

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Committee on Oversight and Accountability
Hearing on
“Defending America from the Chinese Communist Party’s Political Warfare, Part III”
September 24, 2024

Congressional Testimony of Dr. Bradley A. Thayer

Introduction

Chair Comer, Ranking Member Raskin, and distinguished members of this Committee, thank you for the honor and privilege of testifying before you today in my personal capacity.

I am pleased to assist this Committee’s responsibility to investigate and provide oversight regarding how America may be defended from the Chinese Communist Party’s (CCP) political warfare. My testimony might be understood as providing a foundational comprehension of the CCP threat. The CCP has waged political warfare against the United States government since it seized power in China in 1949 and has done so very successfully. The result has had a devastating impact on the national security of the United States of America.

Over the course of decades, the CCP effectively misled our Executive Branch to ignore the People’s Republic of China (PRC) as a rising existential threat. Thus, in the past 30 years the PRC rose from being a poor state with limited global influence to being not just a peer competitor but an existential threat to the United States. The current Cold War with the CCP is multifaceted and fought, thus far short of kinetic war, in all other domains—including the economic, diplomatic, and political, the subject of this Committee Hearing.

Accordingly, given the focus of this Committee and topic of this hearing, it is important to consider the similarities between this Cold War and the one with the Soviet Union. The most salient is that the motivation for aggression remains the same, the Communist ideology of the Soviet Union in the past and of the CCP today. Both Communist powers employed political warfare against the U.S., but the PRC has been far more successful than the Soviet Union.

It is within the context of defending America from the CCP’s political warfare, its impact on U.S. national security, and what this Committee, Congress, and federal Departments and Agencies must do in response, that I provide the following testimony. I address three major points.

First, this Committee, Congress, indeed, the totality of the U.S. Government, as well as the American people must comprehend the ideology of the CCP in order to understand the threat it poses to the U.S., and so I explicate the Communist ideology of the CCP.

Second, I will explain why the CCP is not legitimate. This is so because Communism is illegitimate, it never received the support of Chinese people and because it was imposed as a product of Soviet imperialism. In sum, the CCP has no right to rule the Chinese people.

Third, I will provide eight recommendations that the House Oversight and Accountability Committee can employ to assist the federal government solve the problems I have identified, which are a clear and present danger to the security of the United States.

To meet that danger, the U.S. Government and the American people are not prepared intellectually, ideologically, organizationally, nor militarily. The extent of the PRC's political warfare has been very successful. It is deeply rooted within our government, economy, and society, and the U.S. faces the Herculean task of defeating and rolling back the PRC's efforts.

The U.S. Is in a New Cold War Started by the CCP

The U.S. finds itself in this situation because of two fundamental and related grand strategic mistakes. First, it did not identify this threat from the PRC for decades. Second, it neglected to act to defeat it. Post-Cold War strategists squandered the gains of previous generations who won World War II and the Cold War, thereby creating *Pax Americana*—the period of stability in international politics made possible by dominant U.S. power. The principal responsibility of the U.S. national security community during this time was to remain vigilant regarding rising totalitarian threats such as that posed by the PRC and demonstrate the strength and will to stop it before it possessed the capability to destroy us. But they did not. As a result, the U.S. again faces a formidable peer bent on global hegemony and the destruction of America and its values of democracy and freedom.

The U.S. is now in a new Cold War, that is, a period of intense security competition. The Sino-American security competition is the great struggle of the 21st Century and promises to resolve the dispositive question of the age—whether the world will be free and protected by the U.S. or fall into a totalitarian abyss as sought by the PRC. The answer to this question will impact the lives of every American for generations. Specifically, the question will impact U.S. national security, those of its allies, the continuation of U.S.-led order, and of the definitive political principles in international politics.

This perilous situation need not have happened. Over three decades, the U.S. had ample time to prevent the PRC's rise and to retard its growth, even to support the overthrow of the CCP. Yet, it did not. Those strategic choices must be explained—first, why did the U.S. assist, not prevent, the rise of its peer challenger; and second, was it entirely the result of a masterful, protracted Political Warfare campaign by the masters of deception, the CCP.

At its base, this situation was a historically unique case of *threat deflation*—underestimating the CCP threat by the U.S. national security community, year after year. This persistent, deliberate *threat deflation* deceived elected officials, policy makers, and much of the American public to the CCP's insidious intent and of China's so-called "peaceful rise."

Consequently, our leaders failed to balance against it. In fact, idealism and purblind administrations led the U.S. to become the greatest enabler of China's malignant rise. The failure to honestly address the threat of PRC's malignant rise is the gravest strategic mistake ever made by the U.S., one which today imperils the U.S. homeland, economic prosperity, and national security.

The United States threat deflated the danger from the PRC for decades. There are three reasons why this occurred.

