THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE STRATEGIC COMPETITION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND THE WORKFORCE

Joint Institutes, Divided Loyalties

How the Chinese Communist
Party Exploits U.S. University
Partnerships to Empower China's
Military and Repression



MAJORITY STAFF REPORT

SEPT. 2025

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Over the past two years, the Select Committee on the Chinese Communist Party and the Committee on Education and the Workforce's (Committees) investigations revealed how the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) exploits U.S. universities to fuel its military and technological rise.

Last fall, the Committees released *CCP* on the *Quad*, a report exposing how American researchers—many funded by the Department of Defense (DOD), Department of Energy, and National Science Foundation—enabled major advancements by the People's Republic of China (PRC) in nuclear technology, artificial intelligence, robotics, and quantum computing. The report also revealed that U.S.-PRC joint institutes facilitate technology transfer and pose national security risks.

This report provides **new findings on joint institutes and other problematic partnerships** between U.S. universities and the PRC, new information on stepped-up enforcement of foreign gift disclosure rules and university responses. This investigation:

- 1. Further highlights the risks these partnerships pose,
- 2. Exposes universities that continue to ignore the risks,
- 3. Identifies dozens of not-yet-reported academic collaborations that create risks to U.S. national security,
- 4. Examines changes in university disclosures of foreign funding, and
- 5. Reveals the impact of the Trump Administration's stepped-up enforcement of foreign gift reporting requirements.

Joint Institutes—entities based in China that pair American universities with Chinese institutions—are not typical academic collaborations that benefit students from both countries. They are under the thumb of the CCP. They operate under PRC law; are run by Chinese-majority boards and have Party presence in leadership; and are aligned with the CCP's national strategy, including its military buildup. Chinese government funding dominates these joint institutes, and the use of funds is restricted by law to align with CCP goals. Curriculum and research prioritize CCP-defined goals—especially in military-relevant science and technology fields. Finally, U.S. institutions agree to PRC-imposed limits on academic freedom, speech, and governance independence.

Since the time of the release of our report and our continued investigations, eight universities chose to do the right thing for academic freedom and U.S. national security by shuttering their joint institutes with Chinese partners. These include the University of California, Berkeley; Georgia Institute of Technology; University of Michigan; University of Pittsburgh; Oakland University; University of Detroit Mercy; Eastern Michigan University; and University of Illinois.

But many others have not. Last fall, the Committees identified high-risk joint institutes at the following universities, all of which have failed to act: Duke University; University of Arizona; University of Delaware; Drake University; University of Houston; Kean University; University of Miami; New York University; University of North Alabama; Northeastern State University (Tahlequah); Portland State University; State University of New York - Stony Brook; and Trine University.

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These joint institutes are far from the only collaborations between U.S. universities and Chinese entities that create national security risks. In the follow-on investigation, the Committees identified more than a hundred additional academic partnerships that involve PRC entities that pose a national security risk.

More than fifty such partnerships are described below, along with the national security risk factors. These partnerships include:

- Three joint degree programs between U.S. universities and China's Seven Sons of National Defense. The Seven Sons of National Defense are universities hand-picked by the CCP to propel China's military and defense-research forward.
- A partnership in submarine engineering research between the University of Houston and Dalian Maritime University, which is supervised by a Chinese defense-focused government agency and partners with Chinese defense conglomerates on engineering research.
- A dual degree in aircraft power engineering between Shenyang Aerospace
 University, which is supervised by blacklisted Chinese military company the
 Aviation Industry Corporation of China (the developer of China's
 5th Generation Stealth Fighter), and Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- A joint program in mechanical design, manufacturing, and automation between North China Institute of Aerospace Engineering—a university controlled by blacklisted Chinese military companies that produce China's Long March Rockets and other missiles—and Saint Martin's University in Washington state.

These partnerships must end.

* * *

The second part of the report examines changes to foreign gift disclosures since the release of *CCP on the Quad*. After years of inaction by the Biden-Harris administration, the current Trump Administration has taken significant steps to bolster enforcement of the foreign contract and gift requirements in current law under section 117 of the *Higher Education Act* (HEA). Institutions that partner with joint institutes have taken some steps toward improved disclosures, but serious gaps still remain.

* * *

Select Committee Chairman John Moolenaar and Education and Workforce Chairman Tim Walberg therefore recommend adopting into law the *Securing American Funding and Expertise from Adversarial Research Exploitation Act of 2025 (SAFE Research Act)*, which:

- Prohibits federal science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM)
 research funding to researchers who collaborate with foreign adversary-controlled
 entities that pose a national security risk.
- Prohibits DOD funding to universities that partner with foreign adversarycontrolled entities that pose a national security risk.
- Requires enhanced disclosures of foreign adversary collaborations, travel, and affiliations from foreign adversary entities.

