TRUMP ON CHINA

PUTTING AMERICA FIRST

A collection of speeches laying out the most significant United States foreign policy shift in a generation

Edited by Robert C. O'Brien

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INTRODUCTION

National Security Advisor O'Brien briefs the President and Vice President at Mar-a-Lago Resort in Palm Beach, Florida.

For decades, Donald J. Trump was one of the few prominent Americans to recognize the true nature of the Chinese Communist Party and its threat to America's economic and political way of life. Now, under President Trump's leadership, the United States is taking action to protect our nation and its partners from an increasingly assertive China. We are no longer turning a blind eye to the People's Republic of China's conduct nor are we hiding our criticism of its Communist Party behind closed doors.

The speeches included in this book, starting with Vice President Mike Pence's groundbreaking remarks on October 2018 and ending with President Trump's call to action at the 75th session of the United

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Nations General Assembly, are a key component of the Administration's effort to protect the American people.

Until now, senior American officials had never spoken publicly with such candor and consistency about the challenge posed by China to our nation. Earlier this year, President Trump asked four of his most senior national security officials, myself, Christopher Wray, William Barr, and Michael Pompeo, to explain current U.S. policy on China to the American people. Over the summer of 2020, we did so in a series of speeches delivered around the country.

Collectively, the remarks contained in this book achieve several important objectives. They educate our citizens about the threat posed by the Chinese Communist Party to their livelihoods, businesses, freedoms, and values.

These speeches also alert our allies and partners so that they, too, should stand up for their own people, and for our mutual interests and values. The competition with which we are faced is not China versus the United States. It is the Chinese Communist Party, with its Marxist-Leninist and mercantilist vision for the world, versus freedom-loving people everywhere.

These high-level speeches serve to combat the propaganda machine at the heart of the Chinese Communist Party's global strategy. President Trump understands that it is past time for America to counter China's messaging about the supposed strengths of its authoritarian model.

In his 2018 address to the Hudson Institute, Vice President Pence discussed the whole-of-government approach that the Chinese Communist Party is employing to advance its influence in the United States, using political, economic, military, and propaganda tools.

Following Vice President Pence's address, Deputy National Security Advisor Matthew Pottinger spoke to a worldwide Chinese audience about the populist democracy movement that began a century ago

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in Beijing and is the proud heritage of the Chinese people. He demonstrated that Chinese history contains another path for China's people.

Next, I explained the ideology and global ambitions of the Chinese Communist Party to a business forum in Phoenix, Arizona. Many in the West, especially in the business community, are not aware that China today is one of the last few Marxist-Leninist nations on earth.

FBI Director Wray followed with an exposé of the pervasiveness of the People's Republic of China's espionage and intellectual property theft from our government, our companies, and our partners. He noted that such theft constitutes one of the greatest wealth transfers in human history.

Attorney General Barr, for his part, warned the American business community of its obligation to protect our national security notwithstanding the blandishments of the Party and the lure of the Chinese market.

Secretary Pompeo concluded the series by outlining what has become the most significant shift in U.S. foreign policy in a generation. America's diplomats and policy makers, he explains are rising to China's once-in-a-generation challenge and confronting the threat across the entire diplomatic spectrum.

President Trump's two speeches, from May and September 2020, hold the Chinese Communist Party accountable for the Covid-19 pandemic. The President made clear that Beijing's blunders no longer affect only the Chinese people, as they did under Mao Zedong. They impact the entire world. President Trump points out that beyond the Covid-19 pandemic, China's environmental devastation in the Pacific and illegal over-fishing in every ocean are but two examples of how China treats the rest of the world.

On the occasion of China's ending of the "one country, two systems" construct that had guaranteed Hong Kong's freedom until 2047, the

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President announced a range of significant penalties, noting the "plain facts [of what China did] cannot be overlooked or swept aside."

President Trump made plain in his May speech, "The United States wants an open and constructive relationship with China, but achieving that relationship requires us to vigorously defend our national interests." This book explains what President Trump means by his call for a vigorous defense of our national interests vis a vis China.

The Chinese Communist Party prefers not to have the information and messages contained in this book shared. It does not want people around the world to know what the Party really believes, is doing, and is planning.

Taken together, the speeches herein are similar to U.S. diplomat George Kennan's 1946 "Long Telegram" to the State Department that outlined his views on the Soviet Union. This book is different from the "Long Telegram" in two important respects. First, unlike Kennan's case, written by an envoy at post, this book contains the words and policies of the President and his most senior officials. Second, given China's population size, economic prowess, and historic global ambitions, the People's Republic of China is a more capable competitor than the Soviet Union at its height.

Robert C. O'Brien
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C.

October 9, 2020

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REMARKS DELIVERED BY VICE PRESIDENT MIKE PENCE

The Hudson Institute, Washington, D.C.

OCTOBER 4, 2018

Vice President Pence giving remarks at the Hudson Institute.

Thank you, Ken, for that kind introduction. To the Members of the Board of Trustees, to Dr. Michael Pillsbury, to our distinguished guests, and to all of you who, true to your mission in this place, "think about the future in unconventional ways"—it is an honor to be back at the Hudson Institute.

For more than a half a century, this Institute has dedicated itself to "advancing global security, prosperity, and freedom." And while Hudson's hometowns have changed over the years, one thing has been

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constant: You have always advanced that vital truth, that American leadership lights the way.

And today, speaking of leadership, allow me to begin by bringing greetings from a great champion of American leadership at home and abroad—I bring greetings from the 45th President of the United States of America, President Donald Trump.

From early in this administration, President Trump has made our relationship with China and President Xi a priority. On April 6th of last year, President Trump welcomed President Xi to Mar-a-Lago. On November 8th of last year, President Trump traveled to Beijing, where China's leader welcomed him warmly.

Over the course of the past two years, our President has forged a strong personal relationship with the President of the People's Republic of China, and they've worked closely on issues of common interest, most importantly the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

But I come before you today because the American people deserve to know that, as we speak, Beijing is employing a whole-of-government approach, using political, economic, and military tools, as well as propaganda, to advance its influence and benefit its interests in the United States.

China is also applying this power in more proactive ways than ever before, to exert influence and interfere in the domestic policy and politics of this country.

Under President Trump's leadership, the United States has taken decisive action to respond to China with American action, applying the principles and the policies long advocated in these halls.

In our National Security Strategy that the President Trump released last December, he described a new era of "great power competition." Foreign nations have begun to, as we wrote, "reassert their influence regionally and globally," and they are "contesting [America's] geopo-

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litical advantages and trying [in essence] to change the international order in their favor."

In this strategy, President Trump made clear that the United States of America has adopted a new approach to China. We seek a relationship grounded in fairness, reciprocity, and respect for sovereignty, and we have taken strong and swift action to achieve that goal.

As the President said last year on his visit to China, in his words, "we have an opportunity to strengthen the relationship between our two countries and improve the lives of our citizens." Our vision of the future is built on the best parts of our past, when America and China reached out to one another in a spirit of openness and friendship.

When our young nation went searching in the wake of the Revolutionary War for new markets for our exports, the Chinese people welcomed American traders laden with ginseng and fur.

When China suffered through indignities and exploitations during her so-called "Century of Humiliation," America refused to join in, and advocated the "Open Door" policy, so that we could have freer trade with China, and preserve their sovereignty.

When American missionaries brought the good news to China's shores, they were moved by the rich culture of an ancient and vibrant people. And not only did they spread their faith, but those same missionaries founded some of China's first and finest universities.

When the Second World War arose, we stood together as allies in the fight against imperialism. And in that war's aftermath, America ensured that China became a charter member of the United Nations, and a great shaper of the post-war world.

But soon after it took power in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party began to pursue authoritarian expansionism. It is remarkable to think that only five years after our nations had fought together, we fought

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each other in the mountains and valleys of the Korean Peninsula. My own father saw combat on that frontier of freedom.

But not even the brutal Korean War could diminish our mutual desire to restore the ties that for so long had bound our peoples together. China's estrangement from the United States ended in 1972, and, soon after, we re-established diplomatic relations and began to open our economies to one another, and American universities began training a new generation of Chinese engineers, business leaders, scholars, and officials.

After the fall of the Soviet Union, we assumed that a free China was inevitable. Heady with optimism at the turn of the 21st Century, America agreed to give Beijing open access to our economy, and we brought China into the World Trade Organization.

Previous administrations made this choice in the hope that freedom in China would expand in all of its forms—not just economically, but politically, with a newfound respect for classical liberal principles, private property, personal liberty, religious freedom—the entire family of human rights. But that hope has gone unfulfilled.

The dream of freedom remains distant for the Chinese people. And while Beijing still pays lip service to "reform and opening," Deng Xiaoping's famous policy now rings hollow.

Over the past 17 years, China's GDP has grown nine-fold; it's become the second-largest economy in the world. Much of this success was driven by American investment in China. And the Chinese Communist Party has also used an arsenal of policies inconsistent with free and fair trade, including tariffs, quotas, currency manipulation, forced technology transfer, intellectual property theft, and industrial subsidies that are handed out like candy to foreign investment. These policies have built Beijing's manufacturing base, at the expense of its competitors—especially the United States of America.

China's actions have contributed to a trade deficit with the United States that last year ran to $375 billion—nearly half of our global trade

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deficit. As President Trump said just this week, in his words, "We rebuilt China" over the last 25 years.

Now, through the "Made in China 2025" plan, the Communist Party has set its sights on controlling 90 percent of the world's most advanced industries, including robotics, biotechnology, and artificial intelligence. To win the commanding heights of the 21st century economy, Beijing has directed its bureaucrats and businesses to obtain American intellectual property—the foundation of our economic leadership—by any means necessary.

Beijing now requires many American businesses to hand over their trade secrets as the cost of doing business in China. It also coordinates and sponsors the acquisition of American firms to gain ownership of their creations. Worst of all, Chinese security agencies have masterminded the wholesale theft of American technology—including cutting-edge military blueprints. And using that stolen technology, the Chinese Communist Party is turning plowshares into swords on a massive scale.

China now spends as much on its military as the rest of Asia combined, and Beijing has prioritized capabilities to erode America's military advantages on land, at sea, in the air, and in space. China wants nothing less than to push the United States of America from the Western Pacific and attempt to prevent us from coming to the aid of our allies. But they will fail.

Beijing is also using its power like never before. Chinese ships routinely patrol around the Senkaku Islands, which are administered by Japan. And while China's leader stood in the Rose Garden at the White House in 2015 and said that his country had, and I quote, "no intention to militarize" the South China Sea, today, Beijing has deployed advanced anti-ship and anti-air missiles atop an archipelago of military bases constructed on artificial islands.

China's aggression was on display this week, when a Chinese naval vessel came within 45 yards of the USS Decatur as it conducted free-

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dom-of-navigation operations in the South China Sea, forcing our ship to quickly maneuver to avoid collision. Despite such reckless harassment, the United States Navy will continue to fly, sail, and operate wherever international law allows and our national interests demand. We will not be intimidated and we will not stand down.

America had hoped that economic liberalizatio would bring China into a greater partnership with us and with the world. Instead, China has chosen economic aggression, which has in turn emboldened its growing military.

Nor, as we had hoped, has Beijing moved toward greater freedom for its own people. For a time, Beijing inched toward greater liberty and respect for human rights. But in recent years, China has taken a sharp U-turn toward control and oppression of its own people.

Today, China has built an unparalleled surveillance state, and it's growing more expansive and intrusive—often with the help of U.S. technology. What they call the "Great Firewall of China" likewise grows higher, drastically restricting the free flow of information to the Chinese people.

And by 2020, China's rulers aim to implement an Orwellian system premised on controlling virtually every facet of human life—the so-called "Social Credit Score." In the words of that program's official blueprint, it will "allow the trustworthy to roam everywhere under heaven, while making it hard for the discredited to take a single step."

And when it comes to religious freedom, a new wave of persecution is crashing down on Chinese Christians, Buddhists, and Muslims.

Last month, Beijing shut down one of China's largest underground churches. Across the country, authorities are tearing down crosses, burning bibles, and imprisoning believers. And Beijing has now reached a deal with the Vatican that gives the avowedly atheist Communist Party a direct role in appointing Catholic bishops. For China's Christians, these are desperate times.

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Beijing is also cracking down on Buddhism. Over the past decade, more than 150 Tibetan Buddhist monks have lit themselves on fire to protest China's repression of their beliefs and their culture. And in Xinjiang, the Communist Party has imprisoned as many as one million Muslim Uyghurs in government camps where they endure around-the-clock brainwashing. Survivors of the camps have described their experiences as a deliberate attempt by Beijing to strangle Uyghur culture and stamp out the Muslim faith.

As history attests though, a country that oppresses its own people rarely stops there. And Beijing also aims to extend its reach across the wider world. As Hudson's own Dr. Michael Pillsbury has written, "China has opposed the actions and goals of the U.S. government. Indeed, China is building its own relationships with America's allies and enemies that contradict any peaceful or productive intentions of Beijing."

In fact, China uses so-called "debt diplomacy" to expand its influence. Today, that country is offering hundreds of billions of dollars in infrastructure loans to governments from Asia to Africa to Europe and even Latin America. Yet the terms of those loans are opaque at best, and the benefits invariably flow overwhelmingly to Beijing.

Just ask Sri Lanka, which took on massive debt to let Chinese state companies build a port of questionable commercial value. Two years ago, that country could no longer afford its payments, so Beijing pressured Sri Lanka to deliver the new port directly into Chinese hands. It may soon become a forward military base for China's growing blue-water navy.

Within our own hemisphere, Beijing has extended a lifeline to the corrupt and incompetent Maduro regime in Venezuela that's been oppressing its own people. They pledged $5 billion in questionable loans to be repaid with oil. China is also that country's single largest creditor, saddling the Venezuelan people with more than $50 billion in debt, even as their democracy vanishes. Beijing is also impacting some

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nations' politics by providing direct support to parties and candidates who promise to accommodate China's strategic objectives.

And since last year alone, the Chinese Communist Party has convinced three Latin American nations to sever ties with Taipei and recognize Beijing. These actions threaten the stability of the Taiwan Strait, and the United States of America condemns these actions. And while our administration will continue to respect our One China Policy, as reflected in the three joint communiqués and the Taiwan Relations Act, America will always believe that Taiwan's embrace of democracy shows a better path for all the Chinese people.

Now these are only a few of the ways that China has sought to advance its strategic interests across the world, with growing intensity and sophistication. Yet previous administrations all but ignored China's actions. And in many cases, they abetted them. But those days are over.

Under President Trump's leadership, the United States of America has been defending our interests with renewed American strength.

We've been making the strongest military in the history of the world stronger still. Earlier this year, President Trump signed into law the largest increase in our national defense since the days of Ronald Reagan—$716 billion to extend the strength of the American military to every domain.

We're modernizing our nuclear arsenal. We're fielding and developing new cutting-edge fighters and bombers. We're building a new generation of aircraft carriers and warships. We're investing as never before in our armed forces. And this includes initiating the process to establish the United States Space Force to ensure our continued dominance in space, and we've taken action to authorize increased capability in the cyber world to build deterrence against our adversaries.

At President Trump's direction, we're also implementing tariffs on $250 billion in Chinese goods, with the highest tariffs specifically targeting the advanced industries that Beijing is trying to capture and control.

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And as the President has also made clear, we will levy even more tariffs, with the possibility of substantially more than doubling that number, unless a fair and reciprocal deal is made.

These actions—exercises in American strength—have had a major impact. China's largest stock exchange fell by 25 percent in the first nine months of this year, in large part because our administration has been standing strong against Beijing's trade practices.

As President Trump has made clear, we don't want China's markets to suffer. In fact, we want them to thrive. But the United States wants Beijing to pursue trade policies that are free, fair, and reciprocal. And we will continue to stand and demand that they do.

Sadly, China's rulers, thus far, have refused to take that path. The American people deserve to know: In response to the strong stand that President Trump has taken, Beijing is pursuing a comprehensive and coordinated campaign to undermine support for the President, our agenda, and our nation's most cherished ideals.

I want to tell you today what we know about China's actions here at home—some of which we've gleaned from intelligence assessments, some of which are publicly available. But all of which are fact.

As I said before, as we speak, Beijing is employing a whole-of-government approach to advance its influence and benefit its interests. It's employing this power in more proactive and coercive ways to interfere in the domestic policies of this country and to interfere in the politics of the United States.

The Chinese Communist Party is rewarding or coercing American businesses, movie studios, universities, think tanks, scholars, journalists, and local, state, and federal officials.

And worst of all, China has initiated an unprecedented effort to influence American public opinion, the 2018 elections, and the environment leading into the 2020 presidential elections. To put it bluntly, President

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Trump's leadership is working; and China wants a different American President.

There can be no doubt: China is meddling in America's democracy. As President Trump said just last week, we have, in his words, "found that China has been attempting to interfere in our upcoming [midterm] election[s]."

Our intelligence community says that "China is targeting U.S. state and local governments and officials to exploit any divisions between federal and local levels on policy. It's using wedge issues, like trade tariffs, to advance Beijing's political influence."

In June, Beijing itself circulated a sensitive document, entitled "Propaganda and Censorship Notice." It laid out its strategy. It stated that China must, in their words, "strike accurately and carefully, splitting apart different domestic groups" in the United States of America.

To that end, Beijing has mobilized covert actors, front groups, and propaganda outlets to shift Americans' perception of Chinese policy. As a senior career member of our intelligence community told me just this week, what the Russians are doing pales in comparison to what China is doing across this country. And the American people deserve to know it.

Senior Chinese officials have also tried to influence business leaders to encourage them to condemn our trade actions, leveraging their desire to maintain their operations in China. In one recent example, China threatened to deny a business license for a major U.S. corporation if they refused to speak out against our administration's policies.

And when it comes to influencing the midterms, you need only look at Beijing's tariffs in response to ours. The tariffs imposed by China to date specifically targeted industries and states that would play an important role in the 2018 election. By one estimate, more than 80 percent of U.S. counties targeted by China voted for President Trump and I in 2016; now China wants to turn these voters against our administration.

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And China is also directly appealing to the American voters. Last week, the Chinese government paid to have a multipage supplement inserted into the Des Moines Register—the paper of record of the home state of our Ambassador to China, and a pivotal state in 2018 and 2020. The supplement, designed to look like the news articles, cast our trade policies as reckless and harmful to Iowans.

