security are very real. And America needs to wake up, because if we do not take action in this chamber, the threats to global and domestic security will have significant and devastating impacts for the United States. And the single largest threat at this very moment, right now, is Members across the aisle this week who are holding up a foreign aid package to Ukraine and Taiwan. Because let me be clear, if we do not support our allies in Europe and in the Pacific, we could be on the verge of a major war in which American service members would be deployed, so we have to get this foreign aid package.

Now, I want to be clear about the threats of the Chinese Government as its currently configured. As a member of the Indo-Pacific Task Force, which is a bipartisan task force, I personally traveled to meet with our allies in the Pacific this summer, and I want to tell all of you that the threat is real. Our allies, who thousands of Americans fought for and died for in World War II, are afraid of the Chinese Government and the economic and military threat that they pose to their democracies. They are our allies. They are who is helping to uphold democracy in the Pacific. And if we do not take the moment and seize the moment right now to ensure that we are supporting our allies like Taiwan, it could be devastating for peace in the Pacific.

In fact, one of my staff who traveled to Taiwan, similar to Representative Krishnamoorthi, just a few months ago, heard directly from civil society organizations in Taiwan, who said in the wake of the invasion by Putin in Ukraine, they had begun doing drills in case of a Chinese invasion in Taiwan. The Chinese are watching what we do right now, and our first and best defense is to support our allies and to root out any activity here in the United States that is undermining our ability to respond to this threat.

So, while I appreciate that my friends across the aisle are trying to divert from a very real threat, the reality is that we have Members, including Members who are sitting here in this room today, that are repeating Russian and Chinese disinformation that has been planted in the U.S. media and milieu to undermine our action against our adversaries. In fact, the Republican Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, called it out just the last few weeks. He said that members of his own party are repeating disinformation that is undermining action on Ukraine and on U.S. military support to our allies. He said it infected his party. It was being repeated on the Floor of the House.

[Chart.]

We have seen examples of this, in fact, in both chambers. We have Members of both chambers who have been repeating Russian disinformation, as you can see here. And in this very Committee, we spent months holding a fake impeachment proceeding based on Russian disinformation that had been planted in the media by a Russian agent. Members in this Committee were repeating that information. So, if we want to rule out threats to American democracy to global security, we have to wake up.

Now, Dr. Snyder, you are a historian. I am grateful that you are here. Please help us understand the significance of this moment. I am struck, as we are facing, as the leader of the Democratic Party has said, a Churchill versus Chamberlain like moment. If we do not act on Ukraine, we could see global threats to our peace and democracy.

Dr. SNYDER. No. 1 and most narrowly, it is impossible to disentangle Chinese and Russian propaganda when Chinese channels transmit Russian memes. No. 2, slightly more broadly, the way political warfare works is that things that start in China or Russia end up in our minds and then coming out of our mouths. That is what political warfare is precisely. And then No. 3, that the direct connection between Ukraine and China, which everyone in Taiwan understands and repeats, is that insofar as they resist successfully, the Ukrainians are deterring Chinese offensive operations in the Pacific. And they are deterring them in a way that we cannot deter because nothing Ukraine does can possibly be understood as provocative by Beijing. They have a power which we do not have, which is to make a war in the Pacific much less likely. If you let the Ukrainians go, we lose many, many things, but also we lose that.

Ms. STANSBURY. Thank you, and, Mr. Chairman, I just want to say, history is watching.

Chairman COMER. Yes, I agree. The Chair now recognizes Mr. Burlison from Missouri.

Mr. BURLISON. Mr. Chairman, Avril Haines, the Director of National Intelligence, had a statement recently, said, "the CCP presents both the leading and most consequential threat to U.S. national security and leadership globally, and its intelligence-specific ambitions and capabilities make it, for us, our most serious and consequential intelligence rival." That being said—this is question for you, Mr. Mattis—I was shocked to hear about a program that the CCP uses with the united front to target and control Chinese Americans and the Chinese diaspora in the United States. What is their goal?

Mr. MATTIS. The goal in representing or having control over those kinds of community organizations, in part, has to do with using their voices, hijacking their voices, if you will, to represent them to their congressional Members and to their political leaders, right? Because you cannot possibly meet with every single constituent and solicit their opinion and engage in a conversation. You have to deal with groups of all kinds, right, whether they are through unions, through voluntary associations. And, therefore, you can have an organization of entirely patriotic Americans with one bad apple in the leadership position, who by virtue of that position can now misrepresent.

Mr. BURLISON. Is the voice for that group.

Mr. MATTIS. And the other thing is that when those groups meet with politicians and that image is often transmitted back into the PRC, Chinese people recognize what those groups are. And that is a message from the CCP to the Chinese people, that not only are we in control here, but there.

Mr. BURLISON. But we are truly there.

Mr. MATTIS. And you will not get rescued from that.

Mr. BURLISON. And that being said, since 2014, the CCP has overseen an extralegal operation for repatriation, called Operation Fox Hunt. They use Operation Fox Hunt to harass and stalk Chinese Americans and the Chinese diaspora. Could you describe this campaign, and would you consider it political warfare?

Mr. MATTIS. I am not sure if I would consider it political warfare, but I would consider it a violation of U.S. sovereignty by a foreign power, right? They are conducting operations on our soil that are affecting American citizens. They are deliberately avoiding any judicial channels for dealing with a law enforcement matter. And they say that it is under the guise of anticorruption, and, indeed, some of it may be a corrupt official, but as we have seen from Xi Jinping's campaign internally, some of the people that are targeted are very clearly targeted for their political reasons, and corruption is simply an excuse.

Mr. BURLISON. Yes. So, what are the methods or tactics that they are using? I have heard that they have organized policing groups that are located in the United States.

Mr. MATTIS. Yes, and those groups have been used to hire sort of private investigators to sort of pursue and look. In some cases where there are direct confrontations with the victim to be repatriated back to the PRC, they are showing, say, pictures of family members or calling family members in the PRC to demonstrate that, look, if you are not on a plane back, then this will be the last you see them.

Mr. BURLISON. OK. So, they are threatening the family members that are still in China—

Mr. MATTIS. Yes.

Mr. BURLISON [continuing]. And saying, if you do not repatriate back or, you know, come to heal.

Mr. MATTIS. If you are not back in the PRC in X amount of time then, you know, this will be the end for them.

Mr. BURLISON. Just this year, the Operation Fox Hunt's top official met with the Deputy Secretary Advisor, Jon Finer, and Secretary of State, Antony Blinken. Could you explain how this might represent elite capture?

Mr. MATTIS. OK. I do not think that something like that kind of meaning would represent elite capture. If you are trying to get particular messages into the system, if you are trying to tell the PRC what is acceptable or not, you are going to have to deal with those security authorities, and you are going to have to depress the message.

Mr. BURLISON. But you think that there is a risk for U.S. officials who are meeting with CCP officials that are in charge of these repatriation efforts? Obviously, they are seeking out these meetings.

Mr. MATTIS. Again, if you are trying to have any impact on the Ministry of Public Security or the Ministry of State Security, you cannot meet with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, so you will have to meet with them. That is simply the nature of dealing with those governments.

Mr. BURLISON. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman COMER. The Chair now recognizes Mr. Raskin.

Mr. RASKIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Professor Snyder, what role does political and financial corruption play in the authoritarian regimes, like China and Russia?

Dr. SNYDER. It always plays a very fundamental role, as we discussed before, in recruitment, but it also plays an ideological role. Since the basic argument is that democracies are just hypocrisy, everyone is basically corrupt, only money matters, corruption is used not just as a way to bring in individuals, but it is also used as a way to discredit the entire system.

Mr. RASKIN. And internally, those regimes are based on corruption.

Dr. SNYDER. And so, the point externally is to normalize that. Back in the 20th century, we had rivals that had other visions of the future. Now we do not. Now we have rivals, and this pertains both to China and Russia, whose main message is that our system is not what it seems to be. There are really no alternatives to just autocratic regimes where only money and power count.

Mr. RASKIN. One of our colleagues chided our side of the aisle for raising Donald Trump's name. I think that was presumably directed at Representative Norton, who discussed the millions of dollars that Donald Trump pocketed in unlawful foreign government emoluments from the Chinese Government and from the state-owned ICBC bank while he was President. Is corruption in America irrelevant to our ability to withstand foreign propaganda by authoritarian regimes, like China and Russia?

Dr. SNYDER. Of course it is not irrelevant. It is very relevant. The way that any kind of political warfare proceeds is by these sorts of connections, a message becomes more plausible because a person is a bit more corrupt. A person is a bit more corrupt, the message becomes a bit more plausible. Anyone who is serious about political warfare would be very attentive to these underlying financial issues, of course.

Mr. RASKIN. One of our colleagues mentioned an effort that is underway to stop U.S. Government agencies from blowing the whistle on Chinese and Russian propaganda on social media. There are some people who say that it violates the First Amendment if our agencies say there is Chinese propaganda on your website, there is Russian propaganda on your website, but what do you think about that? Do you think that in a free society, the government should be able at least to alert the social media or private internet service providers about the existence of foreign government propaganda on their vehicles?

Dr. SNYDER. Colleagues in different ways have already raised the point that TikTok is not the only problem. The problem is the way that social media is designed as such. Democracies tend to work better when institutions are set up in such a way that factuality has an advantage over propaganda. Unfortunately, social media is

set up in a different way. It gives a financial advantage for advertisers to attention seeking and therefore, to shocking propaganda. We know that this can be mediated because when attempts have been made, either by corporations themselves in cooperation or by the government, we have been able to dramatically reduce hostile state-sponsored propaganda.

What we face now in 2024 is a major corporation, Twitter, which has chosen not to police itself even as much as the other platforms do, and, therefore, we face a situation in which states are taking advantage of this sort of chaos. Hostile actors take advantage of this chaos to change the information environment. This is, par excellence, an example of psychological warfare, and it would be foolish if the U.S. Government did not allow itself to draw attention to it.

Mr. RASKIN. I wonder if you can help us figure out where we have come as a Committee, Professor Snyder. About a year ago, our GOP colleagues began heralding an FBI Form FD-1023 that recorded allegations that President Biden acted corruptly in Ukraine and tried to promote these as credible allegations. It turned out that these were lies, and the person who was promoting them has been indicted for lying to the FBI and constructing a false record. It turns out that he was up to his neck in connections to Russian foreign agents, and yet, our colleagues at various points called this a smoking gun, said it showed proof that the Bidens took bribes and so on. Chairman Jason Smith, for example, said this was a smoking gun and it was the definitive proof that the Bidens took bribes. It obviously has been dropped, and yet, this was the genesis of our investigation. How do we understand—

Chairman COMER. That is just simply not true, but go ahead and finish your story.

Mr. RASKIN. I will yield to the Chairman if you want to take some more time.

Chairman COMER. No, no, no, no.

Mr. RASKIN. Well, you can use your time—

Chairman COMER. Are you saying the bank statement is a Russian disinformation that the Bidens took \$9,000 from China?

Mr. RASKIN. I agree that you have been talking about bank statements for more than a year, but they do not show anything other than there was no crime.

Chairman COMER. So, it is OK, as Tony Bobulinski said, for China to bribe Joe Biden's family with \$9 million?

Mr. RASKIN. But that is the lie that has been discredited. I mean, where is your impeachment investigation? If Joe Biden took a \$9 million bribe from China, why aren't you impeaching him for that?

Chairman COMER. Well, who says we are not?

Mr. RASKIN. Well, I can invite Mr. Moskowitz to come back in. Do you want to move for impeachment today because I thought that that was your main agenda item. You said it was the paramount priority of the Committee.

Chairman COMER. No, this is a hearing on China, and you all have an obsession with Russia and Trump. It is disturbing. You need therapy.

Mr. RASKIN. We can talk about China and Trump or Russia and Trump.

Chairman COMER. You all need therapy, Mr. Raskin.

Mr. RASKIN. No, no. You need therapy. You are the one who is involved with the deranged politician, not me, OK? I have divorced myself from Donald Trump a long time ago. You are the one who needs to disentangle from that situation. And I will tell you this, if you believe that it would have been illegal for Joe Biden to take \$5 million from Ukraine—it certainly would have been—what do you think about Donald Trump taking more than \$5 million from the Chinese Government while he was President?

Chairman COMER. Well, we know that Donald Trump had a legitimate business that he talked about, and he campaigned about.

Mr. RASKIN. The legitimate business was the White House. He sold the White House.

Chairman COMER. Oh, give me a break. What business were the Bidens in? What business did Joe Biden's family own? What business were they in? Did they have hotels? Did they have a social media company? Did they have golf courses? Do they have casinos? Did they have office buildings?

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Chairman?

