



Dear Chief State School Officer:

The U.S. Department of State and the U.S. Department of Education both support and defend the United States Constitution and the democratic values it embodies. We place top priority on advancing the interests of the U.S. people, including safety and equal access to education for America's children.

U.S. schools are an invaluable partner in that mission, and it is because of these shared priorities that we write to you about a real and increasing threat to U.S. classrooms. Over the last decade, the authoritarian government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) has sent curriculum and PRC-trained teachers into hundreds of U.S. K-12 schools through a program called Confucius Classrooms. Styled as language and culture programs, Confucius Classrooms are in reality an important element of the PRC's global influence campaign, now reaching tens of thousands of U.S. schoolchildren every day.

It may come as a surprise to many educators that hundreds of U.S. schools make use of a curriculum developed by an authoritarian government and taught by teachers who are vetted, supplied, and paid by that same government, in partnership with American schools and school districts. A review by the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs found that approval from an institution affiliated with the PRC's Ministry of Education is generally required when filling teaching positions associated with Confucius Classrooms. This practice by the PRC does not necessarily align with our values or support the safe, equitable, and positive learning environment U.S. students deserve.

The presence of an authoritarian slant in curriculum and teaching has never been more concerning, nor more consequential. The government of the PRC has suppressed human rights and freedoms in Hong Kong; intensified longstanding repression of ethnic and linguistic minorities in the so-called "autonomous regions" of Tibet, Inner Mongolia, and elsewhere; and is believed to be engaged in the world's largest internment of a religious minority since the Second World War in the "autonomous region" of Xinjiang. The PRC's repression of human rights is discussed in greater detail in the enclosed recent State Department letter to the governing boards of U.S. institutions of higher education.

Many Chinese-Americans have come to the United States to be able to express and practice their faith or political views free of government interference and to obtain an intellectually stimulating education for their children. It is troubling to consider that, in some cases, the PRC government may have effectively taken up a physical presence in the halls of their child's U.S. school. While teachers in Confucius Classrooms may not appear to be engaged in ideological propaganda, those vetted and paid by the PRC can be expected to avoid discussing China's treatment of dissidents and religious and ethnic minorities. Indeed, some Confucius

Classroom students have described their teachers' repeated avoidance of topics perceived to be "sensitive" to or critical of the PRC. Particularly at the high school level, this creates a troubling deficit of information in a setting supposedly focused on the study of Chinese language and culture. At any grade level, the presence in U.S. classrooms of instructors supported by an authoritarian regime poses risks to our democratic values.

The Confucius Classroom program is global, and its authoritarian slant has not gone unnoticed in other democratic nations. In Australia, the state government of New South Wales has ended the Confucius Classroom presence in its public schools, replacing it with Chinese language and culture programming funded and managed by Australians. The Canadian province of New Brunswick recently cancelled its contract with the Confucius Institute over concerns about communist propaganda and freedom of expression. In Toronto, Canada, a proposal for the Confucius program to enter its public school district was rejected because of concerns over restrictive conditions for teachers from the PRC, who serve under PRC contracts expressly limiting their freedom of expression. A violation of this provision could endanger those teachers' own safety and that of their family members still living in the PRC.

This concern about the welfare of Confucius Classroom teachers extends to those in U.S. schools. Visiting teachers from the PRC are entitled to the protections of our Constitution, but often serve under arrangements that incorporate Chinese law, some provisions of which are inconsistent with American constitutional principles. Any arrangement that suppresses the open exchange of ideas in our classrooms or elsewhere is inconsistent with our Constitution and the United States' longstanding support for freedom of inquiry at home and abroad.

More concerning is that some U.S. schools, and thus taxpayers, are supporting parts of these programs, and the PRC is spending considerable sums to woo U.S. school leaders. In recent summers, a number of U.S. school administrators connected with the Confucius program have been brought to Beijing to be feted by PRC government officials.

To be clear: these U.S. educators are pursuing important values; they are striving for excellence in education and global competitiveness for their students. But the best way to pursue our values is to partner with those who share and respect those values.

Parents have the right to know what is going on in their children's classrooms, particularly when controversial or political matters are involved. At a minimum, school administrators should ensure that they are fully aware of the source of curriculum and teachers. They should also carefully manage students' personally protected information if exploring activities that would involve the PRC government. In too many cases, the exact arrangements between U.S. schools and their PRC partners lack transparency and reciprocity and do not fully take into account these considerations.

