

## NOMINATIONS

---

THURSDAY, APRIL 3, 2025

U.S. SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,  
*Washington, DC.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:32 a.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. James E. Risch, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Risch, Ricketts, McCormick, Daines, Hagerty, Barrasso, Lee, Paul, Cruz, Scott, Curtis, Cornyn, Shaheen, Coons, Murphy, Kaine, Merkley, Van Hollen, and Rosen.

Senator RISCH. The Foreign Relations Committee will come to order.

We are going to do this in a little unorthodox way today. We have a business meeting. We are going to need more members here for the business meeting, so we are going to go ahead and start the nominations hearing, and then when we have the numbers here, we will break.

We have—just on both sides, both majority and minority, particularly these days, we are all busy, and we have other places we have to be, and so we need to accommodate everybody as much as we can to see that they get to where they need to be.

So anyway, let us go ahead and start with the nominations hearing, and we will start with—we have two people we are going to hear today. We are going to hear Senator David Perdue and Ms. Monica Crowley, and we have—we do have some introductions.

Senator Daines is going to introduce—are you going to introduce Senator Perdue?

Senator DAINES. Yes.

Senator RISCH. OK. Have at it.

### STATEMENT OF HON. STEVE DAINES, U.S. SENATOR FROM MONTANA

Senator DAINES. Chairman Risch, thank you. Ranking Member Shaheen, fellow members of the committee, it is truly my honor to introduce a very good friend of mine and former member of this committee, Senator David Perdue, as President Trump's nominee for Ambassador to China.

Welcome back, David.

In fact, David Perdue once served as chairman of the Subcommittee on State Department Oversight. I have known David for over 10 years. He is a friend. He is a colleague. He is a devoted husband, father, and grandfather, and we welcome his family who are here and those who are also watching today.

David had a successful career as a businessman, having worked at several large companies. He served as senior vice president of Asia operations for Sarah Lee, was CEO of the Reebok brand, and Dollar General. And as part of his work, he frequently traveled to Asia and Europe, but most extensively to China, and ironically, back in the 1990s, he lived in Hong Kong and Singapore at the same time I lived in Guangzhou, China, when I worked for Proctor & Gamble. And even though our paths never crossed back in the 1990s, we both gained significant perspective on the relationship between the United States and China. In fact, it was not until we found ourselves in the same freshman class of senators in 2015 that we discovered our shared history. We became fast friends, close colleagues, working together on many consequential projects.

Most notably, in 2019, in fact, it was September, a trip I will never forget, David and I traveled to China, where he was instrumental in helping negotiate the phase one trade deal that President Trump and Xi Jinping signed in 2020.

With President Trump back in the White House and with new challenges and opportunities facing us in the Indo-Pacific, the United States Ambassador to China is one of the most consequential foreign policy posts in the Administration. The economies of the United States and China together make up about 43 percent of the global GDP. To put it simply, this is a relationship that is too big to fail, and now more than ever, we need an ambassador advocating for American producers, American companies, American manufacturers, and expanding our market access.

And notably, the United States is facing an unprecedented drug war. Last year, nearly a hundred thousand Americans died due to fentanyl poisoning. So where is this fentanyl coming from? It is Mexican drug cartels primarily that manufacture these lethal drugs, but it is chemicals coming straight from China to these cartels that are manufacturing the drugs. China must do its part to stop exporting these raw materials across the globe. These challenges are daunting. We need an ambassador who is clear eyed about the geopolitical realities we face but one who also possesses a deep understanding for the culture and the customs of the Chinese people. And that person is David Perdue: A husband, a father, a grandfather, a man of faith, and a man of character. He loves his country. He will put America first at home and abroad.

David and Bonnie, thank you for getting back in the arena, and thank you for being willing to serve our great country.

Senator RISCH. Thanks so much, Senator Daines.

Ms. Crowley, Senator Cruz is going to introduce you, but he is not here yet, so again, I want to apologize. We are going to do— Senator Paul is here.

VOICE. So we have numbers. We are good to vote.

Senator RISCH. What is that?

VOICE. We are good to vote. We have a quorum.

Senator RISCH. OK.

Is it all right if we take the business meeting now?

Senator SHAHEEN. Yes. Yes.

Senator RISCH. We are going to adjourn the hearing and go to a business meeting briefly.

[Recess.]

Senator RISCH. We will adjourn the business meeting and return to our nominations hearing.

With that, Senator Cruz having arrived, would you care to introduce Ms. Crowley?

**STATEMENT OF HON. TED CRUZ,  
U.S. SENATOR FROM TEXAS**

Senator CRUZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Shaheen, members of the committee.

It is with great pleasure that I get to introduce a leader, a patriot, and my longtime friend, Monica Crowley. I have had the pleasure for knowing Monica for decades now. In fact, she was one of the very first people to have me on her radio show some 20 years ago when I was the SG of Texas, and we had been friends. She later became one of my very first supporters when I decided to run for Senate, so for everything I have done wrong, you can blame Monica. It is her fault.

[Laughter.]

Senator RISCH. This is not good.

[Laughter.]

Senator CRUZ. I may be lobbying for votes against you on both sides of the aisle. I apologize for that.

Apart from her distinguished character and her exemplary leadership, Monica has all the credentials for the position of chief of protocol. She has multiple master's degrees and holds a Ph.D. in international relations from Columbia University. She is a *New York Times* bestselling author, and she has had an extremely successful media career. On top of that, Monica has worked for two Presidents. At just 22 years old, Monica was hired as a research assistant under President Richard Nixon, and she remained quite close to President Nixon, and I will say to this day, both Monica and Hugh Hewitt are angry at me because I wrote a book chapter blasting Nixon as a crook.

I apologize, Monica, but he was a crook.

She later served as assistant secretary of the Treasury during President Trump's first term.

Monica is dedicated to service and has been a leader in the academy, in media, and government. Once again, she is stepping forward to serve our nation at the highest level of diplomatic engagement, and she is well qualified to represent the President and the interest of the American people overseas and at home.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, members of the committee, I highly encourage you to support the nomination of Monica for assistant secretary of state, ambassador, and chief of protocol.

Senator RISCH. Thank you. Thank you very much, Senators.

What we will do now is I am going to make a few opening remarks. I am going to then yield to my distinguished colleague to do likewise. We will then hear from the two nominees. We will then open it up to a round of 5 minute questions and a second round if there is a desire to do so.

**OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES E. RISCH,  
CHAIRMAN, U.S. SENATOR FROM IDAHO**

Senator RISCH. So let me say that today, we will consider two more of President Trump's nominees: Ms. Monica Crowley, to be the State Department's chief of protocol, and Mr. David Perdue to be the Ambassador to China.

Senator Perdue, I might say about many of our nominees that we see here, that they have a big job ahead of them. That goes, really, very strongly for you. This is a—China is our biggest challenge over the rest of this century. We all know that they challenge us in many ways, and I would say that President Trump and I agree that China is America's greatest long term competitor, to put it as kindly as I possibly can, at this moment. But as you know, the previous Administration treated China like an ally who we disagreed with rather than an authoritarian aggressor that takes advantage of America and our allies at every level.

The Chinese government is fundamentally different than that of the United States. Where America promotes free markets and innovation, China clamps down on business, steals IP, and dumps its products, distorting American markets. Where America believes that every person was created equal and has God given inalienable rights, the Chinese Government is committing genocide against the Muslim Uyghurs and other ethnic and religious minority groups in China, and harass people in the United States living on American soil who disagree with the Chinese Communist Party. And where America believes in protecting a free and open Indo-Pacific, the Chinese government coerces its neighbors and pursues the opposite.

China is not acting alone here, but rather it is building an authoritarian alliance with Russia, Iran, and North Korea to undercut the United States. And through its Belt and Road Initiative, China looks to recruit nontraditional allies around the world, luring them in with predatory investments to draw them farther away from America. In this Administration and in his first term, President Trump demonstrated he will be tough on China, and he will do the work to get results.

I look forward to hearing about how you will execute on his vision and address the myriad economic, military, technological, and ideological threats that China poses to the United States of America. Particularly, I hope to hear how you will compel the Chinese government to address the flow of fentanyl into the United States and stop China from financially propping up companies that produce it. I know that with President Trump at the helm, the days of endless dialogue to no effect are over. I hope you make it clear to your Chinese counterparts that they will not be able to sweet talk their way out of making real change any longer.

Ms. Crowley, at this turbulent time in foreign policy, you will be at the center of many of the important conversations, difficult negotiations, and of course the happy celebrations that will mark this Administration. As chief of protocol, you will be charged with creating an environment that is conducive for working with our allies, encountering our adversaries, all to advance President Trump and Secretary Rubio's foreign policy. I look forward to hearing how you will work to foster cooperation that advances American interests.



I appreciate both of you for being here today. I appreciate both of you being willing to serve under what are going to be difficult circumstances as we go forward, and with that, I will turn it over to my distinguished ranking member, Senator Shaheen.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JEANNE SHAHEEN,  
RANKING MEMBER, U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE**

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Chairman.

Welcome to today's nominees and to your families. We appreciate your willingness to continue to serve the country.

Around the world right now, China is stepping in as we are stepping back, sadly. China is replacing canceled American child nutrition programs in Cambodia, China's rescue workers are responding to the earthquake in Myanmar before the United States, and Chinese disinformation is going to fill the vacuum that has been left by efforts to eliminate Radio Free Asia and Voice of America. And at the same time, the threats of tariffs and trade wars are undermining trust in the United States as a reliable partner, to China's advantage. Just this week, two longtime allies, Japan and South Korea, met with China to deepen trade ties in response to President Trump's tariffs.

This is a trend that extends beyond Asia, sadly. From Greenland to the Panama Canal, saber rattling to extract concessions will lead friendly governments around the world to hedge their bets with the United States, to explore closer relationships with China in the long term.

Take the Republic of Georgia, for example, which canceled a port contract with Western firms. Recent reports indicate that it tends to award that project, which is on the Black Sea, to a Chinese company. This is an issue that both Chairman Risch and I have worked very hard on to try and move Georgia forward, and it is deeply disappointing to see this opportunity slip away.

Senator Perdue, I know that you are aware of the challenge that China poses. We had a very good conversation when we met before this hearing. I know that presidents of both parties have also recognized this threat and that President Trump certainly has articulated this threat. But I am afraid that despite recognizing the threat, we are actually weakening our hand by our actions. Congress' failure to extend the Global Engagement Center last year was a serious setback for our ability to counter disinformation. Meanwhile, China is spending billions of dollars on propaganda. We need more tools like the Global Engagement Center, not fewer.

Beijing sells itself as a reliable, anti-colonial answer to America, but of course, we know that is not true. The Chinese Communist Party ruthlessly targets diaspora communities and human rights groups. They leverage corrupt investments to influence decision-makers from Africa and Latin America across Asia, and they have tried to buy off politicians in Australia and New Zealand to undermine democratic elections, and Beijing is not afraid to use hard power. China's Coast Guard harasses Philippine forces. Beijing is stepping up military exercises over the Taiwan Strait, including just this past week. And in Ukraine, China and North Korea have been actively supporting Putin's war machine.

In light of President Trump's tariffs, Mr. Chairman, I would like to enter into the record a *Foreign Affairs* article by Stephen Brooks, who is a professor at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire. It is titled, "The Real China Trump Card: The Hawk's Case Against Decoupling."

Senator RISCH. That will be entered in the record.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—The information referred to above can be found in the "Additional Material Submitted for the Record" section at the end of this document.]

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

It says that, "A peacetime decoupling would cost Washington one of the strongest tools it has to deter Chinese aggression."

Senator Perdue, you certainly have your work cut out for you. I look forward to hearing your plans for what you hope to achieve, if confirmed, to lead the U.S. mission in the People's Republic of China. The dismantling of U.S. foreign assistance, ending support for independent media, and the erosion of alliances means you will go into this position with fewer tools to counter the PRC. So I would like to understand how you plan to manage one of the greatest adversaries of our time in this context.

Ms. Crowley, I am sure you noted that I have focused the bulk of my remarks on the issue of China, but I also want to hear from you on how you would approach the post of chief of protocol should you be confirmed. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Shaheen.

Well, David you have heard Jeanne and I lay this thing out. You are sure you still want to do this?

[Laughter.]

Senator PERDUE. Yes, sir.

Senator RISCH. All right. Have at it. You got 5 minutes to tell us why.

Thanks so much, and we would ask you both to keep your remarks to 5 minutes. Anything else you want to put in the record, we will extend it as long as you would like in the record. Thank you.

**STATEMENT OF HON. DAVID PERDUE OF GEORGIA TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

Senator PERDUE. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman, and Ranking Member.

Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and staff, good morning, and thank you for this opportunity to meet with you today.

Senator Daines, thank you as well for that generous introduction.

It is my high honor to have been nominated by President Trump to become our country's 14th Ambassador to the People's Republic of China. As a former member of this committee, though,

I have to tell you, it feels very strange sitting over here, Mr. Chairman, instead of sitting over there.

Supporting me here today is my wife, Bonnie, whom I met in first grade. That is a true story. Our sons, David, Blake, their

wives, Danielle and Charlotte, our grandsons, Hudson, David, and Jack, are all watching from home. They have other responsibilities today. Unexpectedly, also, joining me today is my other family. My past alumni of my Senate staff are here. I think they are here, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member, to make sure I do not embarrass them, so I welcome them as well.

As a Fortune 500 CEO, as a U.S. Senator, and as an expat living in Europe and Asia, I developed a global perspective on the relationship between our two countries. As chair of the SFRC State Department Oversight Subcommittee and the SASC Seapower Subcommittee, I have witnessed firsthand the complexities of our relationship with China, which is the most consequential diplomatic challenge of the 21st century.

Since establishing formal relations with the PRC in 1979, the United States has opened its markets to China and has supported its economic rise. More than 2 million Chinese students have been educated in American universities. With U.S. support, China has taken full advantage of Most Favored Nation, WTO's membership, and developing nation status, but has often failed to live up to commensurate responsibilities. China has also expanded its authoritarian influence in international organizations, like the United Nations, NATO, the World Bank, not NATO—WHO, and the World Bank. Sorry.

Marxist nationalism is reshaping China, and their global ambitions threaten the current world order. Since 2000, China has doubled its nuclear arsenal, grown its military at a pace unseen since World War II. They have militarized the South China Sea, and violated their agreement in Hong Kong. Their social credit score system and extensive policing capability are designed to enforce domestic state control. Their Belt Road Initiative and their Made in China 2025 statements demonstrate their global ambitions. They speak of a global “community of common destiny for all mankind.” Put simply, they want a world order more in line with their authoritarian principles.

Complicating the current situation, unfettered globalization with minimal national security constraints has led to the situation today where many of America's key strategic supply chains are in the hands of our adversaries. President Trump's America First strategy is not isolationist, just the reverse. America will be a stronger ally and partner by rebuilding our strategic supply chains at home and with our friends. It is not inconsistent that while we are negotiating for fair trade, we are also seeking to strengthen our ties with our allies. Our relationship with members of the Quad, AUKUS, ASEAN, and NATO will continue to be extremely important.

The Chinese respect strength, and President Trump's strategy is focused on making America safer, stronger, and more prosperous. That means that reciprocity in the U.S. security should be considered in all dealings with China and the United States. Our approach to China should be nuanced, nonpartisan, and strategic. Our two countries will naturally have areas of disagreement, and we should actively engage on these. We should seek areas where our interests align to develop better and safer working relationships.

As ambassador, I will support our strategy to lead with diplomacy, to ensure our own national and economic security remains uncompromised. I will remain committed to promoting democratic ideals in an open, free, and fair international system. As ambassador, I will support the United States One China policy guided by the Taiwan Relations Act, the three joint communiques, and the six assurances. We remain committed to a peaceful resolution that is acceptable to the people on both sides of the strait. We oppose unilateral changes to the status quo.

As ambassador, I will ardently communicate our objections to China's penetration into our power grid, our ports, and our personal lives. Having participated in U.S. foreign op exercises in the South China Sea, I have seen firsthand China's militarization and will work to support open and free navigation whenever international law allows. I will also ensure focus on our priority to eliminate fentanyl precursors and hold China accountable on human rights. I will work to increase the tempo of diplomatic dialogue to get results and to achieve fair and reciprocal trade between the two economies. I will uphold American values, represent American interests, and support strong partnerships with our friends. Finally, if confirmed, I look forward to working with America's dedicated Foreign Service civil service personnel and their families who are at the tip of the spear promoting and protecting American interest in a very challenging environment in China.

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, I approach this nomination with a strong sense of responsibility. I am energized and sober about the opportunity to impact the most difficult diplomatic relationship of our time. Thank you for your consideration, and I look forward to your comments and questions.

#### NOMINEE COMMITMENT QUESTIONS

*Question.* Do you agree to appear before this Committee and make officials from the Department of State available to the Committee and designated staff when invited?

Answer. Yes.

*Question.* Do you commit to keep this Committee fully and currently informed about the activities under your purview?

Answer. Yes.

*Question.* Do you commit to engaging in meaningful consultation while policies are being developed, not just providing notification after the fact?

Answer. Yes.

*Question.* Do you commit to promptly responding to requests for briefings and information requested by the Committee and its designated staff?

Answer. Yes.

[The prepared statement of Senator Perdue follows:

#### **Prepared Statement of David Perdue**

Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and staff, good morning and thank you for this opportunity to meet with you today. Senator Daines, thank you as well for your generous introduction.

It is my high honor to have been nominated by President Trump to become our country's 14th Ambassador to the People's Republic of China. As a former member of this committee, though, I must tell you it feels very strange sitting on this side of the dais this morning instead of sitting over there.

Supporting me here today is my wife, Bonnie, whom I met in first grade. Our sons, David III and Blake, their wives, Danielle and Charlotte, and our grandsons, David IV, Jack and Hudson are all watching this morning as well.

As a Fortune 500 CEO, as a U.S. Senator, and as an expat living in Europe and Asia, I developed a global perspective on the relationship between our two countries.

As chair of the SFRC State Department Oversight Subcommittee and the SASC Sea Power Subcommittee, I have witnessed firsthand the complexities of our relationship with China, which is the most consequential diplomatic challenge of the 21st century.

Since establishing formal relations with the PRC in 1979, the United States has opened its markets to China and has supported its economic rise. More than 2 million Chinese students have been educated in American universities. With U.S. support, China has taken full advantage of Most Favored Nation status, WTO membership, and Developing Nation status, but has often failed to live up to commensurate responsibilities. China has also expanded its authoritarian influence in international organizations like the United Nations, the WHO, and the World Bank.

Marxist nationalism is reshaping China, and their global ambitions threaten the current world order. Since 2000, China has doubled its nuclear arsenal and grown its military at a pace unseen since WWII. They have militarized the South China Sea and violated their agreement in Hong Kong. Their Social Credit Score system and extensive policing capability are designed to enforce domestic state control. Their Belt and Road Initiative and their Made in China 2025 Statements demonstrate their global ambitions. They speak of a global “community of common destiny for all mankind.” Put simply, they want a world more in line with their authoritarian principles.

Complicating the current situation, unfettered globalization with minimal national security constraints has led to the situation today where many of America’s key strategic supply chains are in the hands of our adversaries.

President Trump’s America First strategy is not isolationist. Just the reverse. America will be a stronger ally and partner by rebuilding our strategic supply chains at home and with our friends. It is not inconsistent that while we are negotiating for fair trade, we are also seeking to strengthen our ties with our allies. Our relationship with members of the QUAD, AUKUS, ASEAN and NATO will continue to be extremely important.

The Chinese respect strength and President Trump’s strategy is focused on making America safer, stronger, and more prosperous. That means that reciprocity and U.S. security should be considered in all dealings between China and the United States.

Our approach to China should be nuanced, nonpartisan, and strategic. Our two countries will naturally have areas of disagreement and we should actively engage on these. We should seek areas where our interests align to develop a better and safer working relationship.

As Ambassador, I will support our strategy to lead with diplomacy to ensure our own national and economic security remains uncompromised. I will remain committed to promoting democratic ideals and an open, free, and fair international system.

As Ambassador, I will support the United States’ one China policy, guided by the Taiwan Relations Act, the three Joint Communiques, and the Six Assurances. We remain committed to a peaceful resolution that is acceptable to the people on both sides of the Strait. We oppose unilateral changes to the status quo.

