

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND ACCOUNTABILITY

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August 20, 2024

Mr. Jake Sullivan
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Sullivan:

During the 118th Congress, the Committee on Oversight and Accountability (Committee) has initiated a government-wide investigation into Chinese Communist Party (CCP or the Party) political warfare against America and the response of federal agencies. The investigation has made one thing particularly clear: our country is in urgent need of a cohesive government-wide strategy to identify, counter, and defeat CCP unrestricted warfare. As detailed below, this warfare is designed to weaken and defeat our country. The National Security Council (NSC) is uniquely positioned to lead this challenge for America. As “the President’s principal forum for national security and foreign policy decision making,” and “the President’s principal arm for coordinating these policies *across federal agencies*,” the NSC has great responsibility to construct and execute a government-wide strategy to secure the nation from CCP efforts to infiltrate, influence and weaken the homeland.¹

Broader Committee Investigation

The Committee is conducting oversight of the federal government’s work to protect the American people from CCP political warfare² and nefarious influence operations. For decades, the CCP has sought to infiltrate and influence every aspect of American society.³ The CCP’s goal is plain: defeat the “main enemy,” which counterintelligence officials have identified as America.⁴ The fronts are multiple; according to the CCP itself: “[t]he battlefield will be

¹ *National Security Council*, The White House, available at <https://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/> (emphasis added) (“National Security Council Background”).

² “Political warfare seeks to influence emotions, motives, objective reasoning, and behavior of foreign governments, organizations, groups, and individuals in a manner favorable to one’s own political-military objectives.” Mark Stokes, *The People’s Liberation Army General Political Department: Political Warfare with Chinese Characteristics*, Project 2049 Inst. (Oct. 14, 2013).

³ See generally Constantine C. Menges, *China The Gathering Threat* (2005); H.R. Rep. No. 105-851 (1999) (“Cox Report”); Robert Spalding, *War Without Rules* (2022); Col. Grant Newsham, *When China Attacks: A Warning to America* (2023); Kerry K. Gershaneck, *Political Warfare: Strategies for Combating China’s Plan to “Win without Fighting”* (2020); see also Larry Diamond and Orville Schell, *China’s Influence & America’s Interests: Promoting Constructive Vigilance*, Hoover Inst. (2019).

⁴ Menges, *supra* note 3; Gershaneck, *supra* note 3 (“The PRC is engaged in war against the United States. It is not mere competition or malign influence, but war by PRC definition.”); Newsham, *supra* note 3, at 60 (The CCP “seeks global domination” and “will fight its main enemy, the United States, to achieve it.”).

everywhere.”⁵ And the tools are myriad, with the “united front”⁶ leading as one of the PRC’s⁷ “magic weapons,”⁸ as described by General Secretary Xi Jinping,⁹ to advance the Party’s aim of global domination.¹⁰ United front work (UFW), which may be executed by the United Front Work Department (UFW) or elsewhere in the Party, is a “unique blend of engagement, influence activities, and intelligence operations” that the CCP uses to “influence other countries’ policy toward the PRC and to gain access to advanced foreign technology.”¹¹ UFW “generally involves covert activity and is a form of interference that aids the CCP’s rise.”¹² United front “networks” are used “to carry out relationship-focused influence campaigns through a multitude of proxies.”¹³

Despite years of false promises to the West, the CCP openly seeks to achieve its destructive ambition. In 1999, two People’s Liberation Army Air Force colonels authored *Unrestricted Warfare*, which has been described as a strategic military vision for the PRC to defeat America through political warfare.¹⁴ Retired Brig. Gen. Robert Spalding, who has served in senior positions in strategy and diplomacy with the U.S. Departments of Defense and State for decades, characterizes the book as “the main blueprint for China’s efforts to unseat America as the world’s economy, political, and ideological leader,” which “shows exactly how a totalitarian nation set out to dominate the West through a comprehensive, long-term strategy that includes everything from corporate sabotage to cyberwarfare to dishonest diplomacy; from violations of international trade law and intellectual property law to calculated abuses of the global financial system.”¹⁵ Kerry Gershaneck, former counterintelligence officer who wrote a seminal book on combatting PRC Political Warfare, has explained that *Unrestricted Warfare* details CCP use of “any methods” where “the boundaries between war and non-war and between military and non-

⁵ Qiao Liang & Wang Xiangsu, *Unrestricted Warfare: China’s Master Plan to Destroy America* (PLA Lit. & Arts Pub. House 1999) (China) (military colonels describing twenty-four varieties of warfare).