Chairman COMER. What business? Did they have an energy company?

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Chairman, we have spent tens of millions of dollars on you pursuing Joe Biden and you have not identified a single crime.

Chairman COMER. That is not true. That is a lie. You are lying.

Mr. RASKIN. Oh, really?

Chairman COMER. We have not spent \$10 million.

Mr. RASKIN. How much have you spent?

Chairman COMER. We have not spent hardly anything.

Mr. RASKIN. It has been for free? OK. All right. Well, in any event, you know what? Then we get what we paid for because you got nothing. You got nothing on Joe Biden.

Chairman COMER. No, no, no. Answer this question. Answer this question. What did the Bidens do? What business were they in? Why did they get millions and millions of dollars?

Mr. GOLDMAN. Can I answer that?

Mr. RASKIN. No, I would like to ask you a question.

Mr. GOLDMAN. Can I answer what they did?

Chairman COMER. No, you stop. What did the Bidens do? What business were they in?

Mr. RASKIN. I do not know what you are talking about. Well, what business are the Comers in? You are talking about lots of people. There are lots of people in the family.

Chairman COMER. I am a farmer. I have land. I lease land. I sell honey.

Mr. RASKIN. Your impeachment investigation must identify a high crime and misdemeanor.

Chairman COMER. What did the Bidens do? What did they do for the million dollars?

Mr. RASKIN. I will tell you what Joe Biden did. He was a senator of the United States. Then he wrote a book and he said he made the most money ever made in his life, millions of dollars on his book, and he gave a million dollars in inheritance.

Chairman COMER. That is what his family did? That is why Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Romania, China, Russia, that is why they paid the Biden family money because of Joe Biden's book?

Mr. GOLDMAN. None of those governments paid anyone any money.

Mr. RASKIN. Somebody needs therapy here, but it is nobody on our side of the aisle, OK?

Chairman COMER. Alright, alright, enough.

Mr. RASKIN. No, I honestly——

Chairman COMER. Back to the hearing. Back to the China hearing. Order. Order.

Mr. RASKIN. You had your chance. I would like my time restored.

Chairman COMER. Well, no, your time was expired.

Mr. RASKIN. No, you interrupted me. I want my time restored.

Chairman COMER. No, you had your time. You went above, and I let Ms. Norton go a minute——

Mr. RASKIN. You know what?

Chairman COMER. Sit down. Everybody come back. This is about China. We asked a simple question now. Ms. Pressley, you are out of order. Sit down.

Mr. BURCHETT. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman COMER. Mr. Burchett.

Mr. BURCHETT. Mr. Chairman, can I make a motion that we take a break for 5 minutes?

Chairman COMER. We are going to keep going. We will let the record show that Mr. Raskin could not answer the question on what did the Bidens do to receive the money.

Mr. RASKIN. Let me start with this. My last name is Raskin, OK? We have sat next to each other for more than a year. You do not have to add the "s". No. 2, I would like my time restored, and No. 3——

Chairman COMER. No, you had your time. You are out of order now.

Mr. RASKIN [continuing]. You have not identified a single crime, but what is the crime that you want to impeach Joe Biden for and keep this nonsense going? Why? What is the crime? Tell America right now. You have wrecked my time.

Chairman COMER. Well, you are about to find out very soon.

Mr. RASKIN. What is the crime?

Chairman COMER. You are about to find out very soon.

Mr. RASKIN. Name it.

Chairman COMER. The Chair now recognizes Mr. Biggs from Arizona.

Mr. BIGGS. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and, Colonel Newsham, Yokoso. We could talk in Japanese for a few minutes, but that might take us further anyway, but glad to have you here. Welcome, everyone here. I am going to focus on China. Mr. Mattis, question for you first. Has Chinese propaganda penetrated into the United States of America?

Mr. MATTIS. I think you can safely say that it has, but I think the point of my testimony was to point out that this is more than just narratives, that we should be concerned with the actions that result.

Mr. BIGGS. Right. I am going to get into that, but I am talking just initially about propaganda that has penetrated as well, right? I mean—

Mr. MATTIS. The message has certainly reached, so yes.

Mr. BIGGS. OK. And then I will go to Colonel Newsham. My questions for you is, you mentioned in your written testimony hacking of U.S. military technology. Have we covered that today?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Not yet, sir, but a couple examples I used were the hacking of the, basically, the plans for the C-17 transport, the F-35 fighter, and the Chinese have built a couple of things that look an awful lot like those.

Mr. BIGGS. And do we have evidence that how they were able to hack that technology, acquire that technology?

Colonel NEWSHAM. I believe there is a pretty good understanding of that. It was partly human access that allowed them to get the computer access, but also, they have computer hackers on a scale you can hardly imagine. They have got plenty of resources to devote to it.

Mr. BIGGS. And then this will be for you, Colonel Newsham, and, Mr. Mattis, maybe this is what you wanted to get at, too. In your written testimony, Colonel Newsham, you mentioned physical penetration or infiltration, and, in particular, you point to what I would call South China Sea assets that China is trying to acquire in relationship to actually U.S. assets there like the Northern Mariana Islands, et cetera. Do you want to take just a few seconds and expand on that?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Sure. Just regarding the South China Sea, the Chinese had de facto control of that, at least 7 or 8 years ago, long before Ukraine ever came along. They are now going after American territories and parts of America in Commonwealth of Northern Marianas and in Guam. Coming through the borders in CNMI's case, it is with the approval of our own Department of Homeland Security, which gives visa-free access. Once they are in, they are causing all sorts of trouble. They have picked up Chinese around wandering through the jungles around U.S. bases in Guam as well.

Mr. BIGGS. And that gets me to something that General Spalding wrote in his written testimony where you said, "The relaxation of our security posture concerning active measures conducted by adversaries like China, Russia, North Korea, and Iran has left American institutions, like those of its allies and the entire international order, vulnerable to relentless and ongoing political influence campaigns." Do you want to elaborate on that in connection with what we have been talking about with the physical infiltration or the propaganda infiltration as well?

Dr. SPALDING. Well, one of the ways that that happens is because we relaxed COCOM. So COCOM prevented both us and our allies from trading with the Soviet Union, and through that trade, through that financial and economic relationship is their biggest lever for political influence within the United States and its allies and the international system.

Mr. BIGGS. Thank you, General. And I would just say before we go further, I did read one of your books, General Spalding, and actually one of Dr. Snyder's books on tyranny, so I have some famili-

arity. If the other two have written books, I have not read those books yet. I will try to track those down as well. And then, I want to get back to you, Mr. Mattis, one of the things you were talking about. You wanted to talk more than the psychological or the infiltration or penetrations of psychology by China, so.

Mr. MATTIS. So, for example, in technology transfer, it is not simply computer network exploitation of companies or labs, but you see united front organizations sort of building a sort of, I guess you could call it, a fake community organization, the United States for Chinese and Science and Technology. And those organizations or, in some cases, the organizations back in the PRC, have memorandums of understanding with U.S. professional organizations. And those associations basically work with the talent programs to identify potential Americans that should be brought over to the PRC to contribute their knowledge and expertise. And I think we sometimes think of this too narrowly as a classified issue or that we say that all science is published when those soft skills of managing a lab, the experience of failed experiments, are all valuable pieces of knowledge and wisdom that are beneficial to running large labs.

Mr. BIGGS. Thank you. Mr. Chairman, my time is expired, but I do have a couple of items I would like to submit for the record and just say that 25 years ago when I was working in graduate work in Northeast Asian security, China was a huge issue even then for very different reasons, but they had hegemonic ambitions at that time. And if you go back, you will see that they had hegemonic ambitions literally forever in China.

So, I would submit a couple of things for the record, Mr. Chairman. One of them is the testimony that was submitted to the U.S. Senate before the Emerging Threats and Spinning Oversight Subcommittee on the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, entitled, "Strengthening International Cooperation to Stop The Flow of Fentanyl Into the United States," of March 20, 2024.

Chairman COMER. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. BIGGS. And another piece, rather old, the title is offensive, but it was a book review of one of Mr. Snyder's books from September 9, 2014, called, "Timothy Snyder's Lies," by Daniel Lazare.

Chairman COMER. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. BIGGS. I yield. Thank you.

Chairman COMER. The gentleman's time is expired. The Chair now recognizes Mr. Garcia from California.

Mr. GRACIA. Thank you. It has been a wild hearing so far. I know that the Majority is very interested in looking into China. I think we should definitely look into the influence China plays in our politics, and I just want to start by reminding us of this man.

[Chart]

And I am sure that our Chairman and my Republican colleagues will recognize this gentleman over here, which, of course, is Gal Luft. We know that a Chinese spy, Gal Luft, infiltrated this Committee's sham impeachment inquiry against President Biden with false allegations. Now, according to this Federal indictment, Gal paid a former U.S. Government official, who was a Donald Trump advisor, to "publicly support certain policies favorable to China." He also sold Chinese arms around the world. Now, our Chairman

who wanted this gentleman to be a witness called him “a very credible witness”—this is a Chinese spy we are talking about—just because Gal Luft was willing to help Republicans smear the President.

So, when we are talking about China’s influence, it starts with the House Majority, our Chairman, wanting to have a witness, this man, who actually was a Chinese spy. So, it is completely ridiculous for Republicans to claim to get tough on China while they are working with literal Chinese agents to spread misinformation. It goes to show you what a joke this is. Now, this is not, of course, the only example of the Majority’s hypocrisy—

Chairman COMER. Will the gentleman yield to a question?

Mr. GARCIA. I am going to keep going, sir, because we know that one of the most important tools to stop hostile foreign influence in our government is the Constitution. Now, Professor Snyder, what role does the Emoluments Clause of the Constitution play in protecting against foreign influence?

Dr. SNYDER. Since it seems to be the rule here that people jump around a bit, I am just going to respond to the absent questioner.

Mr. GARCIA. Actually, sir, I need you to respond to just—

Dr. SNYDER. I will, I will, I will, trust me. But the item that was entered into the record regarding me, when Members read it, they will find that it is the “Stalinist Objection to Timothy Snyder” that they have entered into the record. That book review is from the point of view of someone defending the one-party Leninist state, which colleagues and I believe is the problem.

Mr. GARCIA. Thank you, sir. Thank you.

Dr. SNYDER. Yes. The Emoluments Clause is a fundamental example of the wisdom of the founders in recognizing the possibility of financial corruption in the head of state.

Mr. GARCIA. Thank you, and the Emoluments Clause is really important. We know that foreign influence on a President is clearly a serious threat, and the evidence is clear. As our Ranking Member mentioned, we have actually evidence that China funneled cash to Donald Trump through his businesses while he was President. That is illegal, and it threatens national security. The Trump International Hotel; more stays at the hotel in Vegas; Trump Tower, over \$5.5 million dollars. The People’s Republic of China, including state-owned enterprises, made unconstitutional payments in excess of \$5.5 to the Trump organization, and those millions into Donald Trump’s pockets are just a small sample of the total payments we received. And as a reminder, our Chairman actually cut-off the investigation into Trump’s business activities, so we only have documentation for about 2 years.

Now, just months ago, the Republicans blocked my motion to subpoena Donald Trump’s accountants for the records on this cover-up, which is an absolute crime, and in 2016, Trump said, “I love China.” The biggest bank in the world is from China. The Department of Justice found that that same bank was being used as a front to funnel money into North Korea.

I also want to talk about, it is not just about China, of course. We can document illegal money going into Trump’s businesses while he was President from multiple companies, from multiple countries and companies. We know from China, \$5.5 million, Saudi

Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, from all of these countries, there was illegal foreign payments made violating the Emoluments Clause, and this is only a small sample. We also know that this is a barter part of the grift that the Trump family is doing on the American people.

We know that Donald Trump, for example, gave his son-in-law, Jared Kushner, a job at the White House. We know that his son put together a \$110 billion dollar arms deal with the Saudi Government. We know that Jared Kushner received a \$2 billion investment fund from the Saudi Government after just a month after leaving the White House. So, there is a lot of corruption that we can talk about, and even though Chairman Comer wants to invite spies that are working with China, does not want to investigate the payments that Trump is receiving from foreign governments, these are things that must be talked about and investigated.

Professor Snyder, is it acceptable for a former U.S. official to get \$2 billion from a foreign investment fund right after leaving office?

Dr. SNYDER. That is totally unacceptable.

Mr. GARCIA. Thank you, and that is exactly what the Trump family is doing, continues to do, and they continue to put this huge grift on the American people. Mr. Comer, would you like to ask me a question?

Chairman COMER. Yes. Are you aware that Gal Luft was charged by the Department of Justice for violating the Foreign Agents Registration Act because of the money he took from CEFC which is the exact same company that paid the Bidens millions of dollars? The same company that Tony Bobulinski testified that Joe Biden was the “big guy” in a deal with?