As Ambassador, I will ardently communicate our objections to China’s penetration into our power grid, our ports, and our personal lives. Having participated in U.S. FONOP exercises in the South China Sea, I’ve seen first-hand China’s militarization and will work to support open and free navigation wherever international law allows.

I will also ensure focus on our priority to eliminate fentanyl precursors and hold China accountable on human rights. I will work to increase the tempo of diplomatic dialogue to get results and to achieve fair and reciprocal trade between our two economies.

I will uphold American values, represent American interests, and support strong partnerships with our friends.

Finally, if confirmed, I look forward to working with America’s dedicated foreign and civil service personnel and their families who are at the tip of the spear pro-

moting and protecting American interests in a very challenging environment in China.

I approach this nomination with a strong sense of responsibility. I am energized and sobered about this opportunity to impact the most important diplomatic relationship of our time.

Thank you for your consideration and I look forward to your comments and questions.

Senator RISCHE. Thank you, Senator.  
Ms. Crowley.

**STATEMENT OF DR. MONICA CROWLEY OF NEW YORK TO BE CHIEF OF PROTOCOL AND TO HAVE THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR DURING HER TENURE OF SERVICE, VICE RUFUS GIFFORD, RESIGNED**

Dr. CROWLEY. Well, good morning, and thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Shaheen, and distinguished members of the committee. It is truly an honor to appear before you today as President Trump's nominee to serve as chief of protocol. It was the honor of my life to serve in the President's first administration, and if confirmed, it will be an even greater honor to serve once again by representing this extraordinary President and our exceptional country. I am deeply grateful to President Trump for his faith in me and to this committee for its kind consideration. I also want to thank Senator Cruz for his kind words, support, and friendship over the years, and it is a privilege to share this hearing with my fellow nominee and friend, Senator David Perdue.

I would not be here today without the unconditional love and encouragement of my mother, Patricia, my sister, Jocelyn, the rest of my wonderful family, and my dearest friends, some of whom are with me here. I love you, and I am forever grateful to you. Above all, I thank God for truly blessing me as He has.

I appear before you today as a proud patriot who loves America with her whole heart. I was born at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, where my father proudly served in the United States Army. My mother, who is an awe inspiring person, was a devoted elementary school teacher and later built a career in hospital administration while raising my sister and me as a solo parent. She is truly my heroine. My beloved maternal grandparents went from experiencing near poverty during the Great Depression to building successful small businesses and sending the first generation in their family, my mother and aunt, to college. I believe in the American dream because my family and I have lived with all of its blessings.

While studying international relations at Colgate University, I was profoundly inspired by one of former President Richard Nixon's bestselling books on foreign policy, which, ultimately, led to my first professional position as foreign policy assistant to the former President during the last years of his life, which is a critical point to make, Senator—the last years of his life. I worked closely with him on his final two foreign policy bestsellers and many influential policy speeches, joined his international trips, met with numerous chiefs of state and other high ranking foreign officials, and served as a sounding board for his groundbreaking thinking on foreign affairs. His extraordinary mentorship and unparalleled real world experience were invaluable, particularly as I completed my graduate

studies in international relations at Columbia University, earning two master's degrees and a doctorate.

I have also enjoyed a prominent career as an opinion journalist on politics and foreign affairs for many national platforms and as a *New York Times* bestselling author. During President Trump's first term, I was honored to serve as assistant secretary of the treasury for public affairs. During my tenure, I and the team I led conceived, developed, and executed communication strategies for the Secretary, the Department, and the Trump administration more broadly, including four complex policies such as the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, international economic sanctions, and the unprecedented economic response to the COVID pandemic. For exceptional service to the nation, I received the Alexander Hamilton Award, the highest honor bestowed by the Department.

I am now humbled to be nominated to serve as chief of protocol, an office with seven distinct divisions, which carry out various elements of protocol related programs, visits, the historic Blair House, ceremonials, diplomatic affairs, diplomatic partnerships, management, and major events. Each division is responsible for planning, supporting, and executing various aspects of diplomatic engagement for the President, Vice President, and Secretary of State, as well as other high ranking officials. It is a critically important role to enriching our diplomatic partnerships and advancing our interests around the world, and if confirmed, I will treat it with the committed dedication it deserves.

The Office of Protocol can, should, and will showcase the very best of American leadership, strength, dynamism, and diplomacy. As chief, I will bring my considerable understanding of and experience in foreign affairs to the position and will, first, ensure that the office is managed with the utmost professionalism; two, serve the interests of the American people by helping to set the stage for robust, successful diplomacy; three, infuse our major events with a patriotic vibrancy reflecting President Trump's Golden Age of America; and fourth, ensure that the talented and dedicated team of political appointees and career civil servants work together in harmony to accomplish this mission with excellence in every detail.

Throughout my career as a leader, I have believed in embracing a vision, hiring and empowering the best, listening to wise counsel, enforcing accountability, and moving forward toward positive goals. If confirmed, I will follow those principles to help President Trump set a new gold standard for effective diplomacy. I pledge to be a faithful partner to this committee and to work with you to protect and advance our diplomatic partnerships and promote American values in service of a stronger, more secure, and prosperous nation.

Thank you so much for your time, and I look forward to your questions.

#### NOMINEE COMMITMENT QUESTIONS

*Question.* Do you agree to appear before this Committee and make officials from the Department of State available to the Committee and designated staff when invited?

*Answer.* Yes, I will make appropriate Department of State officials available to the Committee if invited to meet regarding matters within my jurisdiction.

*Question.* Do you commit to keep this Committee fully and currently informed about the activities under your purview?

Answer. Yes, I will provide the Committee with any required information and updates regarding matters within my jurisdiction.

*Question.* Do you commit to engaging in meaningful consultation while policies are being developed, not just providing notification after the fact?

Answer. Yes, I will engage in any necessary consultation regarding matters within my jurisdiction.

*Question.* Do you commit to promptly responding to requests for briefings and information requested by the Committee and its designated staff?

Answer. Yes, I will respond promptly to requests for briefings and information regarding matters within my jurisdiction.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Crowley follows:]

#### **Prepared Statement of Monica Crowley**

Thank you Chairman Risch, Ranking Member Shaheen, and distinguished members of the Committee. It is an honor to appear before you today as President Trump's nominee to serve as Chief of Protocol. It was the honor of my life to serve in the President's first administration—and if confirmed, it will be an even greater honor to serve once again by representing this extraordinary President and our exceptional country. I am deeply grateful to President Trump for his faith in me and to this Committee for its consideration. I also want to thank Senator Cruz for his kind words, support and friendship. And it's a privilege to share this hearing with my fellow nominee and friend Senator David Perdue.

I would not be here today without the unconditional love and encouragement of my mother, Patricia, my sister Jocelyn, the rest of my wonderful family and my dearest friends, some of whom are with me here. I love you and am forever grateful to you. Above all, I thank God for truly blessing me as He has.

I appear before you today as a proud patriot who loves America with her whole heart. I was born at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, where my father proudly served in the United States Army. My awe-inspiring mother was a devoted elementary school teacher and later built a new career in hospital administration while raising my sister and me as a solo parent. She's my heroine. My beloved maternal grandparents went from experiencing near poverty during the Great Depression to building successful small businesses and sending the first generation in their family—my mother and aunt—to college. I believe in the American Dream because my family and I have lived it, with all of its blessings.

While studying international relations at Colgate University, I was profoundly inspired by one of former President Richard Nixon's bestselling books on foreign policy, which ultimately led to my first professional position as Foreign Policy Assistant to the former President during the last years of his life. I worked closely with him on his final two foreign policy bestsellers and many influential policy speeches, joined his international trips, met with numerous Chiefs of State and other high-ranking foreign officials and served as a sounding board for his groundbreaking thinking on foreign affairs. His extraordinary mentorship and unparalleled real-world expertise were invaluable, particularly as I completed my graduate studies in International Relations at Columbia University, earning two Master's degrees and a Doctorate.

I've also enjoyed a prominent career as an opinion journalist on politics and foreign affairs for national platforms and as a *New York Times* bestselling author.

During President Trump's first term, I was honored to serve as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Public Affairs. During my tenure, I—and the team I led—developed and executed the communications strategies for the Secretary, the Department, and the Trump administration more broadly—including for complex policies such as the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, international economic sanctions and the unprecedented economic response to the COVID pandemic. For exceptional service to the Nation, I received the Alexander Hamilton Award, the highest honor bestowed by the Department.

I am now humbled to be nominated to serve as Chief of Protocol, an office with seven distinct divisions which carry out various elements of protocol-related programs: Visits, the historic Blair House, Ceremonials, Diplomatic Partnerships, Diplomatic Affairs, Management and Major Events. Each division is responsible for planning, supporting and executing various aspects of diplomatic engagement for the President, Vice President, Secretary of State and other high-ranking officials. It's a critically important role to enriching our diplomatic relationships and advancing our interests around the world, and, if confirmed, I will treat it with the committed dedication it deserves.



The Office of Protocol can, should and will showcase the very best of American leadership, strength, dynamism and diplomacy. As Chief, I will bring my considerable understanding of and experience in foreign affairs to the position, and will:

- (1) Ensure that the Office is managed with the utmost professionalism.
- (2) Serve the interests of the American people by helping to set the stage for robust, successful diplomacy.
- (3) Infuse our major events with a patriotic vibrancy reflecting President Trump's Golden Age of America.
- (4) And ensure that the talented team of political appointees and career civil servants work in harmony to accomplish this mission with excellence in every detail.

Throughout my career as a leader, I've believed in embracing a clear vision, hiring and empowering the best, listening to wise counsel, enforcing accountability and moving toward positive goals. If confirmed, I will follow those principles to help President Trump set a new gold standard for effective diplomacy.

I pledge to be a faithful partner to this Committee and to work with you to protect and advance our diplomatic partnerships and promote American values in service of a stronger, more secure and prosperous Nation.

Thank you for your time, and I look forward to your questions.

Senator RISCH. Well thank you, Ms. Crowley.

We will now do a round of 5 minute questions, and as I said, more if people want to go back.

Senator Perdue, let me ask your thoughts on the "no limits" partnership between Russia and China. There has been a lot made of this, and of course, it is concerning, and it needs to be watched. I have kind of thought of this when I watched them make that announcement. It kind of falls under the old adage of there is no honor among thieves. You know, these two are not natural allies by any stretch of the imagination, and what we know about both of them is they will throw anybody under the bus for their own good. What do you make of this, and how do you see this going forward?

Senator PERDUE. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First of all, I think this is primarily about trade between those two and also about the geopolitical position of China right now. About one-third of Russia's total revenue comes from China. China imports 73 percent of its oil. Iran—you have not mentioned Iran, but I will throw this in the mix, too, because it is a similar conversation—90 percent of Iran's oil goes to China. Now, that money goes through Russia. We now know how they use that money. A lot of that money goes through Iran. We know how they are using that money. They are the largest perpetrator of terrorism in the world.

About 80 percent of the dual use equipment right now and technology in Russia comes from China. The oil that is being researched and drilled in the Arctic right now between these two is very troubling, and it is why China wants to become an Arctic power. What China and Russia are doing right now is untenable relative to China's involvement in supporting the war in Ukraine, supporting Iran and its support of terrorism around the world. And as ambassador, if I am confirmed, my role over there will be to execute U.S. policy in order to make sure the Chinese understand what our commitments are and what we are going to stand for.

Senator RISCH. Well, I appreciate that. It is certainly a challenge. There is no question about that.

Senator PERDUE. Yes, sir.

Senator RISCH. I want to ask you about a specific item that is maybe drilling a little deeper than what we usually do here, and that is during the last Administration, U.S. officials participated in events organized by the United Front Work Department. That, of course, is the Chinese Communist Party's key coordinating body, and they carry out influence operations around, inside and outside of China, and the U.S. participated in some of those events. What is your view on continued participation in the Chinese Communist Party events?

Senator PERDUE. Mr. Chairman, this is a long answer, and I apologize. I would never—

Senator RISCH. Give us the executive summary.

Senator PERDUE. I would never filibuster you, sir, but I will say this. There was a book written in 1998 by two colonels in China. They studied the war in Iraq in 1991, and they came up with a strategy that, basically, today is being executed by President Xi Jinping. If you look at that strategy, one of the things that is a major tenet in their strategy is to communicate their propaganda through all the barriers into countries they want to influence. They are being successful with that today.

To the Ranking Member's point earlier, this is something that I believe that President Trump realizes. One of the things I am going to do, if confirmed as ambassador, will be to stand up and try to inform people in the United States about the danger. It is very subliminal, Mr. Chairman, and they are masters at it. They do not attack you frontally. This goes back to Sun Tzu and Confucius. Their strategy will—they will never tell you what they are going to do unless they have decided that you do not have the wherewithal and the will to resist them. We have got to get China out of our power grid, our ports and our personal lives, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. And the universities—

Senator PERDUE. And the way they are in there is through propaganda in a major way.

Senator RISCH. Thank you. I appreciate that. The universities are a real problem there, too, as far as their getting into them. And I agree with you that they do this in a very opaque fashion where people do not even know what is happening, so I appreciate that.

Ms. Crowley, the job you have is an important job, obviously, by the very fact that you take that job with the rank of ambassador. And we all know that you do not see much of the protocol people unless something goes upside down, and then it is a problem. I am assuming that you will have people around you that are detail people because that is going to be critically important. Senator Shaheen and I were—when we first got here, we remember the state—I think it was the first state dinner that President Obama did, and we had a couple people get in there that were not on the—on the list.

Senator SHAHEEN. Oh, yes.

Senator RISCH. It was a—it was a wreck to end all wrecks. As a result of that, we had to stand in line an hour every time we went up there.

But tell me, you mentioned there were seven divisions. You do not have to go into all of them. Tell me generally how that is broken down and how.

Dr. CROWLEY. Yes. Well, thank you very much for the question, Mr. Chairman.

There are seven divisions that work together in harmony on protocol related programs, so visits overseas, visits of foreign dignitaries to the United States, making sure that they have everything they need to facilitate a conducive environment for the most successful diplomacy on both sides. But we are really—here in the Office of Chief of Protocol, if I am confirmed, I will ensure this, that we are here to serve the President, support the President, his vision, and his agenda.

The Office has visits. Obviously, President Trump has had a number of chiefs of state already visit. A number of bilats have already occurred, so visits overseas, that particular aspect. The historic of Blair House welcomes visiting dignitaries and provides a five star hotel experience for them at the invitation of the President of the United States, and Blair House is a wonderful asset for any Administration to have to welcome guests to the United States.

Ceremonials oversee ceremonial duties for the President, the Vice President, and the Secretary of State. Diplomatic Affairs oversees relations with the Diplomatic Corps, and if confirmed, I look forward to enriching that relationship because the chief of protocol is the most critical liaison between the Administration and the Diplomatic Corps. Diplomatic Affairs overseas those relationships and handles any issues that may come up with the Diplomatic Corps. Diplomatic partnerships is all about making sure that the Diplomatic Corps has the access and information they need to do their jobs well.

And then, of course, you have Management, which is the day to day management of the Office of the Chief of Protocol, and Major Events, which oversees—in the definition oversees major events, including summits like the G7, the G20, NATO summits, and so on.

Senator RISCH. Big job.

Senator Shaheen.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Senator Perdue, I have a long list of questions, but I want to start by following up on something you just said about information and information warfare because the first hearing that we did before this committee this year was on China, and we heard testimony that China spends over a billion dollars a year on propaganda, on trying to sow disinformation and misinformation around the world. So can you talk about what you think we should do to respond to that?

Senator PERDUE. Well, thank you, Madam Ranking Member.

First of all, before I answer your question, I want to make a comment, Mr. Chairman, to thank the Ranking Member for your forbearance in my presence here today. This would not have happened in any other Administration that I know about, and you have done something today that has really never been done before, and I want to personally thank you. I will commit to you as well that in the future, I will remind our Republican colleagues when the tables are turned, that I will remind them of what you did today. So thank you very much.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Senator PERDUE. To answer your question, this is one of the major dangers we have right now because, as the Chairman just said, it is very subtle. It is hard to recognize. One of the ways that we—there are two things that I would suggest having lived over there and seen them doing this for the last 30 years. What we have to do is defend that here at home. That means we have to have an education system about the dangers that they provide us today. Most people are not aware that they are in our power grid. They are not aware that they are collecting our data. They are not aware that our ports can be manipulated by people in China. So that is an education process that we owe our people.

The second thing is, I do not think this is a unilateral issue. I think that if you look at the relationships we have around the world, people have got to wake up that the world is bifurcating, and China is accelerating that bifurcation. You have totalitarian states on one side, you have democratic states on the other, and as that study just said, the one you referred to at Dartmouth, that 34 percent of the world's global profit is, the U.S. is responsible for that 34 percent. The rest of the world, in democratic world anyway, is about 32 percent, so they have about two-thirds. China only has about 16 percent, according to that study, and I would back that up in my personal experience.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well—

Senator PERDUE. We have got to develop a relationship with these allies that will help us develop the message and communicate, not just to China, but to the people that China is trying to perpetrate this on.

Senator SHAHEEN. And I certainly agree with that, which is why I find dismantling the apparatus that we have had to do that so disturbing, that we no longer have what was so important as we were able to help encourage the fall of the Soviet Union, help provide factual information into those communist countries around the world, that the Administration has suddenly dismantled all of that apparatus in ways that are going to not allow us to have that ability to provide factual information to counter what the Chinese are doing.

And I would ask you, Dr. Crowley, I know this is not part of your portfolio, but as somebody who has been very engaged in the media over the years, how important do you think it is that we are able to get across the differences between the United States and China to not just the PRC, but to the countries that they are trying to influence around the world?

Dr. CROWLEY. Well, thank you for that question, Ranking Member. I appreciate the question, and I also appreciate the importance of soft power, which is what your question gets to as well. I think the question before the Administration is how best to do that.

The President won with a historical mandate, and—in last November's election, and part of that mandate was to root out waste, fraud, and abuse, make the government work more efficiently for the American people, and to protect the American taxpayer. I think those are things that all Americans agree on and support.

Senator SHAHEEN. I think we all agree on waste, fraud, and abuse being good to get rid of. I think we would disagree on what has constituted waste, fraud, and abuse, and I do not think that

dismantling our way of responding to our adversaries constitutes waste, fraud, and abuse.

Dr. CROWLEY. I think that the President is very interested in exercising the soft power, to your point, Ranking Member, and I think he is interested in making sure that American resources are directed in the most effective way to accomplish that.

Senator SHAHEEN. I hope so. I am not convinced yet.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RICKETTS [presiding]. All right. Well, I am up next.

So first of all, I want to thank both of you for your past service to our great nation, and for your families' service, and your continuing desire to serve our great nation. So thank you both, and thank you to the families.

Senator Perdue, as talked about, if you are confirmed, this is an immense challenge for you as well as for the United States with regard to what we do about Communist China, who is not only an adversary, but really, our largest existential threat outside this country. Your tenure will take you past 2027 when Xi Jinping has told his military to be capable of taking Taiwan by force. This contingency becomes more real every day. In fact, just this week, the PLA conducted live fire exercises around Taiwan, simulating a blockade around that island.

Both to prevent war and to win this competition with Beijing, our policy toward Communist China must be rooted in three simple things—strength, deterrence, and reciprocity—and it is that latter that I want to talk about right now: Reciprocity. This is where I think you can have a huge impact as ambassador in communicating to Beijing what our desires are. I am going to start with just simple, really, “yes” or “no” questions.

So Senator Perdue, is it fair that American diplomats and officials face a litany of restrictions in Communist China, including the ability to travel freely, which Chinese officials do not face here? Is that fair?

Senator PERDUE. Absolutely not, Senator.

Senator RICKETTS. Is it fair that Chinese social media apps, like WeChat, can operate in the U.S., but American apps, like Instagram and YouTube, are banned China? Is that fair?

Senator PERDUE. Absolutely not, Senator.

Senator RICKETTS. Is it fair that American movies must get approved by Chinese Communist Party censors to be released in China, but Chinese movies do not face that same restriction here? Is that fair?