⁶ “While the CCP’s United Front Work Department has functional responsibility for these [warfare] operations and activities, PRC united front work is a task of all CCP agencies and members.” Gershaneck, *supra* note 3, at 22.

⁷ It is essential to understand that Xi Jinping has removed any “veneer of separation between the [CCP] and the Chinese state.” Gershaneck, *supra* note 3, at 43 (quoting Ann-Marie Brady, *Exploit Every Rift: United Front Work Goes Global*, in David Gitter et al., *Party Watch Annual Report*, Ctr. for Adv. China Res. (2018)).

⁸ Ann-Marie Brady, *Magic Weapons: China’s political influence activities under Xi Jinping*, Wilson Ctr. (Sept. 18, 2017); *see also* Sel. Comm. on the Chinese Communist Party, *Memorandum: United Front 101*, at 7 (“United Front 101 Memo”).

⁹ Alex Joske, *The party speaks for you: Foreign interference and the Chinese Communist Party’s united front system*, Austl. Strategic Pol’y Inst. (Jun. 9, 2020) (quoting Xi Jinping at 2015 Central United Front Work Meeting).

¹⁰ *See, e.g.*, Newsham, *supra* note 3, at 43 (“The People’s Republic of China may settle for dominance rather than occupation, but it does indeed aim to rule us all.”).

¹¹ United Front 101 Memo, *supra* note 8, at 1.

¹² Joske, *The party speaks for you*, *supra* note 9, at 19.

¹³ Alex Joske, *Spies and Lies: How China’s Greatest Covert Operations Fooled the World*, at 63 (2022).

¹⁴ Gershaneck, *supra* note 3.

¹⁵ Spalding, *War Without Rules*, *supra* note 3, at xii; *see also* Robert Spalding, *Stealth War*, at 12-13 (2019) (*Unrestricted Warfare* “should be required reading for all branches of the US government and for business leaders, because it outlines, in no uncertain terms, the strategy behind China’s policies,” including stating that the “new principles of war” are “no longer ‘using armed force to compel the enemy to submit to one’s will,’ but rather are ‘using all means, including armed force or non-armed force, military and non-military, and lethal and non-lethal means to compel the enemy to accept one’s interests.’”).

military affairs [have] systemically broken down.”¹⁶ To successfully combat these highly organized and pervasive warfares spawned by China, federal agencies must first recognize and understand them.

The CCP “know[s] the strength of the American people, of the American idea, and that’s why China has launched so many warfares to try to weaken us, divide us, and get us to hate ourselves and each other.”¹⁷ Retired Col. Grant Newsham, former U.S. Marine Liaison Officer to the Japan Ground Self-Defense Force and U.S. Foreign Service Officer, has advised that “the way out of this is to rediscover why we are an exceptional country, get to know each other better, and fight side by side.”¹⁸

As all Americans are targets of the PRC’s warfare,¹⁹ federal agencies have responsibilities to (1) conduct outreach to citizens about the dangers they may encounter, and (2) provide appropriate incentives for Americans to proactively protect themselves—their communities, schools, houses of worship, businesses, finances, food, and more—from the threat. Federal agencies must prepare Americans to “take action.”²⁰ To stop the CCP’s “destructive actions,” retired Brig. Gen. Spalding advises that it will “take macrolevel strategic changes by our government, but also microlevel actions by individuals, businesses and other civic institutions.”²¹ The Committee is surveying each agency’s role to secure Americans and their communities.

Congress has recognized the threat posed by the PRC for some time. Notably, in 1999, the U.S. House Select Committee on U.S. National Security and Military/Commercial Concerns with the People’s Republic of China concluded that in the preceding decade, the PRC used a “variety of techniques including espionage, controlled commercial entities, and a network of individuals that engage in contact with scientists, business people and academics” as part of its warfare operations.²²

With varying degrees of effort and success, federal agencies have sought to address the CCP’s attack on what Col. Newsham has aptly described as “[t]he core of America.”²³ However,

¹⁶ Gershaneck, *supra* note 3, at 16 (quoting Qiao Liang & Wang Xiangsu, *supra* note 5, at 6-7).