The SAFE Research Act was introduced and adopted by the House as an amendment to the Fiscal Year 2026 National Defense Authorization Act (FY26 NDAA), which passed the House on September 10, 2025. We look forward to working expeditiously to move this bill forward and enact it into law.

In addition, foreign gift disclosures remain inadequate. The lack of strong enforcement provisions in the law and shortcomings in university reporting still remain and demonstrate the continued need for legislative action such as H.R. 1048, the *Defending Education Transparency and Ending Rogue Regimes Engaging in Nefarious Transactions* (DETERRENT) *Act*. The DETERRENT Act passed the House on March 27, 2025, by a vote of 241 to 169. It is now awaiting Senate action. The Chairmen continue to urge the Senate to pass the DETERRENT Act expeditiously.

* * *

PART I: ACADEMIC PARTNERSHIPS ADVANCE THE CCP'S TECHNOLOGICAL AND MILITARY GOALS

BACKGROUND

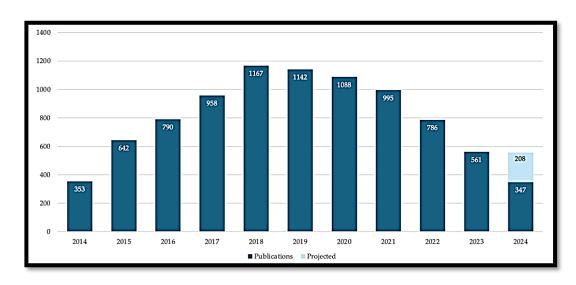
Over the past two years, the Committees investigated the CCP's exploitation of U.S. research institutions to fuel its military and technological rise, analyzing thousands of academic and government records, conducting extensive open-source research, and engaging directly with universities across the country.

Last fall, the Committees published a joint report, *CCP* on the Quad: How American Taxpayers and Universities Fund the CCP's Advanced Military and Technological Research,¹ revealing how taxpayer-funded research fuels China's military ambitions through individual research collaborations and university-level partnerships with individuals and institutions in China.

Individual Research Partnerships: American researchers—many backed by the Department of Defense, Department of Energy, and National Science Foundation—enabled major PRC advancements in nuclear technology, artificial intelligence, robotics, and quantum computing.²

This practice is troublingly widespread: over 8,800 USG-funded research papers had PRC coauthors—and thousands were directly tied to China's defense industrial base.³ DOD funds research for the purpose of achieving technological breakthroughs to equip future warfighters—in other words, all DOD-funded projects are potentially dual-use.

Figure 1 - Taxpayers Funded Thousands of Potential Dual-Use Research Publications Coauthored with PRC-Based Individuals



These collaborations spanned AI, microelectronics, advanced materials, space and aerospace, and military-use technologies like hypersonics, nuclear physics, and directed energy. The vast majority of these DOD-funded publications are collaborations on advanced research related to dual-use, critical, and emerging technologies.⁴

Some of this research has direct military applications – such as high-performance explosives, tracking of targets, and drone operation networks – that China's People's Liberation Army (PLA) would use against the U.S. military in the event of a conflict.⁵

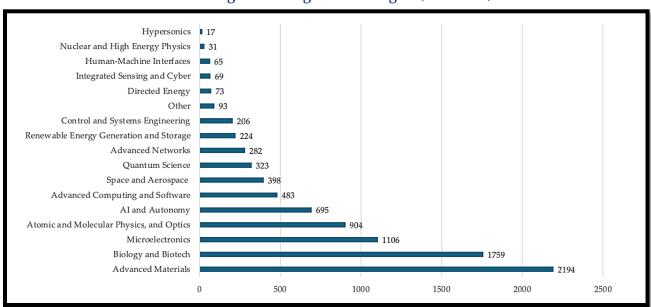


Figure 2 - DOD-Funded PRC-Coauthored Papers Advanced China's Knowledge of Strategic Technologies (2014-2024)

That data is a wake-up call—confirming the scale, depth, and U.S. national security implications of U.S.-PRC academic engagement.

Joint Institutes: U.S.-PRC joint institutes are entities based in China that pair American universities with PRC institutions and serve as key technology transfer points. These joint institutes operate under PRC law, are run by Chinese-majority boards, and are aligned with the CCP's national strategy, including its military buildup.⁶

Further Investigation: Following the release of *CCP on the Quad*, the Committees continued to examine university-level partnerships. We opened individual investigations into eight of the partnerships exposed in *CCP on the Quad* and identified hundreds of additional partnerships that may pose a U.S. national security risk.

These efforts revealed that:

- 1. Joint institutes advance China's technological and military goals.
- 2. While some leading U.S. universities have shuttered their joint institutes with Chinese universities, many others have doubled down on risky partnerships with China.
- 3. There are dozens of additional university-level partnerships between American and Chinese universities that create risk to U.S. national security.

This report presents the key findings from that follow-on effort.