First, there was an overarching assumption that history was at its end, and great power threats were an artifact of the past. The influence of the “End of History” mindset was considerable and gave rise to the conceit that the U.S. was the acme of political and economic development and thus possessed the right structure to lead the world and cooperate with other states to assist them on the path to history’s end. Thus, as great power politics was of the past and did not frame the present, the “End of History” logic resulted in conclusion that the PRC will be positively transformed through the coterie of engagement policies, which included military to military, or mil-to-mil, cooperation.

Second, avarice and finance trumped strategy and set the perfect environment in which PRC Political Warfare could subvert U.S. national security interests from within. U.S. business interests and financiers consistently and indefatigably sought economic cooperation with the PRC, treating the Chinese people as the source of cheap physical labor for manufacturing, investment, as well as inexpensive intellectual labor, including for research and development.

Third, the enemy of the U.S. was an exceptional strategist, particularly regarding Political Warfare and deception. Political Warfare is not new: it has been the key to winning wars and building empires for thousands of years. Notably, though, the PRC advanced a political warfare strategy to promote threat deflation under Deng Xiaoping. Deng profited from studying and improving upon Soviet efforts to penetrate U.S. society as well as learning key lessons from the Soviet Union’s mistakes in the Cold War. The PRC successfully caused threat deflation by adopting a complex strategy. They focused on elites in all aspects of U.S. and other Western societies, enriching them and shaping their perception of the PRC and of the CCP, while using the enticement of a growing market and lucre for their firms, organizations, interests, and for themselves, to influence their behavior. For a generation, the PRC masked their intentions and framed their expansion as economic rather than strategic, and an unalloyed good that would benefit the world. It was a masterful political warfare campaign.

The Importance of Communist Ideology for Comprehending the CCP Threat Today

Know your enemy is an eternal verity of strategy. A major part of knowing your enemy is understanding their ideology. Thus, to understand the nature of the CCP threat, it is critical to understand the role of Communist ideology. Ideology is important for every polity for five reasons. First, ideology can provide legitimacy if it is rooted in the consent of those governed as in democracies. Second, it explains why the people should support their government and why they should sacrifice for it. Third, it explicates which states are allies and which are foes, and thus the ultimate reason for the struggle with other states. Fourth, ideology is the force that unifies and provides cohesion for the country and like-minded people around the world. As a corollary, it defines the domestic enemy, as well as the enemy abroad. Fifth, it is also a weapon to be used to expand the influence of states as well as to challenge the legitimacy of alternative ideologies such as liberal democracy or Communism in the minds of the Chinese people, their allies, and worldwide.

The impact of the ideology of Communism and the role of this ideology in driving its aggression is essential to comprehend. Communism is a Western ideology imported into China and is not a part of Chinese civilization, political culture, or history. Indeed, as Communism is a Western ideology, it should be conceived as another form of Western intellectual colonialism over China.

Nonetheless, the impact of Communist ideology on China has been profound and created a swath of destruction through Chinese culture, society, political thought, and the Chinese people. It has intentionally overturned and destroyed traditional pillars of Chinese society and civilization. For the CCP, Communism is essential because it provides the self-justification to remain in power. The CCP cannot justify its rule in terms of China's traditional polity and Chinese civilization. In a solipsistic manner, Communist ideology yields legitimacy within the Party for its rule. It keeps the CCP camarilla in power and allows them to justify their tyranny to each other.

Understanding Communism provides two major insights into the CCP. First, it allows Congress to comprehend why the PRC is inherently aggressive. Communism seeks to force societies like China's into a historical and ideological template defined by Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Lenin, and Joseph Stalin. To advance that Procrustean Bed, Communists wage political warfare against their own societies. In addition, Communism requires aggression by all means, including unrestricted warfare, against non-Communist states who are perceived to be irremediably hostile to the ideology of Communism. They must be destroyed because Communist and liberal states cannot coexist, as Lenin identified in his "who-whom" (*kto-kogo*) formulation—one will dominate the other. The answer for Communists is that perforce Communism will win.

The effect on U.S. national security interests could not be more significant as this explains the CCP's aggression. Communism perceives all bourgeois countries as inherent enemies that must be eliminated, and inevitably will be due to the contradictions of capitalism within Western states and the neo-imperialism they practice in global politics. In the Communist worldview, the CCP sees the U.S. as the fundamental enemy to be destroyed. Tactical compromises may be possible, but in the end Communism will be victorious and the CCP will dominate the U.S. An understanding of Communism permits this identification and the inevitable hostility that exists between the CCP and bourgeois states. In turn, this permits the comprehension of why the U.S. national security community must not minimize the influence of Communism on the CCP and foreign and domestic policies of the PRC.