Senator PERDUE. It is not fair, and it is not reciprocal.

Senator RICKETTS. Is it fair that despite being the world's second largest economy, Communist China benefits from being considered a developing nation in certain international organizations?

Senator PERDUE. Will you give me a little liberty here to answer?

Senator RICKETTS. I will let you have a little bit more on this one. Fair enough.

Senator PERDUE. Sorry. Just one sentence here.

Senator RICKETTS. Yes.

Senator PERDUE. It is not just—it is most favored nation. They really did not qualify to be a member of that in the beginning. It is the WTO. They need to live up the responsibilities of that, and

it is the developing nation status. I mean, this is the second largest economy in the world, as you said, our number one competitor, and no, I do not think that is fair.

Senator RICKETTS. Is it fair that U.S. businesses have to compete with Chinese owned enterprises that receive massive subsidy subsidies from the Chinese Government? Is that fair?

Senator PERDUE. No, it is not.

Senator RICKETTS. Is it fair that Chinese communists or Communist China still forces technology transfers and steals intellectual property from U.S. companies?

Senator PERDUE. Of course not.

Senator RICKETTS. Yes. So I could go on and on and on, and I could talk about and you have already mentioned about how Communist China has hacked us in our telephone systems, our ports, our energy infrastructure, all these things where Communist China is taking advantage of us, and this double standard must stop. If confirmed, what will you take to ensure reciprocity with Communist China?

Senator PERDUE. Senator, thank you for that. That is a very thoughtful series of questions.

First of all, there are several things we need to do in this country, Number one, to stand up to China, not just in reciprocity. First of all, we have got to get our financial house in order. I can talk more about that, but I will be out of your time. The second thing is we have got to rebuild our strategic supply chains, rare earth elements, steel, shipbuilding, pharmaceuticals, chips, quantum computing. All of these, we have acquiesced through this globalization of the last 2 decades to, basically, China and people who would do us harm. The reciprocal nature that we want with China, I think President Trump is all over that. The starting conversation with trade, there are going to be many others. The treatment of how we treat their foreign service personnel in the United States versus how they treat ours in China is a big one.

We have also got to make sure that the allies understand what this is all about. It is not just about trade. It is one of the tools in the toolbox. We need partners in this bifurcation that I am describing to the Ranking Member earlier. That is where I would start. As ambassador, if I am confirmed, I will promote U.S. values, U.S. interest, and the strategy that President Trump is drawing up right now to bring our allies together to make a united front against the PRC.

Senator RICKETTS. Great.

Well, I thank you very much, Senator Perdue, and I would, again, just stress that reciprocity is going to be key to the relationship, and you mentioned earlier how China respects strength. If we do not force them to treat us the same way that they are treating our people and their country or the way they treat us on the international stage, they will not respect us because that is not strength. Strength is saying to Communist China, you will do what—you will treat us the same way as we are treating you, or we are going to change the rules of the game. Thank you.

With that, Senator Rosen.

Senator ROSEN. Thank you, Senator Ricketts, and I want to thank Chairman Risch and Ranking Member Shaheen for holding this hearing.

Of course, than you, Senator Perdue, for willingness to continue to serve, and thank you, Dr. Crowley, for being here as well.

And I want to build a little bit on Senator Ricketts' comments about technology—critical emerging technology, and Senator Perdue, you know there is no doubt that the PRC is engaged in unfair trade practices to boost its own economy, to boost its standing internationally, in large part because of these harmful economic activities. The PRC risks supplanting the U.S. in a number of critical spheres, including AI, biotechnology, quantum computing, something we were all reminded of in January with the rollout of DeepSeek, which was a major wake up call for the American tech sector.

So Senator Perdue, if confirmed, how will you make sure that the U.S. maintains its qualitative edge across the spectrum of critical and emerging technologies, including AI, which is so important?

Senator PERDUE. Well, thank you, Senator Rosen, and thank you for participating in this hearing.

That is a great question, and one of the things that—it has already been mentioned today, and that is that, you know, we have got to protect what we are doing in this country better than we have in the last 30 years. This is not a partisan observation here.

We give China—and it goes back to reciprocity, Senator Ricketts. If you look at the access we give to Chinese Ph.D.s, Chinese technologists into our private labs, into our military labs, and into our education institutions, we do not get that same access over there. We have educated 2 million Chinese, as we have said. Three hundred and eighty thousand are in our schools today.

The technology that has been forced to transfer through corporate deals made in China, I think, a lot of those people, in my experience, have now come back to rue the day that they ever did that. It is a false hope, basically, that to enter China and get access to 1.4 billion consumers. The price has been too high, Senator, in my experience, and I think you are going to see that change. That will mean the corporations who are funding a lot of this technological development will, in fact, begin to sober up about what they are having to give up in order to do that business.

Senator ROSEN. Thank you.

We are going to keep talking about the PRC, obviously, because, well, they are doing a lot of bad things, needless to say, and we have to defend Tibet from PRC aggression. We not only have to defend ourselves against technology and artificial intelligence, but PRC aggression. Tibet faces many challenges because of the PRC's repressive rule. In addition to threatening Tibet's religious and cultural heritage, the PRC has weaponized their water resources in the region. The PRC's control over the water resources in the Tibetan Plateau has the potential to severely threaten the water and food security undermining the economic development in the region, which is important.

It is why I recently submitted language to be included in the fiscal year 2026 NDAA that would direct the Department of Defense to comprehensively analyze the PRC's national security risk related

to Tibet, including its weaponization of water resources. We know water is the key to life.

So again, Senator Perdue, if confirmed, can I have your commitment to work with this committee to safeguard Tibet's culture, security, and water resources from PRC aggression?

Senator PERDUE. Absolutely, Senator.

If I may add one thing briefly. I know we are about out of your time, but this goes back—if you look at—there are three things, basically, in memory in my lifetime, that the Chinese have made sweeping moves. They are moving in this water issue right now out West, but if you go back and look at the great leap forward, they killed 25 million Chinese in that, reportedly—

Senator ROSEN. Yes.

Senator PERDUE [continuing]. Because they collectivized their agricultural capability, and basically, create starvation countrywide. The second thing was a cultural revolution. Again, tens of millions of people died in that great government move. Today, we see them doing something similarly with state owned enterprises and these massive programs they have. The damage they could go to the global environment, the water supply that we have, which is the basis of life, as you said, is very dangerous. If confirmed as ambassador, this is one of the top topics that we will engage China on relative to President Trump and this Administration's strategy.

Senator ROSEN. I am going to ask quickly about—speaking of water—the PRC's reckless, coercive, aggressive activities to undersea infrastructure because they sabotage undersea cables. It is a particularly alarming tactic. They are essential for global communications. They transmit 95 percent of global internet traffic, facilitate important financial transactions, bolster our security, security of our partner and allies. So it is not the same as the water that we drink, but the undersea cables—

Senator PERDUE. Yes.

Senator ROSEN [continuing]. How are we going to protect that?

Senator PERDUE. That is a major threat.

Senator ROSEN. Yes.

Senator PERDUE. And it is one that emphasizes the fact that one of the things that I talked about in terms of standing up to this threat, number one, realize it, number two, educate people about it, and number three, get ready for it. We have not done any of those three, and the third one I would like to mention relative to that specific thing is that, you know, our military has been underfunded over a period of time, coming and going. We can talk about foreign aid later, but one of the things that we have got to do is focus not just on undersea damage to cables and that sort of thing. Why are they doing it? What are they doing? What are they preparing for by being in our infrastructure?

Well, that gives me pause relative to what their capability is, so we are awakening to that. Director Wray at the FBI said that they have got 200 hackers for every one that we have—

Senator ROSEN. Yes.

Senator PERDUE [continuing]. That they are in here, and every 12 minutes they are filing a suit against something that China is doing. We need to make sure the military is focused on this specific



threat that you mentioned. It is one of the highest priorities I know of President Trump as we get going here.

Senator ROSEN. Well, thank you. As ranking member on the Cybersecurity Subcommittee of Armed Services, I agree with you there. Thank you.

Senator RICKETTS. Senator Hagerty.

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Monica, I would like to start with you. It has been a pleasure to know you for this past decade. Your work at Treasury, I must say, was exemplary, and your foundation in foreign affairs, dating all the way back to your time spent with Richard Nixon, I think underscores your diplomatic prowess and your preparation for the job to come.

I would like to first speak to a point that you just raised regarding soft power and to say this, that Joe Nye, who was the head of the Harvard Kennedy School, has made that term quite popular. He helped me in my previous role in—as U.S. Ambassador of Japan to think about how to deploy soft power, but one thing is very obvious, and Senator Perdue mentioned this. Soft power is only effective to the extent we have hard power underlying that. That means having our assets in place, that means having the right technology and the right interoperability in place, and I know that this Administration is working hard to get to that point.

Back to the President, though, having spent time myself with President Trump in the presence of Xi Jinping, Vladimir Putin, Narendra Modi, multiple European heads of states, certainly Shinzo Abe, it can say that the role of the chief—the chair of protocol—the chief of protocol—I am sorry—is tremendously important. Setting the stage for the engagements that need to happen, setting the stage for diplomatic success is going to be absolutely vital, and I think you have got a very strong team. I think of Abby Phillips on your team who hails from Tennessee. I look forward to the fact that you are going to be called upon in an extraordinary time to set the tone and to set the environment so that critical national security and economic security issues can be taking place. I also look forward to the role that you will play in the 250th anniversary of our nation because I think it creates a tremendous diplomatic opportunity for us.

One thing I would like to ask you is, what do you see in your role ahead, if you are confirmed, as the biggest opportunity for your organization that, should you be confirmed to lead it?

Dr. CROWLEY. Well, thank you very much for the question, Senator, and for your friendship and Chrissy's friendship as well. I appreciate both of you very much, and it is a really important question.

I take the responsibility of the role of chief of protocol extremely seriously, big responsibilities as you point out, Senator, that go along with setting the stage for a new gold standard for robust, successful, effective diplomacy for this President, for his diplomatic vision, and for his diplomatic and policy agenda.

So if confirmed, I look forward to leading the team of the Office of Chief of Protocol, which is incredibly talented and dedicated, and it is made up of really dedicated political appointees as well as career civil servants. I look forward to leading that team together,

making sure that they all work in harmony for our shared mission, our shared goals, and to ensure excellence in every detail, to create the proper environment so that the President, the Vice President, the Secretary of State, and other high ranking officials can carry out their diplomatic duties in service of the United States and the American people.

Senator HAGERTY. Well, I know that the President has the highest expectations, and you will rise to the occasion to meet those.

Dr. CROWLEY. Thank you.

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you very much.

David, I would like to turn to you. Congratulations again on your nomination. One of the things I wanted to point out is when I served as U.S. Ambassador to Japan, one of my top priorities was taking care of my staff and their families. And one of the things, and I have mentioned this in this committee before, one of the things that is most disturbing about the treatment of our diplomats in China has been the way they have been treated. As earlier discussed, the fact that they are not allowed to travel freely. If I think about what happened during COVID, they put some of our staff in containers, held them in isolation in moldy hotel rooms. They took stool samples from them, blood tests from them. I just think it is totally egregious what took place, and in my view, it is just wholly unacceptable. I know that you will do everything that you can to protect U.S. diplomats and their families in China.

I am just going to ask you this question very quickly. If you receive reports of harassment or abuse, will you immediately report those not only to the Trump administration, but to this committee so that we can act upon it?

Senator PERDUE. Absolutely. In my conversation with the Ranking Member, this came up as well, and I made that similar commitment then.

Senator HAGERTY. Thank you. Thank you.

I would like to turn to China and their participation with Iran and purchasing Iranian oil. In recent years, over 90 percent of Iranian oil exports were purchased by China. As I have discussed many times in this committee, the Biden administration's non-enforcement of sanctions against Iran has provided that regime with over \$100 billion that they have used, therefore, to go out into the Middle East and foment terror and insecurity. President Trump intends to actually enforce sanctions against Iran, and last month, his Administration announced sanctions against a Chinese "teapot" oil refinery.

That refinery was buying and refining hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of Iranian crude oil, and it is the first time that the United States has actually sanctioned a Chinese oil refinery. Some of this oil was even imported to China by ships linked to the Iranian backed Houthi regime, the same terrorists that are attacking U.S. personnel, commercial vessels, and certainly our ally, Israel. It is yet another example of how Biden's non-enforcement of sanctions funded the very problems that we are spending billions to address right now. So if confirmed, David, do you commit to conveying to the Chinese government in the strongest possible terms that the United States will not tolerate Chinese activities that fi-

nance Iran and its terrorist proxy groups, especially those terrorist groups that attack the United States and its allies?

Senator PERDUE. Of course. Along with protecting American personnel in China, this will be one of my top five priorities, Senator.

Let me say one more thing about this. This is a broad copy. Number one, our sanctions are beginning to not work. The Chinese-Russian trade right now, the sanctions are not working there on dual use equipment, primarily because they are denoting those transaction, as you know, in rubles and in renminbi. Also, this is a very perverse conversation that you bring up here. I will be very brief. The consumption of China goods takes money to China. Seventy-three percent of their oil consumption is imported. They buy it primarily from Russia and Iran. Those dollars then go to Russia and Iran, and we know how that money ends up in the Ukraine, and in Hamas, Hezbollah, and the Houthis' war chest. So we have got to rebalance the world. This goes back to the trade conversation that President Trump is on right now. It is all a big geopolitical strategy that ties in exactly to what you are talking about. Thank you.

Senator HAGERTY. OK. Thank you, and thank you, Mr. Chairman, and also thank you, Senator Scott, for letting me go out of order.

Senator RISCH [presiding]. Yes. Thank you, Senator Hagerty.

We now have Senator Coons.

Senator COONS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Great to see you again, Senator, and a former colleague. I just want to thank Bonnie and your family for supporting you in your service, and forgive me, I am going to keep this tight and just question you for 5 minutes. My apologies.

Congratulations on your nomination, Dr. Crowley.

As you know, I was also in a manufacturing business for many years and had the experience of trying to deal with China and Chinese IP theft, force technology transfers. I assume that your awareness of and grounding in this will make it a top priority for you to work to protect American innovation and work across the government and the interagency to advocate that. Is that correct?

Senator PERDUE. Absolutely, Senator. I have the scars to talk about in that area, and it will be one of my top priorities.

Senator COONS. Thank you. You have been nominated for one of the most important ambassadorships. I hope you have consulted with Nick Burns, who I think served well in the post.

Senator RISCH. Could you repeat that, Senator? I am sorry.

Senator COONS. I hope you will have an opportunity to consult with Ambassador Nick Burns who served previously.

Senator PERDUE. Oh, absolutely. No, I have talked to—we actually have that committed at this point.

Senator COONS. Your words: “We are in the middle of a fight to ensure that the free world stays free,” and I am increasingly alarmed by the close cooperation between China, Russia, North Korea, and Iran. Do you share that concern?

Senator PERDUE. Absolutely, Senator.

Senator COONS. When North Korea deployed thousands and thousands of troops and put them into the meat grinder of Russia's illegal and immoral invasion of Ukraine, they did so in order to

gain access to the knowledge of the latest technologies on the battlefield and to gain benefit for North Korea. One of my core concerns is that these theaters are interconnected, that our challenge with China requires allies, resources, and attention. It is why I moved to partnering with Senator McConnell on the Defense Subcommittee on Approps. But our interconnected world means that when North Korean troops are serving on the front lines in the war of aggression against Ukraine and Iranian sanctions are not fully biting because China is offering a secondary offtake market, we have to deal with this.

Some of my colleagues have claimed that it was the U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan that precipitated Russia's invasion of Ukraine. I could debate some of that, but let me just agree that the world is interconnected and that when our credibility is harmed, dictators are emboldened and aggression is more likely. So if Ukraine is forced to surrender, if Russia emerges victorious, and our leadership is questioned in the world by our allies and those we have stood alongside, I think by the same logic, Xi will inevitably be emboldened to believe that he can take on his vision to reacquire Taiwan, the Philippines, the South China Sea, to be more aggressive regionally. Would you agree with that?

Senator PERDUE. Well, Senator, that is a complex question. It is a great question.

I think right now, withdrawal is not an option for the United States. I do not think President Trump is attempting to do that. I think by reaching and stepping forward in the area of trade addresses some of the questions that you bring up there. What we have also got to do, though, and you mentioned this, and the Ranking Member actually wrote a couple papers on it, I think either last year or earlier this year, and that is that NATO is another major player with regard to China that we need to engage with in a way that we maybe have not done that in the past. I also think that—

Senator COONS. Let me reframe my question then, if I might, given I have a minute and a half.

Senator PERDUE. Yes, I am sorry.

Senator COONS. Does it strengthen us in our work to deal with China in the South China Sea, to deal with China in IP theft, to deal with China as our pacing threat if we strengthen NATO, strengthen our alliances and partnerships in the global South, or if we weaken them and withdraw from them? Which makes us stronger?

Senator PERDUE. Well, obviously the stronger the relationships—one of the five things I mentioned earlier in answering another question is that our allies, we have to align and make sure they understand the threat and develop a cohesive strategy. I think that the Quad, I think ASEAN, even though we are not a member, is very important. NATO is very important. AUKUS is also important. So I agree, Senator, that is a major priority for us.

Senator COONS. I traveled with Senator Merkley to India and Nepal many years ago now, and I was struck at how much the Nepalese were grateful for our response during a devastating earthquake. I am heartsick now as I watched our national news of the response to the Myanmar earthquake, and it was PRC humanitarian teams who were leading the response, not Americans. I will

simply say that the—I thought near destruction of USAID and their ability to project our response to humanitarian crises is an unforced error, is knee capping us at the wrong moment. In my view, one of our greatest strengths as a nation has been demonstrating, whether it is in the Pacific Island nations, in Cambodia, in Nepal, in Africa, in South America, that we are able to respond in an effective and timely way to humanitarian moments of need. Do you see that as something that we should restore our continued ability to lead the world in humanitarian response?

Senator PERDUE. You know, Senator, I have missed serving with you.

[Laughter.]

Senator PERDUE. You have taken me out of time, so I am going to give you a very brief answer. Of course, that is one of the strategies I have mentioned before, but I think, again, you know, this is an awakening that America has got to come to. This is our Sputnik moment, in my opinion, and we are late coming to it in so many areas, but let me respond, Mr. Chairman, if I will indulge just a second. I will not go over because I know we are out of the Senator's time.

I want to remind all of us, though, USAID has been brought up several times today. Listen, I have lived out there. I have gone to the places. I went to Haiti. I have been in these places as I know you have and Senator Merkley has, and others. Obviously, it is important that we do not withdraw from that responsibility. However, let me remind us all that every dime we spend in USAID, every dime, is borrowed by definition of the way we have our budget set up. We spend \$7 trillion, we raise 5 of it, we are short 2. Of the \$7 trillion we spend, only \$2 trillion is discretionary. That means that Social Security, Medicare, and interest on the debt are all managed. We have to spend that. That eats up every dime that we bring in as revenue. So what we have to do is look at the allocation of every dime that we spend, and that is what President Trump has done.

The second point, and I will end here, and that is that every dime we spend on USAID, and the military, and everything else has got to be consistent with our foreign policy.

Senator RISCH. Well said, Senator.

Senator COONS. Thank you for your testimony, and thank you to Senator Merkley for your graciousness. I apologize for going over.

Senator RISCH. Well said.

Senator Scott.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. Thank you, Chairman.

Well, first off, congratulations to both of you. I think you are both going to do a great job. Congratulations on all the success you have had, and this is a big opportunity for both of you, so congratulations.

Dr. Crowley, we hear “bad actors.” We see the CCP attacking—pull in gang members of the United States, American citizens. We hear about Erdogan's thugs beating up anti-Erdogan protestors in the United States. So in this role as chief of protocol, what can you do, if anything, about that?

Dr. CROWLEY. Well, thank you very much for the question and for your longstanding friendship as well, Senator. I appreciate it.

The Office of Chief of Protocol does not oversee policy. It executes what the President's vision is in terms of diplomatic relationships, diplomatic partnerships, so that would not be in my portfolio. But if confirmed, I do look forward to following the direction of the President and the Secretary of State on all policy matters.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. Thank you.