Fortunately, Americans aren't buying it. For example, American farmers are standing with this President and are seeing real results from the strong stands that he's taken, including this week's U.S.-Mexico-Canada Agreement, where we've substantially opened North American markets to U.S. products. The USMCA is a great win for American farmers and American manufacturers.

But China's actions aren't focused solely on influencing our policies and politics. Beijing is also taking steps to exploit its economic leverage, and the allure of their large marketplace, to advance its influence over American businesses.

Beijing now requires American joint ventures that operate in China to establish what they call "party organizations" within their company, giving the Communist Party a voice—and perhaps a veto—in hiring and investment decisions.

Chinese authorities have also threatened U.S. companies that depict Taiwan as a distinct geographic entity, or that stray from Chinese policy on Tibet. Beijing compelled Delta Airlines to publicly apologize for not calling Taiwan a "province of China" on its website. And it pressured Marriott to fire a U.S. employee who merely liked a tweet about Tibet.

And Beijing routinely demands that Hollywood portray China in a strictly positive light. It punishes studios and producers that don't. Beijing's censors are quick to edit or outlaw movies that criticize China, even in minor ways. For the movie, "World War Z," they had to cut the script's mention of a virus because it originated in China. The movie, "Red Dawn" was digitally edited to make the villains North Korean, not Chinese.

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But beyond business and entertainment, the Chinese Communist Party is also spending billions of dollars on propaganda outlets in the United States and, frankly, around the world.

China Radio International now broadcasts Beijing-friendly programs on over 30 U.S. outlets, many in major American cities. The China Global Television Network reaches more than 75 million Americans, and it gets its marching orders directly from its Communist Party masters. As China's top leader put it during a visit to the network's headquarters, and I quote, "The media run by the Party and the government are propaganda fronts and must have the Party as their surname."

Official White House Photo.

It's for those reasons and that reality that, last month, the Department of Justice ordered that network to register as a foreign agent.

The Communist Party has also threatened and detained the Chinese family members of American journalists who pry too deep. And it's blocked the websites of U.S. media organizations and made it harder for our journalists to get visas. This happened after the New York Times

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published investigative reports about the wealth of some of China's leaders.

But the media isn't the only place where the Chinese Communist Party seeks to foster a culture of censorship. The same is true across academia.

I mean, look no further than the Chinese Students and Scholars Association, of which there are more than 150 branches across America's campuses. These groups help organize social events for some of the more than 430,000 Chinese nationals studying in the United States. They also alert Chinese consulates and embassies when Chinese students, and American schools, stray from the Communist Party line.

At the University of Maryland, a Chinese student recently spoke at her graduation of what she called, and I quote, the "fresh air of free speech" in America. The Communist Party's official newspaper swiftly chastised her. She became the victim of a firestorm of criticism on China's tightly-controlled social media, and her family back home was harassed. As for the university itself, its exchange program with China—one of the nation's most extensive—suddenly turned from a flood to a trickle.

China exerts academic pressure in other ways, as well. Beijing provides generous funding to universities, think tanks, and scholars, with the understanding that they will avoid ideas that the Communist Party finds dangerous or offensive. China experts in particular know that their visas will be delayed or denied if their research contradicts Beijing's talking points.

And even scholars and groups who avoid Chinese funding are targeted by that country, as the Hudson Institute found out firsthand. After you offered to host a speaker Beijing didn't like, your website suffered a major cyberattack, originating from Shanghai. The Hudson Institute knows better than most that the Chinese Communist Party is trying to undermine academic freedom and the freedom of speech in America today.

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These and other actions, taken as a whole, constitute an intensifying effort to shift American public opinion and policy away from the "America First" leadership of President Donald Trump.

But our message to China's rulers is this: This President will not back down. The American people will not be swayed. And we will continue to stand strong for our security and our economy, even as we hope for improved relations with Beijing.

Our administration is going to continue to act decisively to protect America's interests, American jobs, and American security.

As we rebuild our military, we will continue to assert American interests across the Indo-Pacific.

As we respond to China's trade practices, we will continue to demand an economic relationship with China that is free, fair, and reciprocal. We will demand that Beijing break down its trade barriers, fulfill its obligations, fully open its economy—just as we have opened ours.

We'll continue to take action against Beijing until the theft of American intellectual property ends once and for all. And we will continue to stand strong until Beijing stops the predatory practice of forced technology transfer. We will protect the private property interests of American enterprise.

And to advance our vision of a free and open Indo-Pacific, we're building new and stronger bonds with nations that share our values across the region, from India to Samoa. Our relationships will flow from a spirit of respect built on partnership, not domination.

We're forging new trade deals on a bilateral basis, just as last week President Trump signed an improved trade deal with South Korea. And we will soon begin historic negotiations for a bilateral free-trade deal with Japan.

I'm also pleased to report that we're streamlining international development and finance programs. We'll be giving foreign nations a just

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and transparent alternative to China's debt-trap diplomacy. In fact, this week, President Trump will sign the BUILD Act into law.

Next month, it will be my privilege to represent the United States in Singapore and Papua New Guinea, at ASEAN and APEC. There, we will unveil new measures and programs to support a free and open Indo-Pacific. And on behalf of the President, I will deliver the message that America's commitment to the Indo-Pacific has never been stronger.

Closer to home, to protect our interests, we've recently strengthened CFIUS—the Committee on Foreign Investment—heightening our scrutiny of Chinese investment in America to protect our national security from Beijing's predatory actions.

And when it comes to Beijing's malign influence and interference in American politics and policy, we will continue to expose it, no matter the form it takes. We will work with leaders at every level of society to defend our national interests and most cherished ideals. The American people will play the decisive role—and, in fact, they already are.

As we gather here, a new consensus is rising across America. More business leaders are thinking beyond the next quarter, and thinking twice before diving into the Chinese market if it means turning over their intellectual property or abetting Beijing's oppression. But more must follow suit. For example, Google should immediately end development of the "Dragonfly" app that will strengthen Communist Party censorship and compromise the privacy of Chinese customers.

It's also great to see more journalists reporting the truth without fear or favor, digging deep to find where China is interfering in our society, and why. And we hope that American and global news organizations will continue to join this effort on an increasing basis.

More scholars are also speaking out forcefully and defending academic freedom, and more universities and think tanks are mustering the courage to turn away Beijing's easy money, recognizing that every

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dollar comes with a corresponding demand. And we're confident that their ranks will grow.

And across the nation, the American people are growing in vigilance, with a newfound appreciation for our administration's actions and the President's leadership to reset America's economic and strategic relationship with China. Americans stand strong behind a President that's putting America first.

And under President Trump's leadership, I can assure you, America will stay the course. China should know that the American people and their elected officials in both parties are resolved.

As our National Security Strategy states: We should remember that "Competition does not always mean hostility," nor does it have to. The President has made clear, we want a constructive relationship with Beijing where our prosperity and security grow together, not apart. While Beijing has been moving further away from this vision, China's rulers can still change course and return to the spirit of reform and opening that characterize the beginning of this relationship decades ago. The American people want nothing more; and the Chinese people deserve nothing less.

The great Chinese storyteller Lu Xun often lamented that his country, and he wrote, "has either looked down at foreigners as brutes, or up to them as saints," but never "as equals." Today, America is reaching out our hand to China. And we hope that soon, Beijing will reach back with deeds, not words, and with renewed respect for America. But be assured: we will not relent until our relationship with China is grounded in fairness, reciprocity, and respect for our sovereignty.

There is an ancient Chinese proverb that reads, "Men see only the present, but heaven sees the future." As we go forward, let us pursue a future of peace and prosperity with resolve and faith. Faith in President Trump's leadership and vision, and the relationship that he has forged with China's president. Faith in the enduring friendship between the American people and the Chinese people. And Faith that heaven sees

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the future—and by God's grace, America and China will meet that future together.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America.

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REMARKS BY DEPUTY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR MATT POTTINGER

The Miller Center at the University of Virginia

MAY 4, 2020

Deputy National Security Advisor Pottinger describes policy options to President Trump and Vice President Pence in a July 2020 cabinet meeting about China.

Good morning everyone. I'm Matt Pottinger, the Deputy National Security Advisor, speaking to you from the White House. I bring warm greetings from the 45th President of the United States, Donald J. Trump.

We gather today online, from a thousand different places, because a pandemic still prohibits us from meeting in person. But through the marvel of the Internet, we have managed to come together as an even bigger group than if there had been no public health emergency. In ways big and small, we are all tapping our ingenuity as Americans, as

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Chinese, as human beings, to overcome hardship and preserve our communities.

"Big" examples of human ingenuity include harnessing biotechnology and data analytics to develop therapies and vaccines. "Small" examples of ingenuity include family members figuring out how to give each other haircuts when barbershops are closed. My wife, who is speaking on a panel later today, is a highly trained virologist. She is new to her role as the family barber, as you might have guessed by looking at my hair.

This is the second time I've had the privilege of addressing an audience at the Miller Center at the University of Virginia. Nearly a decade ago I was invited to speak about what I'd learned from service in the Marine Corps and about the relationship between our military and the civilians it defends. Since that day, I've never forgotten the warmth and wisdom of the Miller Center's director, Governor Jerry Baliles, who passed away last October after a life of public service to the Commonwealth of Virginia and to our nation. We give thanks for people like Jerry.

Today, I've been invited by Professors Harry Harding and Shirley Lin to share some thoughts about U.S.-China relations. When Professor Lin told me this event would land precisely on the 101st anniversary of the start of China's historic May Fourth Movement, I knew I had a potent topic for discussing the China of then and now.

On May the fourth, 1919, following the end of World War I, thousands of university students from across Beijing converged on Tiananmen Square to protest China's unfair treatment at the Paris Peace Conference. Western nations chose to appease Imperial Japan by granting it control of Chinese territory that Germany had previously occupied, including the Shandong Peninsula.

The Chinese students who marched to Tiananmen that day shouted "give us back Shandong!" and "don't sign the Versailles Treaty!" Police forced the students to disperse. But, as frequently happens when governments close down avenues for peaceful expression, some protesters

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resorted to violence. In a principled move that acknowledged popular anger, China refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles later that year.

China would regain control of Shandong three years later with the help of the United States, which brokered an agreement at the Washington Naval Conference in 1922. But the movement ignited by those students exactly 101 years ago was about much more than nationalist outrage at "unequal treaties." The movement galvanized a long-running struggle for the soul of modern China. As John Pomfret wrote in his fine history of U.S.-China relations, the May Fourth Movement aimed for "a wholesale transformation of Chinese politics, society, and culture." "Mr. Science" and "Mr. Democracy" were the mottos of this movement to transport China into modernity. Some called the movement the "Chinese Enlightenment." Vera Schwarcz wrote an insightful book by that title. In fact, there's a lot of good scholarship on this subject. At least two eminent historians of modern China are participating in this event today—Oxford's Rana Mitter and the University of Virginia's John Israel. I refer you to the experts to explore the history and meaning of the May Fourth Movement.

But I would like to spend a few minutes highlighting a few Chinese heroes that I believe embody the May Fourth spirit, then and now.

Hu Shih is naturally identified as one of the most influential leaders of the May Fourth era. He was already an influential thinker on modernizing China. Hu Shih's family was from Anhui province. Like Lu Xun and many other leading writers of their generation, Hu Shih traveled overseas to study. After switching his focus at Cornell from agriculture to philosophy, Hu Shih studied at Columbia University under the American educator John Dewey.

Hu Shih would contribute one of the greatest gifts imaginable to the Chinese people: The gift of language. Up until then, China's written language was "classical," featuring a grammar and vocabulary largely unchanged for centuries. As many who have studied it can attest, classical Chinese feels about as close to spoken Chinese as Latin does to

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modern Italian. The inaccessibility of the written language presented a gulf between rulers and the ruled—and that was the point. The written word—literacy itself—was the domain primarily of a small ruling elite and of intellectuals, many of whom aspired to serve as officials. Literacy simply wasn't for "the masses."

Hu Shih believed otherwise. In his view, written Chinese—in form and content—should reflect the voices of living Chinese people rather than the documents of dead officials. "Speak in the language of the time in which you live," he admonished readers. He believed in making literacy commonplace. He played a key role promoting a written language rooted in the vernacular, or baihua—literally "plain speech." Hu Shih's promotion of baihua is an idea so obvious in hindsight that it is easy to miss how revolutionary it was at the time. It was also highly controversial.

Gu Hongmin, a Confucian gentleman and Western literature professor at Peking University, ridiculed widespread literacy for China and what it implied. In August 1919 he wrote: "Just fancy what the result would be if ninety percent of [China's] four hundred million people were to become literate. Imagine only what a fine state of things we would have if here in Peking the coolies, mafoos [stable boys], chauffeurs, barbers, shop boys, hawkers, hunters, loafers, vagabonds, [etc.] all became literate and wanted to take part in politics as well as the University students."

Such elitist chauvinism was—and some would argue still remains—a headwind impeding the democratic ideals espoused by the May Fourth Movement. Hu Shih, wielding the language he had helped bring to life, skillfully dismantled arguments against broadening the social contract. "The only way to have democracy is to have democracy," Hu Shih argued. "Government is an art, and as such it needs practice." Hu Shih didn't have time for elitism.

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Deputy National Security Advisor Pottinger delivering remarks in Mandarin Chinese to the Miller Center at the University of Virginia.

Still, May Fourth leaders were constantly sapped of energy by accusations, sometimes leveled by government officials or their proxies among the literati, that the movement was slavishly pro-Western, insufficiently Chinese, or even unpatriotic.

The life and contributions of P.C. Chang make a mockery of the notion that the May Fourth ideals weren't "Chinese" enough. Like his friend Hu Shih, Chang had studied in the United States on a scholarship. Attracted to the theater, he was the first to adapt the Chinese story of Mulan for the stage. He brought Western plays to Nankai University, which his brother helped found. And he organized a tour of the United States by the Peking Opera star Mei Lanfang, adapting the music and dance to Western tastes. In China's philosophy of moral cultivation and rigorous education, Chang saw advantages that could be combined with ideas from the West to form something new.

This culminated in Chang's crowning achievement: His decisive contributions to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This was the document drafted after World War II by an international panel chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt. Chang, who was by then a veteran diplomat representing China, was a member of the panel. The declaration's aim was to prevent despotism and war by morally obligating governments to

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respect fundamental rights. The rights enshrined in the 1948 declaration include life, liberty, and security; the right not to be held in slavery or subjected to torture; the right to freedom of religion; and the right to freedom of thought.

"Marrying Western belief in the primacy of the individual with Chinese concern for the greater good" Chang helped craft a document that would be relevant to all nations, John Pomfret wrote. A declaration on human rights was not simply about the rights of the individual, in Chang's view. It was also about the individual's obligations to society.

Chang's biographer, Hans Ingvar Roth of Stockholm University, highlighted the weight of Chang's contributions to the Declaration: "Chang stands out as the key figure for all of the attributes now considered significant for this document: its universality, its religious neutrality, and its focus on the fundamental needs and the dignity of individual human beings."

A few short years after the Declaration was adopted by the United Nations, Chang resigned his post as a Chinese diplomat, having grown dismayed by the lack of democracy in China. In diagnosing the problem, it is easy to imagine P.C. Chang prescribing a closer reading not of ancient Greek philosophy, but of traditional Chinese ideals about virtuous leadership. The cliché that Chinese people can't be trusted with democracy was, as both P.C. Chang and Hu Shih knew, the most unpatriotic idea of all. Taiwan today is a living repudiation of that threadbare mistruth.

So who embodies the May Fourth spirit in China today? To my mind, the heirs of May Fourth are civic-minded citizens who commit small acts of bravery. And sometimes big acts of bravery. Dr. Li Wenliang was such a person. Dr. Li wasn't a demagogue in search of a new ideology that might save China. He was an ophthalmologist and a young father who committed a small act of bravery and then a big act of bravery. His small act of bravery, in late December, was to pass along a warning via WeChat to his former medical school classmates that patients afflicted

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by a dangerous new virus were turning up in Wuhan hospitals. He urged his friends to protect their families.

When his warning circulated more widely than he intended, Dr. Li was upset and anxious—and with good reason. Supervisors at his hospital quickly admonished him for leaking word of the coronavirus cases. Dr. Li was then interrogated by the police, made to sign a "confession," and threatened with prosecution if he spoke out again. Anyone tempted to believe this was just a case of overzealous local police, take note: China's central government aired a news story about Dr. Li's "rumor-mongering."

Then Dr. Li did a big brave thing. He went public with his experience of being silenced by the police. The whole world paid close attention. By this time, Dr. Li had contracted the disease he'd warned about. His death on February 7 felt like the loss of a relative for people around the world. Dr. Li's comment to a reporter from his deathbed still rings in our ears: "I think there should be more than one voice in a healthy society, and I don't approve of using public power for excessive interference." Dr. Li was using Hu Shih-style "plain speech" to make a practical point.

It takes courage to speak to a reporter—or to work as one—in today's China. Even finding an investigative reporter in China, foreign or local, is getting hard. Citizen journalists who tried to shed light on the outbreak in Wuhan went missing, including Chen Qiushi, Fang Bin and Li Zehua. More foreign reporters were expelled in recent months than the Soviet Union expelled over decades. Dr. Ai Fen, a colleague of Dr. Li Wenliang who also raised the alarm about the outbreak in Wuhan, reportedly can no longer appear in public after she spoke to a reporter.

When small acts of bravery are stamped out by governments, big acts of bravery follow.

We have seen big acts of moral and physical courage recently by people pursuing the ideals that Hu Shih and P.C. Chang championed a century ago. Some are political insiders; some have devoted their lives to God. Others follow the long tradition of scholars serving as China's

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conscience. Many are regular citizens. Xu Zhangrun, Ren Zhiqiang, Xu Zhiyong, Ilham Tohti, Fang Fang, 20 Catholic priests who have refused to subordinate God to the Communist Party, and the millions of Hong Kong citizens who peacefully demonstrated for the rule of law last year. The list goes on.