The second insight is that the CCP is a product of Soviet imperialism. In the consideration of the Congress must not minimize the role of the Soviets and the Communist International (Comintern, or Third Communist International) in organizing and instructing, and, in almost every sense that matters, *de facto* leading the CCP. The role of Soviet Communist thought, Leninism and Stalinism, is essential for comprehending the actions of the CCP, as Soviet thought provided the foundation for what is known as Chinese Communism, or Maoism, or socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Overwhelmingly, Mao Zedong's leadership struggle within the CCP and his political thought, Maoism, were products of the Comintern and of Stalin. Mao never escaped Stalin's influence and the Soviet dictator remained an inspiration for him. The cult of personality and totalitarian control that Stalin created, Mao sought to copy completely.¹

A review of Maoism reveals the Leninist or more broadly, Bolshevik, genesis of Mao's ideology. It was Lenin and Leon Trotsky, not Mao or other Chinese Communists, who identified the importance of the peasantry in advancing Communism. Lenin was influenced by the 1905 Russian Revolution to write in April 1906 that a new type of bourgeois-democratic revolution based upon the peasantry was possible. Lenin's pamphlet, *The Revision of the Agrarian Programme of the Workers' Party*, was a truly revolutionary work. It was a major modification of the Marx-Engels catechism. For Lenin, the peasantry could be attracted by promises of land nationalization and redistribution to become a revolutionary force.² Significantly, the peasantry could enter the Marxist conception of history as a progressive force.³ Hence, long before Mao or his CCP comrades, it was Lenin who identified how the peasantry could support the Party's revolutionary aims. Trotsky's arguments, also advanced in 1906, were similar and even broader. He advocated for non-proletarian social groups like the peasantry to become part of the workers' government.⁴

This idea was advanced by the Comintern for bringing Communist revolution to China and India. It inspired the Comintern's organization of the January 1922 First Conference of the Toilers of the Earth in Moscow, six months after the CCP's founding in July 1921. Since China did not have a Marxist tradition, it would have to be given one by the Comintern. The Comintern *de facto* led the CCP and provided guidance for important Chinese Communists, including Mao who was emerging as an important, but not yet dominant, leader by 1927.⁵ Revolution in China had become a top priority for the Soviet Union, and its vehicle would be the Kuomintang (KMT) rather than the weaker CCP, founded in 1921, which sustained a united front with the KMT until July 1927. In sum, for the 1920s and 1930s, the KMT was seen by Stalin to be a more effective mechanism of revolution and of an effective force that could balance Japan's growing aggressiveness.

Even Mao's purportedly original idea of the Cultural Revolution—said by Mao to be one of two of his great achievements, the other being the 1949 revolution—was derived from Bolshevik A.A. Bogdanov's (born Alexander Aleksandrovich Malinovskii) thought and his advocacy for the permanent change of Russian culture, intellectual life, and society, through such

¹ The great scholar of Stalin and Stalinism, Stephen Kotkin, advances the argument that Stalin created a civilization in every respect—economic, political, social structure, art, language, culture—centered on his cult of personality, terror, and what we might call the cult of heavy industry. See Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

² Karl A. Wittfogel, "The Marxist View of China (Part I)," *The China Quarterly*, No. 11 (July-September 1962), pp. 1-20, p. 15.

³ Marx and Engels were notoriously contemptuous of the peasantry and the "idiocy" of rural life.

⁴ Leon Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution and Results and Prospects* (New York: Merit, 1969). Detailed in "The Proletariat in Power and the Peasantry," in *Results and Prospects*, published in 1906, pp. 69-75. Far more than Lenin in his contemporaneous work, Trotsky emphasizes the subordination of the peasantry to the proletariat.

⁵ Although Mao would have his ups and downs, not securing full control until the Yan'an Rectification Movement 1942-1945. Karl A. Wittfogel, "The Marxist View of China (Part II)," *The China Quarterly*, No. 12 (October-December 1962), pp. 154-169, pp. 166-168.

a purging.⁶ Bogdanov, and other “leftwing” Bolsheviks including Anatoly Lunacharski, the Commissar for Education, advanced his idea in direct opposition to Lenin, and, of course, was defeated by Lenin.⁷

Lenin saw cultural change as one of the means whereby the Bolsheviks could consolidate power and promote economic development. Bogdanov argued that a true Communist revolution had to set for itself a more radical and difficult goal—the transformation of attitudes, ideas and expectations about the future, customs, and culture—what Mao would term in the Chinese context the “Four Olds”: ideas, customs, culture, habits. For Bogdanov, only then could a truly proletarian society be forged, and he attempt to cause such a change through the Prolekult (proletarian culture) movement, which was a template for the Cultural Revolution of 1966-1976 in the PRC. Through the Cultural Revolution, Mao attempted to regain absolute power and purge the Party through the cultural tool. There is no doubt that he was knowledgeable of Bogdanov’s pioneering effort in this regard.