Dr. CROWLEY. Thank you.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. Senator Perdue, Jimmy Lai is unjustly on trial and in jail because of the Communist Party in China. As Ambassador to China, what do you think you can do to put pressure on the regime to release this hero of democracy and human rights?

Senator PERDUE. Well, I appreciated seeing the picture in your office that day. You know, I lived in Hong Kong, as you know, and when that was happening, I made a trip to Hong Kong, and actually, we met with some of these people there and here, and what we have to do is stand up for human rights in a way that is a little bit different. You know, China has now become very aggressive. After Hong Kong, all bets are off relative to what they are trying to do, and now it is becoming visible on a much larger scale with the United Nations, the World Health Organization, the WTO, and so forth, about where they are trying to bring malign influence to change the order to a degree in their favor. So what I am going to do, if confirmed as ambassador, will echo the message from the Administration and from the Congress about how important this is to us.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. So Senator, the Communist Party sends fentanyl into the United States that killed 78,000 people last year. They treat the Uyghurs horribly. They, you know, do not follow any trade rules, and they have never complied with the WTO. It is a despicable government. They clearly want to destroy our way of life. And for the people that they have killed, they clearly have destroyed their way of life and their families. So would you recommend that any American citizen buy any Chinese products or buy—have any Chinese apps on their phone, or do any business with anything that is related to Communist China?

Senator PERDUE. Well, I think the realization that our support of China over the last 30 years or more, going back to Reagan actually, in terms of early investment in developing their economy, giving them access into most favored nation status when they did not comply, they did not qualify, also the violations in the World Trade Organization, we have turned a blind eye to, those days are over, I believe. And I think we have got to stand up, not just for our own protection, but for the protection of these systems that have served us well since Bretton Woods in 1944 that established the current world order. Going back to Senator Daines' recent trip over there, the only topic that I could see—the major topic that they talked about was fentanyl. It is trips like that make a difference, not trying to do trade, but trying to influence changes in their behavior, Senator.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. You think Xi is going to change?

Senator PERDUE. Senator, the issue is what is beneficial to their strategy? What do they want? And if you read what they have been writing over the last 25 years, I do not think he is going to change.

The question is, what is his objective, and what is he going to be capable of doing? Look, they have a problem. They cannot feed their own population. Thirty percent of the people—30 percent of the food that is consumed in China is imported. I just said 73 percent of the oil is imported. They have a real problem right now with unemployment of people under 25. It is over 16 percent from what I read. If you look at the economy, focusing on state-owned enterprise is a real problem. The realization of U.S. capital now that has been going to China for the last 40 years and not getting the return that we had—that we should have gotten, but gave up technology and a lot of other things that went along with it—

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. If we stop buying—

Senator PERDUE [continuing]. That realization is going to really change.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. If we are buying their products, if we stop allowing them to access to our market without complying with SEC rules, which we are. We have a law that our SEC is not enforcing, all right? But if the American public would show up and say this is wrong, what would happen to the Chinese economy, and what would they have to do then?

Senator PERDUE. You bring up a great point. If you believe that this is a new kind of war, it is not cold war, it is not a kinetic war, it is a different war, and they described it to us in the book called “Unrestricted Warfare” back in 1999, and they are executing against that. I wrote an article about it a year ago. If you look at that, the way forward is for the United States to become informed about that and to stand up to the challenge. That means that sometimes we will have to sacrifice, Senator, because what we have been seduced by are the cheap prices that we gave into over the last 30 years coming out of China that were, in some cases—in many cases—unfair because they were subsidized by the state.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. But if we stop buying their stuff, what will happen?

Senator PERDUE. Well, if foreign capital from the U.S. stops going into China, they have a real problem, you know.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. If we stop buying their product, what will happen?

Senator PERDUE. Well, that is—

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. If the American public says enough is enough, what will happen to their economy?

Senator PERDUE. It will collapse.

Senator SCOTT OF FLORIDA. Right. Thank you.

Senator RISCH. Thank you.

Senator DAINES.

Senator DAINES. Dr. Crowley, congratulations on your nomination. It is good to have you here today.

David, as I am sitting here, I am struck by thinking 30 years ago, as I am looking at you and Bonnie, for all I know, we could have been in the *Star Ferry* together, crossing the harbor there in Hong Kong when we had two little ones that were born in Hong Kong, going from Guangzhou into Hong Kong for sometimes some R&R. And little did we know that we would be sitting here today, some 30 years later, talking about your nomination to be the United States’ Ambassador to China, and what a journey it has

been. And I cannot think of a better nominee, somebody who understands China, somebody who has been a successful businessman, a United States Senator, a member of this Foreign Relations Committee, and it was a passion for representing America proudly in China, and importantly, has the great respect that you do of President Trump and your respect of the President, that mutual strong relationship that you have that has been based on, you know, years of working together. There is just not a better guy to be going to Beijing for the United States than David Perdue.

You know, we have discussed the trafficking in fentanyl. Senator Scott brought that up briefly. Now, the precursors that China is sending into Mexico, Canada, and the United States are a threat to our national security. Our leading cause of death for 18 to 45 year olds in the United States is fentanyl poisoning. It is a public health emergency. We have a drug war going on right now in the United States with fentanyl. China, sadly, remains the single largest provider of these deadly chemicals—we call them precursors—that the cartels then manufacture and bring across the southern border into our communities. President Trump has made this a priority to stem, to stop this poisonous tide. The Senate is eager to help.

David, how can you, if confirmed as United States Ambassador to China, work with both the American and the Chinese Governments to stem the flow of deadly fentanyl into my State of Montana, into your home State of Georgia, and other communities across America?

Senator PERDUE. Well, Senator, I wish I had known you 30 years ago when we were both over there. I want to applaud what you have just done and what you have continued to do since you have been in, not only the Senate, but in the House as well, and that is interface with your friends and colleagues and people in China, standing up to them and telling them what is important to us. Your representation of U.S. interests has been the most powerful thing I have seen outside of presidential actions in my tenure in the last 10 years. I want to thank you for that. I know you just made a recent trip on this very topic.

Look, we kill—this fentanyl poisoning kills more Americans in 1 year than died in Vietnam over 20 years. So this is—President Trump has made a top priority of stopping this flow of this deadly drug into the United States. It is a multifaceted thing. It starts with the precursors in China. It goes to Canada and Mexico, where this is now being transferred into the United States. As ambassador, I will echo your priority as well as the President's priority that this is one of our top priorities. The Chinese, as you know, respect, strength. They do not like a lot of complaining unless they see action, and right now, President Trump put two tariffs on this one issue. That is action, and I believe we will see some response to that in the near future, hopefully.

Senator DAINES. Thank you.

I want to shift gears and talk about the level playing field that we need for American companies who are doing business in China. American companies last year did about \$500 billion worth of business in China. Chinese companies in the United States did about \$75 billion. So I know we focus a lot on the \$300 billion trade def-



icit, but we right now have about a \$400 billion revenue surplus because American companies are in there doing business, selling to the Chinese consumer. And it is important that they keep winning over there because those dollars then flow down to R&D to build next generation, whether it is aircraft at Boeing and so forth.

Another important topic for me personally for Montana is making sure we have access for agricultural products. It is now a \$1.6 billion beef market for the United States producers. It is the second largest beef market in the world, is China, and we are now facing some steep headwinds because the Chinese government did not renew export licenses to 394, basically, processors in the United States, and this is going to affect about 90 to 95 percent of our beef exports to China, this huge market.

David, as ambassador, how would you work to make American companies, as well as our farmers and our ranchers, more competitive in that significant, huge \$1.4 billion consumer Chinese market?

Senator PERDUE. Well, we already recognize that they import 30 percent of their food. The second thing is that being from Georgia, ag is a little over half of our total GDP, and I know in Montana, it is very important. I want to applaud you again for the work that you did back in the first Administration of Donald Trump and getting that one trade deal done, and the first piece about Ag, it would not have happened without your personal leadership.

As ambassador, I will try to, and I said it in my opening remarks, increase the dialogue pace to—on these very important issues both to us and to China. Look, we want reciprocal trade—fair and open reciprocal trade. That is what President Trump is trying to do, and ag is one of the major pieces of ammunition we have to export into China.

Senator DAINES. Thank you, David.

Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Daines.

Senator Merkley.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chair, and welcome, Senator Perdue.

Welcome, Dr. Crowley.

I really wanted to focus on two themes regarding China, and one of those themes, to me, is symbolized by the work that Marco Rubio and I did here. We both served on the China Commission. We held a lot of hearings about human rights. We teamed up to pass the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act and legislation related to Hong Kong, related to Tibet, really highlighting the massive abuses of human rights in China. And that Forced Labor Prevention Act, that has been the most effective measure in the world to actually say articles produced in China with slave labor cannot come into the domestic market. We are hoping Canada and Mexico and Europe follow our lead. Do you support that act?

Senator PERDUE. Yes, I do.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you.

There is another thread, though, in potential foreign policy with China that I think is better symbolized by Elon Musk. He built a factory in Xinjiang Province, which is—China wanted that there to basically rebut the concerns about slave labor in Xinjiang. In ex-

change, they give him a massive amount of Chinese loans to help build that factory. It is now Tesla's largest factory in the world. Those products could not even be imported to the U.S. under the Forced Labor Prevention Act. In addition, he has said things about China, like "China is more responsive to the happiness of people than in the U.S." That bothers me. He has said, "I am kind of pro-China," on another occasion.

The Trump administration and the Biden administration both said what is going on in Xinjiang is genocide. It is horrific. I am very concerned about that. I want for our representation, which you will soon be carrying forward, to be shining a light on the abuses in China, the suppression, the transnational repression against the Chinese diaspora around the world. It puts a huge contrast with where we stand in terms of freedom for people in the world, and where China stands in terms of repression of freedom in the world.

Which theme—the theme symbolized by Marco Rubio in putting a spotlight on the repression and human rights abuses and the genocide—or the Elon Musk theme where he wants our government to help him do more and more business in China. Which theme are you going to represent?

Senator PERDUE. Well, first, I enjoyed our conversation, Senator, and this topic came up in there, and I really appreciate your heart for this. I have watched it for 10 years, and I respect that. One of my top responsibilities as the spokesperson for the people of America and this Administration is to make sure they understand how deeply we feel about the atrocities. There is no other word for it. So I agree with you that we cannot turn a blind eye, not just in Xinjiang, but I mean, everywhere we see it. You know, if you look at the slave labor, it is one of the things they use to basically cheat the WTO system that wanted to have equal and fair trade around the world. My view right now, if America does not stand up for that, no one else will.

Senator MERKLEY. Well, I appreciate your response. I hope when the pressure comes from very powerful American entrepreneurs that say, we want you to help them do more business in China rather than pointing out the human rights concerns, that you will point out those human rights concerns, and it sounds like that is where your heart is, and I appreciate that.

I want to turn to the U.S. Agency for Global Media, Voice of America, that was shut down, and when it was shut down China entities said, hey, this is great. They celebrated. They really resented Voice of America putting a spotlight on the genocide in Xinjiang. They really resented spotlighting Chinese aggression in the South China Sea. They really regretted commentaries about the Chinese economy and some of the commentary that showed the overcapacity of factories in certain sectors, and certainly, in the housing sector. Meanwhile, though, I am very confused because Trump and Musk—President Trump and whatever position Musk holds—advisor Musk—they accused Voice of America of promoting anti-American propaganda. I do not get that. I have never seen evidence of anything but promoting American values and putting on a spotlight on issues, including what China is doing to its own people. What am I missing?

Senator PERDUE. Well, Senator, it is a big question relative to how do we defend against their propaganda, and then how do we get the free world's message out. As I said earlier, I think what we have been missing is we have been doing this too much unilaterally, and I think if we engage our allies in a way that we maybe have not done in the past, we can develop a unified approach. Going back to the funding of that, I think once we see that the investment strategy of that—of those funds is consistent with foreign policy, this strategy will be developed, in my opinion, as a voice. As Ambassador of the United States in China, I will echo this dramatically over there. It is one of our top priorities, and this is something that we will not give up on.

Senator MERKLEY. Well, I do appreciate that because I feel like having Voice of America and Radio Free Asia helping to counter the disinformation and propaganda that come out of the Chinese Government is really an important part of truth telling in the world. The Chinese do not like it because they do not want truth telling in the world. I hope you will be a champion for truth telling.

Senator PERDUE. Thank you, sir.

Senator MERKLEY. Thank you.

Senator LEE [presiding]. Really appreciate both of you being here and your willingness to serve. I have known both of you for most of the time I have been in the U.S. Senate, and am a huge fan of both and consider you both not only friends, but people I deeply admire on a professional level and on a personal level.

Senator Perdue, I will start with you. It is going to be contrary to my instinct to call you anything other than by your first names, but I would like to keep it formal in the hearings to show my great respect for those who are willing to serve.

So we will start with you, Senator Perdue. Let us talk about the Panama Canal for a second. Last month, CK Hutchinson, this Hong Kong based company managing ports at both ends of the Panama Canal, announced its intent to sell its port facilities at both ends to a U.S. led consortium, and that is where things got tricky. China has now pumped the brakes on that, stepping in and claiming that this would mess with antitrust concerns and implicate antitrust laws in China.

Now, I do not profess to be an expert in Chinese antitrust law, but I can say with a fair degree of confidence that they are using a very different definition of antitrust law, of competition policy than we would ever dream of in the United States. It appears to me that this is just, you know, an aggressive act on the part of the Chinese Communist Party, and I suppose it is understandable why they would want that because, after all, China views its canal operations, understandably, I suppose, to be a source of geopolitical leverage. This, of course, is a problem because this fairly directly implicates U.S. treaty arrangements made decades ago to make sure that that sort of thing did not happen.

So my question to you, Senator Perdue, is how will you frame the importance of the Panama Canal—the importance to the United States of the Panama Canal—in your interactions in Beijing?

Senator PERDUE. Thank you for that question. That is a very thoughtful question, and it is a deep one because this is a perfect example of the difference between a democratically led inter-

national system like we have now in the world order, was established in Bretton Woods in 1944, like I said, compared to an authoritarian influenced world order. That is what China's trying to build, where the government—in fact, the government over there said that the world economy should be state controlled, and that would mean the death of free market capitalism.

Well, the Panama Canal is a strategic issue for the United States. It was when we built it, when over 50,000 people died there building it, and one of our Presidents gave it away, and there is some question about the legality of that, frankly. You are the legal expert. I would love to engage you on that at some point. But what troubles me are the two ports there. Where were we when those two ports were purchased by CK Hutchinson to start with? CK Hutchins a Hong Kong firm, I know it very well, and they have investment interest from the CCP, from China, under their direct control. So what has happened is exactly what you said. The China government said, oh no, we do not like that, you are not going to make that transaction. Well, in our world, in a free market enterprise, they would, of course, have that opportunity.

So this is a major priority for President Trump. He has said it in the campaign, he said it since he got elected, and this is one that, as I adopt to my new responsibility in China as ambassador, will echo how important that is for us.

Senator LEE. Thank you. No, I appreciate your insight on that, and it shows that you have thought it through, and it is emblematic of your great capacity to convey things concisely, clearly, and also diplomatically at the same time.

Speaking of which, Dr. Crowley, somebody who will be key to everything that the State Department does, has within your portfolio something that will be enhanced by your presence there, and I am so grateful for your willingness to serve there. Let us talk about the 2024 Olympics for a moment.

If you watch the opening ceremonies of the 2024 Olympic Games in Paris, you may remember that, at least from the viewpoint of many people, including myself, it was nothing short. The opening games opening ceremony there, it was nothing short of a blatantly pro-left wing, anti-family presentation that happened to contain a number of deliberate insults to the Christian faith, and I suspect to people of many other faiths. At the time it happened, I sent a letter to the second gentleman, who was himself set to lead the U.S. presidential delegation to the closing ceremonies, urging him to convey America's deep disappointment with their decision to use the opening ceremonies as an opportunity for mockery of faith. I never received a response. Instead, the Biden administration stood idly by, sending the delegation, staying silent as this global forum for diplomacy and mutual respect was tarnished, at least tarnished in the eyes of many Americans, myself included.

As we prepare to host the Olympics again, how do you intend to make sure that the 2028 games in Los Angeles will be a celebration of national excellence and merit that can serve as a forum for, you know, diplomacy, amity, and so forth, and not be co-opted as a platform for DEI, progressive activism, or anti-Christian rhetoric?

Dr. CROWLEY. Well, thank you very much for the question and for your kind words, Senator, and your longstanding friendship as well. Grateful to you.

At the President's direction, if confirmed, I will take on additional responsibilities and serve as an Administration representative to major events with big, international participation, like America's 250th birthday, like the FIFA World Cup, which is coming to the United States next year, and the 2028 Olympic Games in Los Angeles. I look forward, if confirmed, to drawing on my vast broadcast and public affairs experience to speak to the American people as well as the global public about America's greatness and America's leadership.

To your particular point, it is my understanding that the Olympic Games, whenever they occur, are overseen by the International Olympic Committee, and in Los Angeles, they will also work in conjunction with the 2028 Los Angeles Olympic Committee as well. And Senator, I pledge to you, if confirmed, I will be deeply involved in ensuring that the Olympic Games go off without a hitch, that the Olympic Committee in the United States is on message to the extent that we can have some influence there, and I look forward to showcasing the American spirit as well as the United States as a premier destination for international sporting events.

Senator LEE. Excellent. Thank you.

I see my time has expired, and I turn the floor over to Senator Van Hollen.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Thank you, Senator, and congratulations to both of you.

Senator, it is good to see you again, and I enjoyed the conversation in my office. I am just going to cover a couple topics here today.

You mentioned in response to a question that it was important to have our friends and allies with us in a unified stance with respect to our policy in China. I fully agree. One of the things we hear from our allies in East Asia—Japan, South Korea, friends like Taiwan—is that what happens in Ukraine matters to what happens with respect to Taiwan. In other words, that President Xi has one eye on what is happening in Ukraine and another with respect to Taiwan in terms of U.S. resolve and the credibility of our allies. Do you agree with that simple statement?

Senator PERDUE. Well, I think that is a complex comparison, and I am not sure of what President Xi is thinking or not thinking except what he says, and he has said over and over the last 10 years that, you know, the reunification is very important to the PRC and the CCP. Our role in that is simply that we are going to continue to honor the One China policy as stated in the Taiwan Relations Act, you know, also backed up by the three communiques and the six assurances. So the situation's a little more complex than just making a binary comparison between, I think, Ukraine and Taiwan.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Well, certainly there are differences between Taiwan and Ukraine. I was not suggesting otherwise, but I was suggesting what our allies tell us. You just said it was important to be united with our allies. I can just tell you what our allies have been telling us repeatedly, is that what happens in Ukraine

impacts and influences the way Xi thinks about Taiwan, and you know, the situation there.

Senator PERDUE. Right.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. I think all of us—not all of us, but on a bipartisan basis, many of us have been deeply concerned with the way President Trump threw Ukraine under the bus and President Zelenskyy under the bus, and called Ukraine the aggressor. At the same time, we know that, you know, China has been supporting Russia. Of course, President Xi famously said that the bonds of friendship between China and Russia know no boundaries. The previous Administration made clear that if China was to supply military assistance to Russia, that that would result in some kind of sanctions or punitive response from the United States. Do you agree that we should make it clear to China that that kind of assistance would be unacceptable from our point of view?

Senator PERDUE. You know, the situation with regard to Ukraine is not—I would not characterize it as throwing them under a bus, Senator. I would just personally disagree with that. I think over 300-plus—

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Senator, I know how this works. I get that. If you could just answer the question I asked you.

Senator PERDUE. I do. I do.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. I asked if you agreed that the previous Administration's policy that it would—it would trigger sanctions from the United States if China were to provide offensive—or to buy military equipment to Russia.

Senator PERDUE. Well—

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Do you agree or disagree?