¹⁷ Newsham, *supra* note 3, at 341.

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ “The Three Warfares, the traditional foundation of PRC political warfare, include public opinion/media warfare, psychological warfare, and legal warfare.” Gershaneck, *supra* note 3. It “requires efforts to unify military and civilian thinking, divide the enemy into factions, weaken the enemy’s combat power, and organize legal offensives.” Elsa Kania, *China Brief: The PLA’s Latest Strategic Thinking on the Three Warfares*, Jamestown Found. (Aug. 22, 2016).

²⁰ Spalding, *War Without Rules*, *supra* note 3, at 214.

²¹ *Id.*; see also Peter Mattis & Matt Schrader, *America Can’t Beat Beijing’s Tech Theft With Racial Profiling*, War on the Rocks (July 23, 2019) (“The U.S. government’s difficulties in telling a convincing story about the Chinese Communist Party point to a[n] important step: addressing a serious lack of ‘China literacy,’ both within the enforcement portions of the federal bureaucracy, and in U.S. society as a whole.”).

²² Cox Report, *supra* note 3, at xxxiii; see generally Menges, *supra* note 3.

²³ Newsham, *supra* note 3, at 33.

the threat is grave and work must be done across agencies to protect America.²⁴ Peter Mattis, former staff director of the Congressional-Executive Commission of China and counterintelligence analyst at the CIA counsels that

Only by being clear in public about the actions and intentions of the Chinese party-state, and being publicly accountable for the actions the U.S. government takes in response, will the United States be able to address Beijing's challenges while upholding our democratic commitment to fair, transparent justice for all Americans.²⁵

To this end, the Committee is conducting this investigation and implores each federal agency to uphold its duty to the American communities for whom they are responsible.

America Urgently Needs a Government-Wide Strategy

Thus far, the Committee has conducted oversight of how over twenty federal agencies are addressing the serious threats posed by the CCP's unrestricted warfare.²⁶ Letters to each agency

²⁴ See Newsham, *supra* note 3, at 309 (“We need to know, value, protect and build the strengths of the United States of America, and shed the light of truth on the corruption, in every sense of the word,” of the CCP. “That could mean in discussions with family, community, at school or wherever that understanding needs bolstering.” Education courses on PRC political warfare would benefit “[a]ny decision-makers who work with China.”); see Gershaneck, *supra* note 3, at 153 (outlining such courses to “build[] internal defenses”).

²⁵ Mattis and Schrader, *supra* note 21.

²⁶ See Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Willie L. Phillips, Chairman, Fed. Energy Regulatory Comm’n (Mar. 13, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Amanda Bennett, Chief Executive Officer, U.S. Agency on Global Media (Mar. 13, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Merrick Garland, Attorney General, Dep’t of Justice (Mar. 13, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Michael S. Regan, Administrator, Env’tl. Prot. Agency (Mar. 13, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Sethuraman Panchanathan, Dir., Nat’l Sci. Found. (Mar. 13, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Anne Milgram, Adm’r, Drug Enforcement Admin. (Mar. 13, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Thomas J. Vilsack, Sec’y, U.S. Dep’t of Agric. (Mar. 13, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Andrea Gacki, Dir., Fin. Crimes Enforcement Network (Mar. 13, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Bill Nelson, Adm’r, Nat’l Aeronautics and Space Admin. (Mar. 13, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Robert M. Califf, Comm’r, U.S. Food and Drug Admin. (May 6, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Miguel A. Cardona, Sec’y, Dep’t of Educ. (May 6, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Christopher Wray, Dir., Fed. Bureau of Investigation (May 6, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Alexander Hoehn-Saric, Chairman, U.S. Consumer Product Safety Comm’n (May 6, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Monica M. Bertagnolli, Dir., Nat’l Insts. of Health (May 6, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Antony Blinken, Sec’y, Dep’t of State (May 6, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Gina Raimondo, Sec’y, U.S. Dep’t of Commerce (May 6, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Jennifer Granholm, Sec’y, U.S. Dep’t of Energy (May 6, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman,

address unique responsibilities of the individual agency to secure American communities and key sectors from CCP political warfare. Given these important duties, the Committee also requested briefings from the agencies to understand how each agency is using its existing resources to strengthen its ability to identify, deter, and defeat influence operations; conduct effective outreach about the CCP threat to the American people; and provide strong incentives to counter CCP tactics. While briefings are ongoing, they have already made clear that despite federal law requiring the Biden-Harris Administration to implement a “grand strategy with respect to China,”²⁷ no serious government-wide strategy exists.