Hence, the Bolsheviks were responsible for both of Mao’s achievements as Mao himself identified them. Fundamentally, the Bolsheviks and Mao shared Alexander Blok’s summation of the Bolshevik Revolution as “to *remake* everything: to organize things so that everything should be new, so that our false, filthy, boring, hideous life should become a just, pure, merry, and beautiful life.”⁸ They did indeed remake their societies although totalitarianism was the result in all cases, and was precisely the opposite of what Blok envisioned.

Communism in China was imported from the Soviet Union and should be considered intellectual colonialism—or what I term Soviet imperialism. It was an artificial substitute for a discredited Confucian political tradition left in tatters by Qing misrule and European and Japanese domination. It was not an organic outgrowth of indigenous political development and culture. Yet, while not organic, it was effective at maintaining control due to the Comintern’s efforts and later Mao’s Stalinism. The durability of the CCP, when contrasted with the collapse of the Soviet Union and its allies in central and eastern Europe, demonstrates its skill and determination to remain in power. The Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology remains in force and has suffered a renaissance under Xi. This alien import has become accepted as “Chinese” by the Party due to Deng Xiaoping’s effort to generate “socialism with Chinese characteristics” and Xi’s efforts to prioritize Communism as one of the tenets of his rule.

⁶ Zenovia A. Sochor, *Revolution and Culture: The Bogdanov-Lenin Controversy* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988). Of course, Mao could not have achieved success in 1949 without the Comintern and Soviet assistance, including direct military aid and the employment of Soviet territory and later Manchuria as a protected areas and direct line of communication for the Communists. Stalin’s pressure on the quasi-independent state of Xinjiang was also supremely helpful for the Communists. Before Stalingrad, Xinjiang’s leader was supportive of Chiang Kai-shek, and after, supportive of Stalin to the great benefit of the CCP.

⁷ This included the cultural and educational movement Proletkult (proletarian culture) which sought to elevate proletarian art, cinema, theater, literature, and proletarians to positions within the Party, as well as tangible and immediate proletarian consciousness among the Bolsheviks, who were dominated by the intelligentsia. This served as a precursor to Mao’s Cultural Revolution.

⁸ As quoted in Avril Pyman, *The Life of Alexander Blok*, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 282. Emphasis original.

Thus, the CCP and its ideology are entirely derivative from Leninism, it was formed and heavily influenced by the Comintern who led it, trained its key cadres, and resolved its major disputes. It is the stark truth that Stalin, the Comintern, and the Soviet Army allowed the CCP to be victorious.

The CCP stayed in power while the Soviet Union fell because the international political environment remained benign for the CCP. This was due to the response of the U.S. The U.S. did not push for regime change in the PRC as it might have after Tiananmen Square or in the years afterward when the regime was unstable. Indeed, the administration of George H.W. Bush worked to reassure Deng of the U.S.'s desire to sustain and improve relations in its wake. Subsequent U.S. administrations, most importantly the Clinton administration, only compounded this mistake by allowing the PRC to enter the West's economic ecosystem.

In essence, the central issue is not what is Chinese about the PRC but what is Communist about it. The answer is that most of it is Communist. Not much is Chinese. Communist ideology is inherently aggressive and thus the CCP must defeat the U.S. Moreover, this polity has lasted, carried on the backs of the Chinese people since 1949, despite the grave injuries inflicted by Mao, the Gang of Four, and Deng on them. In sum, the CCP could not have survived without the prodigious help it received first from the Soviet Union and then from the United States and the liberal international order that Washington created, which permitted the PRC's prodigious growth.

The CCP Is Not Legitimate

The CCP is illegitimate for three reasons. First, as argued, they were formed and nurtured by the Communist International, and their seizure of power in 1949 was made possible by Stalin in the wake of the defeat of Japan.

Second, as with the other poison fruits of the Bolshevik Revolution, because they seek to sustain the tyranny of the failed ideology of Marxism-Leninism on the Chinese people. The dependence upon this imported Western ideology means that at root the CCP's ideology of Marxism-Leninism, and its Chinese idioms, Maoism, Deng's "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics," and most recently "Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era," are illegitimate for China.

This ideology should be thought of for what it is: the last surviving form of Western colonialism, and despite the CCP's efforts, they cannot hide the fact that they are the product of this. The "Century of Humiliation," that defined Western imperialism in China from the First Opium War (1839-1842) to the CCP's victory (1949) in fact has not ended. More accurately given the CCP's colonial origins, China will soon realize its second century of humiliation.