Mr. GARCIA. Chairman Comer, are you aware that you called him a very credible witness, yet he is a Chinese spy?

Chairman COMER. Well, then Hunter Biden and Joe, are they Chinese spies?

Mr. GARCIA. Sir, sir, you called Gal Luft a very credible witness who happened to be Chinese spy.

Chairman COMER. He is a credible witness because he worked for the same company that Hunter Biden and Joe Biden got paid for.

Mr. GARCIA. For the record—

Chairman COMER. And Jim Biden.

Mr. GARCIA. For the record, our Chairman is saying—

Chairman COMER. It is the same deal.

Mr. GRACIA [continuing]. That a Chinese spy working for the Chinese Government—

Chairman COMER. Well, he is—

Mr. GARCIA [continuing]. Against the United States of America is a very credible witness. I yield back.

Chairman COMER. He is credible because he got paid by the same company the Bidens got paid for, the same thing.

Mr. RASKIN. The same company that gave millions of dollars to Donald Trump when he was President?

Chairman COMER. No, it is the same company that paid the Bidens billions of dollars. For what business was it again, Mr. Raskin? What business were the Bidens in? I forgot what you said.

Mr. GOLDMAN. Can you stop saying the Bidens? Who paid Hunter Biden?

Mr. RASKIN. Jim Biden was a businessman.

Chairman COMER. No, no, no.

Mr. RASKIN. Joe Biden is a public servant.

Chairman COMER. The Chair now recognizes Mr. Fallon from Texas.

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Chairman, thank you. You know, I woke up this morning and I was reviewing my notes, and how naive am I that I thought that this hearing could actually be bipartisan when we are talking about threats that the Chinese Communist Party presents to the United States of America? Wow. Well, I do not care if you are a Democrat or Republican. We live in this country, and this country is threatened by the Chinese Communist Party. So, no doubt there are a great many threats. There is a multitude facing our country. It is our job in Congress to determine the greatest threats to our United States national security and our future prosperity. And then, to address them, we have to prioritize them, what are the most dire threats, and then let us work to either eliminate them or mitigate them to a significant degree. In my humble opinion, it is rather obvious what the greatest threats are. One, it is our deficit spending and our accumulated debt, and two is the Chinese Communist Party.

But this is not a hearing, Mr. Chairman, on the deficit or the debt. It is not a hearing on Russia. It is a hearing on the Chinese Communist Party. I am not here to talk about Joe Biden today. I am here to talk about the Chinese Communist Party, and it is sad when you hear these buzzwords from the Ranking Member and other Democrats. They say "Russia," "Ukraine," "Nazis," "MAGA," "collusion," "Russian hoax." When the Mueller investigation found that there was no collusion, it truly was a Russian hoax, reality proves quite the opposite.

Professor Snyder, what new territory of another nation-state did Vladimir Putin violate in 2008?

Dr. SNYDER. Georgia.

Mr. FALLON. And who was President in 2008?

Dr. SNYDER. President of the Russian—

Mr. FALLON. Of the United States of America.

Dr. SNYDER [continuing]. Federation was Vladimir Putin.

Mr. FALLON. Of the United States of America.

Dr. SNYDER. Obama.

Mr. FALLON. In 2014, what new territory of another nation-state did Vladimir Putin violate?

Dr. SNYDER. Ukraine.

Mr. FALLON. Ukraine, Crimea and Eastern Ukraine, correct?

Dr. SNYDER. That is correct.

Mr. FALLON. And who was the President then?

Dr. SNYDER. Obama.

Mr. FALLON. OK. In 2022, what new territory of another nation state did Vladimir Putin violate?

Dr. SNYDER. Ukraine.

Mr. FALLON. Full-scale invasion trying to grab Kyiv, correct?

Dr. SNYDER. Correct.

Mr. FALLON. And who was President then?

Dr. SNYDER. Biden.

Mr. FALLON. Joe Biden. From January 2017 to January 2021, what new territory of another nation-state did Vladimir Putin violate?

Dr. SNYDER. There were no military invasions.

Mr. FALLON. There were no new territories violated by Vladimir Putin. You are correct.

Dr. SNYDER. Yes, although—

Mr. FALLON. And who was President then?

Dr. SNYDER. Of the Russian Federation?

Mr. FALLON. The United States of America from January 2017 to January 2021.

Dr. SNYDER. You are repeating the question. It was Joe Biden.

Mr. FALLON. No. From 2017 to 2021, who was the President of United States?

Dr. SNYDER. I am sorry, Donald Trump.

Mr. FALLON. Donald J. Trump.

Dr. SNYDER. That is right.

Mr. FALLON. So, reality shows us that there was only one U.S. President in the last 3 or 4, rather, that could either control or contain Vladimir Putin, and that was Donald J. Trump. So, that could be possibly an inconvenient truth to our friends across the aisle, but nonetheless, it is the truth.

General Spalding, who has a greater GDP, China or Russia?

Dr. SPALDING. China.

Mr. FALLON. China. In fact, it is about, almost 10 times as much. And Colonel Newsham, who has a greater population, China or Russia?

Colonel NEWSHAM. China.

Mr. FALLON. China by about 10 times. So, who is the greater threat? It is rather obvious it is China, or as President Trump would say, "China." General Spalding, has the United States' intelligence community accurately identified the threat that the CCP presents?

Dr. SPALDING. No, and I believe that is a direct result of the influence within Washington, DC, particularly on think tanks.

Mr. FALLON. In what ways has the intelligence community failed to address the CCP threat?

Dr. SPALDING. When I started, you know, working with the Defense Intelligence Agency, they were primarily focused on the military threat coming from China. They were not focused on the economic threat, the financial threat, the academic threat, the political threat that we are talking about here.

Mr. FALLON. So, for instance, just a few years ago, before Joe Biden took office, there were about less than 500 Chinese nationals that were apprehended on the Southern border. And then, the last year we have data for, last fiscal year, it was nearing 50,000. Do you find that alarming?

Dr. SPALDING. Terrifying.

Mr. FALLON. Do you think every one of those folks is just looking for a better life, or are there some sleeper agents looking to do us harm if we ever gotten to a hot war with China?

Dr. SPALDING. I think both of those situations exist, but I also think that the Chinese Communist Party is opportunistic, and it has conditioned the Chinese citizens to believe that they must do

what the Chinese Communist Party asks. So, every Chinese citizen that comes into the country, by law, is a Chinese agent of the Chinese Communist Party.

Mr. FALLON. And even if 99 percent of them are just looking for a better life, it is terrifying to know that there are 500 new potential threats in this country in an open society.

Dr. SPALDING. Well, Li Yuan, who is a journalist for the *New York Times*, talks about the deprogramming she herself had to go through when she came to the United States and started recognizing the signs of having been programmed. And I think if you are going to have those types of people come into the country, then they have to go through some similar deprogramming process because if you live in China, like I have, you see that the entire population has been programmed through propaganda over the last decades, certainly since Tiananmen Square.

Mr. FALLON. Chairman, thank you. I yield back.

Chairman COMER. The gentleman yields back. The Chair now recognizes Ms. Lee from Pennsylvania.

Ms. LEE. Thank you, Mr. Chair. Earlier this month, the Institute for Strategic Dialogue, an independent nonprofit team of disinformation researchers, reported its evidence of the Chinese Communist Party's evolution and influence operations. Their research showed how the CCP has begun using Russia and Putin's propaganda playbook. Here is a perfect example. RT, Russian propaganda outlet puts out a lie. That lie is picked up and amplified by a CCP disinformation operation posing as a Trump supporter, and then, Alex Jones, a star of MAGA world, echoed and amplified the line to his millions of followers. Professor Snyder, are you aware of the CCP adopting Russia's propaganda playbook and even working hand-in-hand with Russia to push out disinformation?

Dr. SNYDER. Yes, very much so, at many levels.

Ms. LEE. Thank you. Understanding the threats posed by the CCP requires understanding the context, and where disinformation is concerned, that means examining Russia's playbook.

Professor Snyder, in an interview with PBS Frontline Program in September 2022, you said, "So what the Russians became very effective at doing by way of their international propaganda, then later by interfering in elections, is messing things up, taking the worst of other societies and bringing the worst tendencies to the fore, finding by digital means and otherwise our weaknesses and making those weaknesses greater and greater." Professor Snyder, have you observed Russia using this playbook against the United States?

Dr. SNYDER. That is the Russian playbook, and interestingly, I believe it is also a scholarly consensus that Chinese information operations are moving in that direction. There is a good empirical evidence since 2023 that precisely what China is trying to do on social media is what Russia did in previous elections, namely disrupt and favor the candidate they regard as most disruptive.

Ms. LEE. Thank you for sharing that. There have been numerous official warnings not only that Russia has worked to interfere in U.S. elections, but that it did so specifically to boost Donald Trump's candidacy. The Mueller report warned that Russia inter-

ferred in the 2016 Presidential election and did so to support Donald Trump's candidacy.

On March 10, 2021, the National Intelligence Council issued a declassified intelligence assessment regarding Russia's efforts to interfere in the 2020 U.S. Presidential election, and said, "We assessed that Russian President Putin authorized and a range of Russian Government organizations conducted influence operations aimed at denigrating President Biden's candidacy and the Democratic Party, supporting former President Trump, undermining public confidence in the electoral process, and exacerbating socio-political divisions in the U.S." Professor Snyder, why has Vladimir Putin sought to boost Donald Trump's candidacy, and to be clear, have Vladimir Putin's reasons for boosting Trump's candidacy changed over the years?

Dr. SNYDER. This is why it is so important the discussion is framed in terms of political warfare because political warfare, by definition, involves someone else trying to get you to do something that you probably ought not to do. It is not personal, and no one should take it personally. It is the judgment of the Russian state that Donald Trump is the more disruptive candidate and the one most likely to make the United States more like Russia and more accommodating to Russia.

Ms. LEE. Professor Snyder, do you believe Russia is seeking to interfere in the upcoming elections in 2024?

Dr. SNYDER. Of course.

Ms. LEE. Finally, Professor Snyder, you recently wrote "Trump presents himself as an admirer of Putin and had been his client in one form or another for a decade. He has succeeded in conditioning the media by teaching his followers to shout, 'Russia hoax,' whenever the subject comes up, but all the same, Russia has backed him in every campaign, and it is backing him in this one." Professor Snyder, what are the consequences for our democracy if Donald Trump and his allies in Congress continue to shout 'Russia hoax' even as they echo and amplify Russian propaganda and disinformation?

Dr. SNYDER. If we have a hearing on political warfare, then we must be concerned with political warfare, which includes Chinese operations, Russian operations, and operations where the two come together. What is interesting about 2024 is that China is using memes that it gets from Russia and methods which are very similar to Russian.

The thing that one has to worry about is the American part, right? It is not political warfare unless there is an American part in it. Unless our minds and our mouths move, it is not political warfare. And so, if our minds and our mouths are replicating things that come from China or from Russia, then we are probably doing things which are not in our interest. To repeat, that is the essence of political warfare, which is meant to be our subject today.

Ms. LEE. Thank you. While the Stop the Steal MAGA party claim to love America and democracy so much, they have shown they are willing to undermine it every step of the way, even by courting our adversaries to ensure their permanent role. I yield back.

Chairman COMER. The Chair now recognizes Mr. Timmons from South Carolina.

Mr. TIMMONS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. General Spalding, I am going to be directing all my questions at you. You are very familiar with Huawei and their attempt to use 5G technology to essentially infiltrate the technology infrastructure of developing countries and developed countries alike. And in, really, 2018, 2019, as this was really becoming more of an issue, the FBI was very reluctantly transparent to show the world that Huawei is not secure. They are basically creating a backdoor. Their servers are compromised, and the Chinese Communist Party has access to all of the data, thereby compromising the privacy and cybersecurity of any country that has Huawei 5G. And I actually sponsored a bill last Congress, H.R. 4493, the Promoting Secure 5G Act of 2021. And what that bill does is it tells countries that if they want to borrow money from international monetary institutions, they are going to have to have secure 5G. It essentially cuts off funding for them to implement unsecure 5G.

And so, the Chinese in response to this, in response to the FBI essentially outing them to the world that Huawei is insecure and that they are using their servers, and there is no data security and no data privacy, changed course. So, they literally had to completely change course. They had to get third party groups to come in and try to vouch for them and allege that they are actually secure.

And so, again, as we talk about how we are going to hold China accountable, I think Huawei is a perfect example because they were engaging in the global economy in bad faith. They were doing things that they were not supposed to do. And the United States can say all we want, but we are only a small portion of the global economy, so when we tell our allies that this is a problem and why, and then our allies reverse course. You know, India, Israel, bunch of European countries have essentially banned Huawei because it is not secure. Are you familiar with all of this?