As the May Fourth Movement today marks the inaugural year of its second century, what will its ultimate legacy be? It is a question only the Chinese people themselves can answer. The May Fourth Movement belongs to them. Will the movement's democratic aspirations remain unfulfilled for another century? Will its core ideas be deleted or distorted through official censorship and disinformation? Will its champions be slandered as "unpatriotic," "pro-American," "subversive"? We know the Communist Party will do its best to make it so. After all, Mao Zedong had limited tolerance even for Lu Xun, China's most celebrated modern writer and one of the minority of May Fourth heroes whose writing wasn't heavily censored by the Party. In 1957, an official named Luo Jinan asked Chairman Mao: "What if Lu Xun were alive today?" Mao's reply about the national hero surprised many in the audience: "He could either sit in jail and continue to write or he could remain silent."

Those with the fortitude to seek and speak the truth in China today may take comfort, however, in something Lu Xun wrote: "Lies written in ink can never disguise facts written in blood."

One final thought, from a U.S. perspective: Hu Shih famously preferred solving concrete problems to wallowing in abstract political theory. But let me break his rule against discussing "isms" to ask whether China today would benefit from a little less nationalism and a little more populism. Democratic populism is less about left versus right than top versus bottom. It's about reminding a few that they need the consent of many to govern. When a privileged few grow too remote and self-interested, populism is what pulls them back or pitches them overboard. It has a kinetic energy. It fueled the Brexit vote of 2015 and President Trump's election in 2016. It moved the founder of your university to pen a declaration of independence in 1776. It is an admonition to the

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powerful of this country to remember who they're supposed to work for: America first.

Wasn't a similar idea beating in the heart of the May Fourth Movement, too? Weren't Hu Shih's language reforms a declaration of war against aristocratic pretension? Weren't they a broadside against the Confucian power structure that enforced conformity over free thought? Wasn't the goal to achieve citizen-centric government in China, and not replace one regime-centric model with another one? The world will wait for the Chinese people to furnish the answers.

Thank you.

This is the English-language version of a speech that was delivered by Deputy National Security Advisor Matt Pottinger in Mandarin Chinese.

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REMARKS DELIVERED BY PRESIDENT DONALD J. TRUMP

The White House Rose Garden

MAY 30, 2020

President Trump giving remarks in the White House Rose Garden.

Thank you very much. Good afternoon. Thank you. I'm here today to talk about our relationship with China and several new measures to protect American security and prosperity.

China's pattern of misconduct is well known. For decades, they have ripped off the United States like no one has ever done before. Hundreds of billions of dollars a year were lost dealing with China, especially over the years during the prior administration. China raided our factories, offshored our jobs, gutted our industries, stole our intellectual property, and violated their commitments under the World Trade

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Organization. To make matters worse, they are considered a developing nation getting all sorts of benefits that others, including the United States, are not entitled to.

But I never solely blamed China for this. They were able to get away with a theft like no one was able to get away with before because of past politicians and, frankly, past presidents. But unlike those who came before, my administration negotiated and fought for what was right. It's called: fair and reciprocal treatment.

China has also unlawfully claimed territory in the Pacific Ocean, threatening freedom of navigation and international trade. And they broke their word to the world on ensuring the autonomy of Hong Kong.

The United States wants an open and constructive relationship with China, but achieving that relationship requires us to vigorously defend our national interests. The Chinese government has continually violated its promises to us and so many other nations.

These plain facts cannot be overlooked or swept aside. The world is now suffering as a result of the malfeasance of the Chinese government. China's cover-up of the Wuhan virus allowed the disease to spread all over the world, instigating a global pandemic that has cost more than 100,000 American lives and over a million lives worldwide.

Chinese officials ignored their reporting obligations to the World Health Organization and pressured the World Health Organization to mislead the world when the virus was first discovered by Chinese authorities.

Countless lives have been taken, and profound economic hardship has been inflicted all around the globe. They strongly recommended against me doing the early ban from China, but I did it anyway and was proven to be 100 percent correct.

China has total control over the World Health Organization, despite only paying $40 million per year compared to what the United States has been paying, which is approximately $450 million a year.

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We have detailed the reforms that it must make and engage with them directly, but they have refused to act. Because they have failed to make the requested and greatly needed reforms, we will be today terminating our relationship with the World Health Organization and redirecting those funds to other worldwide and deserving, urgent, global public health needs.

The world needs answers from China on the virus. We must have transparency. Why is it that China shut off infected people from Wuhan to all other parts of China? It went nowhere else. It didn't go to Beijing; it went nowhere else. But allowed them to freely travel throughout the world, including Europe and the United States.

The death and destruction caused by this is incalculable. We must have answers not only for us but for the rest of the world.

This pandemic has underscored the crucial importance of building up America's economic independence, reshoring our critical supply chains and protecting America's scientific and technological advances.

For years, the government of China has conducted illicit espionage to steal our industrial secrets, of which there are many. Today, I will issue a proclamation to better secure our nation's vital university research and to suspend the entry of certain foreign nationals from China who we have identified as potential security risks.

I am also taking action to protect the integrity of America's financial system—by far, the best in the world. I am instructing my Presidential Working Group on Financial Markets to study the differing practices of Chinese companies listed on the U.S. financial markets, with the goal of protecting American investors.

Investment firms should not be subjecting their clients to the hidden and undue risks associated with financing Chinese companies that do not play by the same rules. Americans are entitled to fairness and transparency.

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Several of the most significant actions we're taking pertain to the deeply troubling situations unfolding in Hong Kong.

This week, China unilaterally imposed control over Hong Kong security. This was a plain violation of Beijing's treaty obligations with the United Kingdom in the Declaration of 1984 and explicit provisions of Hong Kong's Basic Law. It has 27 years to go.

Official White House Photo.

The Chinese government's move against Hong Kong is the latest in a series of measures that are diminishing the city's longstanding and very proud status.

This is a tragedy for the people of Hong Kong, the people of China, and indeed the people of the world. China claims it is protecting national security. But the truth is that Hong Kong was secure and prosperous as a free society. Beijing's decision reverses all of that. It extends the reach of China's invasive state security apparatus into what was formerly a bastion of liberty.

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China's latest incursion, along with other recent developments that degraded the territory's freedoms, makes clear that Hong Kong is no longer sufficiently autonomous to warrant the special treatment that we have afforded the territory since the handover.

China has replaced its promised formula of "one country, two systems" with "one country, one system."

Therefore, I am directing my administration to begin the process of eliminating policy exemptions that give Hong Kong different and special treatment.

My announcement today will affect the full range of agreements we have with Hong Kong, from our extradition treaty to our export controls on dual-use technologies and more, with few exceptions.

We will be revising the State Department's travel advisory for Hong Kong to reflect the increased danger of surveillance and punishment by the Chinese state security apparatus.

We will take action to revoke Hong Kong's preferential treatment as a separate customs and travel territory from the rest of China.

The United States will also take necessary steps to sanction PRC and Hong Kong officials directly or indirectly involved in eroding Hong Kong's autonomy and—just if you take a look, smothering—absolutely smothering Hong Kong's freedom. Our actions will be strong. Our actions will be meaningful.

More than two decades ago, on a rainy night in 1997, British soldiers lowered the Union Flag, and Chinese soldiers raised the Chinese flag in Hong Kong. The people of Hong Kong felt simultaneously proud of their Chinese heritage and their unique Hong Kong identity. The people of Hong Kong hoped that in the years and decades to come, China would increasingly come to resemble its most radiant and dynamic city. The rest of the world was electrified by a sense of optimism that Hong Kong was a glimpse into China's future—not that Hong Kong would grow into a reflection of China's past.

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In every decision, I will continue to proudly defend and protect the workers, families, and citizens of the United States of America.

Thank you very much. Thank you.

REMARKS DELIVERED BY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR ROBERT C. O'BRIEN

The Arizona Commerce Authority in Phoenix, Arizona

JUNE 24, 2020

National Security Advisor O'Brien delivering remarks at the Arizona Commerce Authority in Phoenix, Arizona.

The Chinese Communist Party's Ideology and Global Ambitions

Thank you Governor Ducey. That was an extraordinarily kind introduction. I appreciate you mentioning Kayla Mueller and her parents. We had Carl and Marsha at the State of the Union. That was a very special occasion for the President and for all of us as Americans. What happened to Kayla should never happen to anyone, especially an

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American. Thank you for remembering her today and for the support you have given her family.

It is great to be here in Phoenix. Congratulations on the TSMC factory that is coming to Arizona.[1] I can tell you there are 49 other governors that wished they had been Governor Ducey on this one. What a tremendous accomplishment for your administration, Governor. Our national security depends on bringing our supply chain home. This is especially true when we are dealing with critical technology, computer chips, that are not only important to our civilian world—the phones we use, the computers we use, the dishwashers, the refrigerators we use—but also to our military.[2] You have some great aerospace companies who are doing work in Arizona that will benefit from having their suppliers closer to home.[3] Congratulations to the people of Arizona.

It is wonderful to be here at the Arizona Commerce Authority. Congratulations to you as well for the excellent support you gave the governor and his administration in not only bringing the Taiwanese here but also many other manufacturing companies returning to America, many of which are coming to Arizona, with its great weather and sunshine.[4] As manufacturing returns to this country, Arizona will be at the top of many companies' list.

I bring you greetings from the 45th President of the United States, Donald J. Trump. I know he was here yesterday. It is privilege to follow in his wake. I think there is some other good news; the Vice President of

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1 Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company, "TSMC Announces Intention to Build and Operate an Advanced Semiconductor Fab in the United States," May 15, 2020, https://www.tsmc.com/tsmcdotcom/PRListingNewsAction.do?action=detail&newsid=THGOANPGTH

2 Don Clark, "Pentagon, With an Eye on China, Pushes for Help From American Tech," New York Times, October 25, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/25/technology/pentagon-taiwan-tsmc-chipmaker.html

3 Arizona Commerce Authority, "Aerospace & Defense," https://www.azcommerce.com/industries/aerospace-defense

4 Evan Cohen, "Manufacturers Bringing the Most Jobs Back to America," USA Today, June 28, 2018, https://www.usatoday.com/story/money/business/2018/06/28/manufacturers-bringing-most-jobs-back-to-america/36438051/

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the United States Mike Pence, my close friend, whose office is down the hall in the West Wing, will be here next week.

I appreciate the kind invitation to come discuss an issue of great importance to American national security with you, Governor and your colleagues here in Arizona: the challenge the Chinese Communist Party poses to the United States and our allies is of critical importance to us right now. My remarks are the first of several speeches senior Administration officials will give on this matter over the next few weeks. You will soon hear from Secretary of State Pompeo, Attorney General Barr, and FBI Director Chris Wray on the subject.

America, under President Trump's leadership, has finally awoken to the threat the Chinese Communist Party's actions pose to our very way of life.[5] For decades, conventional wisdom in both U.S. political parties, the business community, academia, and media, has held that it was only a matter of time before China would become more liberal, first economically and, then, politically.[6] The more we opened our markets to China, the thinking went, the more we invested capital in China, the more we trained PRC bureaucrats, scientists, engineers, and even military officers, the more China would become like us.[7]

Prior to President Donald J. Trump taking office, it was under this premise that we welcomed China into the World Trade Organization in 2001 with vast concessions and trade privileges.[8] We overlooked-China's gross human rights abuses, including Tiananmen Square.[9] We

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5 White House, "United States Strategic Approach to the People's Republic of China," May 20, 2020, https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/U.S.-Strategic-Approach-to-The-Peoples-Republic-of-China-Report-5.20.20.pdf

6 American Enterprise Institute, "The Paradox of Chinese Liberalism," November 13, 2019, https://www.aei.org/society-and-culture/the-paradox-of-chinese-liberalism/

7 Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, "Full Text of Clinton's Speech on China Trade Bill," March 9, 2000, https://www.iatp.org/sites/default/files/Full_Text_of_Clintons_Speech_on_China_Trade_Bi.htm

8 United States Trade Representative, "2018 Report to Congress on China's WTO Compliance," February 2019, https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/2018-USTR-Report-to-Congress-on-China%27s-WTO-Compliance.pdf

9 History, "Tiananmen Square Protests," June 4, 1989, https://www.history.com/topics/china/tiananmen-square

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turned a blind eye to China's widespread technology theft that eviscerated entire sectors of the American economy.[10]

As China grew richer and stronger, we believed, the Chinese Communist Party would liberalize to meet the rising democratic aspirations of its people.[11] This was a bold, quintessentially American idea, born of our innate optimism and by the experience of our triumph over Soviet Communism. Unfortunately, it turned out to be very naïve.

We could not have been more wrong—and this miscalculation is the greatest failure of American foreign policy since the 1930s. How did we make such a mistake? How did we fail to understand the nature of the Chinese Communist Party?

The answer is simple: because we did not pay heed to the Chinese Communist Party's ideology. Instead of listening to what Chinese Communist Party leaders were saying, and reading what they wrote in their key documents, we closed our ears and our eyes. We believed what we wanted to believe—that the Party members were communist in name only.[12]

Let us be clear, the Chinese Communist Party is a Marxist-Leninist organization.[13] The Party General Secretary Xi Jinping sees himself as Josef

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10 The Guardian, "China Theft of Technology is Biggest Law Enforcement Threat to US, FBI Says," February 6, 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/feb/06/china-technology-theft-fbi-biggest-threat

11 See, for example, Samuel Berger, "Building a New Consensus on China," June 6, 1997, https://astro.temple.edu/~rimmerma/building_a_new_consensus_on_chin.htm. Also see New York Times, "In Bush's Words: 'Join Together in Making China a Normal Trading Partner,'" May 18, 2000, https://www.nytimes.com/2000/05/18/world/in-bush-s-words-join-together-in-making-china-a-normal-trading-partner.html?referringSource=articleShare. Also see Robert Zoellick, "Whither China? From Membership to Responsibility," September 21, 2005, https://www.ncuscr.org/sites/default/files/migration/Zoellick_remarks_notes06_winter_spring.pdf. Also see "Bush Lauds Taiwan's Democracy Ahead of China Visit," November 16, 2005, https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5015189.

12 Richard McGregor, "Five Myths About the Chinese Communist Party," Foreign Policy, January 3, 2011, https://foreignpolicy.com/2011/01/03/5-myths-about-the-chinese-communist-party/

13 See, for example, Tanner Greer, "Xi Jinping in Translation: China's Guiding Ideology," May 31, 2019,

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Stalin's successor.[14] In fact, as the journalist and former Australian government official John Garnaut has noted, the Chinese Communist Party is the last "ruling communist party that never split with Stalin, with the partial exception of North Korea."[15] Yes, Stalin—the man whose brutal dictatorship and disastrous policies killed roughly 20 million Russians and others through famine, forced collectivization, executions, and labor camps.[16] As interpreted and practiced by Lenin, Stalin, and Mao, communism is a totalitarian ideology.[17]

Under communism, individuals are merely a means to be used toward the achievement of the ends of the collective nation state. Thus, individuals can be easily sacrificed for the nation state's goals.[18] Individuals do not have inherent value under Marxism-Leninism. They exist to serve the state; the state does not exist to serve them.

These ideas sound remote and outdated to us. They are, after all, old ideas—they were born a century and a half ago in Europe. They were implemented a century ago by Russia, and then discarded 30 years ago as the most costly failed political experiment in history. But in China, these ideas remain as fundamental to the Chinese Communist Party as the Constitution and the Bill of Rights are to us as Americans.[19]

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https://palladiummag.com/2019/05/31/xi-jinping-in-translation-chinas-guiding-ideology/, and "Full text of Xi Jinping's report at the 19th CPC National Congress," November 4, 2017, https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/19thcpcnationalcongress/2017-11/04/content_34115212.htm

14 John Pomfret, "Xi Jinping's quest to revive Stalin's communist Ideology," The Washington Post, October 16, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/global-opinions/wp/2017/10/16/xi-jinpings-quest-to-revive-stalins-communist-ideology/

15 John Garnaut, "Engineers of the Soul: Ideology in Xi Jinping's China," January 16, 2019, https://sinocism.com/p/engineers-of-the-soul-ideology-in

16 Bill Keller, "Major Soviet Paper Says 20 Million Died As Victims of Stalin," The New York Times, Feb. 4, 1989, https://www.nytimes.com/1989/02/04/world/major-soviet-paper-says-20-million-died-as-victims-of-stalin.html

17 John Garnaut, "Engineers of the Soul: Ideology in Xi Jinping's China," January 16, 2019, https://sinocism.com/p/engineers-of-the-soul-ideology-in

18 Center for European Studies at UNC, "Communism: Karl Marx to Joseph Stalin," https://europe.unc.edu/iron-curtain/history/communism-karl-marx-to-joseph-stalin/

19 Eleanor Albert, Beina Xu, and Lindsay Maizland, "The Chinese Communist Party," Council on Foreign Relations," June 9, 2020, https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/chinese-communist-party

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The Chinese Communist Party seeks total control over the Chinese people's lives. This means economic control, it means political control, it means physical control, and, perhaps most importantly, it means thought control.[20]

"In Classical Chinese statecraft," Garnaut has noted, "there are two tools for gaining and maintaining control over 'the mountains and the rivers': the first is wu (武), weapons and violence, and the second is wen (文), language and culture. Chinese leaders have always believed that power derives from controlling both the physical battlefield and the cultural domain." "For Lenin, Stalin, Mao and Xi," Garnaut writes, "words are not vehicles of reason and persuasion. They are bullets. Words are for defining, isolating, and destroying opponents."[21]

Propaganda plays a central political role for the Chinese Communist Party.[22] Beijing's efforts to dominate political thought are stated openly and pursued aggressively.[23] In 1989, the party began organizing itself around 'ideological security,' a term repeated frequently since then by Chinese Communist Party leaders.[24] More recently, in April 2013, the Party issued a policy on what they call the "current state of ideology." It held that there should be "absolutely no opportunity or outlets for incorrect thinking or viewpoints to spread."[25]

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20 Amy Qin, Javier Hernandez, "How China's Rulers Control Society: Opportunity, Nationalism, Fear," New York Times, November 25, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/11/25/world/asia/china-freedoms-control.html

21 John Garnaut, "Engineers of the Soul: Ideology in Xi Jinping's China," January 16, 2019, https://sinocism.com/p/engineers-of-the-soul-ideology-in

22 David Shambaugh, "China's Propaganda System: Institutions, Processes and Efficacy," *The China Journal*, no. 57 (2007): 25-58. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20066240?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents

23 Stephen McDonell, "China Congress: How Authorities Censor Your Thoughts," BBC, October 16, 2017, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-41523073