This causes a legitimization crisis in China that provides justification for the Chinese people to labor to overthrow the CCP. Its fall would permit China to evolve into a polity which is in accord with the historical political culture of China. As a product of Western intellectual thought, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, and Bogdanov, the CCP lacks even the legitimacy of the

Qing Dynasty (1644-1911/1912) who were foreign, Manchu rather than Han, but who ruled successfully in accord with China's dynastic ideology.

Third, the CCP is illegitimate because of its abhorrent and contemptible leadership and the accelerated misrule of Communist dictator Xi Jinping. It possesses odious rulers who have forced China to endure decades of misrule. Seventy years of tyranny and wars against the Chinese people have led to scores of millions killed by the Chinese regime and the recognition by the Chinese people that the odious, corrupt, and illegitimate regime rules for itself, not for the people.

Eight Recommendations to Address This Problem

The political incoherence of the CCP is a profound vulnerability that the U.S. must exploit through the following eight measures.

First, Congress should task the federal government to consider U.S. options and mechanisms, working in conjunction with allies and the Chinese diaspora, that would support the right of the Chinese people to consider alternatives for their future, particularly regarding the nature of a true Chinese polity, and provided technical mechanisms to “punch a hole in the Great Firewall” and allow the Chinese people to communicate freely with each other and with those outside of China without CCP interference. Xi's rule in China has proven that the CCP does not have the solution to creating a modern and just polity. Grafting a Western import, Communism, to define and govern China was certain to generate ideological and political incoherence for the Chinese people.

Second, Congress should task the relevant Department and Agencies within the federal government to advance political warfare campaigns that undermine the power and control of the CCP. Several important subthemes should be emphasized.

The first of which is that not only is the CCP not legitimate, but it is hyper-aggressive, and its hyper-aggression is the source of the present Cold War. The U.S. did not want to confront the PRC, the PRC chose to fight the U.S. The Cold War with the CCP is multifaceted and fought in all domains—economic, diplomatic, military, intelligence, technological, space—short of kinetic war.

It is important for Members to consider the similarities between this Cold War and the one with the Soviet Union (1946-1991). The similarities are myriad but the most important is that Communism is the cause of both. The motivation for aggression remains the same, the Communist ideology of the Soviet Union in the past and of the CCP today. In essence, in the current Cold War with the CCP, the U.S. is confronting the last gasp of Soviet ideology. To understand why, Americans grasp that Communism was a Western colonial import to China caused by the Bolshevik intent to spread the 1917 Revolution around the world through their direct efforts. The Bolshevik war with Poland was defeated in 1920 on the outskirts of Warsaw was classic case of direct action to spread the revolution to Germany, which the Bolsheviks hoped would become a Communist supernova, spreading the revolution throughout the West.

But they also worked through front organizations. The Comintern which was formed in March 1919 to spread the world Communist revolution but was officially terminated in 1943 to please Stalin's allies in World War II, Great Britain and the United States. However, it was relaunched in 1947 as the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties, or Cominform—was the most important. Comintern agents worked with the CCP from the 1920s until the CCP came to power in 1949. Although Mao was dominant in the CCP by end of World War II, Stalin's shadow loomed large over Mao, and the Soviet dictator guided the CCP's big decisions.

Thus, it is a fundamental truth that the CCP is the product of Soviet imperialism through the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Comintern, and Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The legacy of the Soviet Communist Party remains in the CCP. As this testimony has stressed, it is a profoundly incongruous fact that the CCP, the product of Soviet imperialism, rules the people of China. Given their august civilization, the Chinese naturally possess a profound sense of pride in their civilization and its accomplishments. The Chinese perceive themselves to occupy a unique place in the world that has excelled in every aspect, including literature, philosophy, art, religion, and technology.

A second critical subtheme is that the Chinese people have their own ideas about how to govern China past on their august history. Being ruled by a Soviet "knock off" ideology is not a part of the plan. Nor should it be. Consequently, this introduces a tremendous vulnerability for the CCP, as their ideology is anchored and remains dependent upon a Western ideology, Marxism-Leninism. In turn, this means that their worldview attempts to impose a Western ideology upon Chinese civilization. A dangerous civilizational incoherence and profound tension between the CCP and the Chinese people is the result.

A final subtheme is throughout history, every political party, and every state, defines the key questions of "who are we." The CCP's answer to this fundamental question is embarrassing. The CCP's founding fathers are Marx and Engels, as interpreted, influenced, and forged by Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin, through the idiom of Maoism and now "Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era." Thus, Germans, Russians, and Georgians are the founding fathers and guiding influences of the CCP. They are the *sine qua non* of the CCP.

Consequently, in the PRC today, the CCP faces the paradox of laboring consistently to hijack Chinese civilization to provide its legitimacy, popular support. But as it does so, the CCP reveals its illegitimacy to rule China and that it fetters Chinese civilization with a Western ideology and worldview. That is one of the CCP's Achilles' heels and must be at the centerpiece of Chinese efforts to de-legitimize the CCP and may be joined by people of good will around the world.