Dr. SPALDING. Very familiar.

Mr. TIMMONS. And do you agree that by leading a coalition of partners to hold the Chinese accountable, it is a model that we are able to use to change their behavior, because, again, look, China has an enormous population. They have enormous natural resources. They are going to be a juggernaut in the global economy, but they cannot cheat. We have to hold them accountable. They cannot cheat. So, I just think that Huawei is a perfect example of how we can lead the global community. We can lead a coalition of international partners to change their behavior. Are you following me?

Dr. SPALDING. Absolutely, and totally agree.

Mr. TIMMONS. So, I was very pleased the Promoting Secure 5G Act that I proposed in 2021 was included in the 2022 National Defense Authorization Act, then was signed into law December 27 of 2021. So, I mean, I am doing my part to hold Huawei accountable in the global economy, but we need to replicate this exact game plan across the board.

And, you know, we are talking about TikTok is a great example of, again, if they relocate their servers to ensure privacy and have the rule of law where the Chinese Communist Party is not going to be able to compromise the privacy and data security of millions

and millions of Americans' personal data, I mean, that is what we are looking for. We are looking for equity, and we are looking for parity in the global economy. It is not just 5G. It is not just TikTok.

I mean, the intellectual property and the subsidization of businesses that are competing in the global economy, we have to reform their behavior. And I really think people do not understand that our system of government is designed to create a free market where the government does not put its thumb on the scales. And businesses compete, and if they have good products and services, they succeed. But in China, it is literally a part of their culture that the government is responsible for giving pseudo private businesses an advantage. They give them advantages in permitting. They give them advantages in cheap energy costs. They give them advantages in reduced labor standards, whatever it is. Do you agree with all that?

Dr. SPALDING. I do agree with that. One point I would make is that it is not just good enough to cut them off from the global economy. We must develop our own stuff. We must invest in ourselves, and I think that is an important aspect of it.

Mr. TIMMONS. Absolutely. We saw during COVID that our lack of supply chain diversification was a huge problem, and, I mean, we need to realize that they are not our friends. And we need to get the rest of the world to appreciate that we cannot be overly reliant on an economy or country that is acting in bad faith for the purpose of becoming the global hegemon that will then reduce the rest of the world to subservience. That is their objective, and we have to push back on that because it is not a matter of if, but when, if we do not change course. And with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back. Thank you.

Chairman COMER. Very good. The Chair now recognizes Mr. Goldman.

Mr. GOLDMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am going to take a minute just to answer the question you keep asking, which is, what is the business of the Bidens?. Not surprisingly, you consistently and continually refer to the "Bidens", "the Biden family," and you never refer to the individual names, so let me just help you out with telling you what the professions are of the Bidens.

[Chart]

Hunter Biden was a corporate governance lawyer appointed by George Bush to the Amtrak Board and then served on a number of corporate boards and investment firms. Jim Biden is a businessman. Joe Biden is the President of the United States and has been a public servant and elected official for the better part of 50 years. Now, Hunter Biden, you may want to discuss what his business was, and whether he was equipped to be part of an investment firm to provide services based on his experience. But that has nothing to do with your jurisdiction or the impeachment investigation because you cannot link any of his business dealings, A) to any foreign government, which he was never paid by, unlike Donald Trump's and Donald Trump's family, or B) to the President of the United States. And that is why your impeachment investigation is a spectacular failure.

Now, let us turn to the issue of this hearing. In the opening statement, the Chairman chided Democrats for adding Russia to a

hearing on political warfare. It is truly remarkable, given the following facts. First, we know that Russia used political warfare to interfere in the 2016 election on behalf of Donald Trump. We know that from the Mueller report, which my colleague from Texas just referenced. The Mueller report never, of course, said there was no collusion. It just stated that there was insufficient evidence to prove a criminal conspiracy. But there was plenty of evidence of collusion, including, just a few, Donald Trump Jr. eagerly meeting with Russians to get “dirt” on Hillary Clinton; Donald Trump asking Russia to hack into Hillary Clinton’s emails, which they did; and Paul Manafort, the campaign chairman, giving internal polling data to a Russian spy. And, in fact, Special Counsel Mueller stated that the Trump Campaign knew about the Russian interference, welcomed it, and used it for their benefit. But importantly, Special Counsel Mueller also charged two dozen Russians with interfering in the 2016 election through a hacking scheme and social media.

Let us also point out that Chairman Comer and Chairman Jordan have both stated that the best evidence of high crimes and misdemeanors by President Biden was a thoroughly and repeatedly debunked theory of bribery that was planted in this Committee by the Russian Government through an FBI source. Third, Republican Chairmen of our national security Committees in the House have stated that Russian disinformation has infiltrated the Republican Party and is parroted on the House Floor as more than half the Republican Party has taken the side of Vladimir Putin against our democratic ally in Ukraine.

Now, Professor Snyder has done a masterful job explaining how the CCP’s efforts to engage in political warfare is based on Russia’s previous efforts to do so, and, in fact, China’s primary means of doing so is to amplify Russian disinformation and political warfare. And here, we have two spies. One alleged Russian spy—one Chinese spy on the top, Gal Luft, and one alleged Russian spy on the bottom, Alexander Smirnov. Alexander Smirnov is the one who planted the false information about the bribery that the Chairman and—both Chairmen have said is the best evidence of wrongdoing by Joe Biden. Gal Luft is the Chinese spy, who the Chairman has said was a very credible witness.

So, you cannot discuss the CCP efforts to engage in political warfare without discussing Russia’s, but not surprisingly, the party of Putin in the Majority wants to do just that. Let us just make one reference to the Chinese spy—

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. GOLDMAN [continuing]. Since we are supposed to talk about—

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. GOLDMAN. Please stop my time.

Chairman COMER. Stop the clock. The Chair recognizes Mr. Sessions.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Chairman, I think that that was a personal remark at me and my party. I think it is inappropriate, and I would ask that the gentleman’s words be taken down.

Mr. RASKIN. I do not think the gentleman mentioned your name.

Mr. SESSIONS. He said the party of—he referred to my party as the party of Putin, and that is a personal slanderous statement.

Mr. GOLDMAN. No, it is not. It is just a statement about——

Mr. RASKIN. A statement about a party is by definition not a statement about a person.

Mr. SESSIONS. I would ask that his words be taken down.

Chairman COMER. The Committee will suspend.

Mr. GOLDMAN. I do get to defend myself, Mr. Chairman, and what I would say is that there was no——

Chairman COMER. We have suspended. Do you wish to take down what you said?

Mr. GOLDMAN. No, I do not.

Chairman COMER. OK. Well, we suspended.

Mr. GOLDMAN. And I do not because it does not reference any individual Member of Congress, which is the only reason why words are taken down.

Chairman COMER. OK. OK. The Chair has ruled that, unfortunately, since his remarks were not directed toward a person but rather a party, then they cannot be taken down. But I will remind everyone about the decorum that we have all agreed to abide by, as well as the purpose of this hearing. It is about the Chinese Communist Party's influence in America. And I think——

Mr. GOLDMAN. Mr. Chairman, if I could have my time restored.

Chairman COMER. Mr. Goldman, you have 14 seconds left.

Mr. GOLDMAN. No, I would like my time restored to 20 seconds.

Chairman COMER. Your 20 seconds, yes.

Mr. GOLDMAN. Because I would like to talk about what you just said is this hearing, the point of this hearing, which is the CCP. So, if I could get my time back to 20 seconds, I just have one more point to make on that.

Chairman COMER. Twenty seconds.

Mr. GOLDMAN. Thank you.

Chairman COMER. Nineteen.

Mr. GOLDMAN. So, let us talk about the CCP's infiltration. After Gal Luft was arrested, and a simple internet search would show that he was arrested, the Chairman said that he was a very credible witness on the Biden family corruption. Do you know what else he was charged for? He was charged for making false statements to law enforcement about the very information that the Chairman claimed to be credible——

Chairman COMER. The time has expired.

Mr. GOLDMAN [continuing]. Just like Alexander Smirnov, the Russian agent was charged with false statements.

Chairman COMER. The Chair now recognizes Mr. Burchett from Tennessee. The Chair now recognizes Mr. Burchett.

Mr. BURCHETT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Mattis, how do the Chinese Ministry of State Security and the Chinese Ministry of Public Service advance communist China's unrestricted warfare against the United States?

Mr. MATTIS. The way the party defines united front work, it is the work of the whole party, and, therefore, as one of my friends and colleagues, Alex Joske, put in a report, the party speaks for you. You can see a variety of party institutions, but then you can see united front work being conducted in nearly every single ministry. And in the Ministry of Public Security, you can see this in their contracting and for computer network exploitation or hacking

of dissidents of people abroad, of their overseas police stations to track and to monitor Chinese who are living overseas, whether they are PRC citizens or not, and whether or not they are legally there or not.

And the Ministry of State Security is an intelligence service with internal and external responsibilities, some of which are political influence. And they have often hidden inside the united front organizations as a way to provide cover to conceal who they are as intelligence officers.

Mr. BURCHETT. OK. What are the specific capabilities the Chinese Ministry of Public Service and the Ministry of State Security, and how do these groups work with the People's Liberation Army to undermine the U.S.? If we could keep it kind of brief. I am going to run out of time.

Mr. MATTIS. All right. Well, one of the ways that they work together is in mature policy systems like the Taiwan affairs issue or Hong Kong and Macau affairs, where all of these organizations are, in fact, sharing cover organizations and working together with their other colleagues around the party and the government to work on those issues. And in some cases, you can see them working together to support, say, the Ryukyu independence movement in Okinawa, in the hopes that U.S. bases will not be there.

Mr. BURCHETT. All right. And which communities and institutions are vulnerable Chinese intelligence operations?

Mr. MATTIS. All of them.

Mr. BURCHETT. All of them? OK.

Mr. MATTIS. I have eight former colleagues.

Mr. BURCHETT. That is pretty broad. All right. Dr. Spalding, I would like you to talk a little bit more about the failures of the intelligence community that my colleague mentioned earlier, and which agencies could be doing more.

Dr. SPALDING. I think they all could be doing more.

Mr. BURCHETT. Excuse me, General Spalding. I called you—I apologize. My daddy was a general when he was in the Marine Corps in the Second World War, Peleliu and Okinawa, Chesty Puller. He told me the only thing a general ever gave him was a hard time, so I can hear him whisper in my ear to show him some respect. So, excuse me, General.

Dr. SPALDING. Thank you, Congressman. It is really about the focus of the intelligence agencies, and I think it has really been evident here in this hearing. The Chinese Communist Party seeks to divert our focus from them, and they really are using both of the conflicts that are ongoing, both the Russia-Ukraine conflict and what I would call the Israel-Iranian conflict. And I think that is something that our intelligence agencies really want to be focused on. They want to be focused on the hard military aspect of national security, and what they are not focused on is the economic, the social, the political, the cultural part of their warfare, and that is really the main part. The People's Liberation Army is an armed component of the Chinese Communist Party. The Chinese Communist Party themselves practice political warfare as their main avenue of attack, period, and that is what the intelligence agencies do not focus on.

Mr. BURCHETT. How does the CCP shut down criticism of its human rights abuses or warfare against America?

Dr. SPALDING. It uses our own media. One good example is its attack on the Falun Gong. It has basically convinced the entire academic university system in the United States that they are a brain-washed cult. They have done the same thing to our media institutions. And so, that is the way they do it, is by controlling our own narratives within the—

Mr. BURCHETT. And you are saying that they are not a brain-washed cult?

Dr. SPALDING. I think they are just a group of people that are dissidents of the Chinese communist regime.

Mr. BURCHETT. Yes, I agree with you, too. They put on a pretty cool dance routine. It is pretty cool. Colonel Grant Newsham, I am going to switch gears pretty quick. Did dismissing the lab leak theory as a conspiracy or as a racist help China muddy the waters on COVID's origin?

Colonel NEWSHAM. It was key to it, and it worked.

Mr. BURCHETT. Sorry?

Colonel NEWSHAM. It was key, and it worked very, very well.

Mr. BURCHETT. Did the lab leak theory, as a conspiracy or racist, help China further divide the American people, in your opinion?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Oh, completely. It did more harm than they could have dreamed of doing. I think they are pinching themselves now.

Mr. BURCHETT. I think they are, too. And I am out of time, but I do appreciate all of you all for your service. Colonel, I am sorry we did not get to talk more.

Chairman COMER. The Chair now recognizes Ms. Pressley from Massachusetts.