Senator PERDUE. I agree, and we already have sanctions on them about cross-border trade right now between China and Russia on dual use, and we know that 80 percent of what Russia has available to on dual use comes from China, and we know a lot of that is ending up in the Ukraine. So yes, I fully support that. I think President Trump's strategy does the same.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. OK. So I do want to follow up on some of the questions Senator Merkley raised because I think it is indisputable that Elon Musk has an enormous amount of influence in this Administration. He has singlehandedly gone about, you know, firing lots of Federal employees. He said he was going to put AID through the wood chipper. He actually said it was a criminal enterprise. And I think others have pointed out, including Senator Shaheen, that on a bipartisan basis, we thought that AID has been an important part of U.S. soft power, and we have already seen instances of where AID has retreated in the last couple months, that China has worked to fill the void. And I do want to just read a statement by Vivek Ramaswamy, who was originally, of course, Musk's partner in the DOGE effort before he left it, and this is what he said in 2023: "Tesla is increasingly beholden to China," and then on his podcast, he said, "I have no reason to think Elon will not jump like a circus monkey when Xi Jinping calls in the hour of need." He also referred to Musk as a Chinese puppet.

So, do you agree? Will you agree that we should have concerns that somebody with the amount of influence that Elon Musk has in this Administration is getting briefings at the Defense Depart-

ment? Fortunately, they called off, apparently, the war plan on Taiwan, but does it not concern you that somebody like that might have an inordinate amount of influence with respect to foreign policy?

Senator PERDUE. Well, first of all, I am not going to discredit the individual, but that comment is coming from an individual who was fired, basically, by the DOGE for not doing his job. So my view is that what they are doing is absolutely necessary—

Senator VAN HOLLEN. You mean Vivek Ramaswamy—

Senator PERDUE. Yes.

Senator VAN HOLLEN [continuing]. Being fired?

Senator PERDUE. Yes.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. OK.

Senator PERDUE. I think that, you know, what they are trying to do, I think we all would agree to. I mean, we have got to find a way to get better use of the money we spend in the Federal Government. When it relates to the breadth of responsibility of what DOGE is doing, the President has, has said publicly, this is 132 days. They are well into that now. They had a—I think they had a press conference this week about the results so far.

Look, there is—when you go in—I have done this several times in the corporate world. When you go in and do this kind of effort, there are going to be some areas that you have to come back and clean up, and even Elon Musk said that this week, as a matter of fact. So I agree with you that it is a careful process. We need to make sure we do not throw the baby out with the bath water. At the same time, again, I will relate my comment earlier about the debt funding of everything we are doing here. And by the way, the overhead of USAID—let me say this one more time—the overhead of USAID is redundant in so many cases. I think that CARE does a great job around the world. It is about a billion dollar benefit. We fund about a third of that. A friend of mine runs it, but they only have about a 10 percent overhead. So if you add USAID overhead on top of what CARE is doing, you end up with an unacceptable level of overhead.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. I will end with this with respect—this committee—the chairman of this committee, has not held a hearing so that we could ask these very questions. Senator Shaheen has had two RUMP hearings with AID officials, which tell a very different story than is being portrayed by Elon Musk and company who, again, called it a criminal enterprise, which, as I have said, makes every member of this committee a co-conspirator in a criminal enterprise.

Senator PERDUE. Well, I do not—I do not issue that kind of proclamation, Senator. I do not want to be associated with that.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Well.

Senator PERDUE. But what I—what I just said, I will stand by in terms of the overhead.

Senator VAN HOLLEN. Yes, but he is the one that did that at AID, and that is what he said, and he said he wanted to put it through the wood chipper, not reform. So we should be very clear about what they are doing, not what they want us to think they are doing.

Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Senator RISCH [presiding]. Thank you, Senator.

Do you have some more questions, Senator?

Senator SHAHEEN. I do.

Senator RISCH. Please.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

I have a couple more questions for you, Senator Perdue. As several people have referenced, we are witnessing increasingly aggressive behavior from the PRC around the Taiwan Strait. As recently as this week, PRC war ships are conducting joint military exercises, which raises the risk of miscalculation. In fact, we have heard—we have heard at a SASC hearing about some of the concerns around what is happening there. So how can we effectively signal our resolve and deter Chinese aggression toward Taiwan?

Senator PERDUE. Senator, that is a great question. It is one that I have had personal conversation with President Trump about.

I think we have to make sure they are very clear about what our commitment is behind the Taiwan Relations Act, the three joint communiqués that we made with China, and the six assurances that go back to Reagan. There cannot be a misunderstanding about what is important to us, and what is important to the United States is a peaceful resolution of this situation in a cross-strait relationship. I am afraid in times past, comments have been made that maybe have questioned that and confused the issue in the minds of Xi Jinping and other leaders in China. And I think what President Trump is trying to do right now, by refocusing and building our military again, rebalancing this world trade, is sending a message to, basically, that, hey, this is an important issue to the United States.

Senator SHAHEEN. So the PRC continues to pursue its Belt and Road Initiative in Europe as well as throughout Latin America and Africa and Asia, but it threatens to derail the Euro-Atlantic integration of countries that are not yet in NATO or in EU. Projects like the Highway to Nowhere in Montenegro, which indebted Montenegro to China with an amount equivalent to one-third of the annual country's budget, showcase how the PRC takes advantage of the West's slow walking of the accession processes. And those are conversations that I have had with members of the EU about the challenges that not expediting and thinking about how to move some of those countries in the Western Balkans into the EU create problems.

But given the terminations of our foreign assistance programs, many of these countries have nowhere else to go but China. I can remember talking to former prime minister of Greece about the port in Greece, and he said—we were complaining about the fact that the Chinese were taking over that port, and he said, you know, I came to the United States looking for help, you could not help me, I went to Europe looking for help, they would not help me, and the Chinese were the only ones who provided money. So what are the tools that we can use to convince those countries that we are a better partner than the PRC and that we are willing to step up and help them?

Senator PERDUE. Well, we got to engage with them. I mean, we are beginning to do that when we talk about this trade rebalancing, but let me comment on what you bring up, and that is we



have to educate these countries. And I am concerned about Africa and South America greatly with regard to what China has been doing with the ports, with these proprietary loans and so forth. We have seen what they did in Cambodia, in Sri Lanka, and in Karachi, Pakistan. They are already in Djibouti. These people go in, though. The Chinese, they do not—they do not hire local labor. They bring Chinese labor, some slave labor, and the local, there is a—

Senator SHAHEEN. Right. I agree with you—

Senator PERDUE. There is a growing—

Senator SHAHEEN [continuing]. On the problems that China is presenting.

Senator PERDUE. I am trying to get to that.

Senator SHAHEEN. What I want to know is what our alternative to that is going to be.

Senator PERDUE. Well, the alternative is not just U.S. money. I was going to come to that. The alternative is the parties that are not being discussed here are the other democratic countries in the world. Where is the EU in this? When we are talking about what we are doing, \$68 billion out of taxpayer money, how much is coming out of the EU and other democratic countries? That is what I said in my opening remarks, is that we have to face up to the reality that this is a coalescing need that we have in the democratic free world to stand up to these types of challenges. The Belt Road Initiative, I believe China has gotten ahead of their skis a little bit. There are countries like Pakistan that might be ruining the day they actually did that deal on that road, and I know some of the African countries are. So what we need to do is educate the negatives that are being realized by this over-intrusive investment that China is doing. The people in these countries, it is a propaganda use.

And I am sorry, one more comment. If you go to places like Turkey, we know what—China did not shut down international traffic, even though they had shut down domestic traffic—travel on airlines. And so we know that some of that infection came out of China and went into Italy and Turkey and places like that. Well, you go to Turkey shortly after that in 2021, and you see billboards explaining to people how China saved the world by issuing PPE to the rest of the world. So it is these types of examples that we need to have a platform. It goes back to your conversation about giving up on the platforms that have existed. That does not mean that we do not need a platform. It just means we need to have one we all agree, we will get the message out and be on strategy with regard to our foreign policy.

Senator SHAHEEN. Well, I could not agree more. I fear that what we have done, however, with dismantling the Global Engagement Center, USAID, Voice of America, our foreign assistance programs, that we are putting the United States as a disadvantage in giving China a head start, and it is one that we are already seeing the results of.

So thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you. Senator, I agree with you, when it comes to spending money it is a lot easier for a communist country, where the capital is owned by the government as opposed to the private sector, for them to put that money out there. In addition

to that, they do not have a law like we do that prohibits paying money under the table, and all of these things do put us at disadvantage. I am watching this, particularly as we have had this nuclear renaissance in the world, there are people looking for nuclear plants, and the Chinese are very active in doing that.

But we need to continue to compete. Every time you talk to these people, they will tell you, as they told you, Senator Shaheen, that they would much rather do business with us.

Senator SHAHEEN. Right.

Senator RISCH. But the problem is China will use that communist money to put out there and do the job. So we can—we have to continue, and we can aggressively push back because at the end of the day, they would much rather do business with a country that has a rule of law than one that does not.

So with that, Senator Cruz.

Senator CRUZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Welcome to both of you. Congratulations on your nominations.

Senator Perdue, let us start with you.

I believe the Chinese Communist Party poses a global threat and that it has to be dealt with globally. I want to turn to Africa, a region where China is making considerable inroads. The Chinese Communist Party's influence across the continent of Africa is growing by the day, undermining American interest and trapping African nations into debt traps. I intend to hold a hearing on this issue in the Africa and Global Health Subcommittee, but I want to ask you now, how do you view Chinese malign influence in Africa?

Senator PERDUE. Well, as I just said to the Ranking Member's question, it is one of the great threats that we have got to address, and not only that, it is South America as well and Latin America, as you well know.

Senator CRUZ. Yes.

Senator PERDUE. And by the way, I am glad to finally realize who is responsible for your eloquent capability, and I give Dr. Crowley that credit, so I am glad to finally realize that.

[Laughter.]

Senator PERDUE. So what I am concerned about is that the malign influence relative to what looks like on the front end is a helping hand, which is really not a helping hand. As I said, they do not hire locals. They pick weak partners they can foreclose on, like they did in Karachi and Colombo, and I am greatly concerned about that. We have military personnel at risk in Africa today, as you well know, being on Armed Services, so these things tie together.

As Ambassador to China, I think my portfolio is bigger than just sitting in Beijing. I think being the U.S. Ambassador of the United States to China gives me the portfolio to have influence with other ambassadors and other leaders around the world. I am going to use that if confirmed.

Senator CRUZ. The United States is positioned to cultivate mutually beneficial relationships with our African partners to strengthen America's strategic position on the continent and to unlock economic prosperity across the continent. Your role as Ambassador to China, as you just described, will be incredibly influential and highly consequential in curbing China's influence in regions critical

to U.S. interests. The actions you take in Beijing and elsewhere will inform U.S. policy globally on how to deal with Chinese malign influence. How do you intend to coordinate the embassy's actions with State to ensure that we are synchronized in our efforts to compete with China globally?

Senator PERDUE. In bureaucratic Washington, Senator, after what I have gone through the last 4 months, that is a very important question, and I will tell you that I do not have all the answers to that one yet. I have not been in this government, as you know. I was in the Senate for a while, but I am going to use that portfolio out there to establish credibility with our host country. I think that is very important. I will applaud the United States for maintaining as much of a nonpartisan approach to China as anybody, really, over the last 20 years. And so my focus is going to be on building a communication platform that we can make sure they do not miscalculate and they do not underestimate the United States.

Senator CRUZ. As you said in your testimony, many of America's strategic supply chains are "in the hands of our adversaries." I am especially concerned about China's control over global supply chains. We all saw this play out during the COVID-19 pandemic. It was a wake-up call to Americans realizing how much of our economy is intertwined with China's in ways that they had not seen before. I believe we must do everything we can to delink our economy from China, and that means working lock and step with our allies and partners to achieve that goal.

One critical area that we need to delink from China is critical minerals. They affect every single part of how our economy runs, from computers and cars that we use daily, to the defense technology and weapon systems that protect our nation. The CCP knows this, and they have spent decades securing control over global critical mineral supply chains as part of their broader civil military fusion strategy to threaten our economic security. Tell me a little bit about how you see China's dominance over critical minerals affecting America's economic interest and national security interests.

Senator PERDUE. We allowed it to happen, Senator. We sat back—as America, as Congress, and various Administrations—this is not partisan—we allowed it to happen. In the early 2000s, 2002, 80 percent of rare earth elements were processed right here in the United States. We mined our own. We have got a couple hundred years of resources to pull on. You see what China has done. When the heat got turned up here recently, they embargoed two of those critical minerals, as you just said. It is not just rare earth elements. Shipbuilding. We did 80 percent of the world's commercial shipbuilding just 2 decades ago. Today, we will drop one hull this year. If you look at what we are doing in steel, for example, we had a renaissance a few years ago. These critical industries that China has done their civil military fusion with, as you just described perfectly, is critical. We are—have been asleep at the wheel for 30 years. I give President Trump a lot of credit for stepping up and trying to communicate a very difficult strategy that may not be as easy as everybody thinks it will on the American people. There will be some pain in executing what we have to do to stand up and defend our own freedom. It is just that serious, Senator.

Senator CRUZ. Thank you.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator.

Senator Lee, did you—

Senator LEE. Yes.

Senator RISCH. Briefly.

Senator LEE. Yes. I have got two brief questions for a second round.

First of all, Senator Perdue, there is a longstanding handicap that we have had to endure as it relates to China in the sense that, across the board, China appears to be moving in a direction trying to exploit international institutions, and then across the board, China tends to be treated with kid gloves and called a developing country. What opportunity as ambassador would you see that we could address that?

Senator PERDUE. Senator, this responsibility is most humbling thing I have ever tried to consider. And when I look at the responsibilities of an ambassador representing the United States in China, there are no topics that are off the table, but I will only do one thing, and that is execute the strategy of the President of the United States. I will not create policy. I will execute against that strategy. So this topic, other topics, that will be my number one responsibility.

Senator LEE. Great.

And Dr. Crowley, one more short question for you. The incoming chief of protocol at the State Department will be one of the most substantive in the history of the State Department, given the many international events that U.S. will be hosting in a couple years, and you referred to some of those, including the American 250 celebration, which is much better than the original title for it, which was the “Semi-Quincentennial.” I think that is the formal name given to our anniversary.

Dr. CROWLEY. That name is still out there, Senator, unfortunately.

Senator LEE. I mean, it is kind of fun to say, but not really. Whenever we act as host, I assume you would agree that we ought to harness that as a soft power exercise, whether it is welcoming a foreign head of state to the Blair House or otherwise. How do you see that could be used as a force multiplier for President Trump’s America First agenda?

Dr. CROWLEY. Yes, thank you for that question, Senator, and I really appreciate the importance of soft power, and I do understand that the Office of Chief Protocol is a crown jewel in the exercise of soft power, and if confirmed, I will take that responsibly very seriously.

To your question directly, we do have a number of major international events happening over the next several years, including America 250, the FIFA World Cup, and the 2028 Los Angeles Olympic Games. The Office of Chief of Protocol will play a critical role in all of that. It is not just about maintaining strong diplomatic partnerships around the globe, but it is also ensuring that we create an environment and set the stage for the most robust, successful diplomacy possible for the President, the Vice President, the Secretary of State, and other high ranking officials.

These particular global events that will come to the United States and host foreign dignitaries from around the world will be an extraordinary opportunity for us to showcase American greatness, American leadership, American dynamism, the American spirit, as well as the United States to be a supreme place to host these kinds of international sporting events and other major events. So I intend, if confirmed, to use this office to showcase American greatness in every possible way, make sure that our foreign dignitaries and other guests have an incredible experience, and also to work with diplomatic security, to work with U.S. Secret Service, to make sure that all of these events come off without a hitch, and that the United States will be the best and safest place to host these kinds of international events.

Senator LEE. Fantastic. Thank you very much. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator RISCH. Thank you, Senator Lee, and that will conclude our hearing.

Thank you, both of you, for the patience and benefit of your testimony.

Before closing, I will announce that I will add letters of support the committee has received on behalf of the nominees to the record.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—The information referred to above was not received at press time.]

Senator RISCH. I will also note that for the information the members of record will remain open until close of business tomorrow, Friday, April 4, for members to submit questions for the record, which we will submit to you immediately, and hope you will respond to them immediately if necessary.

So with that, if there is nothing further to come before the committee, the hearing is adjourned.

Thank you. Thank you both.

[Whereupon, at 12:31 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

---

### **Additional Material Submitted for the Record**

#### RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO SENATOR DAVID PERDUE BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

*Question.* Will you commit to examining current policies with regard to locally employed staff (LES) and overhauling the counterintelligence posture at Mission China?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will have responsibility for ensuring that the most sensitive work of the Mission can be done securely, and I take that responsibility seriously. All of our policies, including toward locally employed staff, have to be developed with this responsibility in mind. We cannot allow our adversaries access to our most sensitive deliberations and information.

*Question.* How will you propose we address PRC harassment of U.S. diplomats in future?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will work exhaustively to protect U.S. diplomats and their families in China from all threats, including harassment by the Chinese government. We will not tolerate any mistreatment of our officials by the Chinese Communist Party and will demand full reciprocity.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you commit to conducting a review of counterintelligence risks at Mission China and keeping these policies in place?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I intend to prioritize the security of sensitive information at Mission China. We can't compromise on this issue—there is too much at stake.

Any lapse in our vigilance could be exploited by our adversaries. Reviews of counter-intelligence risks will be thorough and, if confirmed, I will support and implement policies to counter those risks.

*Question.* The Chinese Communist Party subsidizes and protects PRC chemical companies to export fentanyl precursors and related chemicals used to produce drugs sold illicitly in the United States. My BUST Fentanyl Act, which recently passed out of SFRC, expands sanctions authorities to target foreign facilitators of opioid trafficking, including Chinese government-backed financial institutions.

If confirmed, what steps will you take to get China to stop subsidizing the manufacturing and trafficking of synthetic opioids?

*Answer.* If confirmed, my top priority will be holding China accountable and ending the ongoing carnage in American streets from fentanyl and synthetic opioid poisoning. China has subsidized and otherwise incentivized its chemical companies to export fentanyl precursor chemicals fueling the synthetic drugs crisis. President Trump expects China to end the illicit export of deadly fentanyl precursors to drug cartels in the Americas to prevent illicitly manufactured drugs from flowing to the United States.

President Trump has levied a 20 percent tariff on imports from China until the CCP stops exporting this poison to North America. The Biden Administration had held talks with China on this issue. Those talks did not result in meaningful action. If confirmed, I am committed to working with you and Congress to ensure President Trump has the right authorities to target those in China responsible for the deaths of over 200 of our fellow Americans every day and end this crisis once and for all.

*Question.* While the President's return to maximum pressure against Iran is achieving immediate results, China refuses to recognize US sanctions and remains the biggest barrier to driving Iranian oil exports to zero. In March, China purchased 1.6 million barrels per day from Iran—99 percent of Iran's oil sales.

What leverage do we have or should we pursue with the Chinese on Iran policy—particularly continued Chinese purchases of Iranian oil?

*Answer.* China views Iran as important to its broader strategy of expanding influence across the Middle East. It ignores Iran's nuclear escalations and destabilizing activities across the region to secure access to Iran's energy supplies.

Iran exports over 90 percent of its crude oil to China. If confirmed, I will support the implementation of President Trump's maximum pressure campaign, which is designed to drive Iran's oil exports to zero—including oil exports to China.

*Question.* Many of us were deeply concerned to see reports on China's shipment of sodium perchlorate to Tehran. This chemical is an important element of Iran's ballistic missile program. Again, it would seem that China is the biggest obstacle to isolating the Iranian regime.

What tools do we have at our disposal to prevent these shipments?

*Answer.* China-based individuals and entities continue to provide a lifeline to the Iranian regime, the world's leading state sponsor of terror. If confirmed, I will support the use all available tools, including sanctions, export controls, and diplomatic pressure to stop shipments of dual-use goods that support Tehran's ballistic missile programs and allow it to destabilize the region. If confirmed, I will focus on preventing China's proliferation of items, equipment, and technology that could benefit Iran's weapons programs and continue to hold China accountable.

*Question.* Do you see a role for China in a Russia-Ukraine peace process?

*Answer.* Only President Trump's leadership can end this war. We welcome constructive contributions to the peace process, but I don't see China contributing anything constructive to negotiations.

*Question.* If confirmed, how will you engage with Chinese counterparts to hold them accountable for their support for Russia's war against Ukraine?