24 Qiushi Theory, "Closely Watch Out for Ideology Security on the Internet," June 15, 2014, http://chinascope.org/archives/3283?doing_wp_cron=1593280261.9284429550170898437500. Also see Jack Hu and Oiwan Lam, "In quest for 'ideological security,' China Pushes to Extend Communist Party Influence Inside Tech Firms," September 10, 2017, https://hongkongfp.com/2017/09/10/quest-ideological-security-china-pushes-extend-communist-party-influence-inside-tech-firms/

25 Chris Buckley, "China Takes Aim at Western Ideas," New York Times, August 20, 2013,

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Within China, this policy means mandatory study sessions on Communist ideology and the required download and use of smartphone apps that teach so-called "Xi Jinping Thought." It also means complete Party control of all state media.[26] Outside sources of information are banned—from foreign newspapers to Twitter, Facebook, and WhatsApp. All content generated within China is censored. It means jailing everyone from citizen bloggers, reporters, and lawyers to activists and religious believers for expressing any views contrary to the Party line.[27]

And indeed, just recently, between January 1 and April 4 of this year, nearly 500 individuals were charged with crimes just for speaking out about the Wuhan coronavirus, its effects upon the Party, and the Party's cover-up of the disease.[28]

The Chinese Communist Party reinterprets religious texts, including the Bible, to support communist party ideology.[29] It locks up millions of Muslim Uyghurs and other minorities in reeducation camps where they are subjected to political indoctrination and forced labor, while their children are raised in Party-run orphanages.[30] For those caught up in

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https://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/20/world/asia/chinas-new-leadership-takes-hard-line-in-secret-memo.html. See also "Document 9: A ChinaFile Translation," November 8, 2013, https://www.chinafile.com/document-9-chinafile-translation

26 The Guardian, "Xi Jinping Asks for 'Absolute Loyalty' from Chinese State Media," February 19, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/19/xi-jinping-tours-chinas-top-state-media-outlets-to-boost-loyalty

27 Alexandra Ma, "Barging Into Your Home, Threatening Your Family, or Making You Disappear: Here's What China Does to People Who Speak Out Against Them," Business Insider, August 19, 2018, https://www.businessinsider.com/how-china-deals-with-dissent-threats-family-arrests-2018-8

28 Bradford Betz, "China Has Arrested Hundreds for Speaking Out About Coronavirus, Reports Show," May 13, 2020, https://www.foxnews.com/world/china-arrested-hundreds-speaking-out-coronavirus

29 Nectar Gan, "China's Religion Chiefs to Double Down on Bringing Doctrine in Line with Socialist Dogma," Novebmer 27, 2019, https://www.scmp.com/news/china/politics/article/3039636/chinas-religion-chiefs-double-down-bringing-doctrine-line

30 Sigal Samuel, "China's Jaw-Dropping Family Separation Policy," The Atlantic, September 4, 2018, https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/09/china-internment-camps-uighur-muslim-children/569062/

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camps, this process annihilates family, religion, culture, language, and heritage.[31] Under the Chinese Communist Party, information istightly controlled and expression is constantly surveilled, so that it can be quashed or shaped by the state.[32]

Americans should be concerned. We should not be concerned only for the Chinese people but also for ourselves. Xi Jinping's ambitions for ideological control are not limited to his own people. The Chinese Communist Party's stated goal is to create a "Community of Common Destiny for Mankind," and remake the world in its image. The effort to control thought beyond the borders of China is well under way.[33]

Over the past decade, the Party has invested billions of dollars into overseas propaganda operations to great effect. The Chinese Communist Party has moved to eliminate 'unfriendly' Chinese language media outlets worldwide, and is close to succeeding.[34] Nearly every Chinese

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31 Congressional-Executive Commission on China, "Forced Labor, Mass Internment, and Social Control in Xinjiang," October 17, 2019, https://www.cecc.gov/events/hearings/forced-labor-mass-internment-and-social-control-in-xinjiang. See also International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, "China Cables," November 2019, https://www.icij.org/investigations/china-cables/?gclid=Cj0KCQjw3Nv3BRC8ARIsAPh8hgLXPhPHJydiGsyuMpKTlK1JE-CDJc2bIkMz9ef6VCiHpiD7EunoE8IaAj-CEALw_wcB. Also see "Assistant Secretary of Defense for Indo-Pacific Security Affairs Shriver Press Briefing on the 2019 Report on Military and Security Developments in China," May 3, 2019, https://www.defense.gov/Newsroom/Transcripts/Transcript/Article/1837011/assistant-secretary-of-defense-for-indo-pacific-security-affairs-schriver-press/

32 Freedom House, "Chinese Communist Party's Media Influence Expands Worldwide," January 14, 2020, https://freedomhouse.org/article/chinese-communist-partys-media-influence-expands-worldwide

33 See, for example, Samantha Hoffman, "China's Tech-Enhanced Authoritarianism," May 16, 2019, https://docs.house.gov/meetings/IG/IG00/20190516/109462/HHRG-116-IG00-Wstate-HoffmanS-20190516.pdf and "Engineering global consent," October 14, 2019, https://www.aspi.org.au/report/engineering-global-consent-chinese-communist-partys-data-driven-power-expansion. Also see Sarah Cook, "Beijing's Global Megaphone," 2020, https://freedomhouse.org/report/special-report/2020/beijings-global-megaphone. Also see Hal Brands, "What Does China Really Want? To Dominate the World," May 20, 2020, https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2020-05-20/xi-jinping-makes-clear-that-china-s-goal-is-to-dominate-the-world.

34 Louisa Lim, Julia Bergin, "Inside China's Audacious Global Propaganda Campaign," The Guardian, December 7, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/dec/07/china-plan-for-global-media-dominance-propaganda-xi-jinping

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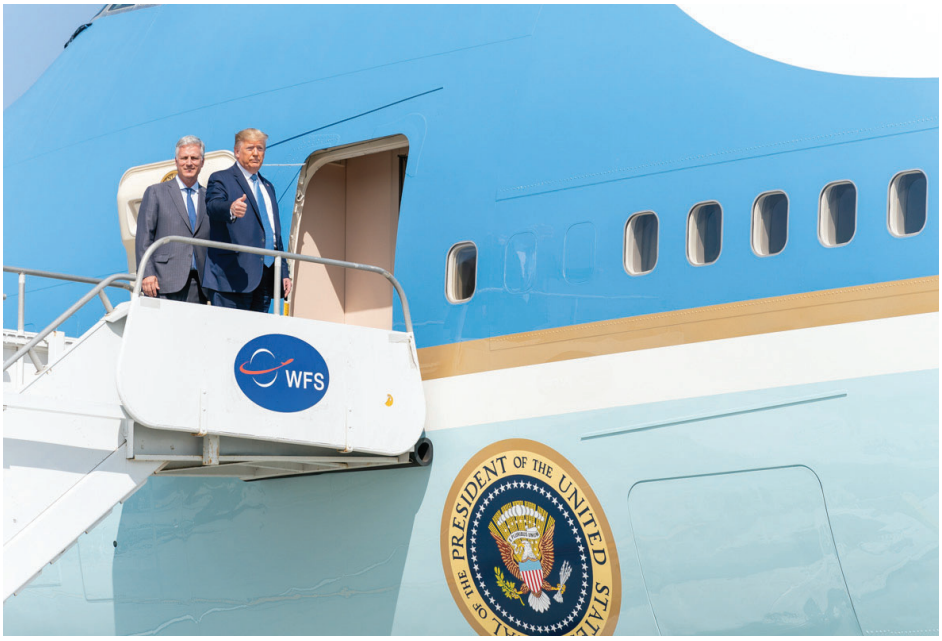
language news outlet in the U.S. is either owned by, or works closely with the Party—and the Chinese Communist Party is making inroads into English language media as well. Americans hear subtle pro-Beijing propaganda on more than a dozen FM radio stations in cities across the country.[35]



President Trump and National Security Advisor O'Brien arrive at Air Force One

Recently, Chinese propaganda persuaded so many Americans that a U.S. solider had brought the coronavirus to Wuhan—as opposed to Wuhan sending the virus to the rest of the world (a complete fabrication by the Chinese Communist Party) that this soldier and her family needed a personal security detail to protect them from death threats. This situation occurred in Maryland.[36]

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35 Hoover Institution, 2018, "Chinese Influence & American Interests: Promoting Constructive Vigilance," https://www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/research/docs/chineseinfluence_americaninterests_fullreport_web.pdf. Also see Sarah Cook, "Beijing's Global Megaphone," 2020, https://freedomhouse.org/report/special-report/2020/beijings-global-megaphone

36 Steven Meyers, "China Spins Tale That the U.S. Army Started the Coronavirus Epidemic," New York Times, March 13, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/13/world/asia/coronavirus-china-conspiracy-theory.html

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On TikTok, a Chinese-owned social media platform with over 40 million American users—probably a lot of your kids and younger colleagues—accounts criticizing Chinese Communist Party policies are routinely removed or deleted.[37]

Last week, Twitter announced the suspension of more than 23,000 Chinese Communist Party linked accounts for spreading propaganda on Hong Kong and COVID-19.[38] This latest suspension was in addition to last August's removal of more than 150,000 Chinese Communist Party linked accounts that were used to spread anti-American disinformation and generate the illusion of popular support for Beijing's policies in the United States.[39] These are just the accounts Twitter caught. How many are still out there undetected?

In March, the Chinese Communist Party expelled American journalists working for the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, and the Washington Post,[40] almost fully eliminating independent reporting from within China on the Wuhan virus.

In addition to influencing what information American citizens receive regarding China, the Chinese Communist Party is increasingly using its leverage to police American speech.[41] When the University of California

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37 See, for example, Sara Morrison, "TikTok is Accused of Censoring Anti-Chinese Government Content, Again," November 27, 2019, https://www.vox.com/recode/2019/11/27/20985795/tiktok-censorship-china-uighur-bytedance, and Drew Harwell and Tony Romm, "TikTok's Beijing roots fuel censorship suspicion as it builds a huge U.S. audience," https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2019/09/15/tiktoks-beijing-roots-fuel-censorship-suspicion-it-builds-huge-us-audience/

38 Twitter Safety, "Disclosing Networks of State-linked Information Operations We've Removed," June 12, 2020, https://blog.twitter.com/en_us/topics/company/2020/information-operations-june-2020.html

39 Twitter Safety, "Information Operations Directed at Hong Kong," August 19, 2019, https://blog.twitter.com/en_us/topics/company/2019/information_operations_directed_at_Hong_Kong.html

40 Wall Street Journal, "China Banishes U.S. Journalists from Wall Street Journal, New York Times and Washington Post," March 18, 2020, https://www.wsj.com/articles/china-bans-all-u-s-nationals-working-for-the-wall-street-journal-new-york-times-washington-post-whose-press-credentials-end-in-2020-11584464690

41 Michael Pompeo, "On the Chinese Communist Party's Obscene Propaganda," U.S. Department of State, June 6, 2020, https://www.state.gov/on-the-chinese-communist-partys-obscene-propaganda/

at San Diego hosted the Dalai Lama as a commencement speaker in 2017, Beijing banned Chinese students from visiting UCSD on government funds.[42]

When the general manager of the Houston Rockets tweeted his support for the peaceful Hong Kong protesters, the Chinese Communist Party announced its team's games would not be shown on Chinese TV. The Party used its economic power to pressure others in basketball, including star players, to criticize the tweet on behalf of Beijing.[43]

Under pressure from the Chinese Communist Party, American, Delta, and United Airlines all removed references to Taiwan from their corporate websites.[44] Mercedes Benz even apologized for posting an inspirational quote from the Dalai Lama on social media.[45]

Beijing has also used its financial might and market access to pressure Hollywood into self-censorship, incentivizing directors and producers to avoid topics that might not make it past the country's censors in China. For example, the Japanese and Taiwanese flags were dropped from Tom Cruise's flight jacket in the upcoming Top Gun sequel "Maverick."[46] MGM digitally changed the identities, post-production, of the invading military from China to North Korea in the "Red Dawn" remake.[47]

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42 Stephanie Saul, "On Campuses Far From China, Still Under Beijing's Watchful Eye," New York Times, May 4, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/04/us/chinese-students-western-campuses-china-influence.html

43 Sopan Deb, "N.B.A. Commissioner: China Asked Us to Fire Daryl Morey," New York Times, October 17, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/17/sports/basketball/nba-china-adam-silver.html

44 Daniel Shane, "US airlines give in to China's demands over Taiwan," CNN, July 25, 2018, https://money.cnn.com/2018/07/25/news/companies/taiwan-china-airlines/index.html

45 Peil Li and Adam Jourdan, "Mercedes-Benz Apologizes to Chinese for Quoting Dalai Lama," Reuters, February 6, 2018, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mercedes-benz-china-gaffe/mercedes-benz-apologizes-to-chinese-for-quoting-dalai-lama-idUSKBN1FQ1FJ.

46 Adam Kredo, "Cruz: 'Top Gun' Censorship for China Proves 'Hollywood is Afraid to Stand Up for Free Speech,'" July 26, 2019, https://freebeacon.com/national-security/cruz-top-gun-censorship-for-china-proves-hollywood-is-afraid-to-stand-up-for-free-speech/

47 Ben Fritz, John Horn, "Reel China: Hollywood Tries to Stay on China's Good Side," Los

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The Chinese Communist Party is seeking leverage over individual Americans as well. The Party is collecting your most intimate data—your words, your actions, your purchases, your whereabouts, your health records, your social media posts, your texts, and mapping your network of friends, family, and acquaintances.[48]

The Chinese Communist Party accomplishes this goal, in part, by subsidizing hardware, software, telecommunications, and even genetics companies.[49] As a result, corporations such as Huawei and ZTE undercut competitors on price and install their equipment around the globe at a loss.[50] This has the side effect of putting out of business American manufacturers of telecom hardware and has made it very difficult for Nokia and Ericsson.[51] Why do they do it? Because it is not telecom hardware or software profits the Chinese Communist Party are after, it is your data. They use "backdoors" built into the products to obtain that data.

When the Chinese Communist Party cannot buy your data, it steals it. In 2014, the Chinese hacked Anthem insurance, collecting sensi-

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Angeles Times, March 16, 2011, https://www.latimes.com/entertainment/la-et-china-red-dawn-20110316-story.html

48 Samantha Hoffman, "Why You Should Worry if You Have a Chinese Smartphone," October 26, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2019/oct/26/china-technology-social-management-internet-social-credit-system. Also see Emile Dirks and James Leibold, "Genomic surveillance," June 17, 2020, https://www.aspi.org.au/report/genomic-surveillance. Also see Danielle Cave, Samantha Hoffman, Alex Joske, Fergus Ryan and Elise Thomas, "Mapping China's Tech Giants, April 18, 2019, https://www.aspi.org.au/report/mapping-chinas-tech-giants

49 On Chinese tech firms' links to the Chinese Communist Party and government, see, for example, Dr. Christopher Ashley Ford, September 11, 2019, "Huawei and Its Siblings, the Chinese Tech Giants: National Security and Foreign Policy Implications," https://www.state.gov/huawei-and-its-siblings-the-chinese-tech-giants-national-security-and-foreign-policy-implications/. Also see Chuin-Wei Yap, "State Support Helped Fuel Huawei's Global Rise," December 25, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/state-support-helped-fuel-huaweis-global-rise-11577280736.

50 Brian Fung, "How China's Huawei Took the Lead Over U.S. Companies in 5G Technology," The Washington Post, April 10, 2019, https://search.proquest.com/docview/2206871501/citation/2D74B574CE9949D0PQ/1?accountid=45205

51 Tarmo Virki, Angela Moon, "In Push to Replace Huawei, Rural U.S. Carriers Are Talking with Nokia and Ericsson," Reuters, June 25, 2019, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-huawei-tech-usa-nokia-ericsson-exclus/exclusive-in-push-to-replace-huawei-rural-us-carriers-are-talking-with-nokia-and-ericsson-idUSKCN1TQ1VV

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tive information on 80 million Americans.[52] In 2015, China hacked the Office of Personnel Management, which holds security clearance information, acquiring sensitive data on 20 million Americans who work for the federal government.[53] In 2017, the Chinese government hacked Equifax, obtaining the names, birthdates, social security numbers, and credit scores of 145 million Americans.[54]

In 2019, Chinese hackers attacked Marriott, gathering information on 383 million guests, including their passport numbers.[55] And, in 2016, a Chinese company even bought the dating app Grindr to harvest its data, including the HIV status of users, before the U.S. government-forced a divestiture on national security grounds.[56] These are just a few of the instances we know about.

How will the Chinese Communist Party use this data? In the same way it uses data within China's borders: to target, to flatter, to cajole, to influence, to coerce, and to even blackmail individuals to say and do things that serve the Party's interests. This is 'micro targeting' beyond an advertiser's wildest dreams. China, unlike advertisers, will not be stopped by government regulations. The Chinese Communist Party simply wants to know everything about you—just as it likes to know almost everything about every individual living in China.

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52 Erik Larson, "Chinese Citizen Indicted in Anthem Hack of 80 Million People," Bloomberg, May 9, 2019, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-05-09/chinese-national-indicted-by-u-s-grand-jury-over-anthem-hack

53 Ellen Nakashima, "Hacks of OPM Databases Compromised 22.1 Million People, Federal Authorities Say," The Washington Post, July 9, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/federal-eye/wp/2015/07/09/hack-of-security-clearance-system-affected-21-5-million-people-federal-authorities-say/

54 Katie Benner, "U.S. Charges Chinese Military Officers in 2017 Equifax Hacking," New York Times, February 10, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/10/us/politics/equifax-hack-china.html

55 David Sanger, "Marriott Data Breach Is Traced to Chinese Hackers as U.S. Readies Crackdown on Beijing," New York Times, December 11, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/11/us/politics/trump-china-trade.html

56 David Sanger, "Grindr Is Owned by a Chinese Firm, and the U.S. Is Trying to Force It to Sell," New York Times, March 28, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/28/us/politics/grindr-china-national-security.html

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In addition to propaganda and influence operations, the Chinese Communist Party uses trade to coerce compliance with its dictates. When Australia called for an independent investigation of the coronavirus' origins and spread, the Chinese Communist Party threatened to stop buying Australian agricultural products and to prevent Chinesestudents and tourists from traveling to Australia.[57] When Australia refused to relent, Beijing put these threats into force, imposing an 80% tariff on Australian barley exports.[58]

International organizations are also part of China's plan. China has sought leadership positions within many global bodies.[59] China now heads four out of fifteen UN specialized agencies, more than the U.S., UK, France, and Russia, the other members of the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, combined.[60] The PRC uses these positions to force the international bodies to parrot Beijing's talking points and to install Chinese telecommunications equipment in their facilities.