Ms. PRESSLEY. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and thank you to our witnesses for being here. As policymakers, we have the responsibility to weigh our words carefully, especially during discussions like the one that we are having here today. The Chinese Communist Party is adept at Russian propaganda efforts to interfere in our elections and advance its own objectives. We should address that issue seriously, and we can and must do so without stigmatizing and discriminating against people based on their identities. Racial slurs are not a national security strategy. They do nothing to help counter the threat posed by the CCP.

Mr. MATTIS, in a June 2023 tweet, you wrote that equating the Chinese Communist Party to Chinese culture is "racist by any other name." I agree. Distinguishing between a political party and an entire race of people and its culture is important, and we have the moral responsibility to make that clear, yet it is lost on some. Mr. MATTIS, what is the harm in equating China's ruling party, the Chinese Communist Party, with all people of Chinese descent?

Mr. MATTIS. One, because the history of China is far bigger than the Chinese Communist Party. It is one of the world's great civilizations. You know, whether you accept the way in which the current, sort of, minority structure is described or not, it includes a lot of different people from different places that have come together or have been sort of defined as Chinese in the last 170 years.

Another reason is that there are a lot of Chinese-Americans who are Chinese people who came to this United States and have chosen to become citizens. I remember a classmate of mine at University of Washington, who is 7th-generation generation Chinese, which is more American than I am by any measure that counts. And to pretend that they are somehow represented by the Chinese Communist Party rather than their local politicians, their elected congressional Members, and their state senators and Governors and President, I think it dismisses the choices that they or their family have made.

Ms. PRESSLEY. Thank you. Thank you. Anti-Asian racism is pervasive in this country. Republican rhetoric and policies have helped to normalize it. In March 2020, Donald Trump tweeted the racist phrase “China virus” in reference to COVID-19. In the week that followed, there was a significant increase in anti-Asian content on Twitter, as well as an increase in hate crimes against Asian-Americans, according to a 2021 study.

I ask for unanimous consent to enter this study from the American Journal of Public Health into the record.

Chairman COMER. Without objection, so ordered.

Ms. PRESSLEY. Mr. Mattis, how can Congress address the CCP without contributing to xenophobia?

Mr. MATTIS. The first is to continue making such distinctions because even if they are semantic in terms of policies, they help us frame, in our own head, in our own mind, what it is that we should be focused on and how our efforts should be guided. The second is that I firmly believe that we have a shortage of China expertise for all of the different departments in the government and finding ways, either through the creation of an open-source center, as Colonel Newsham mentioned, sort of the recreation of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, but he is really discussing its public dissemination issue to make information available.

Ms. PRESSLEY. Thank you.

Mr. MATTIS. Because at the end of the day, our Federal Government and law enforcement will focus on illegal behavior, and that is what we want in a democracy. But what we are talking about is often unacceptable but still legal behavior, and that is something that has to be guided by a discussion in civil society about how we govern ourselves and how we deal with each other as citizens.

Ms. PRESSLEY. Thank you very much. The AAPI community has seen a sharp increase in discrimination and race-based violence since the start of the pandemic. There were 158 anti-Asian hate crimes in the country in 2019. This number jumped to 746 in 2021, nearly five times higher. Our constituents are depending on us to help them, not endanger them with racist rhetoric. As a proud member of the congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus, my hope is that Congress will prioritize policies that affirm and protect the AAPI members of our community, like the Southeast Asian Deportation Relief Act, and stop contributing to hateful acts against them. And finally, Professor Snyder, when political leaders normalize racist language that pits one group against another, does it make our country more or less safe?

Dr. SNYDER. As our adversaries know and seek to exploit, it makes us less safe.

Ms. PRESSLEY. Thank you. I yield back.

Chairman COMER. The Chair now recognizes Ms. Greene from Georgia.

Ms. GREENE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I think this is a very important hearing we are having today, and I would like to take a little time to respond to some misinformation that has been spread here.

[Charts]

Mr. Snyder, you said in your opening statement that the fact that there are neo-Nazis in the Ukrainian military is disinformation, a disinformation trope and a Russian denazification meme.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit for the record this 2021 *Time Magazine* article titled, "How a White Supremacist Militia uses Facebook to Radicalize and Train New Members About the Ukrainian Neo-Nazi Azov Battalion."

Chairman COMER. Without objection, so ordered.

Ms. GREENE. Thank you. Time also put together a piece only 3 years ago, and it is quite an extensive video that gives full information about the Nazis in Ukraine and their recruitment efforts that go all around the world. It is amazing to me that just in a few years' time, it is now considered misinformation to talk about the Nazis in Ukraine.

I would like to quote the article. It says that "Ali Soufan, a security consultant and former FBI agent who has studied Azov Nazis, estimates that more than 17,000 foreign fighters have come to Ukraine over the past 6 years from 50 countries." According to Christopher Wray, the FBI Director, he said that Azov has been recruiting and radicalizing and training American citizens for years. He also finished saying in his testimony to the U.S. Senate that American White supremacists are actually traveling overseas to train. This is an extremely concerning situation. I do not think anyone in the U.S. Government, Americans, do not support actual Nazis or White supremacists. I know I certainly do not, and I cannot understand why in just a short amount of time, this information that our own American media frequently talked about is no longer talked about.

I would like to point out also, here is an NBC article, stating that Ukraine's Nazi problem is real. Mr. Snyder, do you see this headline? This is NBC News. They say that Ukraine's Nazi problem is real, even "if Putin's denazification claim is not." So, even our own American media, unless you consider NBC or *Time Magazine*, misinformation spreaders or disinformation media outlets, this is contrary to what you testified. And there are frequent pictures all over—anybody can find them—of Nazis. Here they are. This looks like something you would see out of Hitler's Germany, from Ukraine. And this is something that is extremely important to talk about.

According to the Council of Europe, "However, Ukraine is ranked well in the top half of countries in terms of how corrupt they are. In the last 5 years, Ukraine is ranked close to the countries like Gambia, Iran, Myanmar, and Sierra Leone in corruption." That is not very free and democratic company to keep. Ukraine has canceled their elections, arrested members of the press, not allowed

different types of religion unless it goes along with the Ukrainian Government. And right now, the biggest push in Washington, DC, is to fund the Ukraine war with another \$60 billion.

And while we are talking about the CCP, I think it is extremely important to point out that our own wide-open border is the most dangerous threat to our national security. According to CBP data, there have been 24,296 Chinese nationals enter the United States at the Southern border just this year in 2024. I want you to know that is up 7,000 percent since Biden took office in 2021 when only 342 Chinese nationals crossed our border.

When we are talking about national security and talking about threats through the United States, Congress needs to remember that our open border is the greatest threat to the American people who, by the way, Monday was Tax Day. April 15th, when struggling Americans pulled together to pay their taxes or filed for extensions or paid money that they just did not have and desperately are hoping for a tax return, the United States Federal Government is doing everything they can, here in Congress, persuading Members of Congress with every lobbyist from foreign countries and groups, trying to tell us to send \$100 billion overseas, and we are doing nothing for our border.

So, when you want to talk about misinformation, Mr. Snyder, you might actually look a little closer to American media, if you do not like what they are saying. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Chairman, does he have the opportunity to respond to the gentlelady?

Chairman COMER. Sure.

Mr. RASKIN. Thank you.

Ms. GREENE. I did not ask him a question, Mr. Raskin.

Chairman COMER. OK. No. Her time has expired.

Mr. RASKIN. You asked multiple questions.

Ms. GREENE. I did not ask him a question.

Mr. RASKIN. You certainly did. You said didn't—

Ms. GREENE. I did not ask him a question, Mr. Raskin.

Chairman COMER. The time has expired. The gentlelady's time has expired. The Chair now recognizes Mr. Frost from Florida.

Mr. FROST. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Before I get into it, it is interesting to hear my colleague just now talk about disavowing White supremacists when, in 2022, she spoke at an event led by White supremacist and White nationalist, Nick Fuentes, and when asked about it, doubled down on it and said, "We are going to focus on people, not labels." So, get out of here with that damn hypocrisy, and, Dr. Snyder, I am going to give you some time to respond. Go ahead.

Dr. SNYDER. First of all, I would like to thank the representative from Georgia by making clear with her comments and with her person that any discussion of political warfare has to include Russia, Ukraine, and America. She has just demonstrated that point, I think, very powerfully. On the question of Nazis, I have written two books as a historian about Nazis and the Holocaust. On the question of Ukrainian nationalism, I am the leading scholar of that subject in North America, and I have been writing about it for 20 years.

If the chamber is interested in the degree of far-right participation in Ukrainian politics, you can be assured that no far-right party has ever crossed 3 percent—3 percent—in Ukrainian election. So of course, there are bad people in every country, but by any comparative standard it is a very small phenomenon. In Russia, on the other hand, the army includes openly Nazi formations, such as Rusich. The government itself is fascist in character, and it is carrying out a war which includes deportation of children by the tens of thousands, the open intention of destroying a state as well as mass torture. So, if we are looking for fascism, and if there is anyone who is sincerely concerned about halting fascism or racism, you would wish to halt Russia.

Mr. FROST. Thank you so much, Dr. Snyder, and, you know, this hearing was put together to talk about political warfare. And it is strange because a lot of my Republican colleagues seem to be pointing a lot of fingers, but not at Vladimir Putin and not holding him accountable. I mean, even top-ranking Republicans are having enough of it. Michael McCaul said, “I think Russian propaganda has made its way into the United States. Unfortunately, it has infected a good chunk of my party’s base.” We just heard some of that right now. Republican Michael Turner, Chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, “We see, directly coming from Russia, attempts to mask communications that are anti-Ukraine and pro-Russia messages, some of which we even hear being uttered on the House Floor.” Dr. Snyder, can you talk really quickly about some of the main narratives Russia uses when engaging in political warfare?

Dr. SNYDER. I appreciate this question because if we are going to talk about political warfare, we have to take into account the ways that countries cooperate. It is entirely artificial to say here is China, here is America. That means that we leave aside Xinjiang, we leave aside Tibet, Hong Kong, Taiwan, New Zealand, Australia, Europe, all the places where China practices political warfare, and we leave aside Russia and Ukraine, which is where it matters the most. Political warfare is only political warfare if it passes through us. That is the intention. We have just seen an example of it passing through a person. It is only political warfare if it passes through us.

What the Russians and the Chinese imitating the Russians try to do is to convince us that our system is no better than theirs, there is no point in voting, and we should support, if we support anyone at all, the person who is most likely to bring our system down. That is the point.

Mr. FROST. I really appreciate you bringing up the fact that it has to pass through us because we just heard it here from my colleague, and here is another tweet from the same colleague saying, “Anyone who votes to fund Ukraine is funding the most corrupt money scheme of any foreign war in our country’s history.” And if you look at where this is from, this is from the Strategic Culture Foundation, an online journal run by a Russian intelligence service that has been sanctioned by the U.S. Treasury Department for election interference.

So, we see it passing through us, and not just with the colleague that just spoke, but with many of my colleagues on the other side

of the aisle. And what Russian propaganda will not tell you is most of the money allocated for Ukraine is actually spent in America. Ninety percent of it going to Americans. And so, are these American companies that support Ukraine? Are these allegations based on evidence, Dr. Synder, and, if not, where do these allegations against President Zelensky and his cabinet come from?

Dr. SNYDER. First of all, U.S. weapons are being used extremely efficiently on the Ukrainian battlefield. They are being audited in practice. Second, there is an American institution which does audit the way that is expended. Third of all, you are quite right. What the allocation of usually weapons that are about to be decommissioned anyway to Ukraine means is that we spend more on modern weapons inside the United States, which is why the defense industry is generally in favor of it. This trope of Ukraine being corrupt with respect to the weapons comes from a handful of Russian sources. There is no reason to think it. They are fighting for their lives. They are doing very well.

Mr. FROST. Yes. Thank you so much. We are going to let that sink in. We have Members of the U.S. Congress using Russian disinformation to discredit Ukraine and help Russia, and I yield back. Thank you.

Mr. SESSIONS. [Presiding]. The gentleman yields back his time. Thank you very much. Now, I will yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Chairman, before we do, can I just have one unanimous consent request?

Mr. SESSIONS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RASKIN. This is an article answering our friend, the gentlelady from Georgia, "The Azov Battalion: How Putin Built a False Premise for a War Against Nazis in Ukraine," from CBS News.

Mr. SESSIONS. Without objection, we will add that.

I also was speaking with the gentleman about two articles, which I would wish to enter into the record, the label of which they would be "Treasury Targets Large Chinese Network of Illegal Drug Producers," and second, a letter signed by over 50 members, including senators, to the Attorney General of the United States, dated February the 2nd concerning Chinese nationals—

Mr. RASKIN. Terrific.