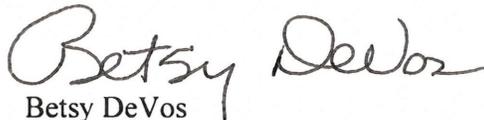
All of these issues are avoidable. Many U.S. schools have built excellent Chinese language and culture programs without the involvement of the PRC government. The teachers and students in these programs enjoy the freedoms rightly due every person on U.S. soil.

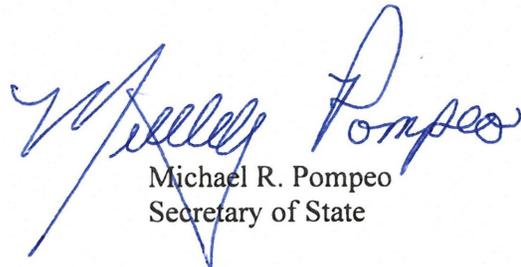
On August 13, the State Department designated the Confucius Institute U.S. Center (CIUS) in Washington, D.C., as a foreign mission of the PRC. While the CIUS designation does not directly affect Confucius Classrooms at schools around the country, we seek to shine a light on CIUS and its relationship to Confucius Classrooms operating in U.S. schools. This designation will provide much-needed transparency by requiring CIUS to provide information about its operations to the State Department, including regarding its relationship with individual Confucius Classrooms across the United States. As a result, U.S. stakeholders, including primary and secondary schools, will be able to make more informed choices about PRC government influence being exerted on their communities.

While the State Department's designation of CIUS does not compel any action on your part, we encourage you and the staff at your schools to carefully examine any Confucius Classroom activities in your educational programming. In so doing, please ensure that our academic freedoms are being modeled and respected, whether the terms under which Confucius Classroom teachers work are consistent with U.S. law and values, and that instruction in these classrooms is free of foreign influence and interference.

If you find that the PRC's activities aim to improperly influence our youngest Americans, we urge you to take action to safeguard your educational environments. While Americans may differ on many issues, threats to our freedoms unite us all. We look forward to working together to uphold our values and advance the goal of educational excellence for the next generation of Americans.

Sincerely,

  
Betsy DeVos  
Secretary of Education

  
Michael R. Pompeo  
Secretary of State

Enclosure:  
As stated.



## Keith J. Krach

UNDER SECRETARY *of* STATE  
for ECONOMIC GROWTH, ENERGY, and the ENVIRONMENT

August 18, 2020

Dear Governing Boards of American Institutions of Higher Education and Affiliates,

During this unprecedented period in modern history, American universities and colleges are on the frontlines of addressing many of the challenges presented by the pandemic. At the same time, these great institutions are at the forefront of an equally serious challenge brought on by the authoritarian influence of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

At the U.S. Department of State, one of our primary missions is to monitor and advocate for freedom, including academic freedom, around the world. American institutions of higher learning are the envy of the world and have always been an invaluable partner in that mission. That is especially true now as we join hands to work through myriad challenges brought on by the pandemic so that we can continue welcoming students from around the world to America's shores. This includes an orderly resumption of student visa issuances as the situation dictates at our embassies and consulates around the world.

In that same spirit of partnership, I am writing to you about a real and urgent threat that has broad implications for ensuring academic freedom, honoring human dignity, protecting university endowments, and safeguarding intellectual property. As a former Chairman of the Board of a major university, I recognize that when addressing a long-term strategic issue of this magnitude, the responsibility sits squarely on the shoulders of each and every board member.

Our concern is with the malign actions of the CCP and specific individuals, not with the Chinese people or the overwhelming majority of Chinese students in the United States. Our goal is to see an improved, open, and transparent environment in which U.S. and Chinese scholars can engage with greater trust. We seek your assistance in an effort to safeguard U.S. technology and institutions, and to ensure our national and economic security remain safe and free from foreign interference.

### **GROWING THREAT OF AUTHORITARIAN INFLUENCE**

Citizens around the world are waking up to the truth about the CCP's three-prong strategy of concealment, co-option, and coercion. The CCP's concealment of the virus resulted in the pandemic, its co-option of Hong Kong has eviscerated the freedoms of its citizens, and its relentless coercion of the Uyghur people has continued in the brutal internment camps of Xinjiang.