*Answer.* China is a major enabler of Russia's war in Ukraine. China provides nearly 80 percent of the dual-use items Russia needs to sustain the war. Continued cooperation between these two nuclear powers will only further contribute to global instability and make the United States and other countries less safe, less secure, and less prosperous. The United States has designated nearly 300 China-based targets enabling the continuance of the Russia-Ukraine war. If confirmed, I will continue to work to hold Chinese entities accountable for their contribution to the Russia-Ukraine war.

*Question.* If confirmed, how will you advocate for the safe operation of foreign businesses in China?

**Answer.** Nothing could be more important to the President, the Secretary, and myself than the safety and security of the American people. This includes American businesses and their personnel in China. If confirmed, I will spare no effort to ensure American businesses in China are able to operate safely and that their intellectual property is protected.

*Question.* If confirmed, how would you engage with Chinese government companies and Chinese-funded patent trolls to protect U.S. companies from abusive litigation in U.S. courts?

**Answer.** China's blatant theft of American intellectual property alone costs American companies and American workers an estimated \$600 billion each year. The United States is firmly committed to countering the CCP's malign efforts to obtain U.S. intellectual property. This includes efforts to obtain U.S. intellectual property through theft, cyber operations, forced technology transfer, opaque investments, and Chinese-funded patent trolls pursuing abusive litigation in U.S. courts. If confirmed, I will support the Administration's work to combat these efforts.

*Question.* How do you plan to advocate for the immediate humanitarian release of Jimmy Lai and other political prisoners in Hong Kong?

**Answer.** President Trump and Secretary Rubio have publicly stated Jimmy Lai should be released. If confirmed, this will be a top priority as Lai remains imprisoned and has been targeted for exercising his fundamental human rights. If confirmed, I will join the Secretary and other U.S. officials in raising Jimmy Lai's case with Chinese officials whenever possible and work with likeminded partners to secure his release. If confirmed, I will continue to call for the release of all unjustly detained political prisoners in Hong Kong.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you commit to not participating in such events organized by the United Front Work Department, the Chinese People's Consultative Conference, or affiliated organizations?

**Answer.** These organizations play a leading role in carrying out activities that undermine U.S. interests. If confirmed, I would be realistic and careful about any interactions with CCP-affiliated organizations and would support efforts to counter these organizations' malign influence by exposing the CCP's deceptive and coercive tactics, ensuring the availability of fact-based information about Beijing's exploitative activities, building resilience to influence operations, and galvanizing a global response in concert with allies and partners.

*Question.* The CCP continues to shamelessly commit genocide against Uyghurs and other ethnic groups and profiting off of their slave labor. If confirmed as Ambassador, how will you confront the CCP on its egregious violations of internationally recognized human rights?

**Answer.** China, under the direction and control of the Chinese Communist Party, continues to commit genocide and crimes against humanity targeting predominantly Muslim Uyghurs and members of other ethnic and religious minority groups in Xinjiang.

If confirmed, I will consider the full use of accountability tools to impose costs on Chinese authorities perpetrating atrocities and abuses, such as forced labor, against Uyghurs and other minority groups in Xinjiang.

*Question.* How will you advocate for the immediate humanitarian release of detained Uyghurs like Ekpar Asat, who was imprisoned shortly after participating in a State Department program?

**Answer.** If confirmed, I will publicly and privately press Chinese authorities to grant the immediate and unconditional humanitarian release of Ekpar Asat and other Uyghurs who are unjustly detained or imprisoned, including those with U.S. citizen or lawful permanent resident family members.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you commit to a review of all Embassy practices related to visa issuances for Chinese nationals participating in academic and research exchanges and partnerships?

**Answer.** I am deeply concerned by Beijing's efforts to acquire cutting-edge U.S. research and technology by recruiting students and researchers in support of the CCP's military-civil fusion strategy. U.S. visas should never be used as a vehicle to harm American interests.

If confirmed, I will support the Administration's efforts to ensure maximum screening and vetting of visa applicants and that visa policies do not undermine U.S. national security, while allowing international students to study and research in the United States where it supports U.S. interests.

*Question.* How would you approach U.S.-China technology cooperation? How do you balance cooperation to limit dangerous uses of AI or other dual use technologies versus protecting U.S. national interests?

*Answer.* We are in a strategic competition with Beijing; the CCP has demonstrated its capacity and intent to use technology not only to advance its military modernization but also for other nefarious purposes, including to facilitate repression.

If confirmed, I will be ready to engage diplomatically with China on issues related to technology, but only in ways that will make the United States safer, stronger, and more prosperous.

*Question.* How will you hold Chinese companies accountable for their state-supported circumvention of U.S. export controls and chip smuggling?

*Answer.* U.S. export controls and entity listings are designed to prevent China from accessing advanced chips and the semiconductor manufacturing equipment necessary for China's development of advanced AI systems that threaten U.S. national security or that can be used to facilitate repression.

If confirmed, I will firmly support efforts by U.S. departments and agencies and work with U.S. allies and partners to strengthen the tools at our disposal to prevent Chinese companies from circumventing U.S. export controls.

*Question.* If confirmed, would you advise that the Department prioritize protecting U.S. companies from being abused in U.S. courts by Chinese government companies and Chinese-funded patent trolls?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will work closely with the Department of Commerce and the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office to combat these efforts.

---

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO SENATOR DAVID PERDUE BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

*Question.* If confirmed, how do you envision the United States coordinating a global public relations effort to combat the Chinese Communist Party's propaganda without tools such as the Global Engagement Center, U.S. Agency for Global Media, and Radio Free Asia?

*Answer.* The CCP is the most capable and consequential adversary the United States faces in the global information environment. If confirmed, I will work to ensure we continue to condemn and push back on CCP propaganda and information manipulation, including by using new and creative media applications, leveraging U.S. cultural influence to counter false CCP narratives, spotlighting the gap between the CCP's words and deeds by proactively sharing accurate information, and working with likeminded countries in the information space. If confirmed, I will also work with the Department to implement the President's executive order on "Continuing the Reduction of the Federal Bureaucracy" and make certain spending is aligned with U.S. foreign policy interests.

*Question.* If tariffs, sanctions, and export controls are necessary tools to win strategic competition with the People's Republic of China (PRC), are these tools more effective or less effective if they are done in close coordination with our allies and partners?

*Answer.* We are clear-eyed about the CCP's intentions and actions, which are fundamentally at odds with those of the United States and our partners. We will continue to support our friends and partners push back against the CCP's predatory, unfair trade practices and malign activity.

*Question.* If it is more effective to coordinate among allies and partners, how does the Administration expect our allies and partners to work with us to counter the PRC if we are simultaneously targeting their economies?

*Answer.* Our allies and partners are upping their game to better confront and compete with China. This includes increasing their defense spending, implementing tighter technology controls, and instituting their own tariffs and anti-dumping investigations against Chinese overcapacity.

*Question.* Should you be confirmed, do you commit to advocating for the release of prisoners of conscience in China, including Gao Zhisheng?

*Answer.* Yes, if confirmed, I commit to holding the CCP to account for human rights abuses, including pressing Chinese authorities to disclose the whereabouts of



disappeared human rights defender Gao Zhisheng and grant his immediate and unconditional release.

*Question.* Should you be confirmed, do you commit to raising human rights issues to the Chinese government, including the CCP's treatment of Tibetans, Uyghurs, and other minority groups?

Answer. Yes.

*Question.* If confirmed, do you commit to pursuing release for all Americans who are wrongfully and arbitrarily detained with a robust engagement within the inter-agency to secure their immediate release?

Answer. The Department has no higher priority than the safety and security of U.S. citizens abroad. The President has made clear his intention to bring American detainees back home to the United States.

If confirmed, I will work with my U.S. Government counterparts to call on the government of China to immediately and unconditionally release any wrongfully detained U.S. nationals, lift arbitrary exit bans, including in cases involving U.S. citizens, allow for freedom of movement, and refrain from using such measures in the future.

*Question.* Do you agree the U.S. should play a role in responding to disasters and humanitarian crises globally, and do you commit to working within the Administration and with this Committee to restore the United States' ability to respond to disasters and humanitarian crises?

Answer. As Secretary Rubio has stated, we will provide humanitarian assistance and we will do it the best we can. We will be in the business of humanitarian aid while ensuring proper balance with other priorities that are in the national interest of the United States. We encourage all countries to contribute to humanitarian assistance efforts. It is not fair or reasonable for other countries to assume that the United States should always shoulder such a large share of the burden of providing humanitarian aid around the world.

*Question.* In your view, what role should U.S. foreign assistance play in our foreign policy, particularly as the PRC looks to fill the void left by the United States?

Answer. If confirmed as U.S. Ambassador to China, I would work closely with colleagues at the State Department and the White House to ensure all relevant foreign assistance programs and lines of effort support the Administration's efforts to counter malign CCP influence globally. The Department is committed to making the United States safer, stronger, and more prosperous by supporting the use of foreign assistance that prevents the CCP from establishing footholds around the world, raises the cost of malign CCP activities, and provides alternatives to CCP offerings.

*Question.* Are you aware that the Administration terminated a U.S. Geological Survey Natural Hazards Mitigation program that aids with earthquake response, and would you support restoring that program?

Answer. The United States is committed to supporting people affected by natural disasters, including the devastating earthquake centered near Mandalay. In response, to date the United States has announced up to \$9 million in funding to support earthquake-affected communities with emergency shelter, food, medical support, and water. The United States also sent humanitarian experts to help coordinate with international partners, allies, and implementers in the region to respond to the evolving situation.

*Question.* What specific steps will you take to get the PRC to more actively schedule precursor chemicals and crackdown on ties between Mexican cartels and money laundering operations in China?

Answer. If confirmed, my top priority will be holding China accountable and ending the ongoing carnage in American streets from fentanyl and synthetic opioid poisoning. China has subsidized and otherwise incentivized its chemical companies to export fentanyl precursor chemicals fueling the synthetic drugs crisis. President Trump expects China to end the illicit export of deadly fentanyl precursors to drug cartels in the Americas to prevent illicitly manufactured drugs from flowing to the United States.

President Trump has levied a 20 percent tariff on imports from China until the CCP stops exporting this poison to North America. The Biden Administration held talks with China on this issue. Those talks did not result in meaningful action. If confirmed, I am committed to working with you and Congress to ensure President Trump has the right authorities to target those in China and Mexico responsible

for the deaths of tens of thousands of fellow Americans every year and end this crisis once and for all.

*Question.* Will you encourage U.S. law enforcement to pursue joint investigations with PRC counterparts related to the illicit fentanyl trade and fentanyl precursor chemicals?

*Answer.* China fails to adequately prosecute and convict fentanyl and precursor manufacturers. Rather than investigating drug traffickers, CCP security services have not meaningfully cooperated with U.S. law enforcement and have even alerted targets of U.S. investigations when they received requests for assistance.

Once the Chinese Communist Party decides to stop underwriting the fentanyl crisis and seriously work to prosecute and sentence international drug traffickers as President Xi told President Trump in 2019, I will encourage U.S. law enforcement to collaborate with their Chinese counterparts on sensitive investigations.

*Question.* Will you advocate that President Trump engage President Xi Jinping on fentanyl to secure a commitment from the PRC government on this issue?

*Answer.* Yes.

---

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO SENATOR DAVID PERDUE BY SENATOR DAVID MCCORMICK

*Question.* It's more critical than ever that the United States has effective diplomatic representation in Beijing, which is why I support your nomination and look forward to working with you on the U.S. relationship with the People's Republic of China. As you know, the Chinese government actively subsidizes the production and export of fentanyl and fentanyl precursors into the Western Hemisphere, which leads directly to the deaths of 4,000 Pennsylvanians and 100,000 Americans every year.

As Ambassador, what will you do to get Beijing to end its unforgivable policies and clamp down on the production and trade of the precursors to the fentanyl epidemic?

*Answer.* If confirmed, my top priority will be holding China accountable and ending the ongoing carnage in American streets from fentanyl and synthetic opioid poisoning. China has subsidized and otherwise incentivized its chemical companies to export fentanyl precursor chemicals fueling the synthetic drugs crisis. President Trump expects China to end the illicit export of deadly fentanyl precursors to drug cartels in the Americas to prevent illicitly manufactured drugs from flowing to the United States.

President Trump has levied a 20 percent tariff on imports from China until the CCP stops exporting this poison to North America. The Biden Administration had held talks with China on this issue. Those talks did not result in meaningful action. If confirmed, I am committed to working with you and Congress to ensure President Trump has the right authorities to target those in China responsible for the deaths of over 200 of our fellow Americans every day and end this crisis once and for all.

*Question.* The Chinese Communist Party is undertaking one of the largest military buildups in world history.

As the Administration works to deter China from aggressive actions against Taiwan, how would you as Ambassador utilize diplomatic channels to enhance deterrence?

*Answer.* The United States' enduring commitment to Taiwan continues, as it has for decades and through multiple administrations. If confirmed, I commit to utilizing diplomatic channels with China, as well as allies and partners, to underscore the importance of peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait and that the United States will not waver in its commitment to ensuring stability in this important region.

*Question.* The Chinese Communist Party frequently uses economic and military coercion against U.S. partners and allies, both in Asia and in Europe. What will you do to defend American companies and our economic and security partners against the CCP's abuses?

*Answer.* China cannot credibly claim to be a "force for stability in a turbulent world" while issuing brazen and irresponsible threats toward other countries, including U.S. partners and allies. If confirmed, I will work with the Administration to call out China's destabilizing behavior, advance U.S. economic and security inter-

ests by promoting freedom of navigation and overflight and a transparent business and regulatory environment.

We cannot allow China to weaponize its economic leverage over the United States or our allies and partners. If confirmed, I will work with the interagency, our business community, and allies and partners to make the United States safer from China's predatory practices and ensure our economic prosperity. We will assess the pressure points China is likely to exploit, push back on their bullying, and deny the CCP opportunities to bend other countries and the global economy to its will.

*Question.* President Trump has rightfully highlighted the Chinese Communist Party's campaign of economic warfare and trade manipulation against America.

What steps will you take to push back on Beijing's unfair trade practices and its persistent efforts to transship goods made with forced labor through Mexico and other third countries?

*Answer.* President Trump is working to level the playing field for American businesses and workers under the America First Trade Policy and will respond strongly to China's unfair trade practices.

China's strategy for economic competition includes subsidized credit, forced labor, and lax environmental standards to produce artificially cheap goods that undercut market prices, putting American businesses at a disadvantage and displacing American workers. Many of these goods are transshipped through third countries such as Mexico to take advantage of our trade agreements. If confirmed, I will work to address these unfair practices and level the playing field for U.S. businesses.

---

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO SENATOR DAVID PERDUE BY SENATOR BRIAN SCHATZ

*Question.* If confirmed as U.S. Ambassador, how would you engage with State Department and White House leadership to ensure that foreign assistance programs and lines of efforts that directly challenge PRC malign influence in Asia and worldwide are retained or reestablished?

*Answer.* If confirmed as U.S. Ambassador to China, I would work closely with colleagues at the State Department and the White House to ensure all relevant foreign assistance programs and lines of effort support the Administration's efforts to counter malign CCP influence globally. Department programs such as China House's Regional Officer Program have made the United States safer, stronger, and more prosperous by preventing the CCP from establishing footholds around the world, raising the cost of malign CCP activities, and providing alternatives to CCP offerings.

*Question.* Do you commit to raising your concerns with Secretary Rubio and President Trump if you encounter obstacles to achieving your mission as Ambassador created or exacerbated by the administration's program terminations, reductions in staff, and/or other foreign assistance cuts?

*Answer.* I support efforts to align our foreign assistance efforts with the Administration's priorities. These efforts have already reduced wasteful, and in some cases, inappropriate spending, and will align our foreign assistance programming with our national interest. If I identify foreign assistance policies that are obstacles to my mission as Ambassador, I will raise my concerns with the appropriate Administration leadership, including Secretary Rubio and President Trump.

By significantly reducing U.S. foreign assistance capacity and capability, terminating programs that counter authoritarian influence from the People's Republic of China, and withholding congressionally appropriated funds from organizations and grantees under the State Department and Foreign Operations appropriations subcommittee, like The Asia Foundation, Radio Free Asia, and the Open Technology Fund, the United States risks undermining its ability to protect its national security interests and achieve its objectives in the Indo-Pacific, which you emphasized the importance of in your September 2024 *Washington Examiner* article.

*Question.* Do you believe that Radio Free Asia and the Open Technology Fund are important U.S. foreign policy tools to challenge PRC authoritarianism?

*Answer.* The CCP is the most capable and consequential adversary the United States faces in the global information environment. If confirmed, I will work to ensure we continue to condemn and push back on CCP propaganda and information manipulation, including by using new and creative media applications and leveraging U.S. cultural influence to counter false CCP narratives. If confirmed, I

will also work with the Department to implement the President's executive order on "Continuing the Reduction of the Federal Bureaucracy" and make certain spending is aligned with U.S. foreign policy interests.

The U.S. response to the recent devastating earthquake in Burma was both slower than the PRC's and slower than previous, similar U.S. responses that occurred before the dismantling of USAID. The PRC quickly advertised itself as playing a lead role in the assistance and recovery efforts.

*Question.* How can we support allies, partners, and potential partners in the Indo-Pacific with disaster response, as well as with their development priorities, when we are actively taking our players off the field?

*Answer.* In total, the United States has contributed approximately \$9 million through existing humanitarian partners in Burma to support earthquake-affected communities with emergency shelter, food, medical support, and water. Our humanitarian experts are actively coordinating with U.S. Embassy Rangoon and counterparts in the region to monitor and respond to the evolving situation. The United States will work closely with our international partners, including the Indo-Pacific Quad, to ensure effective coordination on disaster response. We are joined by other donors focused on providing assistance to those in need. The United States appreciates the efforts of others, including civil society and the private sector, to provide support given the immense impact of this disaster.

*Question.* The PRC has an extensive record of human rights abuses, including against the Uyghurs and other Central Asian ethnic minorities in Xinjiang, democracy activists in the PRC (including Hong Kong), and Tibetan Buddhists. If confirmed, how would you use your position to stand up to PRC violations of their citizens' basic rights and freedoms?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will stand up for the rights and freedoms of all in China, including ethnic and religious minority groups in Xinjiang and Tibet, as well as those in Hong Kong. I will also stand up to Chinese authorities, publicly and privately pressing them to respect their citizens' rights and freedoms. I will consider using accountability tools to impose costs on authorities perpetrating atrocities and other human rights abuses.

*Question.* Should Chinese citizens have access to the open internet, and if so, what steps can and should the United States take to expand open access in the PRC? President Trump and others in the administration have raised the prospect of a negotiated agreement with the PRC, in which many bilateral issues, including fentanyl, TikTok, cyber-espionage, and others could be addressed.

*Answer.* Yes, Chinese citizens should have access to the open internet. The United States can urge China to increase information access for its citizens, and as appropriate, support efforts to increase the free flow of information in and out of China.

I defer to the President and others in the administration on the prospect of a negotiated agreement with China. If confirmed, my engagements with China on all bilateral issues will put America first and focus on making our country safer, stronger, and more prosperous.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you advocate for the United States to not undermine any commitments to allies and partners, including the opposition to unification with Taiwan under other than peaceful and mutually agreed upon means, as well as support for the rights and freedoms of Chinese citizens, including Uyghurs and other Central Asian minorities, Hong Kongers, and others, under any such agreement? The PRC has routinely jailed American and other Western citizens, often sentencing them to long prison terms or even death on excessive or fabricated charges, while others, especially Chinese-Americans, have been subject to indefinite exit bans, sometimes as a tactic to force relatives to return to China.

*Answer.* Yes. If confirmed, I will work with allies and partners to advance shared interests, including our abiding interest in peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait, which is an indispensable element of security and prosperity for the United States and the international community. I will also support the rights and freedoms of Chinese citizens, including Uyghurs and Central Asian minorities, Hong Kongers, and others.

My highest priority will be the safety and security of American citizens.

The PRC has routinely jailed American and other Western citizens, often sentencing them to long prison terms or even death on excessive or fabricated charges, while others, especially Chinese-Americans, have been subject to indefinite exit bans, sometimes as a tactic to force relatives to return to China.