From Stalin to Mao to Pol Pot, Communism has been the cause of about 100 million deaths around the world, totalitarian governments, gross human rights abuses, famine, deportations, executions, and hyper-aggression, including two Cold Wars and, potentially, a hot World War III.

In essence, Members of Congress must realize that the CCP is a colonial government, the product of the Western intellectual tradition, and put in power by Soviet imperialism. It is no more legitimate to rule the Chinese people than a Western imperial government during the 19th or 20th century. That is a powerful message that Members of Congress and the whole of the federal government should understand to grasp why a U.S. victory in this Cold War is essential.

Third, Members of Congress and the relevant Departments and Agencies must comprehend that the CCP has failed to become Chinese after over seventy years in power. It has not because it cannot. The pull of Western ideology—Communism—remains too great for the Party to overcome as Communism is inherently Western. Only by removing the fetishization of Western ideological constructs can a Chinese identity once again come to the fore. Only then may the Chinese step forward with civilizational confidence to realize a Chinese polity and society free from a foundational Western influence that is alien to Chinese civilization.

Fourth, to the extent it is able, Congress should task the relevant Departments and Agencies with evaluating how a Chinese government in exile might be supported to oppose the misrule of the CCP, a “Committee on Chinese Civilization and Governance.” This provides the imprimatur of what a Chinese government should do to address the needs of Chinese citizens while furthering the de-legitimation of the CCP. This might be accomplished through the Chinese global diaspora, particularly those in or with links to Hong Kong. The CCP as an illegitimate political entity but with the power of a peer competitor is unpredictable and unstable and the United States must prepare for this.

Fifth, in the three-quarters of a century of its misrule of over the people of China, the CCP has never been held to account. It has never been forced to account for its myriad crimes against humanity and human rights abuses against the Chinese people and those inflicted upon the global population through its support for illegitimate regimes or by facilitating the spread of pandemics like Covid-19, or by promoting the horrors of drug addiction and millions of American deaths through fentanyl and other narcotics. Indeed, this should be seen as the PRC’s employment of chemical weapons against the American people.

In response, either Congress should create an investigatory Subcommittee, or in cooperation with the Chinese diaspora, Congress and the relevant Departments and Agencies, might support the creation a human rights tribunal, termed the Chinese People’s Human Rights Tribunal (CPHRT), to document the CCP’s abuses against the Chinese people and global community.⁹ Documenting human rights violations will be accomplished through witness and other testimonies to provide evidence against the CCP’s abuses while these abuses remain in living memory. The tribunal would be independent of any government or existing human rights organization. As a non-governmental tribunal, it would be able to commence the documentation for an accounting of the CCP’s crimes.

⁹ This was first advanced by Jianli Yang and Bradley A. Thayer, “The Chinese Communist Party Should Be Held Accountable for its Crimes,” *National Review*, June 4, 2023. Available at: <<https://www.nationalreview.com/2023/06/the-chinese-communist-party-should-be-held-accountable-for-its-crimes/>>.

This is significant to do if the tribunal does not employ the force of international law. Its labors would be valuable as they would start the accounting and publicizing of the CCP's crimes. In turn, these steps are the foundation for changing how states, inter-governmental organizations like the UN, and nongovernmental organizations, like Human Rights Watch, consider the legitimacy of the CCP. The tribunal could serve as the foundation to alter the global perception of the CCP so that it seen to be what it is, an illegitimate regime that has grossly abused human rights in the past and at present. It is certain to do so into the future so long as it is in power. The tribunal would be a marker that the Chinese people have global support in their struggles against the Party, and for the international community to proclaim that it does not accept the legitimacy of the CCP due to the human rights violations it has inflicted upon the Chinese people.

This tribunal would be inspired by and modelled on similar efforts to document the Holocaust as done by Holocaust survivors, Yad Vashem, and other organizations, and the Holodomor by the Ukrainian government and Victims of Communism, among others. The objective of the tribunal would be to serve as a single source for the panoply of the CCP's crimes directed against the Chinese people, the Chinese diaspora, Party members, and the global community. These crimes would fall into three broad tranches.

The first tranche is that the tribunal would examine the historical record of the CCP's human rights abuses to identify what occurred with historical accuracy and to publicize the CCP's decision-making regarding these acts and the individuals responsible for these abuses, many of whom are still alive. This would include investigations into the human rights disasters caused by the Chinese Civil War and after the CCP came to power in 1949. The tribunal would conduct a year-by-year examination of the CCP's human rights record. While there have been profound violations every year, particular attention will naturally have to center upon the mass killings in the CCP's immediate seizure of power, the nightmare of the "Three Red Banners" campaign, which included the People's Communes and Great Leap Forward, which, in turn, resulted in the Great Famine that killed many tens of millions, perhaps as many as 42 million Chinese citizens. Additional investigations are warranted into the physical and mental torture and unrest prevalent during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Gang of Four and its wake, and the Tiananmen Square massacre and crackdown.