For example, since Houlin Zhao took his post at the International Telecommunications Union, he has aggressively promoted Huawei sales.[61] Secretary-General Fang Liu of the International Civil Aviation Organization has blocked Taiwan's participation in General Assembly meetings and covered up a Chinese hack of the organization.[62] The

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57 Daniel Hurst, "Australia-China Trade Tensions Raise Fears Over Future of Agricultural-Exports," The Guardian, May 12, 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/may/13/australia-china-trade-tensions-raise-fears-over-future-of-agricultural-exports

58 VOA News, "China Imposes Massive Tariffs on Australia Barley Imports, Sparking Fears of Trade War," May 19, 2020, https://www.voanews.com/economy-business/china-imposes-massive-tariffs-australia-barley-imports-sparking-fears-trade-war

59 Tung Cheng-Chia and Alan H. Yang, "How China Is Remaking the UN In Its Own Image," April 9, 2020, https://thediplomat.com/2020/04/how-china-is-remaking-the-un-in-its-own-image/

60 Courtney Fung, ShingHon Lam, "China Already Leads 4 of the 15 U.N. Specialized Agencies—and is Aiming for a 5th," The Washington Post, March 3, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/03/03/china-already-leads-4-15-un-specialized-agencies-is-aiming-5th/

61 Tom Miles, "Huawei Allegations Driven by Politics Not Evidence, U.N. Telecoms Chief," Reuters, April 5, 2019, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-china-huawei-tech-un/huawei-allegations-driven-by-politics-not-evidence-u-n-telecoms-chief-idUSKCN1RH1KN

62 Gerrit van der Wees, "China Continues to Block Taiwan in the International Arena," The Diplomat, May 18, 2017, https://thediplomat.com/2017/05/china-continues-to-block-

Party has also used China's membership on the UN Human Rights Council to prevent criticism of its abuses in Xinjiang and Hong Kong.[63]

The Chinese Communist Party's reach extends to heads of international organizations who are not themselves Chinese officials. Under Beijing's thumb, and at an unacceptable cost to human life, Director-General Tedros of the World Health Organization dutifully used Chinese talking points on the Wuhan virus.[64] As late as mid-January, he claimed there was no human-to-human transmission of the disease. He opposed international travel restrictions.[65] At the same time, Tedros praised China's own domestic travel restrictions on Wuhan residents. In other words, they could travel overseas, but they could not travel and potentially take the virus to Beijing or Shanghai.[66] These Chinese Communist Party tactics in international organizations, as we have seen with the coronavirus, are a major cause of concern not just for the United States, but to the world.

The good news is that under President Trump's leadership, we know what the Chinese Communist Party is doing, we are calling it out, and we are taking decisive action to counter it across the board.[67]

First, President Trump prevented certain companies that answer to the Chinese Communist Party's intelligence and security apparatus—such as Chinese telecommunications giant Huawei—from accessing your

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taiwan-in-the-international-arena/

63 Lindsay Maizland, "Is China Undermining Human Rights at the United Nations?" Council on Foreign Relations, July 9, 2019, https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/china-undermining-human-rights-united-nations

64 Michael Collins, "The WHO and China: Dereliction of Duty," Council on Foreign Relations, February 27, 2020, https://www.cfr.org/blog/who-and-china-dereliction-duty

65 Stephanie Nebehay, "WHO Chief Says Widespread Travel Bans Not Needed to Beat China Virus," Reuters, February 3, 2020, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-health-who/who-chief-says-widespread-travel-bans-not-needed-to-beat-china-virus-idUSKBN1ZX1H3

66 Stephanie Yang, "Travel Barriers Rise as WHO Chief Praises Beijing's Coronavirus Response," Wall Street Journal, January 28, 2020, https://www.wsj.com/articles/who-chief-praises-beijings-coronavirus-response-as-travel-barriers-rise-11580227640

67 White House, "United States Strategic Approach to the People's Republic of China," May 20, 2020, https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/U.S.-Strategic-Approach-to-The-Peoples-Republic-of-China-Report-5.20.20.pdf

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personal and private data.[68] The Administration also imposed restrictions on U.S. semiconductor technology from going to Huawei.[69]

Second, the State Department designated the U.S. operations of 9 Chinese state-controlled propaganda outlets as foreign missions.[70] These organizations are the mouthpieces of the Chinese Communist Party. This designation places reporting requirements and visa restrictions on these so-called media outlets.[71]

Third, President Trump imposed export restrictions on 21 Chinese government entities and 16 Chinese companies complicit in China's campaign of repression, mass arbitrary detention, forced labor and high-technology surveillance against Uyghurs and other minorities, and we have blocked officials complicit in these abuses from travelling to the United States.[72] The Administration has also stopped the illegal

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68 White House, "Executive Order on Securing the Information and Communications Technology and Services Supply Chain," May 15, 2019, https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/executive-order-securing-information-communications-technology-services-supply-chain/ and White House, "Executive Order on Establishing the Committee for the Assessment of Foreign Participation in the United States Telecommunications Services Sector," April 4, 2020, https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/executive-order-establishing-committee-assessment-foreign-participation-united-states-telecommunications-services-sector/

69 Department of Commerce, "Commerce Addresses Huawei's Efforts to Undermine Entity List, Restricts Products Designed and Produced with U.S. Technologies," May 15, 2020, https://www.commerce.gov/news/press-releases/2020/05/commerce-addresses-huaweis-efforts-undermine-entity-list-restricts

70 Department of State, "Designation of Additional Chinese Media Entities as Foreign Missions," June 22, 2020, https://www.state.gov/designation-of-additional-chinese-media-entities-as-foreign-missions/

71 Kate O'Keeffe, Jonathan Cheng, "State Department Names Five Chinese Media Outlets as Foreign Missions in U.S.," Wall Street Journal, February 18, 2020, https://www.wsj.com/articles/state-department-names-five-chinese-media-outlets-as-foreign-diplomatic-missions-in-u-s-11582062002

72 White House, "United States Strategic Approach to the People's Republic of China," May 20, 2020, https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/U.S.-Strategic-Approach-to-The-Peoples-Republic-of-China-Report-5.20.20.pdf; also see Department of Commerce, "Commerce Department to Add Nine Chinese Entities Related to Human Rights Abuses in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region to the Entity List," May 22, 2020, https://www.commerce.gov/news/press-releases/2020/05/commerce-department-add-nine-chinese-entities-related-human-rights

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import of goods produced by Chinese companies known to use Uyghur forced labor.[73]

Fourth, President Trump left the United Nations Human Rights Council to protest its cooptation by China.[74] He has terminated the U.S. relationship with the World Health Organization, because its response to the pandemic showed that it is entirely beholden to China.[75] Instead of funding the corrupt WHO in Geneva with over $400 million per year, the United States and its generous taxpayers will now send that money directly to where it is needed most—frontline healthcare workers serving in developing countries around the world.[76]

Fifth, President Trump limited the People's Liberation Army's ability to use student visa programs to place its officers and employees in our colleges and universities to steal U.S. technology, intellectual property, and information.[77]

Sixth, the President moved to halt the investment of U.S. federal employee retirement funds into PRC companies, including Chinese military contractors and manufacturers of surveillance equipment used to

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73 U.S. Customs and Border Patrol, "CBP Issues Detention Order on Hair Products Manufactured with Force Labor in China," May 1, 2020, https://www.cbp.gov/newsroom/national-media-release/cbp-issues-detention-order-hair-products-manufactured-forced-labor; also see June 17, 2020, https://www.cbp.gov/newsroom/national-media-release/cbp-issues-detention-order-hair-products-manufactured-forced-labor-0 and October 1, 2019

74 White House, "President Donald J. Trump is Standing Up for Human Rights at the U.N.," June 21, 2018, https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trump-standing-human-rights-u-n/

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oppress religious minorities.[78] He is also examining the opaque accounting practices of Chinese companies listed on U.S. stock exchanges.[79]

Finally, this week, the Defense Department is submitting to Congress a list of People's Liberation Army-linked companies with operations in the United States so that the American people are fully informed about exactly with whom they are doing business.[80]

Now, these steps are just the start as America corrects 40 years of a one-sided, unfair relationship with China that has severely affected our nation's economic and, recently, political well-being. Just like the tariffs that were imposed by the President on unfair trade practices early in his Administration, there is more to come.

President Trump understands that lasting peace comes through strength. We are the strongest nation on earth, and we will not bend to the Chinese Communist Party. As the foregoing actions demonstrate, the Trump Administration is countering Chinese Communist Party's malign activity. The Trump Administration will speak out and reveal what the Chinese Communist Party believes, and what it is planning—not just for China and Hong Kong and Taiwan, but for the world.

Together with our allies and partners, we will resist the Chinese Communist Party's efforts to manipulate our people and our governments, damage our economies, and undermine our sovereignty. The days of American passivity and naivety regarding the People's Republic of China and its communist rulers are over.

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We will stay true to our principles—especially freedom of speech—which stand in stark contrast to the Marxist-Leninist ideology embraced by the Chinese Communist Party. Under President Trump's leadership, we will encourage diversity of thought, resist efforts to police speech or encourage self-censorship, protect Americans' personal data, and above all, continue to proclaim that all women and men are entitled by God to liberty, life, and the pursuit of happiness.

As I close, let me be clear—we have deep respect and admiration for the Chinese people. The United States has a long history of friendship with the Chinese nation. But the Chinese Communist Party does not equal China or her people.

To the Chinese Communist Party, I say, as the recent Phase One trade deal has shown, it is possible for our governments to have a productive relationship. We want a good relationship with China, but we do not want relations on the terms currently on offer from Beijing.

As Americans, I am certain that we will rise to successfully meet the challenge presented by the Chinese Communist Party, just as we have responded to all the great crises in our history. President Trump is leading the way. And like President Trump, I firmly believe that our best days as a country remain ahead of us.

Again, thank you for joining me here today. It is a privilege to be here in Phoenix, Arizona. May God bless you and may God bless the United States of America.

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REMARKS DELIVERED BY FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION DIRECTOR CHRISTOPHER WRAY

The Hudson Institute, Washington, D.C.

JULY 7, 2020

FBI Director Wray speaking at the Hudson Institue in Washington, D.C.

Good morning. I realize it's challenging, particularly under the current circumstances, to put on an event like this, so I'm grateful to the Hudson Institute for hosting us today.

The greatest long-term threat to our nation's information and intellectual property, and to our economic vitality, is the counterintelligence and economic espionage threat from China. It's a threat to our economic security—and by extension, to our national security.

As National Security Advisor O'Brien said in his recent remarks, we cannot close our eyes and ears to what China is doing—and today, in light of the importance of this threat, I will provide more detail on the Chinese threat than the FBI has ever presented in an open forum. This threat is so significant that the attorney general and secretary of state will also be addressing a lot of these issues in the next few weeks. But if you think these issues are just an intelligence issue, or a government problem, or a nuisance largely just for big corporations who can take care of themselves—you could not be more wrong.

It's the people of the United States who are the victims of what amounts to Chinese theft on a scale so massive that it represents one of the largest transfers of wealth in human history.

If you are an American adult, it is more likely than not that China has stolen your personal data.

In 2017, the Chinese military conspired to hack Equifax and made off with the sensitive personal information of 150 million Americans—we're talking nearly half of the American population and most American adults—and as I'll discuss in a few moments, this was hardly a stand-alone incident.

Our data isn't the only thing at stake here—so are our health, our livelihoods, and our security.

We've now reached the point where the FBI is opening a new China-related counterintelligence case about every 10 hours. Of the nearly 5,000 active FBI counterintelligence cases currently underway across the country, almost half are related to China. And at this very moment, China is working to compromise American health care organizations, pharmaceutical companies, and academic institutions conducting essential COVID-19 research.

But before I go on, let me be clear: This is not about the Chinese people, and it's certainly not about Chinese Americans. Every year, the United States welcomes more than 100,000 Chinese students and researchers

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into this country. For generations, people have journeyed from China to the United States to secure the blessings of liberty for themselves and their families—and our society is better for their contributions. So, when I speak of the threat from China, I mean the government of China and the Chinese Communist Party.

To understand this threat and how we must act to respond to it, the American people should remember three things.

First: We need to be clear-eyed about the scope of the Chinese government's ambition. China—the Chinese Communist Party—believes it is in a generational fight to surpass our country in economic and technological leadership.

That is sobering enough. But it's waging this fight not through legitimate innovation, not through fair and lawful competition, and not by giving their citizens the freedom of thought and speech and creativity that we treasure here in the United States. Instead, China is engaged in a whole-of-state effort to become the world's only superpower by any means necessary.

The second thing the American people need to understand is that China uses a diverse range of sophisticated techniques—everything from cyber intrusions to corrupting trusted insiders. They've even engaged in outright physical theft. And they've pioneered an expansive approach to stealing innovation through a wide range of actors—including not just Chinese intelligence services but state-owned enterprises, ostensibly private companies, certain kinds of graduate students and researchers, and a whole variety of other actors working on their behalf.

To achieve its goals and surpass America, China recognizes it needs to make leaps in cutting-edge technologies. But the sad fact is that instead of engaging in the hard slog of innovation, China often steals American intellectual property and then uses it to compete against the very American companies it victimized—in effect, cheating twice over. They're targeting research on everything from military equipment to wind turbines to rice and corn seeds.

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Through its talent recruitment programs, like the so-called Thousand Talents Program, the Chinese government tries to entice scientists to secretly bring our knowledge and innovation back to China—even if that means stealing proprietary information or violating our export controls and conflict-of-interest rules.

Take the case of scientist Hongjin Tan, for example, a Chinese national and American lawful permanent resident. He applied to China's Thousand Talents Program and stole more than $1 billion—that's with a "b"—worth of trade secrets from his former employer, an Oklahoma-based petroleum company, and got caught. A few months ago, he was convicted and sent to prison.

Or there's the case of Shan Shi, a Texas-based scientist, also sentenced to prison earlier this year. Shi stole trade secrets regarding syntactic foam, an important naval technology used in submarines. Shi, too, had applied to China's Thousand Talents Program, and specifically pledged to "digest" and "absorb" the relevant technology in the United States. He did this on behalf of Chinese state-owned enterprises, which ultimately planned to put the American company out of business and take over the market.

In one of the more galling and egregious aspects of the scheme, the conspirators actually patented in China the very manufacturing process they'd stolen, and then offered their victim American company a joint venture using its own stolen technology. We're talking about an American company that spent years and millions of dollars developing that technology, and China couldn't replicate it—so, instead, it paid to have it stolen.

And just two weeks ago, Hao Zhang was convicted of economic espionage, theft of trade secrets, and conspiracy for stealing proprietary information about wireless devices from two U.S. companies. One of those companies had spent over 20 years developing the technology Zhang stole.

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These cases were among more than a thousand investigations the FBI has into China's actual and attempted theft of American technology—which is to say nothing of over a thousand more ongoing counterintelligence investigations of other kinds related to China. We're conducting these kinds of investigations in all 56 of our field offices. And over the past decade, we've seen economic espionage cases with a link to China increase by approximately 1,300 percent.

The stakes could not be higher, and the potential economic harm to American businesses and the economy as a whole almost defies calculation.

As National Security Advisor O'Brien discussed in his June remarks, the Chinese government is also making liberal use of hacking to steal our corporate and personal data—and they're using both military and non-state hackers to do it. The Equifax intrusion I mentioned just a few moments ago, which led to the indictment of Chinese military personnel, was hardly the only time China stole the sensitive personal information of huge numbers of the American public.

For example, did any of you have health insurance through Anthem or one of its associated insurers? In 2015, China's hackers stole the personal data of 80 million of that company's current and former customers.

Or maybe you're a federal employee—or you used to be one, or you applied for a government job once, or a family member or roommate did. Well, in 2014, China's hackers stole more than 21 million records from OPM, the federal government's Office of Personnel Management.

Why are they doing this? First, China has made becoming an artificial intelligence world leader a priority, and these kinds of thefts feed right into China's development of artificial intelligence tools.

Compounding the threat, the data China stole is of obvious value as they attempt to identify people for secret intelligence gathering. On that front, China is using social media platforms—the same ones Americans use to stay connected or find jobs—to identify people with

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access to our government's sensitive information and then target those people to try to steal it.

Just to pick one example, a Chinese intelligence officer posing as a headhunter on a popular social media platform recently offered an American citizen a sizable sum of money in exchange for so-called "consulting" services. That sounds benign enough until you realize those "consulting" services were related to sensitive information the American target had access to as a U.S. military intelligence specialist.

Now that particular tale has a happy ending: The American citizen did the right thing and reported the suspicious contact, and the FBI, working together with our armed forces, took it from there. I wish I could say that all such incidents ended that way.

It's a troublingly similar story in academia.

Through talent recruitment programs like the Thousand Talents Program I mentioned just a few moments ago, China pays scientists at American universities to secretly bring our knowledge and innovation back to China—including valuable, federally funded research. To put it bluntly, this means American taxpayers are effectively footing the bill for China's own technological development. China then leverages its ill-gotten gains to undercut U.S. research institutions and companies, blunting our nation's advancement and costing American jobs. And we are seeing more and more of these cases.

In May alone, we arrested both Qing Wang, a former researcher with the Cleveland Clinic who worked on molecular medicine and the genetics of cardiovascular disease, and Simon Saw-Teong Ang, a University of Arkansas scientist doing research for NASA. Both of these guys were allegedly committing fraud by concealing their participation in Chinese talent recruitment programs while accepting millions of dollars in American federal grant funding.

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Official FBI Photo.

That same month, former Emory University professor Xiao-Jiang Li pled guilty to filing a false tax return for failing to report the income he'd received through China's Thousand Talents Program. Our investigation found that while Li was researching Huntington's disease at Emory, he was also pocketing half a million unreported dollars from China.

In a similar vein, Charles Lieber, chair of Harvard's Department of Chemistry and Chemical Biology, was indicted just last month for making false statements to federal authorities about his Thousand Talents participation. The United States has alleged that Lieber concealed from both Harvard and the NIH his position as a strategic scientist at a Chinese university—and the fact that the Chinese government was paying him, through the Wuhan Institute of Technology, a $50,000 monthly stipend, more than $150,000 in living expenses, and more than $1.5 million to establish a laboratory back in China.