Mr. SESSIONS [continuing]. Owning property here as it relates to growing marijuana.

Without objection, those both will be entered into the record.

Thank you to the panel that is here. Each of you have added content today that I consider very valuable and necessary for us to hear.

I would like to, if I could, point to Colonel Newsham, if I could, please. Colonel Newsham, you are the author of a book. It is called "When China Attacks: A Warning to America," and part of this is not just related to the things that have been discussed by my colleagues today of drugs, fentanyl, et cetera. But in particular, today, I would like to have you give us the warning, "When China Attacks: A Warning to America," of the newest deadly drug ingredient that has, as DEA Milgram has said her Agency has seen this, xylazine, if I am saying that correctly, when mixed with fentanyl in 48 states.

And evidently, fentanyl on this scale of times, it is a thousand times more potent than most of the drugs that are on the market, and this is a thousand times fentanyl. I am not a medical doctor. I believe that this is done to kill more Americans because the threshold of the potency that you have to gain knowledge of over time is a higher, higher, high. Sir, did I pronounce the name right, and can you discuss that? It is spelled X-y-l-a-z-i-n-e?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Sir, I think you are close enough. What I would point out is that the deaths from fentanyl, and this is just the next variation of it, this is like take—

Mr. SESSIONS. A thousand times more potent, though, perhaps.

Colonel NEWSHAM. It is bad news. But I point out, sir, is this is taking four or five divisions of Marines or Army off the rolls. That is basically what you are doing. We do not have enough recruits in the military, and this is one reason why. And it is something that does track back to the Chinese Communist Party, and it is what they are doing. One thing I would like to mention, sir. The book that I wrote, it is largely about political warfare, and it has been going on for 30-plus years. And I would suggest that based on what I have heard today that Ukraine could disappear, it could have never come along, and you would have the same problem with Chinese political warfare.

There is a tendency to conflate the word “political warfare,” which is a blanket term covering everything from economic to financial, to chemical, to fishing fleets, to equate it all to propaganda, and that is not the case. And I would say, in fact, that go to Latin America, Africa, the Pacific Islands, and read Chinese propaganda, and they do not mention Ukraine. It never gets a mention, and that is something really that is important to keep in mind. And it is condescending, I think, to think that the Chinese are so stupid that they cannot do anything without asking the Russians how to do it.

Mr. SESSIONS. Yes, sir, I think that is a point of influence, and they have this line on influence, and let us go back to the things that we were speaking about that you have accurately, I think, described. The Chinese have a way that will diminish the amount of military-age young people that this country produces by aiming their drugs at us, by causing the deaths of thousands of young people if not addiction of other types of drugs. You believe that they are really very smart at getting at young people, causing their, if not addiction, demise or death, and that is why they keep coming up with new drugs that are designed for that purpose. Is that your point?

Colonel NEWSHAM. That is how it works. And also, sir, the successful economic warfare, which is part of political warfare that shipped so much of our manufacturing over to China, it leaves these societies that are just dead and vulnerable to drug warfare. Like we are saying, it all feeds on itself, and you can see the effect that has on our military. The death total we talk about, well, it is 10 times more people who were not killed but are not functional, and it is what the Chinese have done, the Chinese communists have done really throughout their entire existence.

Mr. SESSIONS. And really, it is a parasite designed to kill the host. They have put it in front of Americans and Americans have,

so to speak, taken the bait. Thank you very much for your feedback. I would now yield my time. The gentlewoman, Ms. Crockett, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. CROCKETT. Thank you so much, Mr. Chair. First of all, I do want to clear up some actual misinformation. Dr. Snyder, when you were testifying earlier, you were actually responding to questions that were posed by another colleague from Texas. One of the questions was who was the President in 2008. And to be clear, Obama ran in 2008, but Obama did not swear in until 2009. So, when my colleague asked about invasions from Russia, actually in 2008, Russia was invading Georgia, and it was another Texan that was the President at the time, and that was George Bush. In addition to that, one of the things that my colleague did not inquire about, but I want to make sure we are clear about, is that Trump was President in 2019 when he threatened to withhold aid to the Ukrainians as they were being threatened by the Russians, so I do want to make sure that we do that.

You know, what is wild to me is that this word “patriot” seems to be getting co-opted for propagandists because that is what they do, all right? So, we are going to talk about my colleague from Georgia, she talks about misinformation, and I do not know what she was talking about, but nevertheless, we can look at her own tweets and we can find plenty of misinformation, but we are just going to go through one specific tweet.

Now, she said that we need to work with Israel to track down the serial numbers on any U.S. weapons used by Hamas against Israel. Dr. Snyder, I may be going out on a limb, but are you aware that that was actually just propaganda that was put out and there actually were not U.S. weapons that were being used by Hamas as she attempted to insinuate in this tweet?

Dr. SNYDER. First of all, I appreciate the clarification. I knew that the question, who were the American Presidents, it was going to be the toughest one I got from that side, so I appreciate your helping me out.

Ms. CROCKETT. Understood.

Dr. SNYDER. Yes. I mean, obviously there what you have is a typical example of American Russian messaging, where the implicit idea is supposed to be we should not give weapons to Ukraine because they would end up going somewhere else. There is no evidence for that. It is hard to think of an example where American weapons have been leveraged with such success as on the Ukrainian battlefield.

Ms. CROCKETT. Thank you so much. In fact, for some people, especially people that serve on the Committee, they may be surprised to know that it is actually a former Russian president and Putin’s sidekick, Dmitry, and I do not want to slaughter his name, so, I am going to say Dmitry M., who actually she quote tweeted. See, the problem that we are having and the reason that we are bringing up Russia as well, is because Russia is a threat as well as China, so we are not going to sit here and pretend as if it is only one or the other. But the biggest problem that we have is we have people that sit in this chamber and they spread the misinformation. If it was left in Russia or China, whatever. But the problem is that you have people that sit in positions of power and they have

a \$2 million budget. You think that they will call on some staff to find out if they were telling the truth about the things that they are putting on social media, but instead it works for their rhetoric.

And as we talk about rhetoric, something else that was appalling to me was this insinuation that when you look at the Ukrainians, which is why we are having problems getting the funding that Ukraine needs, is because people in this chamber push misinformation and disinformation. They want to talk about the Ukrainians got all of these Nazis. Well, let me tell you something. You can find Nazis anywhere. You can find them right here in the United States, in fact, a bunch of the people that they are calling victims and prisoners of war, also known as convicted felons from January 6.

I have an article that I would like to enter into the record by unanimous consent that says, "Neo-Nazi January 6 Rioter Pleads Guilty."

Mr. LATURNER. [Presiding] Without objection.

Ms. CROCKETT. Thank you so much. So, here is the point. We have people in this chamber that are actually causing just as much a threat, if not more of a threat, to our own country. We should be talking about holding our very own accountable for the misinformation and disinformation that they are spreading. Whether it is coming out of China, whether it is coming out of Russia, or whoever is peddling it, it is a problem because right now what we see is that people are dying, and we cannot get the support that we need from the public because they continue to peddle lies.

And I am tired of it because I did not come to this chamber to play games. I came to this chamber to answer to the people, the American people, and to make sure that we keep the American people safe. And if we do not get something done, as they talk about the border, I do want to be clear—the only reason we have not gotten funding for the border is because the House Republicans here killed the bill that they actually sent us from the Senate side. If they want to do some work, let me tell you something, the Democrats are ready, and it seems like the Senate Republicans are ready, too. They just need to get to it and stop peddling Putin's lies. Thank you, and I yield.

Mr. LATURNER. The gentlelady yields back. I will recognize myself for 5 minutes.

Thank you to our witnesses for being here today as we address the greatest threat to America's national security, the Chinese Communist Party. CCP will stop at nothing to infiltrate American supply chains and gain insight into our most critical military operations and homeland security practices. Over the past few years, we have witnessed President Xi's increased aggression within America's borders, buying up farmland, spying on us with high altitude surveillance balloons, operating illegal Chinese police stations, and stealing valuable intellectual property. The threat posed by the CCP extends far beyond the confines of any single industry or entity, with an ultimate goal of entwining themselves into every aspect of our economy, society, and governance, a threat I am seeing firsthand in my district.

Our Nation's greatest adversary is currently setting up shop in Johnson County, Kansas under the guise of Cnano Technology

USA, a Chinese-backed manufacturer firm with alarming ties to CCP military and intelligence services. This new manufacturing facility is just 34 miles away from Fort Leavenworth, 72 miles from Whiteman Air Force Base, 105 miles from Fort Riley, and 165 miles from McConnell Air Force Base. Allowing Cnano USA to operate near these significant military installations and become embedded in our local supply chains opens the door to Chinese espionage and puts our military intelligence, trade, research, and intellectual property at risk of falling into the hands of the CCP leaders. Make no mistake, Cnano USA is a wolf in sheep's clothing and poses a clear threat to the United States and to the state of Kansas.

In January of this year, I wrote to Secretary Yellen and Secretary Austin, urging them as members of the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States to open an immediate investigation into Cnano USA. After the Biden Administration refused to act, I urged the Kansas legislature to pass commonsense solutions to ensure we have tools at our disposal to protect Kansas from CCP infiltration. As President Xi and the CCP continue to target American communities, it is more important than ever that we work to stop Chinese-backed businesses from exploiting our supply chains and gaining access to our crucial military bases across the country. I look forward to hearing from our witnesses today.

Mr. Mattis, Cnano Technology USA is a subsidiary of Cnano Jiangsu. Cnano Jiangsu has repeatedly received funding from the CCP for participation in state initiatives, including in the CCP's 863 program. Can you explain what the CCP's 863 program was and the purpose of it and other similar programs?

Mr. MATTIS. So, the 863 program is named after the date that it was launched, which is March 1986. And it is essentially a state investment vehicle to channel funding for national defense modernization and civilian technologies that would facilitate that. And although they have changed the names, I think at least twice over the years, and come up with some, you know, related programs, it still retains that focus on military modernization.

Mr. LATURNER. Let me stay with you. Cnano Jiangsu has also cooperated in the past with the CCP's United Front Work Department, and the united front is actively engaged in political warfare in the U.S. Could you explain how the united front might use a U.S. subsidiary of a Chinese entity to conduct non-kinetic warfare tactics such as economic warfare?

Mr. MATTIS. So, the united front, there could very well be in sort of the Chinese parent company a party committee that has a United Front Work Department attached to it and works for that company. It would largely be involved in mobilizing the employees of that company and channeling their efforts to support their authority's apparatus. The most likely way that it would be involved in any form of intellectual property theft and economic espionage would be in providing tips and leads to the, essentially, the Ministry of State Security or the local state security department of Jiangsu Province.

Mr. LATURNER. So, here we have a company that has received money from the 863 program and is engaged with the united front

in the past. Should we believe that a U.S. subsidiary of a PRC company is completely divorced from its PRC base umbrella?

Mr. MATTIS. It is possible, but I think when you look at the way in which U.S. media has reported on the supposed division between ByteDance and TikTok, that TikTok has not operated as though it were a separate company but rather as a constituent part of ByteDance, with ByteDance employees exercising authorities there. There are reasons that I have the similar concerns with AVIC and its subsidiaries in the United States, one of the PRC's major military aircraft manufacturers. So, I am not sure if any company that I know has been very closely tied to the party state and its objectives that you can separate off, and I am not sure that many of the U.S. employees understand what that relationship is.

Mr. LATURNER. Yes. Thank you very much, and thank you to all the witnesses. I now recognize Ms. Porter of California next.

Ms. PORTER. Thank you so much. Republicans have told us today that China poses an existential threat to the United States. Their solution to that is to spend, and spend, and spend on fancy weapons systems, often built in their districts, that they hope will deter conflict. So, now we have aircraft carriers, fighter jets, and tanks designed to fight a war that may never happen. But when Congress does that, what they are not doing is using our taxpayer dollars to address the problems that the Chinese Communist Party is actually causing. China is fighting every day to break international law and to expand its reach. Mr. Mattis, could you briefly describe China's claims in the South China Sea?

Mr. MATTIS. They have an expansive claim called the nine-dash line that stretches well beyond any recognizable feature and under the U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea of what would be recognizable territory.

Ms. PORTER. So, do you believe this is an illegal claim?

Mr. MATTIS. Whether or not I believe it is illegal is irrelevant because there is an International Court that has decided that some of those claims are illegal.

Ms. PORTER. OK. So, I want to make that clear. China has taken an expansive, unlawful territorial claim to the South China Sea, and they have ignored international law. This is a very, very clear and important example of China not playing by the rules, not following international law, and that behavior is causing real harm in people's lives, whether that is in the Philippines or in Vietnam. Mr. Mattis, can you briefly describe for us illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing?