The second tranche is that the tribunal would document and hold the CCP to account for its crimes against other states. This would include support for the tyranny of North Korea, its intervention in the Korea War on behalf of Pyongyang's tyrannous regimes, the conquest of Tibet and the suppression of the Tibetan population, violations of India's borders in 1962, against Vietnam in the seizure from South Vietnam of all of the Paracel Islands, the genocide of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, the violation of the 1984 PRC-UK agreement on Hong Kong, and repeated bellicose measures directed at Taiwan.

The third tranche is that the contemporary human rights record must also be investigated, documented, and publicized. The present ubiquitous human rights violations against the Chinese people, including ethnic and religious minorities, Tibetans, and Muslims in Xinjiang must be recorded and charges brought against the CCP. An immediate examination of genocide against Muslims must be conducted to mobilize the world's attention in an effort to end it. The policy of

organ harvesting from prisoners and others is a particularly brutal and shocking violation of the rights of those individuals and medical norms and practices. The CCP must also be held to account for its racism and sexism. The tribunal would assist in its documentation and exhortation to the UN and other bodies to act against these practices. In the environmental realm, the CCP's destruction of China's and the world's environment must end and can only do so by identifying the policies and Party officials who permit it. The world knows Greta Thunberg's name as an environmental advocate. It should also know the names of the Party officials who permit China's pollution. The CCP must be held to account for its actions at the dawn of the Covid-19 pandemic and its atrocious behavior since then, including deceiving the WHO and through the policies of "zero-Covid," which must be considered a human rights violation directed against the entire population. The relaxation of that policy ensures that another round of the pandemic is sure to follow.

Countless examples may be documented which comprise genocide, gross human rights abuses, and thus are sustained violations of international law and norms. They demonstrate the lack of legitimacy of the CCP and merit the expulsion of the PRC from international society. For too long the CCP have gotten away with their abuses. The CPHRT might be a mechanism to hold them to account.

Sixth, the CCP leadership is wealthy, which is a paradox for Communists and Communist governments, and this should be employed against the CCP. The U.S., its allies, and other states must find their wealth.¹⁰ Senator Marco Rubio has inserted language into U.S. law which tasks the intelligence community of the United States to produce an unclassified—and thus publicly available report—on the wealth and corrupt activities of the leadership of the CCP. This includes the General Secretary of the CCP, Xi Jinping, and senior leadership officials of the Central Committee, the Politburo, the Politburo Standing Committee, and regional Party Secretaries. The Congressional Research Service (CRS) is also involved in researching this and will produce work to which people around the globe will have access.

The answers to these investigations are certain to be startling and capture the corrupt nature of the CCP. It underscores that the CCP rules China, but it is not the legitimate government of China. To call attention to the tyrannical and corrupt nature of CCP leaders, states can employ their resources to reveal the details of the corruption to the Chinese people and the world. This may be accomplished by employing their intelligence communities on this topic. Journalists may also find the topic worthy of investigation. Media, perhaps most importantly social media, may highlight the CCP's wealth and corruption to publicize and inform global populations.

Moreover, the community of nations may come together to identify the sources and location of the wealth of the CCP. What Sen. Rubio has started may be broadened. There could

¹⁰ See Paul Berkowitz and Bradley A. Thayer, "Key Report Helps Reveal the Wealth and Corruption of the CCP," *Sunday Guardian*, June 9, 2024. Available at: <<https://sundayguardianlive.com/investigation/key-report-helps-to-reveal-the-wealth-and-corruption-of-the-ccp>>. Also see Paul Berkowitz and Bradley A. Thayer, "Publicize the Wealth and Corruption of the CCP Leadership," *Sunday Guardian*, April 21, 2024. Available at: <<https://sundayguardianlive.com/investigation/publicize-the-wealth-and-corruption-of-the-ccp-leadership>>.

be a global initiative to document the wealth of the CCP leadership. Global investigation into the wealth and corruption of the CCP leadership will reveal the outlines of that base regime. No doubt, it will find that the CCP's leaders are billionaires with untold wealth in New York, Switzerland, Dubai, London, Paris, and countless other locations. While that has been long suspected, the revelation of the facts will be important for the Chinese people and the world to know.

The impact of this research would be magnified if other states, such as Australia, India, Japan, and EU members contributed as well. In Europe, Italy, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the United Kingdom, among others, have taken important steps to highlight the risks of the PRC's economic warfare against the EU, and might provide the European anchor of such a global effort.