There's more. Another tool China and the Chinese Communist Party use to manipulate Americans is what we call malign foreign influence.

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Now, traditional foreign influence is a normal, legal diplomatic activity typically conducted through diplomatic channels. But malign foreign influence efforts are subversive, undeclared, criminal, or coercive attempts to sway our government's policies, distort our country's public discourse, and undermine confidence in our democratic processes and values.

China is engaged in a highly sophisticated malign foreign influence campaign, and its methods include bribery, blackmail, and covert deals. Chinese diplomats also use both open, naked economic pressure and seemingly independent middlemen to push China's preferences on American officials.

Just take one all-too-common illustration: Let's say China gets wind that some American official is planning to travel to Taiwan—think a governor, a state senator, a member of Congress. China does not want that to happen, because that travel might appear to legitimize Taiwanese independence from China—and legitimizing Taiwan would, of course, be contrary to China's "One China" policy.

So what does China do? Well, China has leverage over the American official's constituents—American companies, academics, and members of the media all have legitimate and understandable reasons to want access to Chinese partners and markets. And because of the authoritarian nature of the Chinese Communist Party, China has immense power over those same partners and markets. So, China will sometimes start by trying to influence the American official overtly and directly. China might openly warn that if the American official goes ahead and takes that trip to Taiwan, China will take it out on a company from that official's home state by withholding the company's license to manufacture in China. That could be economically ruinous for the company, would directly pressure the American official to alter his travel plans, and the official would know that China was trying to influence him.

That would be bad enough. But the Chinese Communist Party often doesn't stop there; it can't stop there if it wants to stay in power—so it

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uses its leverage even more perniciously. If China's more direct, overt influence campaign doesn't do the trick, they sometimes turn to indirect, covert, deceptive influence efforts.

To continue with the illustration of the American official with travel plans that the Chinese Communist Party doesn't like, China will work relentlessly to identify the people closest to that official—the people that official trusts most. China will then work to influence those people to act on China's behalf as middlemen to influence the official. The co-opted middlemen may then whisper in the official's ear and try to sway the official's travel plans or public positions on Chinese policy. These intermediaries, of course, aren't telling the American official that they're Chinese Communist Party pawns—and worse still, some of these intermediaries may not even realize they're being used as pawns, because they, too, have been deceived.

Ultimately, China doesn't hesitate to use smoke, mirrors, and misdirection to influence Americans.

Similarly, China often pushes academics and journalists to self-censor if they want to travel into China. And we've seen the Chinese Communist Party pressure American media and sporting giants to ignore or suppress criticism of China's ambitions regarding Hong Kong or Taiwan. This kind of thing is happening over and over, across the United States.

And I will note that the pandemic has unfortunately not stopped any of this—in fact, we have heard from federal, state, and even local officials that Chinese diplomats are aggressively urging support for China's handling of the COVID-19 crisis. Yes, this is happening at both the federal and state levels. Not that long ago, we had a state senator who was recently even asked to introduce a resolution supporting China's response to the pandemic.

The punchline is this: All of these seemingly inconsequential pressures add up to a policymaking environment in which Americans find themselves held over a barrel by the Chinese Communist Party.

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All the while, China's government and Communist Party have brazenly violated well-settled norms and the rule of law.

Since 2014, Chinese General Secretary Xi Jinping has spearheaded a program known as "Fox Hunt." Now, China describes Fox Hunt as some kind of international anti-corruption campaign—it is not. Instead, Fox Hunt is a sweeping bid by General Secretary Xi to target Chinese nationals whom he sees as threats and who live outside China, across the world. We're talking about political rivals, dissidents, and critics seeking to expose China's extensive human rights violations.

Hundreds of the Fox Hunt victims that they target live right here in the United States, and many are American citizens or green card holders. The Chinese government wants to force them to return to China, and China's tactics to accomplish that are shocking. For example, when it couldn't locate one Fox Hunt target, the Chinese government sent an emissary to visit the target's family here in the United States. The message they said to pass on? The target had two options: return to China promptly, or commit suicide. And what happens when Fox Hunt targets refuse to return to China? In the past, their family members both here in the United States and in China have been threatened and coerced, and those back in China have even been arrested for leverage.

I'll take this opportunity to note that if you believe the Chinese government is targeting you—that you're a potential Fox Hunt victim—please reach out to your local FBI field office.

Understanding how a nation could engage in these tactics brings me to the third thing the American people need to remember: that China has a fundamentally different system than ours—and it's doing all it can to exploit the openness of ours while taking advantage of its own closed system.

Many of the distinctions that mean a lot here in the United States are blurry or almost nonexistent in China—I'm talking about distinctions between the government and the Chinese Communist Party,

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between the civilian and military sectors, and between the state and the "private" sector.

For one thing, an awful lot of large Chinese businesses are state-owned enterprises—literally owned by the government, and thus the Party. And even if they aren't, China's laws allow its government to compel any Chinese company to provide any information it requests—including American citizens' data.

On top of that, Chinese companies of any real size are legally required to have Communist Party "cells" inside them to keep them in line. Even more alarmingly, Communist Party cells have reportedly been established in some American companies operating in China as a cost of doing business there.

These kinds of features should give U.S. companies pause when they consider working with Chinese corporations like Huawei—and should give all Americans pause, too, when relying on such a company's devices and networks. As the world's largest telecommunications equipment manufacturer, Huawei has broad access to much that American companies do in China. It's also been charged in the United States with racketeering conspiracy and has, as alleged in the indictment, repeatedly stolen intellectual property from U.S. companies, obstructed justice, and lied to the U.S. government and its commercial partners, including banks.

The allegations are clear: Huawei is a serial intellectual property thief, with a pattern and practice of disregarding both the rule of law and the rights of its victims. I have to tell you, it certainly caught my attention to read a recent article describing the words of Huawei's founder, Ren Zhengfei, about the company's mindset. At a Huawei research and development center, he reportedly told employees that to ensure the company's survival, they need to—and I quote—"surge forward, killing as you go, to blaze us a trail of blood." He's also reportedly told employees that Huawei has entered, to quote, "a state of war." I certainly hope

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he couldn't have meant that literally, but it's hardly an encouraging tone, given the company's repeated criminal behavior.

In our modern world, there is perhaps no more ominous prospect than a hostile foreign government's ability to compromise our country's infrastructure and devices. If Chinese companies like Huawei are given unfettered access to our telecommunications infrastructure, they could collect any of your information that traverses their devices or networks. Worse still: They'd have no choice but to hand it over to the Chinese government if asked—the privacy and due process protections that are sacrosanct in the United States are simply non-existent in China.

The Chinese government is engaged in a broad, diverse campaign of theft and malign influence, and it can execute that campaign with authoritarian efficiency. They're calculating. They're persistent. They're patient. And they're not subject to the righteous constraints of an open, democratic society or the rule of law.

China, as led by the Chinese Communist Party, is going to continue to try to misappropriate our ideas, influence our policymakers, manipulate our public opinion, and steal our data. They will use an all-tools and all-sectors approach—and that demands our own all-tools and all-sectors approach in response.

Our folks at the FBI are working their tails off every day to protect our nation's companies, our universities, our computer networks, and our ideas and innovation. To do that, we're using a broad set of techniques—from our traditional law enforcement authorities to our intelligence capabilities.

And I will briefly note that we're having real success. With the help of our many foreign partners, we've arrested targets all over the globe. Our investigations and the resulting prosecutions have exposed the tradecraft and techniques the Chinese use, raising awareness of the threat and our industries' defenses. They also show our resolve and our ability to attribute these crimes to those responsible. It's one thing to make

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assertions—but in our justice system, when a person, or a corporation, is investigated and then charged with a crime, we have to prove the truth of the allegation beyond a reasonable doubt. The truth matters—and so, these criminal indictments matter. And we've seen how our criminal indictments have rallied other nations to our cause—which is crucial to persuading the Chinese government to change its behavior.

We're also working more closely than ever with partner agencies here in the U.S. and our partners abroad. We can't do it on our own; we need a whole-of-society response. That's why we in the intelligence and law enforcement communities are working harder than ever to give companies, universities, and the American people themselves the information they need to make their own informed decisions and protect their most valuable assets.

Confronting this threat effectively does not mean we shouldn't do business with the Chinese. It does not mean we shouldn't host Chinese visitors. It does not mean we shouldn't welcome Chinese students or coexist with China on the world stage. But it does mean that when China violates our criminal laws and international norms, we are not going to tolerate it, much less enable it. The FBI and our partners throughout the U.S. government will hold China accountable and protect our nation's innovation, ideas, and way of life—with the help and vigilance of the American people.

Thank you for having me here today.

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REMARKS DELIVERED BY ATTORNEY GENERAL WILLIAM BARR

Gerald R. Ford Presidential Museum
Grand Rapids, Michigan

JULY 17, 2020

Official DOJ Photo.

Thank you very much, Andrew for your very kind introduction and I'd like to say that I really appreciate the work that Andrew and Matt, our U.S. Attorneys for the Eastern and Western District of Michigan our doing here for the people of Michigan and all the law enforcement community from Michigan, that is here today. We really appreciate your work and as Andrew said, after my remarks they are going to put on a presentation of the China Initiative, which I think you'll find very interesting, so if you have the time I urge you to stay for that. I would like to thank

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the leadership and staff of the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Museum—especially Elaine Didier—for hosting this event. I also thank the Ford Presidential Foundation and its Executive Director Joe Calvaruso. Even under normal circumstances, it's hard to put together an event like this, but in the current circumstances it's especially challenging and I really appreciate it. And I really appreciate all of you who've come, I know many have come from around the state and I appreciate the effort that was made to be here for these remarks.

I was last in Grand Rapids, it would be 30 years ago John. John Smietanka, from here, was one of my Principal Deputy when I was Deputy Attorney General and stayed on while I was Attorney General. He was U.S. Attorney here in the Western District, so John it's great to see you here. I feel a special bond to the Ford Administration so it's appropriate to be here today for these remarks, because I started out in the CIA in 1973 and President Ford took office and because of what was going on at the agency, I had the privilege of working closely with many of the superb people that he brought into government. Many of whom I had the opportunity to work with over the years, several of whom were my mentors. One of the people I met was the Attorney General, at that time, Ed Levi, who President Ford made Attorney General. His portrait is up in my conference room and his grandson Will Levi is my Chief of Staff, so as I say, I feel a special closeness with the Ford Administration even though I wasn't a political appointee in that administration. Many of the political appointees that I work with over the years really cut their teeth during the Ford Administration.

I'm privileged to speak here today about what may prove to be the most important issue for our nation and the world in the twenty-first century and that is, the United States' response to the global ambitions of the Chinese Communist Party. The CCP rules with an iron fist over one of the great ancient civilizations of the world. It seeks to leverage the immense power, productivity, and ingenuity of the Chinese people to overthrow the rule-based international system and to make the world safe for dictatorship. How the United States responds to this challenge will have historic implications and will determine whether the United States and

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its liberal democratic allies will continue to shape their own destiny or whether the CCP and its autocratic tributaries will continue, will control the future. Since the 1890's, at least, the United States has been the technological leader of the world. And from that prowess, has come our prosperity, the opportunity for generations of Americans, and our security. It's because of that that we were able to play such a pivotal role in world history, but turning back the threat of fascism and the threat of communism. What's at stake these days is whether we can maintain that leadership position and that technological leadership. Are we going to be the generation that has allowed that to be stolen—which is really stealing the future of our children and our grandchildren?

Several weeks ago, National Security Advisor Robert O'Brien spoke about the CCP's ideology and global ambitions. He declared, and I agree, that "the days of American passivity and naivety regarding the People's Republic of China are over." And last week, the FBI Director Chris Wray, described how the CCP pursues its ambitions through the nefarious and even illegal conduct, including industrial espionage, theft, extortion, cyberattacks, and malign influence activities. In the coming days, you will hear from Secretary Mike Pompeo, who will sum up what is at stake for the United States and the free world. Now, Chris Wray, told me that shortly after his speech last week, one of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party pronounced that his speech was particularly disgusting. I told him that I was going to aim to be despicable, but I'll settle for especially disgusting. But no matter how the Chinese seek to characterize it I do hope that my speech and Mike Pompeo speech will encourage the American people to reevaluate their relationship with China, so long as it continues to be ruled by the Chinese Communist Party. It is fitting that were here today at the Ford Presidential Museum. Gerald Ford served in the highest echelons of the government at the dawn of America's reengagement with China, which began obviously with President Nixon in 1972, and three years later in 1975, President Ford visited China for a summit with PRC leaders including Mao Zedong.

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At the time it was unthinkable that China would emerge after the Cold War as a near-peer competitor of the United States. And even then, there were signs of China's immense latent power. In the joint report of their visit to China in 1972, House Majority Leader Hale Boggs and then minority leader Gerald Ford wrote: "If she manages to achieve as she aspires, China in the next half century can emerge as a self-sufficient power of a billion people… this last impression—of the reality of China's colossal potential—is perhaps the most vivid of our journey. As our small party traveled through that boundless land, this sense of a giant stirring, a dragon waking, gave us much to ponder." It is now nearly fifty years later and the pressing pondering as of these two congressmen have come to pass.

Attorney General Barr speaking at the Gerald Ford Presidential Museum in Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Deng Xiaoping, whose economic reform launched China's remarkable rise had a famous motto: "hide your strength and bide your time." That is precisely what China has done. China's economy has quietly grown from about 2 percent of the world's GDP in 1980, to nearly 20 percent today. And by some estimates based on purchasing parity, the Chinese economy

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is already larger than ours. The General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, Xi Jinping, who has centralized power to a degree not seen since the dictatorship of Mao Zedong, now speaks openly of China moving closer to the center stage, building a socialism that is superior to capitalism, and replacing the American dream with the Chinese solution. China is no longer hiding it strength nor biding its time. From the perspective of its communist rulers, China's time has arrived.

The People's Republic of China is now engaged in an economic blitzkrieg—an aggressive, orchestrated, whole-of-government (indeed, whole-of-society) campaign to seize the commanding heights of the global economy and to surpass the United States as the world's preeminent technological superpower. A centerpiece of this effort is the Chinese Communist Party's "Made in China 2025" initiative, a plan for PRC domination of high-tech industries like robotics, advanced information technology, aviation, and electric vehicles, and many other technologies. Backed by hundreds of billions of dollars in subsidies, this initiative poses a real threat to U.S. technological leadership. Despite World Trade Organization rules prohibiting quotas for domestic output, "Made in China 2025" sets targets for domestic market share (sometimes as high as 70 percent) in core components and basic materials for industries such as robotics and telecommunications. It is clear that the PRC seeks not merely to join the ranks of other advanced industrial economies, but to replace them altogether.

"Made in China 2025" is the latest iteration of the PRC's state-led, mercantilist economic model. For American companies in the global marketplace, free and fair competition with China has long been a fantasy. To tilt the playing field to its advantage, China's communist government has perfected a wide array of predatory and often unlawful tactics: currency manipulation, tariffs, quotas, state-led strategic investment and acquisitions, theft and forced transfer of intellectual property, state subsidies, dumping, cyberattacks, and industrial espionage. About 80% of all federal economic espionage prosecutions have alleged conduct that would benefit the Chinese state, and about 60% of all trade secret theft cases have been connected to China.

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The PRC also seeks to dominate key trade routes and infrastructure in Eurasia, Africa, and the Pacific. In the South China Sea, for example, through which about one-third of the world's maritime trade passes, the PRC has asserted expansive and historically dubious claims to nearly the entire waterway, flouted the rulings of international courts, built artificial islands and placed military outposts on them, and harassed its neighbors' ships and fishing boats.

Another ambitious project to spread its power and influence is the PRC's "Belt and Road" infrastructure initiative. Although billed as "foreign aid," in fact these investments appear designed to serve the PRC's strategic interests and domestic economic needs. For example, the PRC has been criticized for loading poor countries up with debt, refusing to renegotiate terms, and then taking control of the infrastructure itself, as it did with the Sri Lankan port of Hambantota in 2017. This is little more than a form of modern-day colonialism.

Just as consequential, however, are the PRC's plans to dominate the world's digital infrastructure through its "Digital Silk Road" initiative. I have previously spoken at length about the grave risks of allowing the world's most powerful dictatorship to build the next generation of global telecommunications networks, known as 5G. Perhaps less widely known are the PRC's efforts to surpass the United States in other cutting-edge fields, like artificial intelligence. Through innovations such as machine learning and big data, artificial intelligence allows machines to mimic human functions, such as recognizing faces, interpreting spoken words, driving vehicles, and playing games of skill, much like chess or the even more complex Chinese game, Go. In 2017, Beijing unveiled its "Next Generation Artificial Intelligence Plan," a blueprint for leading the world in AI by 2030. Whichever nation emerges as the global leader in AI will be best positioned to unlock not only its considerable economic potential, but a range of military applications, such as the use of computer vision to gather intelligence.

The PRC's drive for technological supremacy is complemented by its plan to monopolize rare earth materials, which play a vital role in indus-

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tries such as consumer electronics, electric vehicles, medical devices, and military hardware. According to the Congressional Research Service, from the 1960s to the 1980s, the United States led the world in rare earth production. "Since then, production has shifted almost entirely to China," in large part due to lower labor costs and lighter economic and environmental regulation.

The United States is now dangerously dependent on the PRC for these essential materials. Overall, China is America's top supplier, accounting for about 80 percent of our imports. The risks of dependence are real. In 2010, for example, Beijing cut exports of rare earth materials to Japan after an incident involving disputed islands in the East China Sea. The PRC could do the same to us. As China's progress in these critical sectors illustrates, the PRC's predatory economic policies are succeeding. For a hundred years, America was the world's largest manufacturer—allowing us to serve as the world's "arsenal of democracy." China overtook the United States in manufacturing output in 2010. The PRC is now the world's "arsenal of dictatorship."

How did China accomplish all this? No one should underestimate the ingenuity and industry of the Chinese people. At the same time, no one should doubt that America made China's meteoric rise possible. China has reaped enormous benefits from the free flow of American aid and trade. In 1980, Congress granted the PRC most-favored-nation trading status. In the 1990s, American companies strongly supported the PRC's accession to the World Trade Organization and the permanent normalization of trade relations. Today, U.S.-China trade totals about $700 billion.