Mr. MATTIS. It is exactly what you described it, but China, the PRC, has a particular role on this given that their deep sea fishing fleet is far larger than any of the other countries, and because it is illegal and unreported, unregulated, it is also a nexus for forced labor. And those ships have been violating the borders and exclusive economic zone of other countries, including the, you know, the western hemisphere. So, I am not quite sure how far you want to go but that is quite a bit.

Ms. PORTER. No, that is perfect. So, what we have is Chinese fishing fleets. They are using their fishing fleets to expand their territorial claims, their international power to exert power over other countries. When they do this in Vietnam, they are attempting

to essentially roll over Vietnam. They are just another country in the CCP's mind that is standing in their way of achieving absolutist power over regional and global commerce. So, China is trying to bulldoze over Vietnam, including by stealing its fish, and they have largely depleted Vietnam's fisheries. What are the consequences to Vietnam?

Mr. MATTIS. There is obviously the loss of economic revenue. There is the sort of impoverishment of local fishers.

Ms. PORTER. How does that help China?

Mr. MATTIS. Well, one, most seafood is processed in the PRC, and, therefore, it sort of makes Vietnam and other countries dependent upon that processed food.

Ms. PORTER. Yes. So, I mean, look, China is ruthlessly expanding its power, breaking the rule of law, and the Chinese Communist Party calls this seeking strategic advantage, in part through what they refer to as the three warfares. General Spalding, what are some of the risks of China being successful in breaking international law without consequence?

Dr. SPALDING. I think it emboldening everybody else to do the same thing, and I think that is the challenge here. We have seen a complete breakdown in the liberal democratic order as a result.

Ms. PORTER. So, Mr. Mattis, does Vietnam have the military capacity to secure its exclusive economic zone from Chinese incursions?

Ms. MATTIS. No.

Ms. PORTER. So, Vietnam cannot effectively safeguard its own resources, China is taking advantage of that, and China and the Communist Party are hurting people and breaking international law to become more powerful, and, ultimately, to expand their power in a way that will threaten U.S. interests in the long term. So, what is the United States doing about this? Mr. Mattis, which U.S. Agency protects global fisheries? Do you know?

Mr. MATTIS. I believe it is a combination of the Coast Guard and NOAA. And as I recall, there was an initiative that was run by the NSC that was at the end of the Trump Administration and carried through in the early Biden Administration to take action on IUU fishing.

Ms. PORTER. So, it is the Coast Guard. Do you know how many cutters the Coast Guard has in the Western Pacific?

Mr. MATTIS. I am going to guess somewhere between zero and two.

Ms. PORTER. Yes, five, five cutters to protect roughly 40 million square miles. So, look, in Washington we have a gadget problem. Everyone wants the fanciest weapons systems, but to combat illegal fishing, to combat the influence of the CCP, you do not need stealth bombers, you do not need an aircraft carrier. What you need is a relatively inexpensive Coast Guard cutter and funding for good Coasties who want to serve their country. That is the tools that we ought to be deploying today to counter Chinese influence. Thank you, Mr. Chair, for the extra time, and I yield back.

Mr. LATURNER. The gentlelady yields back. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York, Mr. Langworthy.

Mr. LANGWORTHY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. The Chinese Communist Party's united front operation has formed Chi-

nese Students and Scholars Associations to serve as a tool to spy on Chinese nationals studying at foreign universities and mobilize them against views that are critical to the CCP. In practice, the Chinese Students and Scholars Association serve as eyes and ears for the Chinese government on American campuses and allows the CCP to monitor and retaliate against Chinese nationals studying abroad. The Students and Scholars Associations receive funding directly from Chinese diplomatic staff and work to ensure ideological uniformity through intimidation and pressure tactics. The CCP has also worked to outpace the U.S. in producing STEM field Ph.D. graduates and has gained access into every level of America's education system.

So, Mr. Mattis, it is apparent to me that not many Americans are aware of the CCP's operations on our campuses. Could you explain in more detail how these united front operations on American campuses are overseen by PRC's Ministry of Education and how they are working to influence and monitor Chinese students abroad?

Mr. MATTIS. Fundamentally, the PRC and the party state is trying to prevent Chinese students from having a free and full experience on a U.S. university campus. This has been an issue for quite some time where the effort to control what Chinese students participate in and what they are able to experience at U.S. university is constrained and controlled. A friend of mine who worked at a university was approached by one of the professors who had a student, it was an American History class, who said, I want to participate in this project, please do not put me in a group with another Chinese student. Because if I am, then I will not be able to participate, and I want to do this project in a real way. So, that is one of the ways in which harm is done.

The second way, through the CSSAs or through Confucius Institute or other researching, is that it creates an interest in a particular kind of controlled engagement with the PRC or PRC institutions that the university sort of supports and carries on and accepts, for example, certain kinds of programming, and interjects other kinds of programming, in the name of preserving that relationships that they consider to be productive.

Mr. LANGWORTHY. Very good. Thank you. And not only is the CCP directly influencing our students in our universities on a daily basis but they are reaping the rewards of our education as they quickly are outpacing the U.S. in producing STEM Ph.D. graduates. On top of this, the U.S. has continued to lose more and more jobs to China.

[Chart]

As you can see in the graphic I have behind me, you know, due to our Nation's ongoing trade deficit, it has never been more obvious and right in our face than the CCP is targeting our schools and our jobs. So now, Colonel Newsham, are you worried by this trend in STEM field graduates, and can you discuss more of the concerning outcomes that you see if the CCP comes to dominate the science and technology sector?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Yes, sir, very concerned. And as I think I had mentioned earlier, whenever you see the announcement of some really impressive advance in technology at an American university,

it almost always has PRC nationals involved in it. And where this is most important, from my perspective, is that for too many decades, we treated the Chinese as if they could never possibly be our equals, that the Chinese People's Liberation Army would never be able to take us on. Well, they are able in certain circumstances to beat us today. And they have the technological advances that they are putting to military use in outer space and on the, you know, ground sea and below the sea, that it is breathtaking how they have done it. We have actually helped them along in that process, and it is something that we could end up on the short end of a fight, if it comes.

Mr. LANGWORTHY. Well, thank you very much. I want to take the remainder of my time and look at some of the troubling instances that the Committee is aware of in which the CCP has sought to directly influence our children and our education system. One instance that I find very concerning, especially in the wake of several cyberattacks targeted toward the United States over the past few years, occurred just recently in August 2023. Just down the road in Fairfax County, in the public school districts, the superintendent indicated that Thomas Jefferson High School for Science and Technology received \$3.6 million from groups linked to the Chinese Communist Party. Colonel Newsham, it is astonishing that this would be allowed at any school in the United States, let alone a science and technology school. How does this pattern of working to infiltrate American schools fit within the CCP's broad trend of political warfare in the United States?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Well, that is what they do, and it is not just the Thomas Jefferson High School. You have Confucius classrooms. We hear about Confucius Institutes and colleges, but the Confucius classrooms start off from preschool all the way up through elementary school, and you indoctrinate a new generation with the idea that the Chinese communists, who killed 50 million of their own people in peacetime and good weather, are really just lovable pandas. It is just breathtakingly successful and political warfare.

Mr. LANGWORTHY. Thank you very much, and I yield back.

Mr. LATURNER. Thank you. The Chair recognizes the gentlelady from Michigan, Ms. Tlaib, for 5 minutes.

Ms. TLAIB. Thank you, Mr. Chair. I think my colleagues know where I am going to go with this because I consistently try to get them re-centered. I am really sick and tired of us not leaving the campaigning at the Capitol steps. This is just another Committee hearing where we are bringing campaign activity into this chamber and not being honest with the American people. This is not what our residents sent us to Washington to work on. I really do got a better idea, and I know Chairman Comer has my ideas. I send it to him all the time, but I really want to talk about what makes the lives of our residents difficult every single day, like greedy corporations raising prices to pay their executives and shareholders; polluters that literally treat communities in my district, like poisoning them, as the cost of doing business; politicians that put their own interests before the residents, many of which in this Committee that own stocks in war weapon manufacturing.

So, when we do have to vote "yes" or my colleagues have to get up on the Floor and vote for more bombs and weapons in other

countries, they actually make money, personal money. Their stock values go up. Look it up. People like our disgraced, twice impeached President, who represents the worst of the unchecked American capitalism, who as we speak, is sitting in a courtroom as the first-ever American President to face criminal prosecution.

Mr. Chair, earlier this year, the Committee's own Democratic staff, you know, produced a report showing that Trump received more than \$7.8 million in unconstitutional payments from foreign governments while he was Commander-in-Chief. This is important because we talk about, you know, influence in our elections, gerrymandering in our districts, corrupting our democracy, and it is outside influence, but it is happening right here on our soil, and it happened on our soil by a sitting President. The report was based on a limited set of documents produced by his own accounting firm, Mazars. Like, literally it said \$7.8 million in unconstitutional payments from foreign governments while he was our Commander-in-Chief. However, before the Committee could have received any more documents related to Russia, Chairman Comer and the former impeached President's lawyer stopped the production of any further documents.

And, Professor Snyder, I do not know if you have been following it, you know. It is something that I know our Ranking Member Raskin heard me talk about this all the time—I always call him my professor—about the emoluments clause and how dangerous and how connected it is of just even the subject matter of what we are talking about today. But do you think, you know, if the Committee were interested in understanding the threats of political warfare facing the United States as well as the influence of peddling directed by foreign governments against our country, shouldn't it demand that the accounting firm of the forever impeached President produce all those payments received by the President from foreign governments?

Dr. SNYDER. I would have certainly thought so since every serious scholarly treatment and every also document that I have read from the Chinese side stresses the importance of such financial relationships in recruitment and long-distance management.

Ms. TLAIB. I agree, and yet instead, you know, the current Committee have worked to help the forever impeached President bury the evidence and keep the facts from the American people. I think it is incredibly dangerous. And last, just because it really made me angry, and I think it makes my constituents angry, but I want to submit for the record this article called, "Air Force Crew Made an Odd Stop on a Routine Trip: Trump's Scottish Resort." Can I submit it for the record?

Mr. LATURNER. Without objection.

Ms. TLAIB. Yes. This one stuck really, really with me and just is so blatant. The article details how military crews flying supplies to and from the Middle East were redirected from their usual overnight stops at the U.S. military bases in Europe to a small commercial airport in Scotland outside then President Trump's Turnberry golf resort where they stayed with our tax dollars. This, despite the fact that both refueling and the cost of overnight food and lodging for the crew were less expensive at established infre-

quently used U.S. military bases where they typically stopped. Surprise, surprise for all my Committee colleagues here.

Trump's resort, which lost \$4.5 million in 2017, saw all of a sudden—whoopee—an increase of \$3 million in profits in 2018. Shameful. It is disgusting, and it is just these kinds of things, pay to play, I mean, having literally a sitting President run his organization, his business out of the White House is equally as dangerous to our democracy and the influence on our country. This is something that I hope my colleagues really take seriously because I do not care if it is a Democrat or Republican, no one ever should sit there in the White House, out of the Oval Office, running the business to profit themselves. It is unconstitutional and, again, demands that kind of accountability, and that is what I want this Committee to address. Thank you so much. I yield.

Mr. LATURNER. The gentlelady yields back. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida, Mr. Moskowitz, for 5 minutes.

Mr. MOSKOWITZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. You know, let me start by saying that, obviously Chairman Comer is not here, but I think in light of what we witnessed earlier, I think it is important that, together, as a Committee, that we begin Chairman Comer's therapy session, right? You know, a Member of the other side wanted to confirm what the title of the hearing was, right, Chinese propaganda?

Well, we know the title of the hearing certainly is not about impeachment anymore, and Chairman Comer has suffered tremendous loss, and we all know in our life what it is like to suffer tremendous loss. There are all sorts of different stages of grief, and that is the loss, obviously, of his impeachment hearing. And everyone deals with that in different ways. And sometimes it takes time to grieve and struggle and fill that hole, that void that now exists now that he no longer has impeachment. But the only way we as a Committee are going to help Chairman Comer get better is we have to get to the root cause, right?

So, for today's therapy session, OK, I want to talk about denial, right? The denial that the impeachment hearings are over, and the denial, obviously, that he started with the 1023 Form, which was Russian disinformation. And so, you know, Chairman Comer's psychology teaches us that, you know, someone might be, like him, using denial as a defense mechanism. And signs include that you refuse to talk about the problem, you find ways to justify your behavior, you blame other people or outside forces for causing the problem, you persist in your behavior despite the consequences, you promise to address the problem maybe in the future, or you avoid thinking about the problem.