This has given political will to government leaders and CEOs in free nations around the world to stand up to this increasingly aggressive behavior. On both sides of the aisle in Washington, it has become one of the most passionately unifying bipartisan issues of our time. The U.S. government is now shining the light of transparency on the CCP in every way possible, including with regards to institutions of higher learning.

After spending many years leading public companies, I have learned that leadership in the face of challenges starts with that magical principle of transparency. Good leaders know that visibility is accountability. And this is where university and government leaders are partners once again.

### **ENSURING ACADEMIC FREEDOM**

To help shine the light of transparency on CCP infiltration of American campuses, on August 13 [the State Department designated the Confucius Institute U.S. Center](#) (CIUS) as a People's Republic of China (PRC) foreign mission controlled by a foreign government. A number of American universities and colleges are home to Confucius Institutes, partially funded and controlled by the PRC. As the American Association of University Professors noted in a 2014 report, "Confucius Institutes function as an arm of the Chinese state and are allowed to ignore academic freedom."

While ostensibly intended to teach Americans about Chinese language and culture, they also exert malign influence on U.S. campuses and disseminate CCP propaganda. There is increasing evidence that Confucius Institutes spread PRC influence by providing institutions with financial incentives to abstain from criticizing PRC policies; putting pressure on faculty to self-censor; monitoring overseas students for loyalty to the party; and undermining freedom of expression by disrupting campus events deemed controversial to the CCP.

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The goal of this action is to shine a light on the CIUS and its relationship to Confucius Institutes operating on U.S. campuses. This designation will provide much-needed transparency by requiring CIUS to regularly provide information to the State Department about Confucius Institutes' PRC citizen personnel, recruiting, funding, and operations in the United States. With this increased level of transparency, U.S. stakeholders, including universities and colleges, can make more informed choices about the PRC influence exerted on their communities.

While this designation is not directed at U.S. universities and colleges, we ask that your board [examine carefully the Confucius Institutes' activities on your campus](#) to ensure that academic freedom, institutional autonomy, transparency and clean financial practices are being upheld.

### **HONORING HUMAN DIGNITY**

On July 1, the Departments of State, Treasury, Commerce, and Homeland Security together published a [Xinjiang Supply Chain Business Advisory](#), a clear statement of concern for the attention of U.S. companies, institutions, investors, and their business partners around the world. As Secretary of State Pompeo stated when he announced this advisory, U.S. businesses with potential supply chain and investment exposure to Xinjiang should consider the ethical, reputational, economic, and legal risks of involvement with entities that engage in human rights abuses, including forced labor in the manufacture of goods intended for domestic and international distribution.

What I have come to learn through running economic diplomacy for the State Department is that nowhere are the [CCP's human rights abuses](#) more pronounced than in the mass internment camps of the Xinjiang region and the indentured servitude of its population shipped all over China. These facilities are designed to eradicate the ethnicity and religious beliefs of Uyghurs and other Muslims and are responsible for human rights abuses of epic proportions with reported torture, sexual abuse, sterilization, forced abortions, and ingestion of unidentified drugs.

In recent months the U.S. government has added dozens of PRC government agencies, state-owned, and notionally private corporations to its export control [Entity List](#) related to human rights abuses in Xinjiang. This light of transparency and [published studies](#) will help your board conduct a detailed analysis to ensure your community can do everything possible to promote partnerships only with those whose supply chains are free from human rights violations.

### **PROTECTING UNIVERSITY ENDOWMENTS**

The boards of your institution's endowment funds have a moral obligation, and perhaps even a fiduciary duty, to ensure that your institution has clean investments and clean endowment funds. I urge you to divest from companies that are on the Entity List or that contribute to human rights violations. I also ask that you strongly consider publicly disclosing to your campus communities immediately all [PRC companies that your endowment funds are invested in](#), especially the PRC companies in emerging markets index funds.

Studies have shown that the majority of the U.S. university endowment fund portfolios own PRC stocks listed on American exchanges either directly or indirectly through emerging markets index funds. I would also like to call you attention the recommendations issued by the President's Working Group on Financial Markets (PWG), which examine the risks to U.S. investors posed by Chinese companies listed on U.S. securities exchanges.