These briefings and the Committee’s broader investigation have also demonstrated that the country is in dire need of such a strategy. Witnesses at Committee hearings in this investigation—entitled *Defending America from the Chinese Communist Party’s Political Warfare*—have testified about the grave threat presented by CCP political warfare. The witnesses warned that for too long federal agencies have failed to acknowledge and address the threat and that federal agencies must act now to secure the American way of life. Retired Brig. Gen. Spalding testified that “we are in a new cold war,” and explained that “[t]oday, the Chinese Communist Party and its proxies wage a global political war to influence the face of human civilization using the tools of statecraft, business, economics, trade, finance, academia, and especially technology.”²⁸ CCP political warfare poses unique challenges that are difficult to detect—particularly when federal officials are unaware of the tactics employed and/or are unwilling to aggressively root out united front infiltration present across the country. As Gen. Spalding testified, “[i]nfluence is far easier, less risky, and profoundly more effective than military weapons when conducted in our globally connected world.”²⁹ The former Senior Advisor to Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, Mary Kissel, testified that the threat from the CCP

H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Avril Haines, Dir., Office of the Dir. of Nat’l Intelligence (May 6, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Pete Buttigieg, Sec’y, U.S. Dep’t of Transp. (June 21, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Lloyd Austin, Sec’y, Dep’t of Def. (June 21, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Carlos Del Torro, Sec’y, Dep’t of the Navy (June 21, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Alejandro Mayorkas, Sec’y, Dep’t of Homeland Sec. (July 18, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. Janet Yellen, Sec’y, Dep’t of the Treasury (July 18, 2024); Letter from Hon. James Comer, Chairman, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to Hon. William J. Burns, Dir., Cent. Intelligence Agency (July 18, 2024).

²⁷ The National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2022 required that the President submit to Congress a national security strategy, or “grand strategy,” with respect to China. In May 2022, Secretary Blinken announced the Biden-Harris Administration’s strategy, which according to Secretary Blinken, “can be summed up in three words – ‘invest, align, compete.’” The Committee notes that this strategy fails to include any effort to *align* federal agencies. A “grand strategy” is not inherently a government-wide strategy. As of May 2024, the Biden-Harris Administration had not provided a classified or unclassified summary of the “grand strategy.” National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2022, Pub. L. No 117-81, 135 Stat. 1541 (2021); Antony J. Blinken, U.S. Sec’y of State, *The Administration’s Approach to the People’s Republic of China* (May 26, 2022); Press Release, Mitt Romney, Secretary Blinken Personally Commits to Follow Through on Delivering Romney’s Comprehensive China Strategy (May 21, 2024).

²⁸ *Defending America from the Chinese Communist Party’s Political Warfare, Part II, Hearing Before H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability* (Apr. 17, 2024) (testimony of Gen. Robert Spalding).

²⁹ *Id.*

is “unlike anything else we have ever faced,” and is “far more dangerous and complex” than that faced with the Soviet Union.³⁰ She warned the Committee that “we don’t have the luxury of time” that we had during the Cold War with the Soviet Union.³¹

Accordingly, it is imperative to act now to establish and execute a government-wide strategy to defeat CCP political warfare. Importantly, effective leadership must also inspire Americans to strengthen their communities, innovate, and create a secure environment that will foster a strong and prosperous future for the nation in the face of the CCP’s destructive global ambitions. Without a coordinated government-wide strategy, the United States is at risk of defeat in this new cold war.