*Question.* If confirmed, do you commit to advocating for all wrongfully detained or trapped Americans and doing everything in your power to return them safely to the United States?

*Answer.* The Department has no higher priority than the safety and security of U.S. citizens abroad. The President has made clear his intention to bring American detainees back home to the United States.

If confirmed I will call on the government of China to immediately and unconditionally release any wrongfully detained U.S. nationals, lift arbitrary exit bans, including in cases involving U.S. citizens, allow for freedom of movement, and refrain from using such measures in the future.

As you expressed in your September 2024 *Washington Examiner* article, U.S. allies and partners in Asia are crucial to our ability to counter the PRC and advance American safety, strength, and prosperity.

*Question.* If confirmed, how would you partner with our broad spectrum of Indo-Pacific allies and partners to counter PRC malign influence and military threats across the region?

*Answer.* Prevailing in strategic competition with China requires close coordination with allies and partners. I am committed to working with State, DoD, and others in the interagency to continue to strengthen ties with Japan, the Republic of Korea, the Philippines, Australia, India, and others in the Indo-Pacific region and beyond.

We will work with allies and partners to align efforts to prevail in competition with China. We will cooperate where it is in our interest, including to counter China's malign activities.

As you expressed in your September 2024 *Washington Examiner* article, U.S. allies and partners in Asia are crucial to our ability to counter the PRC and advance American safety, strength, and prosperity.

*Question.* How would you specifically advance relations with our crucial Pacific Islands partners in your position in Beijing?

*Answer.* We have an economic and security interest in ensuring that the Pacific Islands remain stable, economically prosperous, and open to the United States. The United States and the Pacific Islands share history, cultural and religious ties, and values including shared commitment to freedom and democracy. If confirmed, I will work with partners including Australia, New Zealand, and Japan to continue countering China's malign influence in the region and ensure our partners in the Pacific Islands remain resilient.

*Question.* How would you work to ensure that PRC government officials understood clearly that the United States opposes any efforts by the PRC to coerce countries to switch diplomatic recognition from Taipei to Beijing?

*Answer.* The United States' enduring commitment to Taiwan continues, as it has for decades and through multiple administrations. If confirmed, I commit to underscoring to Beijing that every country can make its own sovereign choice with respect to its relationship with Taiwan. I would also emphasize that U.S. support for Taiwan will continue in the face of China's military, economic, informational, and diplomatic pressure campaign.

---

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO SENATOR DAVID PERDUE BY SENATOR TED CRUZ

*Question.* At the beginning of the Biden administration, State Department officials refused to acknowledge that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was engaged in a genocide against the Uyghurs and other minorities in Xinjiang that was ongoing, in part because the Biden administration already knew it would be reliant on supply lines that run through Xinjiang for their Green Agenda. Do you assess that the Chinese Communist Party is engaged in a genocide against the Uyghurs and other religious minorities in Xinjiang that is ongoing?

*Answer.* Yes.

*China and Iran*

*During the first Trump administration, the United States imposed a maximum pressure on Iran that forced their oil sales down to 300,000 barrels per day. The Biden administration systematically dismantled pressure on Iran, and the Iranian regime was able to restore their oil sales to levels allowed under the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), in which en-*

*ergy sanctions had been formally lifted. Chinese purchases of Iranian oil made up the bulk of those sales.*

*The current Trump administration has revived its maximum pressure campaign, and the administration recently sanctioned Chinese “teapot” refinery Shandong Shouguang Luqing Petrochemical Co. for purchasing and refining some \$500 million in Iranian oil.*

*Question.* Please assess the benefits that China receives from Iran’s illicit oil sales.

*Answer.* China views Iran as integral to its energy security and broader strategy of opposing and distracting the United States. China values Iran for being less susceptible to U.S. pressure than other energy suppliers and purchases Iranian oil below market value. Beijing accordingly ignores Iran’s nuclear escalations and destabilizing activities across the region while supporting the Iranian government through its purchases of Iranian oil and invitations for Iran to join Chinese-led organizations like BRICS and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

*Question.* Please discuss steps you intend to take to ensure the President’s maximum pressure campaign against Iran is not undercut by Chinese actions.

*Answer.* The Department is committed to implementing NSPM–2 to prevent Iran from profiting from its destabilizing behavior. If confirmed, I commit to utilizing all available tools to hold China accountable for its political, diplomatic, and economic support for Iran, particularly through its purchases of Iranian oil. I will ask our allies and partners to do the same and continue to message publicly about the dangers of the China-Iran relationship.

*China’s Role in COVID–19 Cover-Up*

*The oppression and opacity of the CCP significantly contributed to the outbreak and spread of COVID–19. Internationally, China used the World Health Organization (WHO), where it had systematically seized power, to facilitate a cover-up related to the origins of the pandemic.*

*Question.* Do you assess that the CCP sought to cover up the origins of the COVID–19 outbreak?

*Answer.* Yes. China’s response to the COVID–19 outbreak lacked transparency. China delayed sharing and suppressed information—including silencing and jailing whistleblowers—that impacted outcomes across the globe, diminishing preparedness and mitigation efforts worldwide, ultimately resulting in more than one million American deaths. The CCP did not share adequate information with the United States or the rest of the global community and, simply put, prioritized saving face over saving lives.

*Question.* Describe your understanding of how the CCP leveraged international organizations to cover up the origins of the COVID–19 outbreak.

*Answer.* The CCP leveraged international organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO) to influence the narrative around the origins of the COVID–19 outbreak. They delayed sharing critical information and restricted access to early data, which hindered global efforts to understand the virus’s origins. This deliberate obfuscation of the facts is what has led to widespread skepticism and calls for more transparent and independent investigations into the origins of the pandemic.

In recent years the South African government has taken a series of steps to pivot away from the U.S.-South African relationship and deepen ties with China. Recently the South African government ordered our Taiwanese allies to move their representative office out of the capital, Pretoria.

*Question.* What is your assessment of South Africa’s relationship to China?

*Answer.* South Africa professes to be non-aligned, but in recent years it has supported China’s effort to expand BRICS, conducted a joint naval exercise with China and Russia, and most recently pushed for Taiwan’s representative office to relocate from Pretoria and unilaterally renamed it as a commercial office. The ruling African National Congress has also participated in party-to-party trainings with the CCP. This willingness to partner with China calls into question South Africa’s commitment to non-alignment and will make it difficult for South Africa to maintain positive, constructive relationship with the United States.

In recent years the South African government has taken a series of steps to pivot away from the U.S.-South African relationship and deepen ties with China. Recently the South African government ordered our Taiwanese allies to move their representative office out of the capital, Pretoria.

*Question.* To what degree are you concerned about South Africa's efforts to move the Taiwan Representative Office from Pretoria to Johannesburg?

Answer. I am deeply concerned by the government of South Africa's decision to unilaterally rename the Taipei Liaison Office as a commercial office, as well as its attempts to move the office out of Pretoria. Taiwan is a reliable partner and its relationships around the world provide significant benefits to the citizens of those countries, including South Africa.

---

RESPONSE TO AN ADDITIONAL QUESTION FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO SENATOR DAVID PERDUE BY SENATOR JOHN CORNYN

*In late August 2024, China announced an end to its international adoption program. When the program was terminated, there were hundreds of U.S. families that had matched with children in China, including numerous families in Texas, and were waiting for adoptions to be finalized. Many of these children have special medical needs and therefore are less likely to be adopted domestically by Chinese citizens. Families are heartbroken that they cannot adopt these children that they matched with.*

*Question.* As Ambassador, will you commit to using your position to pressure the Chinese government to allow pending adoptions to go through so these children can be united with their adoptive American families?

Answer. For decades, intercountry adoption has been a priority for both Republican and Democratic administrations, including during President Trump's first term. Since China's announcement, the Department of State has urged the government of China to process the pending adoption cases for U.S. families matched with children there. If confirmed, I am committed to continuing these efforts.

---

RESPONSES TO ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO MONICA CROWLEY BY SENATOR JAMES E. RISCH

*Over the next 3 years, the United States will host several major international events, including the Olympics, World Cup, and our nation's 250th birthday, all of which will draw heads of state and government from across the globe.*

*Question.* Can you speak to the importance of these events and your future role in supporting them?

Answer. These major international events are occasions to celebrate and showcase America's history, identity, and values through art, culture, and sport. At President Trump's direction, if confirmed, I will proudly serve as the Administration Representative for America's 250th birthday ("A250"), 2026 FIFA World Cup, and the Los Angeles 2028 Olympics. I look forward to communicating with the public about the patriotic significance of these special events.

The State Department plays a critical role in elevating A250 on an international scale by highlighting America's rich diplomatic history, developing programs and events that showcase American culture and innovation, engaging the media, and empowering U.S. diplomatic officers to host successful observances. If confirmed as the Chief of Protocol, I will receive any foreign dignitaries invited by the President to participate in the celebration of America's 250th birthday. The Office of the Chief of Protocol will design and coordinate all such visits to ensure a distinctive experience.

The Office of the Chief of Protocol also provides oversight and coordination of A250 planning efforts within the State Department. From facilitating Diplomatic Corps participation in major A250 events, to empowering U.S. missions abroad to host successful July 4 celebrations, to engaging international audiences on key themes tied to the 250th anniversary of the United States, to highlighting the historical significance of key dates, Protocol will help to ensure a gold standard of excellence in the State Department's A250 programs and presentations.

Concurrently with America's 250th birthday, 2024–2034 marks the historic Decade of Sport in America, where the United States will host a series of major international sporting events including the World Cup 2026 and the LA 2028 Olympics. These events will not only showcase the American spirit but will reinforce the United States as the premiere destination for global sporting events.

The Office of the Chief of Protocol works with Diplomatic Security and the U.S. Secret Service, who protect both senior U.S. Government officials domestically and foreign dignitaries who visit the United States. We will work in close partnership with our colleagues to deliver a superb experience for our guests and ensure that the United States is the best and safest place to host an international sporting event.

*Question.* How will you be able to help put America's best foot forward with our high-level guests?

*Answer.* Protocol is a purposeful practice aimed at laying the groundwork for meaningful diplomacy. This is achieved through meticulous planning and carefully tailored actions that demonstrate the significance the United States places on each relationship or occasion. While often ceremonial in nature, protocol is a vital foreign policy tool that supports effective diplomatic engagement. By overseeing the traditions and ceremonies of American diplomacy, the Office of the Chief of Protocol is stewarding America's cultural heritage, its history, and its reputation on the global stage.

If confirmed, it would be my honor as Chief of Protocol to extend the first hand of welcome to visiting chiefs of government and heads of state and to provide the President, Vice President, and Secretary of State with expert advice on all protocol matters. I also look forward to enriching our relationship with the Diplomatic Corps, which is made up of approximately 180 chiefs of mission, and providing the access, opportunities, and information they need to do their jobs well.

*Question.* If confirmed, you will inherit a core group of career civil servants. What is your management style, and how will it shape the type of team you hope to assemble within the Office of the Chief of Protocol?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will ensure that our office is characterized by the highest standards of professionalism and effectiveness. While managing my staff at the Treasury Department, I was attentive to developing and fully utilizing the strengths within our team. Part of my role as a leader is to recognize the talents of our political appointees and career civil servants and align them to the goals of the office.

I am committed to implementing a management philosophy consistent with setting a gold standard for excellence in America First diplomacy. Superior performance and fruitful collaboration will be encouraged, and unlawful, unethical, or unprofessional behavior will not be tolerated at any level. I want to see the Office of the Chief of Protocol, the State Department, and the country thrive, and I believe we can do this through integrity, teamwork, and a spirit of achievement. I will ensure that this talented team of political appointees and career civil servants work in harmony to accomplish their mission and ensure excellence in every aspect of our work.

---

RESPONSE TO AN ADDITIONAL QUESTION FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED  
TO MONICA CROWLEY BY SENATOR DAVID MCCORMICK

*Question.* I am excited to support your nomination and look forward to working with you next year during America's 250th Birthday and the 2026 World Cup. Philadelphia, as the Heart of the American Revolution and one of our nation's premier sports cities, will be at the center of both events.

How will you and other members of the Administration work with State and local leaders to show off historic cities like Philadelphia to the world next year?

*Answer.* The city of Philadelphia will play a significant role in both America's 250th birthday ("A250") and World Cup 2026. If confirmed, my contributions as the Chief of Protocol with regard to these milestone events will be twofold. First, the Protocol office will coordinate the participation of foreign leaders and members of the diplomatic corps in these milestone events. Protocol will liaise with State and local leaders to create enriching and memorable engagements with an emphasis on person-to-person diplomacy. Second, at President Trump's direction, I will act as the Administration Representative for A250 and World Cup 2026 to the media.

The State Department will elevate America's 250th birthday ("A250") on an international scale by highlighting America's rich diplomatic history, developing programs and events that celebrate American culture and innovation, engaging the media, and empowering U.S. diplomatic officers to host successful observances. This will include showcasing historic cities like Philadelphia through significant engagements and observances.



The 1976 bicentennial offers precedent for a State visit that includes a multi-city tour of historic destinations. Should such a visit be confirmed, the Protocol office would work with the White House to arrange and execute a detailed program that includes sites of historical significance including Philadelphia, widely considered the birthplace of American independence and democracy. With many A250 programming elements still pending, if confirmed, I will stand ready to support the White House Task Force on any planned engagements in Philadelphia.

Philadelphia will also play a unique and prominent role in World Cup 2026 as the host city of six matches, including a knockout-stage fixture on Independence Day 2026. The World Cup will welcome many chiefs of state and heads of government and will serve as a venue for U.S. principals to engage with our international counterparts. As a private citizen, I am unable to preview whether these meetings will take place in Philadelphia. If confirmed, I am committed to delivering an unparalleled experience for our distinguished guests with maximum State and local cooperation.

In addition to these programming highlights, if confirmed, I look forward to promoting the beauty and rich history of Philadelphia through direct media engagement as the Administration Representative for A250 and World Cup 2026.

---

54

*Submitted by Senator Jeanne Shaheen*

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MARCH/APRIL 2025 • VOLUME 104 • NUMBER 2

---

## The Real China Trump Card

—  
The Hawk's Case Against Decoupling

STEPHEN G. BROOKS AND BEN A. VAGLE

---

Copyright © 2025 by the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. All rights reserved. To request permission to distribute or reprint this article, please visit [ForeignAffairs.com/Permissions](https://www.cfr.org/permissions).

# The Real China Trump Card

---

## The Hawk's Case Against Decoupling

STEPHEN G. BROOKS AND BEN A. VAGLE

**T**he geopolitical competition between China and the United States is the defining issue in international politics. It is a contest between the world's largest economies. It pits two dramatically different political systems—one democratic, the other authoritarian—against each other. And it is taking place in almost every region.

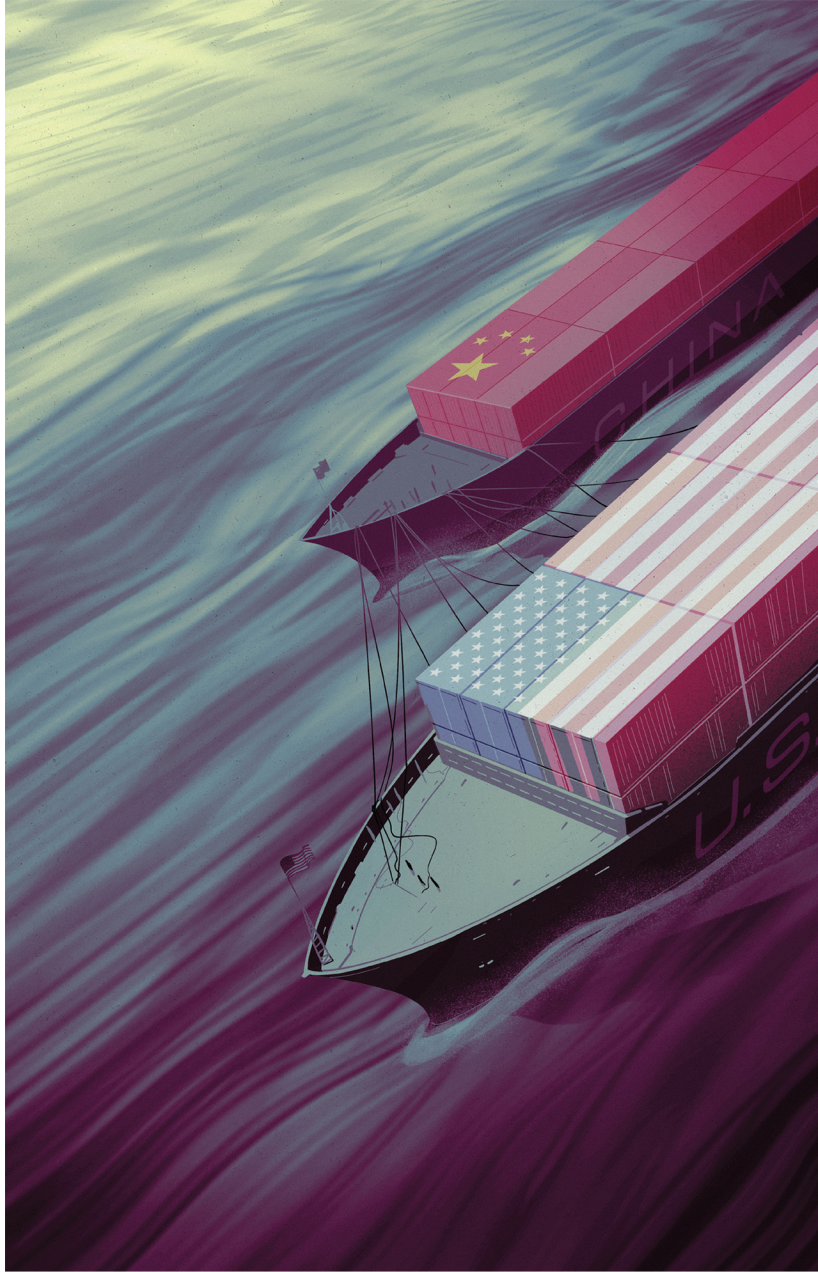
According to most American analysts, this competition will be close. Although the pace of China's rise has slowed, the conventional view in Washington is that China is already a peer, or at least a near peer, in economic power. "If we don't get moving, [the Chinese] are going to eat our lunch," quipped former U.S. President Joe Biden soon after

---

STEPHEN G. BROOKS is Professor of Government at Dartmouth College and a Guest Professor at Stockholm University.

BEN A. VAGLE is a policy analyst at the U.S. Treasury. The views expressed here are his own.

This article is adapted from their forthcoming book *Command of Commerce: America's Enduring Economic Power Advantage Over China* (Oxford University Press, 2025).



*Illustration by Daniel Stolle*

*Stephen G. Brooks and Ben A. Vagle*

his 2021 inauguration. In the same year, Elbridge Colby, whom current U.S. President Donald Trump nominated to be undersecretary of defense for policy, warned that “China’s economy is almost as large [as] or perhaps larger than America’s already.”

Yet the view that China is close to leveling the balance of economic power is incorrect. Chinese government statistics may indicate that the country is almost an equal of the United States. But if the economic power of the two countries is measured correctly, the United States still has a commanding and durable advantage. Its GDP is around twice as large as China’s. Its firms and the firms of its allies dominate global commerce and own or control much of China’s output, especially when it comes to advanced technologies. As a result, the United States has enormous leverage over Beijing. With that leverage, Washington could carry out a broad economic cutoff alongside its allies—in practice, a rapid decoupling—that would devastate China while doing far less short-term damage and almost no long-term damage to itself.

This fact has major strategic implications. The analysts who oppose a decoupling from China typically stress that doing so will impose massive, long-term economic disruptions on the United States. They are wrong. But it does not follow that decoupling now would be right. A peacetime decoupling would cost Washington one of the strongest tools it has to deter Chinese aggression. It might prompt China to lash out, starting conflicts that it would otherwise avoid. And it may fail to achieve its purpose: For an economic cutoff to cause disproportionate harm to China, the United States’ allies must participate; yet if Washington tries to move forward with a cutoff during peacetime, they will likely balk. U.S. policymakers must understand the United States’ real position in its competition with China—and keep its leverage intact for a crisis rather than undercutting one of the best weapons it has.