Last year, Newsweek ran a cover story titled "How America's Biggest Companies Made China Great Again." The article details how China's communist leaders lured American business with the promise of market access, and then, having profited from American investment and know-how, turned increasingly hostile. The PRC used tariffs and quotas to pressure American companies to give up their technology and form joint ventures with Chinese companies. Regulators then discriminated against American firms, using tactics like holding up

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permits. Yet few companies, even Fortune 500 giants, have been willing to bring a formal trade complaint for fear of angering Beijing.

Just as American companies have become dependent on the Chinese market, the United States as a whole now relies on the PRC for many vital goods and services. The COVID-19 pandemic has shown a spotlight on that dependency. For example, China is the world's largest producer of certain protective equipment, such as face masks and medical gowns. In March, as the pandemic spread around the world, the PRC hoarded the masks for itself, blocking producers—including American companies—from exporting them to other countries that needed them. It then attempted to exploit the shortage for propaganda purposes, shipping limited quantities of often defective equipment and requiring foreign leaders to publicly thank Beijing for these shipments.

China's dominance of the world market for medical goods goes beyond masks and gowns. It has become the United States' largest supplier of medical devices, while at the same time discriminating against American medical companies in China. China's government has targeted foreign firms for greater regulatory scrutiny, instructed Chinese hospitals to buy products made in China, and pressured American firms to build factories in China, where their intellectual property is more vulnerable to theft. As one expert has observed, American medical device manufacturers are effectively "creating their own competitors."

America also depends on Chinese supply, Chinese supply chains in other vital sectors, especially pharmaceuticals. America remains the global leader in drug discovery, but China is now the world's largest producer of active pharmaceutical ingredients, known as "APIs." As one Defense Health Agency official noted, "[s]hould China decide to limit or restrict the delivery of APIs to the [United States]," it "could result in severe shortages of pharmaceuticals for both domestic and military uses."

To achieve dominance in pharmaceuticals, China's rulers went to the same playbook they've used to gut other American industries. In 2008, the PRC designated pharmaceutical production as a "high-val-

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ue-added-industry" and boosted Chinese companies with subsidies and export tax rebates. Meanwhile, the PRC has systematically preyed on American companies. American firms face well-known obstacles in China's health market, including drug approval delays, unfair pricing limitations, IP theft, and counterfeiting. Chinese nationals working as employees at pharma companies have been caught stealing trade secrets both in America and in China. And the CCP has long engaged in cyber-espionage and hacking of U.S. academic medical centers and healthcare companies.

In fact, PRC-linked hackers have targeted American universities and firms in a bid to steal IP related to coronavirus treatments and vaccines, sometimes disrupting the work of our researchers. Having been caught covering up the coronavirus outbreak, Beijing is desperate for a public relations coup, and may hope that it will be able to claim credit for any medical breakthroughs.

As all of these examples should make clear, the ultimate ambition of China's rulers isn't to trade with the United States. It is to raid the United States. If you are an American business leader, appeasing the PRC may bring short-term rewards. But in the end, the PRC's goal is to replace you. As a U.S. Chamber of Commerce report put it, "[t]he belief by foreign companies that large financial investments, the sharing of expertise and significant technology transfers would lead to an ever opening China market is being replaced by boardroom banter that win-win in China means China wins twice."

Although Americans hoped that trade and investment would liberalize China's political system, the fundamental character of the regime has never changed. As its ruthless crackdown of Hong Kong demonstrates once again, China is no closer to democracy today than it was in 1989 when tanks confronted pro-democracy protesters in Tiananmen Square. It remains an authoritarian, one-party state in which the Chinese Communist Party wields absolute power, unchecked by popular elections, the rule of law, or an independent judiciary. The CCP surveils its own people and assigns them social credit scores, employs

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an army of government censors, tortures dissidents, and persecutes religious and ethnic minorities, including a million Uighurs detained in indoctrination and labor camps.

If what happened in China stayed in China, that would be bad enough. But instead of America changing China, China is leveraging its economic power to change America. As this Administration's China Strategy recognizes, "the CCP's campaign to compel ideological conformity does not stop at China's borders." Rather, the CCP seeks to extend its influence around the world, including on American soil.

All too often, for the sake of short-term profits, American companies have succumbed to that influence—even at the expense of freedom and openness in the United States. Sadly, examples of American business bowing to Beijing are legion.

Take Hollywood. Hollywood's actors, producers, and directors pride themselves on celebrating freedom and the human spirit. And every year at the Academy Awards, Americans are lectured about how this country falls short of Hollywood's ideals of social justice. But Hollywood now regularly censors its own movies to appease the Chinese Communist Party, the world's most powerful violator of human rights. This censorship infects not only versions of movies that are released in China, but also many that are shown in American theaters to American audiences.

For example, the hit movie *World War Z* depicts a zombie apocalypse caused by a virus. The original version of the film reportedly contained a scene with characters speculating that the virus may have originated in China. But the studio, Paramount Pictures, reportedly told producers to delete the reference to China in the hope of landing a Chinese distribution deal. The deal never materialized.

In the Marvel Studios blockbuster *Dr. Strange,* filmmakers changed the nationality of a major character known as the "Ancient One," a Tibetan monk in the comic book, changed it from Tibetan to Celtic. When challenged about this, a screenwriter explained that "if you acknowledge that Tibet is a place and that he's Tibetan, you risk alienating one billion

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people." Or, as the Chinese government might say, "[w]e're not going to show your movie because you decided to get political."

These are just two examples of the many Hollywood films that have been altered, one way or another, to please the CCP. National Security Advisor O'Brien offered even more examples in his remarks. But many more scripts never see the light of day, because writers and producers know not to even test the limits. Chinese government censors don't need to say a word, because Hollywood is doing their work for them. This is a massive propaganda coup for the Chinese Communist Party.

The story of the film industry's submission to the CCP is a familiar one. In the past two decades, China has emerged as the world's largest box office. The CCP has long tightly controlled access to that lucrative market—both through quotas on American films, imposed in violation of China's WTO obligations, and a strict censorship regime. Increasingly, Hollywood also relies on Chinese money for financing. In 2018, films with Chinese investors accounted for 20 percent of U.S. box-office ticket sales, compared to only three percent five years earlier.

But in the long run, as with other American industries, the PRC may be less interested in cooperating with Hollywood than in co-opting Hollywood—and eventually replacing it with its own homegrown productions. To accomplish this, the CCP has been following its usual modus operandi. By imposing a quota on American films, the CCP pressures Hollywood studios to form joint ventures with Chinese companies, who then gain U.S. technology and know-how. As one Chinese film executive recently put it, "[e]verything we learned, we learned from Hollywood." Notably, in 2019, eight of the 10 top-grossing films in China were produced in China.

Hollywood is far from alone in kowtowing to the PRC. America's big tech companies have also allowed themselves to become pawns of Chinese influence. In the year 2000, when the United States normalized trade relations with China, President Clinton hailed the new century as one in which "liberty will be spread by cell phone and cable modem."

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Instead, over the course of the next decade, American companies, such as Cisco, helped the Communist Party build the Great Firewall of China—the world's most sophisticated system for Internet surveillance and censorship.

Over the years, corporations such as Google, Microsoft, Yahoo, and Apple have shown themselves all too willing to collaborate with the CCP. For example, Apple recently removed the news app Quartz from its app store in China, after the Chinese government complained about the coverage of the Hong Kong democracy protests. Apple also removed apps for virtual private networks, which had allowed users to circumvent the Great Firewall, and eliminated pro-democracy songs from its Chinese music store. Meanwhile, the company announced that it would be transferring some of its iCloud data to servers in China, despite concerns that the move would give the Communist Party easier access to e-mails, text messages, and other user information stored in the iCloud.

Recently, we were able to get into two cell phones used by the Al-Qaeda terrorist who shot eight Americans at the Pensacola Naval Air Station. During the gun fight with him, he stopped, disengaged, put his cell phones down and tried to destroy them, shooting a bullet into one of his two cell phones and we thought that suggested that there may be very important information about terrorist activities in those cell phones. And for four and a half months we tried to get in, without any help at all from Apple. Apple failed to give us any help getting into the cell phones. We were ultimately able to get in through a fluke that we will not be able to reproduce in the future, where we found communications with Al-Qaeda operatives in the Middle East up to the day before the attack. Do you think when Apple sells phones in China that Apple phones in China are impervious to penetration by Chinese authorities? They wouldn't be sold if they were impervious to Chinese authorities. And what we've asked for is a warrant—when we have a warrant from a court—that we should be able to get into because cellphones. That's the double standard that has been emerging among American tech companies.

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The CCP has long used public threats of retaliation and barred market access to exert influence. More recently, however, the CCP has also stepped up behind-the-scenes efforts to cultivate and coerce American business executives to further its political objectives—efforts that are all the more pernicious because they are largely hidden from public view.

As China's government loses credibility around the world, the Justice Department has seen more and more PRC officials and their proxies reaching out to corporate leaders and inveighing them to favor policies and actions favored by the Chinese Communist Party. Their objective varies, but their pitch is generally the same: the businessperson has economic interests in China, and there is a suggestion that things will go better (or worse) for them depending on their response to the PRC's request. Privately pressuring or courting American corporate leaders to promote policies (or U.S. politicians) presents a significant threat, because hiding behind American voices allows the Chinese government to elevate its influence campaigns and put a "friendly face" on pro-regime policies. The legislator or policymaker who hears from these American businessmen is properly more sympathetic to that constituent than to a foreigner. And by masking its participation in our political process, the PRC avoids accountability for its influence efforts and the public outcry that might result, if its lobbying were exposed.

America's corporate leaders might not think of themselves as lobbyists. You might think, for example, that cultivating a mutually beneficial relationship is just part of the "guanxi"—or system of influential social networking—necessary to do business with the PRC. But you should be alert to how you might be used, and how your efforts on behalf of a foreign company or government could implicate the Foreign Agents Registration Act. FARA does not prohibit any speech or conduct. But it does require those who are acting as the "agents" of foreign principals to publicly disclose that relationship, and their political or other similar activities, by registering with the Justice Department, allowing the audience to take into account the origin of the speech when evaluating credibility.

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By focusing on American business leaders, of course, I don't mean to suggest that they are the only targets of Chinese influence operations in the United States. The Chinese Communist Party also seeks to infiltrate, censor, or co-opt American academic and research institutions. For example, dozens of American universities host Chinese government-funded "Confucius Institutes," which have been accused of pressuring host universities to silence discussion or cancel events on topics considered controversial by Beijing. Universities must stand up for each other; refuse to let the CCP dictate research efforts or suppress diverse voices; support colleagues and students who wish to speak their minds; and consider whether any sacrifice of academic integrity or freedom is worth the price of appeasing the CCP's demands.

In a globalized world, American corporations and universities alike may view themselves as global citizens, rather than American institutions. But they should remember that what allowed them to succeed in the first place was the American free enterprise system, the rule of law, and the security afforded by America's economic, technological, and military strength.

Globalization does not always point in the direction of greater freedom. A world marching to the beat of Communist China's drums will not be a hospitable one for institutions that depend on free markets, free trade, or the free exchange of ideas. There was a time American companies understood this and they saw themselves as American and proudly defended American values.

In World War II, for example, the iconic American company, Disney, made dozens of public information films for the government, including training videos to educate American sailors on navigation tactics. During the war, over 90 percent of Disney employees were devoted to the production of training and public information films. To boost the morale of America's troops, Disney also designed insignia that appeared on planes, trucks, flight jackets, and other military equipment used by American and Allied forces.

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I suspect Walt Disney would be disheartened to see how the company he founded deals with the foreign dictatorships of our day. When Disney produced *Kundun*, the 1997 film about the PRC's oppression of the Dalai Lama, the CCP objected to the project and pressured Disney to abandon it. Ultimately, Disney decided that it couldn't let a foreign power dictate whether it would distribute a movie in the United States. But that moment of courage wouldn't last long. After the CCP banned all Disney films in China, the company lobbied hard to regain access. The CEO apologized for *Kundun*, calling it a "stupid mistake." Disney then began courting the PRC to open a $5.5 billion theme park in Shanghai. As part of that deal, Disney agreed to give Chinese government officials a role in management. Of the park's full-time employees, 300 are active members of the Communist Party. They reportedly display hammer-and-sickle insignia at their desks and attend Party lectures at the facility during business hours.

Like other American companies, Disney may eventually learn the hard way the cost of compromising its principles. Soon after Disney opened its park in Shanghai, a Chinese-owned theme park popped up a couple hundred miles away featuring characters that, according to news reports, looked suspiciously like Snow White and other Disney trademarks.

American companies must understand the stakes. The Chinese Communist Party thinks in terms of decades and centuries, while we tend to focus on the next quarter's earnings report. But if Disney and other American corporations continue to bow to Beijing, they risk undermining both their own future competitiveness and prosperity, as well as the classical liberal order that has allowed them to thrive.

During the Cold War, Lewis Powell—later Justice Powell—sent an important memorandum to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. He noted that the free enterprise system was under unprecedented attack, and urged American companies to do more to preserve it. "[T]he time has come," he said, "indeed, it is long overdue—for the wisdom, ingenuity and resources of American business to be marshaled against those who

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would destroy it." So too today. The American people are more attuned than ever to the threat that the Chinese Communist Party poses not only to our way of life, but to our very lives and livelihoods. And they will increasingly call out corporate appeasement.

If individual companies are afraid to make a stand, there is strength in numbers. As Justice Powell wrote: "Strength lies in organization, in careful long-range planning and implementation, in consistency of action over an indefinite period of years, in the scale of financing available only through joint effort, and in the political power available only through united action and national organizations." Despite years of acquiescence to communist authorities in China, American tech companies may finally be finding their courage through collective action. Following the recent imposition of the PRC's draconian national security law in Hong Kong, many big tech companies, including Facebook, Google, Twitter, Zoom, and LinkedIn, reportedly announced that they would temporarily suspend compliance with governmental requests for user data. True to form, communist officials have threatened imprisonment for noncompliant company employees. We will see if these companies hold firm and how long they will hold firm. I hope they do. If they stand together, they will provide a worthy example for other American companies in resisting the Chinese Communist Party's corrupt and dictatorial rule.

The CCP has launched an orchestrated campaign, across all of its many tentacles in Chinese government and society, to exploit the openness of our institutions in order to destroy them. To secure a world of freedom and prosperity for our children and grandchildren, the free world will need its own version of the whole-of-society approach, in which the public and private sectors maintain their essential separation but work together collaboratively to resist domination and to win the contest for the commanding heights of the global economy. America has done that before and we rekindle our love and devotion for our country and each other, I am confident that we—the American people, the American government, and American business together—can do it again. Our freedom depends on it.

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REMARKS DELIVERED BY SECRETARY OF STATE MICHAEL R. POMPEO

The Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum
Yorba Linda, California

JULY 23, 2020

Secretary of State Pompeo gives remarks at the Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum in Yorba Linda, California.

Thank you. Thank you all. Thank you, Governor, for that very, very generous introduction. It is true: When you walk in that gym and you say the name "Pompeo," there is a whisper. I had a brother, Mark, who was really good—a really good basketball player.

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And how about another round of applause for the Blue Eagles Honor Guard and Senior Airman Kayla Highsmith, and her wonderful rendition of the national anthem?

Thank you, too, to Pastor Laurie for that moving prayer, and I want to thank Hugh Hewitt and the Nixon Foundation for your invitation to speak at this important American institution. It was great to be sung to by an Air Force person, introduced by a Marine, and they let the Army guy in in front of the Navy guy's house. It's all good.

It's an honor to be here in Yorba Linda, where Nixon's father built the house in which he was born and raised.

To all the Nixon Center board and staff who made today possible—it's difficult in these times—thanks for making this day possible for me and for my team.

We are blessed to have some incredibly special people in the audience, including Chris, who I've gotten to know—Chris Nixon. I also want to thank Tricia Nixon and Julie Nixon Eisenhower for their support of this visit as well.

I want to recognize several courageous Chinese dissidents who have joined us here today and made a long trip.

And to all the other distinguished guests—to all the other distinguished guests, thank you for being here. For those of you who got under the tent, you must have paid extra.

And those of you watching live, thank you for tuning in.

And finally, as the governor mentioned, I was born here in Santa Ana, not very far from here. I've got my sister and her husband in the audience today. Thank you all for coming out. I bet you never thought that I'd be standing up here.

My remarks today are the fourth set of remarks in a series of China speeches that I asked National Security Advisor Robert O'Brien, FBI

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Director Chris Wray, and the Attorney General Barr to deliver alongside me.

We had a very clear purpose, a real mission. It was to explain the different facets of America's relationship with China, the massive imbalances in that relationship that have built up over decades, and the Chinese Communist Party's designs for hegemony.

Our goal was to make clear that the threats to Americans that President Trump's China policy aims to address are clear and our strategy for securing those freedoms established.

Ambassador O'Brien spoke about ideology. FBI Director Wray talked about espionage. Attorney General Barr spoke about economics. And now my goal today is to put it all together for the American people and detail what the China threat means for our economy, for our liberty, and indeed for the future of free democracies around the world.

Next year marks half a century since Dr. Kissinger's secret mission to China, and the 50th anniversary of President Nixon's trip isn't too far away in 2022.

The world was much different then.

We imagined engagement with China would produce a future with bright promise of comity and cooperation.

But today—today we're all still wearing masks and watching the pandemic's body count rise because the CCP failed in its promises to the world. We're reading every morning new headlines of repression in Hong Kong and in Xinjiang.

We're seeing staggering statistics of Chinese trade abuses that cost American jobs and strike enormous blows to the economies all across America, including here in southern California. And we're watching a Chinese military that grows stronger and stronger, and indeed more menacing.

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Official State Department Photo.

I'll echo the questions ringing in the hearts and minds of Americans from here in California to my home state of Kansas and beyond:

What do the American people have to show now 50 years on from engagement with China?

Did the theories of our leaders that proposed a Chinese evolution towards freedom and democracy prove to be true?

Is this China's definition of a win-win situation?

And indeed, centrally, from the Secretary of State's perspective, is America safer? Do we have a greater likelihood of peace for ourselves and peace for the generations which will follow us?

Look, we have to admit a hard truth. We must admit a hard truth that should guide us in the years and decades to come, that if we want to have a free 21st century, and not the Chinese century of which Xi Jinping dreams, the old paradigm of blind engagement with China

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simply won't get it done. We must not continue it and we must not return to it.