The Biden-Harris Administration’s NSC CCP Strategy—Or Lack Thereof

The NSC is uniquely qualified to lead this challenge for America based on its essential duties designed to ensure collaboration across federal agencies for national security purposes. These duties, if acted upon and implemented properly, would leave no room for CCP interference and influence in the U.S. government and throughout America. Specifically, the NSC is the “principal arm” for coordinating matters of national security among government agencies.³² As part of this coordination, the NSC engages with individuals who have crucial duties to combat CCP political warfare, including, but not limited to: the Attorney General, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Energy, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Homeland Security, the Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, the Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Chief of Staff to the President, and the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.³³

The dangers presented by the PRC and the importance of addressing them have been recognized by a previous NSC official. In his book, entitled “The Long Game, China’s Grand Strategy to Displace American Order,” former NSC Director for China, Rush Doshi,³⁴ discusses “Beijing’s long, methodical game to displace America from its hegemonic position in both the East Asia regional and global orders through three sequential strategies of displacement.”³⁵ Yet the Committee’s investigation has uncovered that very few federal officials recognize, understand, or have a strategy to safeguard America from CCP infiltration and influence. On the contrary, many federal officials are unaware of the CCP’s decades-long unrestricted warfare

³⁰ *Defending America from the Chinese Communist Party’s Political Warfare, Part II, Hearing Before H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability* (June 26, 2024) (testimony of Mary Kissel).

³¹ *Id.*

³² National Security Council Background, *supra* note 1.

³³ National Security Council Background, *supra* note 1.

³⁴ See Biden Administration International Affairs Personnel Tracker, *Rush Doshi*, ICAS, available at <https://chinaus-icas.org/biden-administration-international-affairs-personnel-tracker/biden-personnel-tracker-diplomacy-and-foreign-policy/rush-doshi-director-for-china-national-security-council/>.

³⁵ Rush Doshi, *The Long Game: China’s Grand Strategy to Displace American Order (Bridging the Gap)* (2021) (This quote can be found in the book’s description, available at <https://www.amazon.com/Long-Game-Strategy-Displacement-American/dp/0197527914>); Rush Doshi, *The Long Game: China’s Grand Strategy to Displace American Order (Bridging the Gap)* 3-4 (2021) (asserting that the CCP’s three strategies of displacement are as follows: (1) “to blunt the hegemon’s exercise of those forms of control, particularly those extended over the rising state”; (2) “to build forms of control over others”; and (3) “global expansion.”).

campaign, minimize the threat, and reflexively excuse CCP activity threatening the security and prosperity of communities across our country.

In addition to the Committee’s ongoing investigation and warnings from the Intelligence Community,³⁶ serious questions remain about whether the NSC fully understands, or has a coordinated plan, to defeat the CCP’s unrestricted warfare targeting American communities, sectors, and the U.S. government. For example, in a presentation to the Brookings Institution announcing the Biden-Harris Administration’s strategy of “de-risking and diversifying, not decoupling” from China, you reportedly explained that a “small yard and high fence” would protect critical military technologies while also allowing the United States to pursue commercial innovation and competition with the PRC.³⁷ The CCP does not respect “high fences”—instead, the Party seeks to circumvent and destroy such barriers, intended to safeguard American sovereignty, by engaging in the theft of critical technologies in essential sectors and psychological and political warfare.³⁸ You have endorsed the false narrative that the PRC is simply engaging in mutual “competition”—while admitting that “China has to be willing to play its part.”³⁹ Yet, it is common sense that competition does not include unrestricted warfare, subversive activity, planned infiltration, rampant theft of critical technologies, and strategic efforts to infiltrate and destroy critical infrastructure.

The most recent renewal of the National Security Council System, which communicates how the Biden-Harris Administration plans to manage and coordinate national security issues

³⁶ See, e.g., Office of the Dir. of Nat’l Intelligence, Annual Threat Assessment of the U.S. Intelligence Community (Feb. 5, 2024) (The Office of the Director of National Intelligence releases an annual report, entitled “Annual Threat Assessment of the U.S. Intelligence Community.” The 2024 Report references “China” 90 times in fewer than 40 pages, and emphasizes the PRC’s increasing competitiveness in several areas, including: technology, nuclear capabilities, military, space, cyber, and influence operations.).

³⁷ American Compass, A Hard Break from China: Protecting the American Market from Subversion by the CCP 4 (June 2023) (quoting Speeches and Remarks, The White House, Remarks by National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan on Renewing American Economic Leadership at the Brookings Institution (Apr. 27, 2023) (emphasis added) (“Remarks by National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan”)) (During your presentation, you stated that the Biden Administration is “protecting our foundational technologies with a small yard and high fence,” through efforts to “usher in a new wave of the digital revolution.” Specifically, you referenced restrictions on the exportation of semiconductor technology to the PRC due to national security concerns, additional screening of foreign investments in areas where national security is at risk and addressing outbound investments in “sensitive technologies with a core national security nexus.”).