These actions that the global community, the Chinese diaspora, and people of goodwill around the world may undertake will place the Party under pressure. Knowing how many billions Xi, his family and associates, and Party comrades have in overseas banks, properties, and other assets is significant to reveal the true corrupt nature of the CCP leadership, with specific amounts and locations documented. That will allow the victims of the CCP to move to seize those assets. Equally, it will allow the Chinese people and the world to see proof of the CCP's gross misrule and abuse of the country and the Chinese people.

Seventh, Members of this Committee, Congress, and members of the federal government as a whole must understand the ideology of Communism. In the wake of the Cold War, few in the U.S. national security community took Communism seriously anymore and thought that the PRC will be positively transformed through the coterie of engagement policies. This assumption was based on the belief that the CCP's ideology was not credible by the metric of the "End of History" and was not really believed by the CCP leadership, who it was asserted were more interested in capitalism, despite a lagging effect, would result in greater freedom for the Chinese people.

This Committee might consider a recommendation that a "Team B" group be created within the federal government that would be responsible for "thinking like Communists." They could provide different assumptions to provide contrasting analysis of the PRC's grand strategy and national security policies, how the CCP defined threats to their grand strategy, and the means they would employ to advance them. The U.S. must have the same familiarity with the PLA's doctrine and ideology as with Soviet Communism and the Soviet military during the Cold War.

The U.S. national security community, especially within the Department of Defense and the Intelligence Community, must understand the CCP's priorities for investment, research, and force structure development, and the missions and options that force structure would support. During the Cold War, Soviet doctrine was well studied by the U.S. national security community to discern where the Soviets were investing, what they were developing, and the force structure they were creating and the missions that force structure could support. Information about this should also be brought into the public sphere to inform the debate regarding the PRC's bellicosity and capabilities for aggression.

Eighth, Congress should consider measures to target the CCP directly. This requires a multifaceted approach. It will include the rollback of the PRC's gains in the South China Sea, and the defeat of the PRC in its attempts at future territorial seizure like the PRC is currently conducting against the Philippines at Sabina Shoal, Second Thomas Shoal, and elsewhere. The U.S. and its allies should even be prepared to evict the PLA from facilities they have created in other countries like Djibouti, or are in the process of creating in Ream, Cambodia. Those are important and necessary measures to place Beijing on the strategic backfoot. But the center of gravity that the U.S. must attack is the CCP itself to ensure that the CCP, the Chinese people, and all global audiences know that it is illegitimate. This requires employing all the arrows in the U.S. quiver, including a focus on political warfare that the U.S. did well during much of the Cold War, like the Active Measures Working Group, but has allowed to atrophy in the post-Cold War years.

These tasks must be authorized and synchronized by competent authority to fulfill the missions that the U.S. Information Agency did in the Cold War against the Soviet Union. The key is to do it quickly across all levers of national power. In sum, Members of this Committee, the Congress, and Americans as a nation must recognize that we are truly, for the first time since the Cold War, in an existential fight for our national survival.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I have advocated for fundamentally changing the U.S. relationship with CCP because it is illegitimate. It remains a great fetter on the Chinese people and its ideology compels its hyper-aggression in international politics, including against U.S. partners like India and Taiwan, and U.S. Treaty allies like Japan and the Philippines. Just as the United States must rapidly build the platforms and weapons necessary to deter and defeat the PRC, and in the numbers needed to deter and defeat the CCP, the U.S. government must also fight the PRC's Political Warfare operations, that have so badly subverted America's defenses. Understanding the CCP's ideology permits U.S. Congressional and Executive leadership to recognize that there can be no accommodation with the CCP. The U.S. must fight to win the Cold War.

During the Cold War with the Soviet Union, to combat Soviet material power, the United States strengthened its economy, military and alliance relationships. To combat Soviet ideational power, the Truman administration turned to America's ideology. As in its previous wars, the role of political warfare in this struggle critically reinforced the material aspect.

The U.S. is now in a new Cold War—a period of intense security competition. As argued, the Sino-American security competition is the great struggle of the 21st Century and promises to resolve the century's dispositive question—whether the world will be free and protected by the U.S. or fall into a totalitarian abyss as sought by the PRC. The 20th Century encountered the same question and freedom defeated Communism.

American history has shown that America's commitment to freedom is superior and more durable than compared to the incoherent, tyrannical, and failed political ideology of Communism and its accompanying hyper-aggression in world politics and gross human rights abuses that are the hallmarks of the PRC and the CCP's one party state. Today, the answer to this question, will

freedom or tyranny define the 21st Century, will be answered by Congress, the administration, U.S. allies and partners, and ultimately the American people. This Committee will contribute ensuring that answer will be the same in the 21st Century as it was in the last: freedom will triumph over the CCP's tyranny.