On August 10, Treasury Secretary Mnuchin indicated that the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) would adopt the [recommendations](#), which could lead to the delisting of companies from the PRC and other "Non-Cooperating Jurisdictions" from U.S. exchanges at the end of next year. PRC firms, unlike other foreign issuers in the United States, do not follow audit transparency requirements. This is due to Article 177 of the PRC Securities Law and its longstanding prohibition on PRC firms providing work papers to foreign regulatory agencies on the basis of concerns about "state secrets" in financial documentation.

Consequently, the boards of U.S. university endowments would be prudent to divest from PRC firms' stocks in the likely outcome that enhanced listing standards lead to a wholesale delisting of PRC firms from U.S. exchanges by the end of next year. Holding these stocks also runs the high risks associated with PRC companies having to restate financials.

### **SAFEGUARDING INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY**

[U.S. government agencies are accelerating investigations at American universities](#) for illicit PRC funding of research, intellectual property theft, and the recruitment of talent. Earlier this year the Justice Department indicted the [now-former head of the Harvard University chemistry department](#) for allegedly lying about his participation in the Thousand Talents

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Plan where he was awarded \$1.5m to establish a research lab at Wuhan University, and failing to disclose being paid \$2.25m over 3 years. In July, the [Justice Department filed 42 charges](#) against a longtime University of Arkansas professor who allegedly failed to disclose his participation in the Thousand Talents Plan while securing NASA funding after a fellow employee attempted to identify the owner of his misplaced hard drive.

[The U.S. academic community is in the crosshairs](#) of not only foreign competitors contending for the best and brightest talent, but also our most valuable intellectual property. America built successful research universities on certain values: reciprocity, integrity, merit-based competition, and transparency. These values foster a free exchange of ideas, encourage the most rigorous research results to flourish, and ensure that researchers receive the benefit of their intellectual property. In turn, America attracts the best and brightest.

The PRC, however, seeks to exploit America's openness by implementing a well-financed, whole-of-government campaign to recruit foreign experts through its more than 200 talent recruitment plans including to speed its own efforts at [Military-Civil Fusion](#). As of 2017, China reportedly has recruited 7,000 researchers who focus on or have access to cutting-edge research and technology. For the CCP, international scientific collaboration is not about advancing science, it is about advancing the PRC national security interests.

It is of the utmost importance that the board members of your university move quickly to address this threat by protecting your research systems from PRC co-option and infiltration. Just as our fine institutions vet employees for scientific rigor or allegations of plagiarism, we also must vet for financial conflicts of interests and foreign sources of funding. If our researchers can assess potential collaborators' experience and past publications, they should also assess any government affiliations and ulterior motivations.

#### **ACADEMIC FREEDOM VERSUS AUTHORITARIANISM**

The good news is that our strongest ally in promoting academic freedom over authoritarianism is your most important constituent--students. Reports suggest that College Republicans and College Democrats, like elected officials at the national level, are united in their recognition of the threat posed by the CCP. A recent [letter](#) signed by the leadership of both the College Republican National Committee and the College Democrats of America states:

“The Chinese government’s flagrant attempts to coerce and control discourse at universities in the United States and around the world pose an existential threat to academic freedom as we know it. It is a civic and moral imperative that we protect that freedom. In the fight against authoritarianism, universities can continue to benefit from the largess of an emboldened authoritarian state, or they can stand on the right side of history. They cannot do both.”

The CCP's actions pose an immense threat to academic freedom and to human dignity. While Americans may differ on many issues, this is a threat that unites us all. The CCP would love nothing more than to silence business leaders, conservatives, environmentalists, feminists, labor advocates, LGBTQ activists, people of faith, and anyone else who speaks up about their beliefs.

As we push back against efforts to infiltrate and divide us, it is imperative that we distinguish between the CCP's totalitarian regime and the Chinese people, whom we must steadfastly defend from abhorrent acts of xenophobia, racism, and hatred, including those from the PRC government. We must act to give voice to the long-oppressed among PRC ethnic minority groups including Uyghur, Kazakh, and Tibetans. We must condemn in the most unequivocal terms any and all anti-Asian sentiment wherever and whenever it arises.

My experience in the business, education and government sectors tells me that there is tremendous power in uniting those sectors as a force for good if we are all armed with the truth. The world is watching, and the integrity of our democracy and educational institutions is in our hands. I look forward to working together to protect the freedoms we all hold dear.

With respect and appreciation,



**Keith J. Krach**

*Under Secretary of State for Economic Growth,  
Energy, and the Environment*