#### THE POTEKIN ECONOMIC SUPERPOWER

China’s economy has grown impressively over the past several decades. It is now unquestionably the world’s second largest, and it has become far more innovative than it once was. But it is not nearly as mighty as commonly purported in part because Beijing directly manipulates key economic metrics, including GDP.

According to official statistics, China’s gross domestic product is nearly \$20 trillion, or just shy of two-thirds of U.S. GDP. But metrics that have

not been artificially altered suggest it is far smaller. Consider nighttime satellite images of lights in the country—arguably the best approach for approximating Chinese GDP. Studies that look at such imaging reliably find less light concentration than one would expect if China’s official statistics were accurate. Indeed, an aggregation of the most rigorous of these studies indicates that China’s GDP is now overstated by around a third, which means the country’s GDP is only around half the size of that of the United States. By comparison, the Soviet Union reached a peak of 57 percent of U.S. GDP in 1975.

Experts in and outside China have long understood that China’s official GDP statistics are not credible. Li Keqiang, who served as China’s premier from 2013 to 2023, said in 2007 that he did not trust China’s “man-made” GDP figures, which were for “reference only.” Logan Wright and Daniel Rosen,

China experts at the Rhodium Group, were even more damning. “In almost two decades of professional experience in this field,” they wrote in 2019, “we have never met a Chinese official who professed privately to actually believe the GDP data.”

Much of the inflation of China’s GDP is caused by the singular nature of its development model. The country is uniquely dependent on heavy investment to fuel growth; according to the economist Michael Pettis, such investment has averaged over 40 percent of China’s GDP for the past 30 years. But much of this spending has no productive effect. For example, China now has the highest housing vacancy rate in the world, at 20 percent. A huge proportion of China’s infrastructure projects will end up costing more to build than they will ever generate in economic returns. According to the *Wall Street Journal* reporter Brian Spegele, for example, Beijing’s 30,000-mile high-speed rail network (an amount that could encircle the globe) has generated more than \$1 trillion in debt and features many routes that are barely used. Such nonperforming investments, however, continue to buoy China’s GDP. In advanced economies, by contrast, if an investment cannot be paid off, it is frequently written off as a decrease in income, thus reducing GDP.

Even if Beijing’s GDP estimates were reliable, they would overstate China’s economic power. Many analysts are impressed by China’s vast economic output in manufacturing. But look beneath the surface, and much of this output is simple or not really under the country’s control.

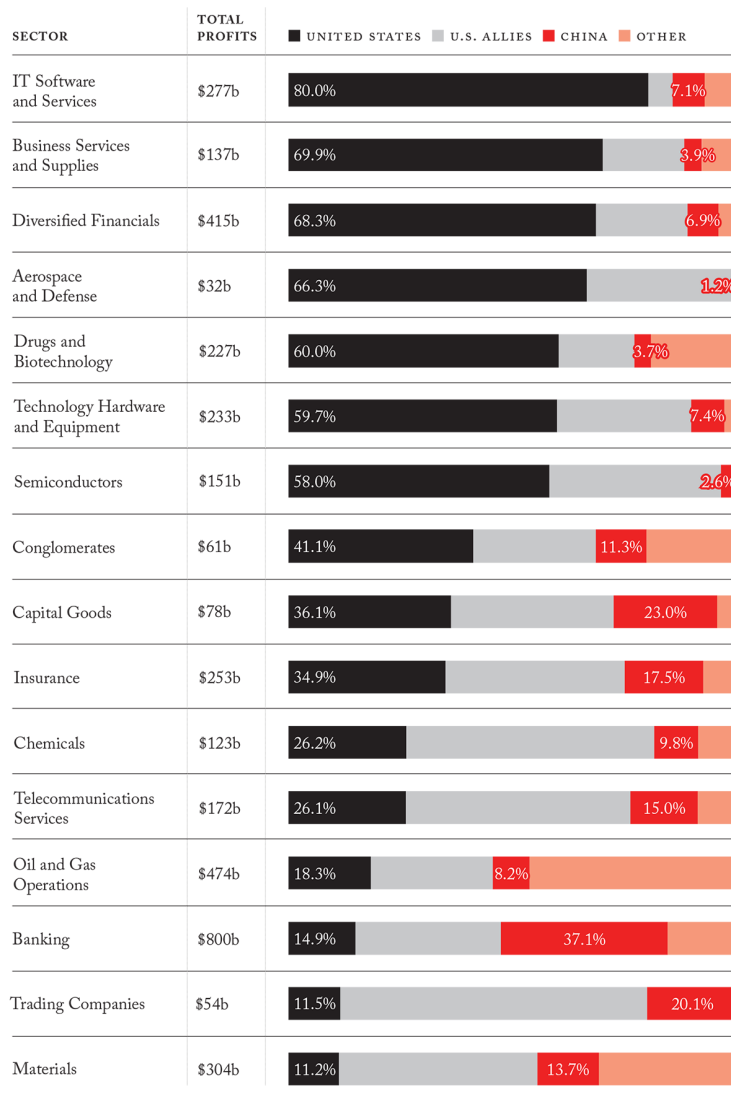
---

Beijing directly manipulates key economic metrics, including GDP.

*Stephen G. Brooks and Ben A. Vagle*

## THE POWER OF PRIMACY

Profit shares for the Forbes Global 2000, excluding consumer industries



Sources: Forbes Global 2000, 2022; authors' calculations. China data includes companies headquartered in Hong Kong.



*The Real China Trump Card*

Production is far more intricate and far more globalized than in previous eras, especially in complex industries such as semiconductors and jet aircraft. As a result, the large multinational corporations at the top of global production chains command outsized influence in the global economy. And these firms are overwhelmingly based in the United States and allied countries, not in China.

This fact is illustrated by looking at the profits generated by the 2022 Forbes 2000—the world's 2,000 largest companies. Profits are the preferred measure of economic power because if a firm in a sector is generating them, it likely means there are barriers preventing competitors from entering the market and cutting into that company's margins. They thus best capture the chokepoints of the world economy. And U.S. firms generated 38 percent of global profits, while firms headquartered in allied countries generated 35 percent. Chinese firms, including those in Hong Kong, generated just 16 percent.

A closer look at the 27 industries in the Forbes 2000 makes the U.S. lead over China even clearer. China leads in three of these industries. The United States, meanwhile, leads in 20 of them, almost always by double digits. In three of the seven industries in which the United States is not the leader, an American ally is. Together, the United States and its allies and partners make up all the top five countries in terms of profit share in five industries: aerospace and defense, drugs and biotechnology, media, semiconductors, and utilities.

The United States' edge is especially pronounced in high-technology sectors such as aerospace and defense, drugs and biotechnology, and semiconductors, in which U.S. firms generate 55 percent of profits, and the firms of American allies generate 29 percent. Chinese high-technology firms, by contrast, generate a mere six percent of profits worldwide—just slightly larger than the share generated by those of South Korea. Profits from Chinese firms are overwhelmingly concentrated in domestically focused sectors that lack geopolitical significance, notably banking, construction, and insurance.

U.S. companies and those of allied nations do, of course, make many of their products in China. But for Beijing, this is precisely the issue: much of China's advanced manufacturing consists of output that is created and designed by foreign firms, including Apple, Bosch, Panasonic, Samsung, and Volkswagen. When these firms do not set up their own factories in China, they often hire other foreign firms—such as Taiwan's Foxconn—to do so on their behalf. And regardless of who



*Stephen G. Brooks and Ben A. Vagle*

owns the advanced manufacturing in China, the country's output is typically heavily dependent on technologies, expertise, and parts from the United States and its allies.

To see this dependence in action, consider the production of the iPhone 14, for which comprehensive manufacturing data is now available. The iPhone is assembled in China, so it counts as a Chinese export in official measurements and consequently adds many billions of dollars a year to the U.S. trade deficit (an estimated \$10 billion in 2018). But it makes no sense to count the iPhone as a Chinese export because Chinese firms constitute a relatively insignificant part of its production. The phone is designed in California. It is assembled in factories owned by a Taiwanese company. And Chinese firms contribute just four percent of the value of its components. Ahead of China's contribution are South Korea (25 percent), Japan (11 percent), and Taiwan (7 percent). Number one is the United States, which contributes 32 percent of the value of the iPhone's components.

From an economic welfare standpoint, whether China's production is owned or controlled by foreign firms does not matter. As long as it occurs in China, it contributes to the growth of China's economy and the well-being of its citizens. But from a geopolitical standpoint, this distinction is vital. Foreign companies are not obligated to operate in China if it is no longer in their interest or if their home governments force or incentivize them to leave. The same is true for foreign suppliers of parts. They, too, cannot be forced to continue selling their wares in China if they see it as disadvantageous or if their governments prevent them from doing so.

#### MEANS OF PRODUCTION

So far, Washington's attempts to cut off China have been highly targeted in nature, focusing on technology restrictions. But to determine what would happen if the United States and its allies imposed a broad economic cutoff, we carefully modeled the costs of decoupling, designing 12 hypothetical scenarios by varying three parameters: whether Taiwan was still part of the global economy or was taken out via Chinese conquest, blockade, or bombardment; the degree to which China's trade with the United States and its allies was cut off; and the extent of the damage these trade disruptions inflicted on global supply chains.

We tested these scenarios to estimate the damage of trade disruptions in the short run—the weeks and months following their onset.

*Stephen G. Brooks and Ben A. Vagle*

In all 12, we found that China would suffer economic pain massively disproportionate to that of the United States. At the low end, the near-term economic disruptions to China would be around five times as large as the disruptions to the United States. At the high end, they would be around 11 times as large.

This translates to stomach-turning, Great Depression–like upfront costs for China, with its short-run economic disruptions affecting between 15 and 51 percent of the country’s GDP (depending on the scenario). In our baseline model in which all of China’s maritime trade is restricted via a distant naval blockade, for example, 39.9 percent of China’s GDP would be disrupted, but only 3.6 percent of U.S. GDP would be. Beijing, in other words, could sanction every single

---

China can be  
cut off only once.

American industry and person, and the damage to the U.S. economy would, at most, be a tiny fraction of the damage that Washington and its allies can inflict on China.

To determine the long-term consequences of reduced economic interchange, we also modeled how global trade would eventually settle after the initial shock of decoupling, and how this new equilibrium would shape each state’s growth trajectory. In doing so, we found that Washington’s position would become even more comparatively favorable. The United States and almost all of its allies would return to their baseline level of growth. China’s economic trajectory, however, would permanently decline.

The key reason for this enduring imbalance is simple. China’s economy greatly depends on foreign firms producing goods within its borders or subcontracting with Chinese firms that do. The cutoffs would rip that production away. American companies and the companies of U.S. allies, meanwhile, are not so reliant. U.S. and allied trade and production would face short-term logistical troubles after a decoupling, but they can be rerouted away from China as firms find alternative factories to make their wares and locate other sources for basic parts. (Although some of China’s lost production might one day return, much would remain elsewhere once foreign companies went through the trouble of creating new supply lines.)

In fact, American firms and the firms of U.S. allies operating in China are already pursuing diversification. If a broad wartime economic cutoff were imposed on China, many companies would simply

*The Real China Trump Card*

hasten this process. And because all Western firms would simultaneously face pressure to diversify from China, their concerns over being placed at a disadvantage by moving production before their competitors would be negated.

## TIME, PLACE, AND MANNER

Former U.S. President Joe Biden's administration sought to pursue a "small yard, high fence" approach to its economic relationship with China: greatly curtailing interchange only in the sectors most critical to national security, such as semiconductors. This strategy was motivated by the desire to, in the words of Biden's National Security Adviser Jake Sullivan, "maintain as large a lead as possible" in the most crucial high-technology areas while otherwise benefiting from trade relations with China.

Yet this approach was not aggressive enough for many China hawks. To them, using a scalpel to "de-risk" supply chains will not adequately protect Americans from the dangers China poses; they believe the economies of the United States and China should instead be thoroughly decoupled. They claim that significant economic interchange with China presents intolerable risks—whether by strengthening Beijing, harming industrial communities within the United States, or causing generalized tension between the U.S. free-market system and the Chinese state-controlled one. These advocates now have a receptive audience in the White House. On the campaign trail, U.S. President Donald Trump proposed 60 percent tariffs on Chinese imports. He has suggested erecting even more drastic barriers, or even a complete shutdown if Beijing attacks Taiwan.

Undertaking a broad economic cutoff in response to Chinese territorial revisionism would be sensible. But using this approach in peacetime is altogether different and strategically unwise. China can be cut off only once, and doing so in the absence of conflict would squander vital leverage for constraining military aggression by Beijing. Unlike Russia, China is heavily integrated into global markets. It enjoys massive economic benefits from globalization that will be costly to forgo. With a substantial economic relationship left intact, Washington can signal to Beijing that it will benefit if it refrains from challenging the status quo but that China would incur massive economic retaliation should it tread the path of aggression. The United States should thus keep its economic powder dry until a moment of true crisis.

*Stephen G. Brooks and Ben A. Vagle*

Decoupling preemptively could also cause exactly the U.S.-Chinese conflict policymakers want to avoid. If the United States initiates large-scale peacetime cutoffs, and China believes it cannot effectively replicate many of the goods and technologies it stands to lose, it may sense that its window of opportunity to attack Taiwan is closing. That may prompt it to decide to use force quickly—especially since it would have less at risk if its global economic access were already set to be curtailed.

Finally, a broad peacetime decoupling might fail. To inflict massive, disproportionate harm on China, Washington needs its allies to participate in cutoffs; if the United States decouples by itself, the short-term disruptions to China's GDP would be between just five and seven percent, only a hair above the four to five percent disruption to U.S. GDP under those circumstances. And in the absence of a crisis, Washington's partners will likely be reticent to join in. Although the United States may suffer relatively little from cutting off China, many of its partners would pay a hefty price. Germany, for instance, would see around twice the level of economic disruption as the United States, Japan would see around three times as much damage, Australia around five times, and South Korea around seven times.

The United States could, of course, try to force its allies to cooperate by deploying secondary sanctions or using its naval assets to restrict China's trade. But even if successful, such an effort would likely be penny-wise and pound-foolish, leading U.S. allies to turn away from Washington in the long term. The United States' alliances are an incredible power resource, and its actions should not undermine them.

Washington should therefore stick to a de-risking approach and deploy a broad economic cutoff against China only if Beijing makes a severe, economically costly breach of the status quo. If China blockades or invades Taiwan, the short-term economic disruptions to the United States and its allies would be large enough to rival the losses caused by a broad decoupling. The additional pain from cutting off China might then appear marginal and strategically worthwhile to U.S. allies, particularly if Washington is pushing them.

#### SAFETY IN NUMBERS

To be ready to meet such a moment, however, the United States and its allies need a shared economic strategy. And at present, their coordination on economic statecraft is essentially ad hoc. Washington and allied governments began extensively planning how to sanction Russia after

*The Real China Trump Card*

they learned, in October 2021, of its intent to invade Ukraine. But with China, they may not have as much notice, and whatever aggression they confront could be less blatant. Just as NATO undertakes preparatory actions over the long term—training, planning, allocating resources, and so on—to ensure effective military cooperation, Washington and its allies should now coordinate on how to wage economic war.

There are many ways to facilitate such collaboration. The best would be to create a formal economic alliance via a new intergovernmental organization. A vital function of this alliance would be to reduce uncertainty about whether its members would conduct a joint decoupling in response to Chinese territorial revisionism. Given that the costs of a broad cutoff vary greatly across countries, it is reasonable to wonder whether the most vulnerable ones would participate. Thoughtful planning within the alliance would reduce this uncertainty, in part by finding ways to assist the states that could suffer the most. For example, the alliance could plan for countries with large stockpiles of key resources to distribute them to more exposed members. To that end, Washington and its allies should strive to understand which of them can best disburse stockpiles or surge production of goods now supplied by China. They should plan how such a surge would occur and how such production would be distributed.

The alliance could also consider even more extensive forms of cooperation. It might, for example, plan how to coordinate fiscal and monetary policies during a crisis or how to seize and distribute the assets of countries (including China) that breach the territorial status quo. They could establish a collective financial reserve fund that members would draw on to mitigate the most severe damage of a cutoff. The reserve could even help resolve difficult questions about whether Washington's allies spend enough money on defense. U.S. officials could offer to treat such contributions to a reserve fund, for example, as an alternative to an increase in defense spending.

Washington's investment in a new economic alliance, however, cannot come at the expense of its existing security alliances, especially with Europe. An increasing number of politicians seem to think protecting Asia from China is mutually exclusive with protecting Europe from Russia. Vice President JD Vance, for example, has criticized the American military presence on the continent by arguing that resources invested there would be better used to constrain China's capacity for military aggression. But this reasoning falsely assumes



*Stephen G. Brooks and Ben A. Vagle*

that constraining China is an objective achieved exclusively via military means. Shaping China's security behavior and capabilities also requires economic tools, which means the United States needs Europe. The continent is home to a large share of the world's leading firms, and any economic cutoff of China will be ineffective unless European countries participate.

The Biden administration's effort to deny China advanced semiconductors is a case in point. For this restrictive policy to be effective, Washington had to obtain the cooperation of the Dutch firm ASML, the only company that makes the extreme ultraviolet lithography machines essential for manufacturing advanced semiconductor chips. ASML eventually agreed to American demands that it cease exporting these machines to China. But in the absence of a strong U.S. security role in Europe, it is doubtful that Washington's intense lobbying campaign would have been successful.

Washington would therefore be wise to sustain its investment in NATO. It can even treat that commitment as the basis for a new understanding of the transatlantic bargain. In it, Europe would continue to receive needed military assistance from the United States concerning Russia, especially with respect to capabilities that would be too costly or politically difficult for the continent to develop on its own—such as a nuclear deterrent and cyberweapons. In exchange, Washington would receive Europe's help with respect to economic policies constraining revisionism by Beijing.

#### READY, SET, . . . GO?

Although Washington's allies would be far more exposed in an economic cutoff of China, the United States is hardly free of vulnerabilities. Certain American industries would be greatly harmed by a broad economic decoupling—most notably the agricultural sector, which exports a significant amount of goods to China. It would be wise for Washington to plan not just how to protect its partners' economies but also how to protect its own. This planning would be vital to the smooth provision of government assistance to vulnerable industries in the event of a cutoff, and it would reassure leaders in those industries that they can survive a decoupling.

One important way to protect U.S. industries is by stockpiling more natural resources. It is the key area in which China has major economic leverage over the United States. But that is only because Washington

has chosen to leave itself exposed, a problem it can and should rectify. The Department of Defense has a reserve of critical resources for use in national emergencies: the National Defense Stockpile. But this is intended to offset supply disruptions only in defense and vital civilian sectors—not in the economy overall. To protect the country more broadly, the United States needs to increase its natural resources stockpile to Cold War levels, roughly ten times as large as it is now. Such a step would have enormous strategic benefits and will cost relatively little, probably not much more than the price of a new aircraft carrier. At the same time, Washington needs to better incentivize the development of substitutes for natural resources now sourced from China, such as the rare-earth metals gallium and germanium. And where possible, the United States should augment the domestic extraction and processing of critical natural resources.

---

Decoupling preemptively could cause exactly the war policymakers want to avoid.

Washington would also be wise to identify additional areas in which the country is vulnerable to supply cutoffs from China and push forward with appropriate remediation steps—as it eventually did with respect to personal protective equipment during the COVID-19 pandemic. The U.S. government will need to hire more officials to examine their country’s ever-changing economic vulnerabilities. In fact, Washington should create a new institutional structure to foster more long-term planning and coordination regarding economic security issues. It could, for example, create new, dedicated economic security groups within the Treasury and Commerce Departments and the National Security Council that are each overseen by a political appointee—as has been suggested by Justin Muzinich, the former deputy secretary of the U.S. Treasury.

These new officials and institutions might finally recognize that China is far from leveling the balance of economic power with the United States and that Washington has vast economic leverage over Beijing. If the United States expends this leverage in peacetime, it could jolt China into acting on its territorial ambitions while costing Washington vital friendships. But if the United States holds this leverage in reserve, it could help keep Chinese revisionism in check. In doing so, it could narrow the range for catastrophic miscalculation between Beijing and Washington. 🌐