As President Trump has made very clear, we need a strategy that protects the American economy, and indeed our way of life. The free world must triumph over this new tyranny.

Now, before I seem too eager to tear down President Nixon's legacy, I want to be clear that he did what he believed was best for the American people at the time, and he may well have been right.

He was a brilliant student of China, a fierce cold warrior, and a tremendous admirer of the Chinese people, just as I think we all are.

He deserves enormous credit for realizing that China was too important to be ignored, even when the nation was weakened because of its own self-inflicted communist brutality.

In 1967, in a very famous *Foreign Affairs* article, Nixon explained his future strategy. Here's what he said:

He said, "Taking the long view, we simply cannot afford to leave China forever outside of the family of nations…The world cannot be safe until China changes. Thus, our aim—to the extent we can, we must influence events. Our goal should be to induce change."

And I think that's the key phrase from the entire article: "to induce change."

So, with that historic trip to Beijing, President Nixon kicked off our engagement strategy. He nobly sought a freer and safer world, and he hoped that the Chinese Communist Party would return that commitment.

As time went on, American policymakers increasingly presumed that as China became more prosperous, it would open up, it would become freer at home, and indeed present less of a threat abroad, it'd be friendlier. It all seemed, I am sure, so inevitable.

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But that age of inevitability is over. The kind of engagement we have been pursuing has not brought the kind of change inside of China that President Nixon had hoped to induce.

The truth is that our policies—and those of other free nations—resurrected China's failing economy, only to see Beijing bite the international hands that were feeding it.

We opened our arms to Chinese citizens, only to see the Chinese Communist Party exploit our free and open society. China sent propagandists into our press conferences, our research centers, our high-schools, our colleges, and even into our PTA meetings.

We marginalized our friends in Taiwan, which later blossomed into a vigorous democracy.

We gave the Chinese Communist Party and the regime itself special economic treatment, only to see the CCP insist on silence over its human rights abuses as the price of admission for Western companies entering China.

Ambassador O'Brien ticked off a few examples just the other day: Marriott, American Airlines, Delta, United all removed references to Taiwan from their corporate websites, so as not to anger Beijing.

In Hollywood, not too far from here—the epicenter of American creative freedom, and self-appointed arbiters of social justice—self-censors even the most mildly unfavorable reference to China.

This corporate acquiescence to the CCP happens all over the world, too.

And how has this corporate fealty worked? Is its flattery rewarded? I'll give you a quote from the speech that General Barr gave, Attorney General Barr. In a speech last week, he said that "The ultimate ambition of China's rulers isn't to trade with the United States. It is to raid the United States."

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China ripped off our prized intellectual property and trade secrets, causing [1] millions of jobs all across America.

It sucked supply chains away from America, and then added a widget made of slave labor.

It made the world's key waterways less safe for international commerce.

President Nixon once said he feared he had created a "Frankenstein" by opening the world to the CCP, and here we are.

Now, people of good faith can debate why free nations allowed these bad things to happen for all these years. Perhaps we were naive about China's virulent strain of communism, or triumphalist after our victory in the Cold War, or cravenly capitalist, or hoodwinked by Beijing's talk of a "peaceful rise."

Whatever the reason—whatever the reason, today China is increasingly authoritarian at home, and more aggressive in its hostility to freedom everywhere else.

And President Trump has said: enough.

I don't think many people on either side of the aisle dispute the facts that I have laid out today. But even now, some are insisting that we preserve the model of dialogue for dialogue's sake.

Now, to be clear, we'll keep on talking. But the conversations are different these days. I traveled to Honolulu now just a few weeks back to meet with Yang Jiechi.

It was the same old story—plenty of words, but literally no offer to change any of the behaviors.

Yang's promises, like so many the CCP made before him, were empty. His expectations, I surmise, were that I'd cave to their demands, because frankly this is what too many prior administrations have done. I didn't, and President Trump will not either.

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As Ambassador O'Brien explained so well, we have to keep in mind that the CCP regime is a Marxist-Leninist regime. General Secretary Xi Jinping is a true believer in a bankrupt totalitarian ideology.

It's this ideology, it's this ideology that informs his decades-long desire for global hegemony of Chinese communism. America can no longer ignore the fundamental political and ideological differences between our countries, just as the CCP has never ignored them.

My experience in the House Intelligence Committee, and then as director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and my now two-plus years as America's Secretary of State have led me to this central understanding:

That the only way—the only way to truly change communist China is to act not on the basis of what Chinese leaders say, but how they behave. And you can see American policy responding to this conclusion. President Reagan said that he dealt with the Soviet Union on the basis of "trust but verify." When it comes to the CCP, I say we must distrust and verify.

We, the freedom-loving nations of the world, must induce China to change, just as President Nixon wanted. We must induce China to change in more creative and assertive ways, because Beijing's actions threaten our people and our prosperity.

We must start by changing how our people and our partners perceive the Chinese Communist Party. We have to tell the truth. We can't treat this incarnation of China as a normal country, just like any other.

We know that trading with China is not like trading with a normal, law-abiding nation. Beijing threatens international agreements as—treats international suggestions as—or agreements as suggestions, as conduits for global dominance.

But by insisting on fair terms, as our trade representative did when he secured our phase one trade deal, we can force China to reckon with its intellectual property theft and policies that harmed American workers.

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We know too that doing business with a CCP-backed company is not the same as doing business with, say, a Canadian company. They don't answer to independent boards, and many of them are state-sponsored and so have no need to pursue profits.

A good example is Huawei. We stopped pretending Huawei is an innocent telecommunications company that's just showing up to make sure you can talk to your friends. We've called it what it is—a true national security threat—and we've taken action accordingly.

We know too that if our companies invest in China, they may wittingly or unwittingly support the Communist Party's gross human rights violations.

Our Departments of Treasury and Commerce have thus sanctioned and blacklisted Chinese leaders and entities that are harming and abusing the most basic rights for people all across the world. Several agencies have worked together on a business advisory to make certain our CEOs are informed of how their supply chains are behaving inside of China.

We know too, we know too that not all Chinese students and employees are just normal students and workers that are coming here to make a little bit of money and to garner themselves some knowledge. Too many of them come here to steal our intellectual property and to take this back to their country.

The Department of Justice and other agencies have vigorously pursued punishment for these crimes.

We know that the People's Liberation Army is not a normal army, too. Its purpose is to uphold the absolute rule of the Chinese Communist Party elites and expand a Chinese empire, not to protect the Chinese people.

And so our Department of Defense has ramped up its efforts, freedom of navigation operations out and throughout the East and South China Seas, and in the Taiwan Strait as well. And we've created a Space Force to help deter China from aggression on that final frontier.

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And so too, frankly, we've built out a new set of policies at the State Department dealing with China, pushing President Trump's goals for fairness and reciprocity, to rewrite the imbalances that have grown over decades.

Just this week, we announced the closure of the Chinese consulate in Houston because it was a hub of spying and intellectual property theft.

We reversed, two weeks ago, eight years of cheek-turning with respect to international law in the South China Sea.

We've called on China to conform its nuclear capabilities to the strategic realities of our time.

And the State Department—at every level, all across the world—has engaged with our Chinese counterparts simply to demand fairness and reciprocity.

But our approach can't just be about getting tough. That's unlikely to achieve the outcome that we desire. We must also engage and empower the Chinese people—a dynamic, freedom-loving people who are completely distinct from the Chinese Communist Party.

That begins with in-person diplomacy. I've met Chinese men and women of great talent and diligence wherever I go.

I've met with Uyghurs and ethnic Kazakhs who escaped Xinjiang's concentration camps. I've talked with Hong Kong's democracy leaders, from Cardinal Zen to Jimmy Lai. Two days ago in London, I met with Hong Kong freedom fighter Nathan Law.

And last month in my office, I heard the stories of Tiananmen Square survivors. One of them is here today.

Wang Dan was a key student who has never stopped fighting for freedom for the Chinese people. Mr. Wang, will you please stand so that we may recognize you?

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Also with us today is the father of the Chinese democracy movement, Wei Jingsheng. He spent decades in Chinese labor camps for his advocacy. Mr. Wei, will you please stand?

I grew up and served my time in the Army during the Cold War. And if there is one thing I learned, communists almost always lie. The biggest lie that they tell is to think that they speak for 1.4 billion people who are surveilled, oppressed, and scared to speak out.

Quite the contrary. The CCP fears the Chinese people's honest opinions more than any foe, and save for losing their own grip on power, they have reason—no reason to.

Just think how much better off the world would be—not to mention the people inside of China—if we had been able to hear from the doctors in Wuhan and they'd been allowed to raise the alarm about the outbreak of a new and novel virus.

For too many decades, our leaders have ignored, downplayed the words of brave Chinese dissidents who warned us about the nature of the regime we're facing.

And we can't ignore it any longer. They know as well as anyone that we can never go back to the status quo.

But changing the CCP's behavior cannot be the mission of the Chinese people alone. Free nations have to work to defend freedom. It's the furthest thing from easy.

But I have faith we can do it. I have faith because we've done it before. We know how this goes.

I have faith because the CCP is repeating some of the same mistakes that the Soviet Union made—alienating potential allies, breaking trust at home and abroad, rejecting property rights and predictable rule of law.

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I have faith. I have faith because of the awakening I see among other nations that know we can't go back to the past in the same way that we do here in America. I've heard this from Brussels, to Sydney, to Hanoi.

And most of all, I have faith we can defend freedom because of the sweet appeal of freedom itself.

Look at the Hong Kongers clamoring to emigrate abroad as the CCP tightens its grip on that proud city. They wave American flags.

It's true, there are differences. Unlike the Soviet Union, China is deeply integrated into the global economy. But Beijing is more dependent on us than we are on them.

Look, I reject the notion that we're living in an age of inevitability, that some trap is pre-ordained, that CCP supremacy is the future. Our approach isn't destined to fail because America is in decline. As I said in Munich earlier this year, the free world is still winning. We just need to believe it and know it and be proud of it. People from all over the world still want to come to open societies. They come here to study, they come here to work, they come here to build a life for their families. They're not desperate to settle in China.

It's time. It's great to be here today. The timing is perfect. It's time for free nations to act. Not every nation will approach China in the same way, nor should they. Every nation will have to come to its own understanding of how to protect its own sovereignty, how to protect its own economic prosperity, and how to protect its ideals from the tentacles of the Chinese Communist Party.

But I call on every leader of every nation to start by doing what America has done—to simply insist on reciprocity, to insist on transparency and accountability from the Chinese Communist Party. It's a cadre of rulers that are far from homogeneous.

And these simple and powerful standards will achieve a great deal. For too long we let the CCP set the terms of engagement, but no longer. Free nations must set the tone. We must operate on the same principles.

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We have to draw common lines in the sand that cannot be washed away by the CCP's bargains or their blandishments. Indeed, this is what the United States did recently when we rejected China's unlawful claims in the South China Sea once and for all, as we have urged countries to become Clean Countries so that their citizens' private information doesn't end up in the hand of the Chinese Communist Party. We did it by setting standards.

Now, it's true, it's difficult. It's difficult for some small countries. They fear being picked off. Some of them for that reason simply don't have the ability, the courage to stand with us for the moment.

Indeed, we have a NATO ally of ours that hasn't stood up in the way that it needs to with respect to Hong Kong because they fear Beijing will restrict access to China's market. This is the kind of timidity that will lead to historic failure, and we can't repeat it.

We cannot repeat the mistakes of these past years. The challenge of China demands exertion, energy from democracies—those in Europe, those in Africa, those in South America, and especially those in the Indo-Pacific region.

And if we don't act now, ultimately the CCP will erode our freedoms and subvert the rules-based order that our societies have worked so hard to build. If we bend the knee now, our children's children may be at the mercy of the Chinese Communist Party, whose actions are the primary challenge today in the free world.

General Secretary Xi is not destined to tyrannize inside and outside of China forever, unless we allow it.

Now, this isn't about containment. Don't buy that. It's about a complex new challenge that we've never faced before. The USSR was closed off from the free world. Communist China is already within our borders.

So we can't face this challenge alone. The United Nations, NATO, the G7 countries, the G20, our combined economic, diplomatic, and military

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power is surely enough to meet this challenge if we direct it clearly and with great courage.

Maybe it's time for a new grouping of like-minded nations, a new alliance of democracies.

We have the tools. I know we can do it. Now we need the will. To quote scripture, I ask is "our spirit willing but our flesh weak?"

If the free world doesn't change—doesn't change, communist China will surely change us. There can't be a return to the past practices because they're comfortable or because they're convenient.

Securing our freedoms from the Chinese Communist Party is the mission of our time, and America is perfectly positioned to lead it because our founding principles give us that opportunity.

As I explained in Philadelphia last week, standing, staring at Independence Hall, our nation was founded on the premise that all human beings possess certain rights that are unalienable.

And it's our government's job to secure those rights. It is a simple and powerful truth. It's made us a beacon of freedom for people all around the world, including people inside of China.

Indeed, Richard Nixon was right when he wrote in 1967 that "the world cannot be safe until China changes." Now it's up to us to heed his words.

Today the danger is clear.

And today the awakening is happening.

Today the free world must respond.

We can never go back to the past.

May God bless each of you.

May God bless the Chinese people.

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And may God bless the people of the United States of America.

Thank you all.

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REMARKS DELIVERED BY PRESIDENT DONALD J. TRUMP

75th Session of the United Nations General Assembly

SEPTEMBER 22, 2020

President Trump speaking virtually from the White House Diplomatic Reception Room to the 75th Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

It is my profound honor to address the United Nations General Assembly.

Seventy-five years after the end of World War II and the founding of the United Nations, we are once again engaged in a great global struggle. We have waged a fierce battle against the invisible enemy—the China virus—which has claimed countless lives in 188 countries.

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In the United States, we launched the most aggressive mobilization since the Second World War. We rapidly produced a record supply of ventilators, creating a surplus that allowed us to share them with friends and partners all around the globe. We pioneered life-saving treatments, reducing our fatality rate 85 percent since April.

Thanks to our efforts, three vaccines are in the final stage of clinical trials. We are mass-producing them in advance so they can be delivered immediately upon arrival.

We will distribute a vaccine, we will defeat the virus, we will end the pandemic, and we will enter a new era of unprecedented prosperity, cooperation, and peace.

As we pursue this bright future, we must hold accountable the nation which unleashed this plague onto the world: China.

In the earliest days of the virus, China locked down travel domestically while allowing flights to leave China and infect the world. China condemned my travel ban on their country, even as they cancelled domestic flights and locked citizens in their homes.

The Chinese government and the World Health Organization—which is virtually controlled by China—falsely declared that there was no evidence of human-to-human transmission. Later, they falsely said people without symptoms would not spread the disease.

The United Nations must hold China accountable for their actions.

In addition, every year, China dumps millions and millions of tons of plastic and trash into the oceans, overfishes other countries' waters, destroys vast swaths of coral reef, and emits more toxic mercury into the atmosphere than any country anywhere in the world. China's carbon emissions are nearly twice what the U.S. has, and it's rising fast. By contrast, after I withdrew from the one-sided Paris Climate Accord, last year America reduced its carbon emissions by more than any country in the agreement.

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Those who attack America's exceptional environmental record while ignoring China's rampant pollution are not interested in the environment. They only want to punish America, and I will not stand for it.

Official White House Photo.

If the United Nations is to be an effective organization, it must focus on the real problems of the world. This includes terrorism, the oppression of women, forced labor, drug trafficking, human and sex trafficking, religious persecution, and the ethnic cleansing of religious minorities.

America will always be a leader in human rights. My administration is advancing religious liberty, opportunity for women, the decriminalization of homosexuality, combatting human trafficking, and protecting unborn children.

We also know that American prosperity is the bedrock of freedom and security all over the world. In three short years, we built the greatest economy in history, and we are quickly doing it again. Our military has increased substantially in size. We spent $2.5 trillion over the last four

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years on our military. We have the most powerful military anywhere in the world, and it's not even close.

We stood up to decades of China's trade abuses. We revitalized the NATO Alliance, where other countries are now paying a much more fair share. We forged historic partnerships with Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador to stop human smuggling. We are standing with the people of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Venezuela in their righteous struggle for freedom.

We withdrew from the terrible Iran Nuclear Deal and imposed crippling sanctions on the world's leading state sponsor of terror. We obliterated the ISIS caliphate 100 percent; killed its founder and leader, al-Baghdadi; and eliminated the world's top terrorist, Qasem Soleimani.

This month, we achieved a peace deal between Serbia and Kosovo. We reached a landmark breakthrough with two peace deals in the Middle East, after decades of no progress. Israel, the United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain all signed a historic peace agreement in the White House, with many other Middle Eastern countries to come. They are coming fast, and they know it's great for them and it's great for the world.

These groundbreaking peace deals are the dawn of the new Middle East. By taking a different approach, we have achieved different outcomes—far superior outcomes. We took an approach, and the approach worked. We intend to deliver more peace agreements shortly, and I have never been more optimistic for the future of the region. There is no blood in the sand. Those days are, hopefully, over.

As we speak, the United States is also working to end the war in Afghanistan, and we are bringing our troops home. America is fulfilling our destiny as peacemaker, but it is peace through strength. We are stronger now than ever before. Our weapons are at an advanced level like we've never had before—like, frankly, we've never even thought of having before. And I only pray to God that we never have to use them.

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For decades, the same tired voices proposed the same failed solutions, pursuing global ambitions at the expense of their own people. But only when you take care of your own citizens will you find a true basis for cooperation. As President, I have rejected the failed approaches of the past, and I am proudly putting America first, just as you should be putting your countries first. That's okay—that's what you should be doing.

I am supremely confident that next year, when we gather in person, we will be in the midst of one of the greatest years in our history—and frankly, hopefully, in the history of the world.

Thank you. God bless you all. God bless America. And God bless the United Nations.

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Taken together, the speeches herein are similar to U.S. diplomat George Kennan's 1946 "Long Telegram" to the State Department that outlined his views on the Soviet Union. This book is different from the "Long Telegram" in two important respects. First, unlike Kennan's case, written by an envoy at post, this book contains the words and policies of the President and his most senior officials. Second, given China's population size, economic prowess, and historic global ambitions, the People's Republic of China is a more capable competitor than the Soviet Union at its height.