³⁸ See U.S. Dep’t of State, Military-Civil Fusion and the People’s Republic of China (May 2020) (“U.S. Dep’t of State: Military-Civil Fusion”) (“Its goal is to enable the PRC to develop the most technologically advanced military in the world. As the name suggests, a key part of MCF is the elimination of barriers between China’s civilian research and commercial sectors, and its military and defense industrial sectors. The CCP is implementing this strategy, not just through its own research and development efforts, but also by acquiring and diverting the world’s cutting-edge technologies – including through theft – in order to achieve military dominance.”) (emphasis added); Col. Newsham has explained that “[u]ltimately, psychological warfare is the most important of the political warfare techniques.” Newsham, *supra* note 3, at 64. Specifically, it “seeks to change an opponent’s thinking and behavior in a way that is favorable to PRC interests and objectives. Through non-kinetic means, it aims to weaken the opponent’s will and ability to resist. Successful Chinese psychological warfare makes the other side more accommodating and less willing or able to resist.” *Id.*

³⁹ Remarks by National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan, *supra* note 37.

among departments and agencies, clearly acknowledges the “cross-cutting nature of a number of critical national security issues – such as homeland security, global public health, international economics, climate, science and technology, cybersecurity, migration, and others.”⁴⁰ Indeed, these are all areas that the CCP is aggressively infiltrating and influencing. As National Security Advisor, you are responsible for setting the NSC’s agenda, serving as Chair of the Principals Committee, and establishing Interagency Policy Committees (IPC), among other duties.⁴¹ An IPC focused on CCP political warfare, if not already in place, could play an important role in a government-wide response to the persistent threat. Indeed, IPCs are the “main day-to-day fora for interagency coordination of national security policy.”⁴² The Committee seeks to ascertain whether the NSC is establishing a government-wide strategy necessary to deter and defeat CCP political warfare threatening the American way of life.

To assist the Committee in investigating this matter, we request a briefing from the NSC with Committee staff. Please contact Committee staff as soon as possible, but no later than August 27, 2024. This briefing should address the following:

1. Whether the President, through collaboration with the NSC or otherwise, has plans to establish a government-wide strategy to identify, deter, and defeat CCP unrestricted warfare;
 - a. If yes, details of the plan and how the NSC will ensure that each agency implements the strategy;
2. The NSC’s public messaging and advice to the President about messaging to the American people regarding the CCP—including, but not limited to, the use of terms such as unrestricted warfare, political warfare, economic warfare, irregular warfare, war without boundaries, and cold war—that may assist the public in understanding and countering CCP infiltration and influence;
3. China and CCP expertise within the NSC or offered to the NSC;
4. Any efforts by the NSC to establish a counter CCP strategy that factors in the unique methods and tactics employed by the communist regime—including, but not limited to, united front activity, unrestricted warfare, elite capture and political, economic, psychological, and cognitive warfare;

⁴⁰ The White House, Memorandum on Renewing the National Security Council System, *available at* <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/02/04/memorandum-renewing-the-national-security-council-system/> (Feb. 4, 2021).

⁴¹ *Id.*

⁴² *Id.*

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5. How the NSC's leadership ensures from the top down that all regular NSC attendees, as well as other department heads or senior officials invited to attend meetings, are aware of and equipped to address CCP unrestricted warfare and influence operations against American communities; and
6. Whether Interagency Policy Committees have been created to specifically focus on CCP unrestricted warfare.

Please contact Committee staff at (202) 225-5074 to schedule the staff briefing. The Committee on Oversight and Accountability is the principal oversight committee of the U.S. House of Representatives and has broad authority to investigate "any matter" at "any time" under House Rule X. Thank you for your prompt attention to this important investigation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "James Comer". The signature is written in a cursive style with a horizontal line underneath the name.

James Comer

Chairman

Committee on Oversight and Accountability

cc: The Honorable Jamie B. Raskin, Ranking Member
Committee on Oversight and Accountability