And so, in addition to these signs that Chairman Comer has been displaying, as we saw in the beginning, you know, he also might be feeling hopeless or helpless. I just want the Chairman to know that we are pulling for him. We really are. I know it has been hard to become someone who was used by the Russians, but the good news is, is that he set this hearing today on Chinese propaganda, because we have already lost him to Russian propaganda. I mean, we got to build a force field around the Chairman and make sure we do not lose him to Chinese propaganda, as well.

[Chart]

And, in fact, you can see behind me, these are quotes from the Chairman, Chairman Comer, every single, solitary time, and there are hundreds more, that he went on TV in interviews and talked about this 1023 Form, which was all Russian disinformation, but we got to make the Chairman understand that it is going to be OK. We will get him through this, but he has got to recognize that denial is not just a river in Egypt. He is going to have to face the fact that he was taken by the Russians.

Now, I want to address something else that went on in this Committee by another Member, and I say this as someone whose grandparents escaped the Holocaust. So, my grandmother was part of the Kindertransport out of Germany. Her parents were killed in Auschwitz. My grandfather, her husband, escaped Poland from the pogroms. You know, the idea that we pretend that that kind of behavior is acceptable and regular. There are no concentration camps in Ukraine. They are not taking babies and shooting them in the air because they are Jewish. There are no gas chambers. There are no ovens. They are not railing people in. They are not ripping gold out of people's mouth. They are not taking stuff out of their home. They are not trying to erase a people. They are Ukrainians.

Stop bringing up Nazis and Hitler. The only people who know about Nazis and Hitler are the 10 million people and their families who lost their loved ones, generations of people who were wiped out. It is enough of this disgusting behavior using Nazis as propaganda. You want to talk about Nazis, get yourself over to the Holocaust Museum. You go see what Nazis did. It is despicable that we use that and we allow it, and we sit here like somehow it is regular.

Mr. Chairman, I welcome you back. I am sorry. We were trying to talk together and, you know, get you through the hearing, but I look forward potentially to talking to you at a future session. So, thank you. I yield back.

Chairman COMER. [Presiding.] The gentleman yields back. The Chair now recognizes myself for questions.

Mr. Mattis, you mentioned in your testimony that there was a shortage of expertise in the Federal Government with respect to China. Would you say that our government is ill-prepared for what China currently has with respect to their schemes against our government and our way of life? Does the government have a plan?

Mr. MATTIS. I would put it this way, that we do not have enough China expertise to execute our own policy. For example, we are asking a department to enforce a major piece of trade legislation, and yet for a couple of years they were relying on Google Translate for their language resource.

Chairman COMER. And explain why that is important that we do have a plan, and that is the purpose of this hearing. And I apologize that there are, you know, clowns like the last questioner that get off topic, but explain why that is important to have a plan.

Mr. MATTIS. Well, in some form or another, nearly every Federal department has some role to play, whether it is because they fund research, and, therefore, they have a responsibility to maintain the integrity of that research. They have a responsibility in some form to protecting constitutional rights and the exercise of those which

the CCP is attempting to restrict inside the United States. So, you can kind of go down each one and see that.

Chairman COMER. Exactly. Colonel Newsham, what is unrestricted warfare, China's master plan to destroy America?

Colonel NEWSHAM. What unrestricted warfare refers to is Chinese approach to going after its enemy, and the United States is the one they call their main enemy.

Chairman COMER. That publication states that the battlefield will be everywhere, right?

Colonel NEWSHAM. That is right.

Chairman COMER. What does that mean for America?

Colonel NEWSHAM. It means anything goes. You know, we tend to expect a war to start on the day the shooting starts and we say we are at war. To the Chinese, we are already at war.

Chairman COMER. You have said that the U.S. needs its own political warfare strategy against the Chinese Communist Party. What should that look like?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Well, it needs to be, first a comprehensive plan that you use your every tool you have got, economic, financial, media, propaganda. But more than anything, you have got to have an awareness you are actually at war, and then you have got to have somebody who is responsible for running it. I cannot see who in the USG is the person who does political warfare. I saw an interview with a State Department official testifying recently, and you could tell he had no idea about political warfare. Someone has got to be in charge and responsible for it.

Chairman COMER. So, General Spalding, how does the Chinese Communist Party differ from the Soviet Union in its approach to political warfare against America?

Dr. SPALDING. I do not think it differs in its approach. It differs in the tools it has available to itself. So, the Soviet Union was cut-off from the global economy, so globalization was not a thing, and it was not a part of it. And then furthermore, Silicon Valley had not developed all the tools of influence and technological reach into our own homes into each individual citizen. So, those tools far surpass anything that were available to the Soviet Union in terms of the active measures.

Chairman COMER. So, how could our methods of combating the Soviet Union work against the Chinese Communist Party?

Dr. SPALDING. Well, as I mentioned previously, bringing back COCOM, bringing back the U.S. Information Agency, making public diplomacy an independent effort within the executive branch and then focusing all the agencies and departments of the executive branch on this political warfare. For example, right now, you have, within the White House you have the National Security Council focused on national security, National Economic Council focused on trade, and they fight over what challenges are coming in because of the Chinese Communist Party. They need to be united.

Chairman COMER. Is there any existing agency or any existing person within the government, our present government structure, that you would put in charge of trying to educate this Administration in the cabinets and the divisions within each cabinet about the potential perils of the CCP?

Dr. SPALDING. Well, that is the job of the intelligence agencies, but they are not really focused on political warfare. So, unless you get them to basically lead off that effort in terms of explaining to the executive branch what political warfare is, and until you unite all the agencies and departments against this threat, you are not going to do anything against it.

Chairman COMER. Mr. Mattis—I will ask each of you—is there a single person or agency in the government that should be in charge of that? You agree with the intelligence community, or you have—

Mr. MATTIS. I think this is fairly clearly the job of the President, the Secretary of State, the National Security Council, and the supporting staff. And when we have done this well in the past, we had an integrated system that was looking at what was going on, and we were also looking at the other tools that we had at our disposal. You know, we understood the Marshall Plan, the art of political warfare, and we understood some of our education, cultural exchange, the idea of putting Americans abroad so that other countries could have a true experience of Americans rather than the Soviet propaganda.

Chairman COMER. Right. Colonel, you have a response?

Colonel NEWSHAM. Well, it is a tough challenge. I would say, if you run it out of the National Security Council, it could work, but you have to have the right people, some people who understand that have that personality that can make it work.

Chairman COMER. So, it looks like you have to have the will. You have to first of all understand the threat that China poses. You have to have the will to combat China, before we could task agencies and specific people with a business model to combat China's growing influence in the United States, and it is kind of like you have to have a will to secure the border before you can secure the border, so I hope that we can do that.

You know, we have seen from Representative Khanna and Representative Krishnamoorthi who have serious credible questions today, and I appreciate that, that this is a huge problem in America. And it does not sound like the government right now is taking it very seriously, and we need to change that, and I hope that the work of this Committee moving forward, and hopefully we can continue to find a couple of reasonable Members of the Committee on the other side of the aisle to work in a bipartisan manner to see that that happens.

So, that concludes our questioning. I want to thank our witnesses again today for your testimony. With that, and without objection, all Members have 5 legislative days within which to submit materials.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Chairman, are we doing closings?

Chairman COMER. I had not planned on it.

Mr. RASKIN. Oh, I thought your staff had told us that we were—

Chairman COMER. OK, I will yield you, how much were you told?

Mr. RASKIN. Just, like, 45 minutes, something like that.

Chairman COMER. Oh, yes.

Mr. RASKIN. No, I am happy to take a minute or two, whatever you think we need to close.

Chairman COMER. Take a minute.

Mr. RASKIN. You are very kind and generous, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank Professor Snyder, the Minority witness, for his truly extraordinary testimony today, which I know will be of great assistance to the Committee, for his brilliant scholarship, and above all, for his passionate citizenship because not everybody would take the time out of the middle of their teaching week to come do it. So, thank you.

There were several words that recurred through the day. One of them was "authoritarianism," one of them was "corruption," and one of them was "propaganda," and the opposite of all those things is really what we need to be seeking. The opposite of authoritarianism is democracy and freedom. The authoritarian model is all about corruption, and the opposite of that model of government is government in the public interest for the common good rather than for the small clique that surrounds the leader and his family, whoever gets into power. They use propaganda in order to prop up the system in order to fool people to divide people to set people against each other, and the opposite of propaganda is education.

So, I want to thank you, Professor Snyder, for participating in that, and your fellow witnesses for contributing to our education. But one of the ways that we lose to authoritarian states is if they can get their claws into our leaders, either through money or kompromat or psychological manipulation. I just want to show you what happens when our leaders cave in to China and to Russia.

[Chart]

So, here are some of the tweets that were sent out by the last President about President Xi and China: "smart, brilliant, everything perfect," "we love each other," "friend of mine, a very, very good man," "there is nobody like that, the look, the brain, the whole thing," "my feeling toward you is an incredibly warm one," "a brilliant man," "if you went all over Hollywood to look for somebody to play the role of President Xi, you couldn't find it. There is nobody like that, the look, the brain, the whole thing." And here is the ex-President on Putin. "His invasion of Ukraine is genius and pretty savvy," "Putin was smart," "the man has very strong control over a country," "a tough cookie with great charm."

So, we need some democratic self-respect in order to combat the propaganda, and I am also happy that we saw today a few Members actually demonstrate what propaganda running through American politicians looks like. Thank you for calling this very significant and important hearing, Mr. Chairman, and I yield back to you.

Chairman COMER. Yield back. I will recognize myself for closing remarks.

Again, I want to thank our three credible witnesses that were here today to talk about this subject. This is something that this Committee is going to take very seriously moving forward. We recognize the fact that our government does not have a plan to combat China's growing influence, and we recognize that it does not appear they recognize the threat.

In the private sector, I am a farmer. All my life I have owned farms, graduated from Western Kentucky University with a degree

in agriculture. I was Commissioner of Agriculture in Kentucky, which is an elected statewide office, before I came to Congress. And one of the things that I always talked about, agriculture, was that in agriculture we are the one industry that had a trade surplus with China, but that has changed in the last 12 months. China now has a trade surplus with us in agriculture. And when you talk about national security, there is no greater threat to our national security than the need to have a safe, healthy, reliable food supply. I wanted to mention that because the growing influence of China is now a major threat to every industry in America.

Ms. McClain talked about the electric vehicle industry and the dependence on China, and that seems like the position of this Administration, to push everything to the electric vehicles. Well, that makes us even more dependent on China. That is a problem. The policies are a problem. But we need to recognize the fact that China manipulates our currency, China steals our intellectual property and our patent. So, our private companies that invest billions of dollars in research and development, it is all being stolen by the Chinese Communist Party.

And then the last thing, our education system in America. What is very concerning to me and something I did not know until we started this investigation was how much anonymous money flows into our research universities in America, and the University of Penn is at the top of the list. And who worked at the University of Penn before they came back to working for the government? The Secretary of State and the current President of the United States.

I think this is a problem because what we have seen by Dr. Foxx, who is presiding over her own committee hearing down the hall on antisemitism in our public universities, is that we have got a lot of indoctrination that is taking place in our universities that is antidemocratic. I believe it is what is fueling a lot of the support for Hamas, and it seems like growing faction of the Democrat Party now, so this is—

Mr. RASKIN. There is not a single member of our party who supports Hamas.

Chairman COMER. That seems to be a very huge issue in America, the disinformation campaign that is taking place in our universities, but where is it being funded? And I think that one of the things that we need to focus on in this Committee is greater transparency with where all this money is coming from into these universities. Yes, we have done a decent job identifying the problem with TikTok and the House has acted on that, but I think we need to go a lot further, and I think that we need better preparedness within our Federal Government in every agency. Whether it is the Department of Agriculture, or the Department of Education, the Department of Defense, the Department of Energy. Every agency needs to first recognize that we have a threat from China. And second, we need to have a plan to combat that threat to identify when China does something counter to our interest and then have a plan to combat that.

So, I think you all did a great job today talking about that. I appreciate your time and look forward to working with you all in the future.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Chairman, I have a unanimous consent request. I want to introduce into the record the White House's Indo-Pacific strategy released in February 2022, reaffirming the country's commitment to deterring PRC military aggression in the Taiwan Strait, and a fact sheet detailing the \$4 billion requested in the President's budget request for 2025 for a more free, open, and secure Indo-Pacific bolstering U.S. alliances.

Chairman COMER. Without objection, so ordered.

With that, and without objection, all Members have 5 legislative days within which to submit materials and additional written questions for the witnesses, which will be forwarded to the witnesses.

If there is no further business, without objection, the Committee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 1:57 p.m., the Committee was adjourned.]