FINDINGS

Finding 1 - Joint Institutes Advance China's Technological and Military Goals.

Joint institutes' financial model sustains access to U.S. universities—and hides the risk. These programs are heavily dependent on PRC financing to keep the programs alive. The PRC doesn't just benefit from these partnerships—it bankrolls them, often on terms that constrain academic freedom⁷ and conceal who actually controls the agenda. As just one example, Georgia Institute of Technology's partnership with Tianjin University, Georgia Tech Shenzhen Institute (GTSI), received over \$8.5 million in startup funding, with Georgia Tech contributing just \$28,000. Similarly, University of California, Berkeley's partnership with Tsinghua University, Tsinghua–Berkeley Shenzhen Institute (TBSI), had secured more than \$220 million from the Shenzhen government as of 2018.8 These aren't neutral academic exchanges—they are state-subsidized platforms engineered to absorb U.S. technical knowledge, often in fields directly relevant to military modernization.9

1 2 3 4 5
Legal Authority Governance Funding Curriculum U.S. Concessions

Chinese

government

funding

dominates; use of

funds is restricted

by law to align

with CCP goals.

Operate under

PRC law, which

embeds CCP

oversight in

institutional

charters.

PRC-majority

boards and CCP

cells are required;

ensure Party

presence in

leadership.

Figure 3 - How the PRC Exercises Control Over Joint Institutes

Curriculum and

research prioritize

CCP-defined

national goals-

especially in

military-relevant

STEM fields.

U.S. institutions

agree to PRC-

imposed limits on

academic

freedom, speech,

and governance

independence.

Yet despite the scale of these transactions, oversight has been virtually nonexistent. Universities are legally required to disclose foreign gifts and contracts

of \$250,000 or more under section 117 of the Higher Education Act—but many do not.¹⁰ And the Biden-Harris Department of Education did not open a single enforcement action in four years.¹¹ Enforcement failure enables high-risk partnerships to operate in the dark.

Universities frame the influx of foreign funds as a win—budget relief, prestige, global engagement. In reality, the financial model rewards opacity, sustains systemic access by foreign adversaries to U.S. expertise, and leaves the strategic advantage in Beijing's hands.

The overseas structure magnifies exposure—even when U.S. presence is minimal. Universities often downplay the U.S. national security threat posed by joint institutes and other academic partnerships by citing low numbers of Chinese students on their U.S. campuses. But that misses the point. Most joint institutes operate primarily in China, not the United States. ¹² They deliver U.S.-branded programs to large cohorts of Chinese students, often in defense-relevant fields, under PRC law and in PRC-run facilities—without meaningful U.S. oversight.

These structures are not neutral. They integrate ideological education, military-linked research, and U.S. academic resources. For example, at Duke Kunshan University, incoming joint institute students in China have participated in military-style drills and CCP-led ideological training. Another example is the Shanghai Jiao Tong–University of Michigan Joint Institute (STJU-UM), where students have been enrolled in mandatory political coursework, some of which is designed to align with PLA training goals. 15

Bill社党大学
DIXE KUNSHAN
UNIVERSITY

Home Volunteer Services Social Practice Chinese Culture and History Promotion Military Training Chinese Students Zone

Military Training

Figure 4 – Joint Institutes as PLA Training Grounds

Images from Duke Kunshan University's official "Military Training" page show students undergoing PLA drills, saluting the CCP flag, and marching in formations modeled on Chinese military training—revealing the Joint Institute's role in indoctrinating youth and preparing them to fight future wars—including against Americans. 16

Figure 5 – Joint Institutes as Platforms for Military-Civil Fusion



At Shanghai Jiao Tong University's UM-SJTU Joint Institute, students undergo mandatory military training (left),¹⁷ while faculty visit the China Academy of Launch Vehicle Technology (right)¹⁸—a key PLA contractor—demonstrating how Joint Institutes advance the CCP's military-civil fusion agenda by linking U.S. academic programs to China's strategic weapons development.

The downstream risks are real. In one high-profile case, five PRC nationals affiliated with the SJTU–UM Joint Institute or Shanghai Jiao Tong University were charged with using drones to surveil *Camp Grayling*, an important U.S. military training site in Michigan.¹⁹ The incident highlights how even "instructional" partnerships based on foreign soil can facilitate access for surveillance and intelligence purposes.

Finding 2 - Some Leading U.S. Universities Have Shuttered Joint Institutes, But Others Doubled Down on Risky Collaboration with China.

During the investigation and after the release of *CCP on the Quad*, the Committees issued formal oversight letters to a subset of these programs. We identified a subset of 21 of the highest-risk joint institutes out of the thousands in operation, and we launched direct inquiries into nine.

Following our investigations, eight of those nine shut down.

Table 1 – Shuttered Joint Institutes

U.S. University	Shuttered Joint Institute
√ U.C. Berkeley	X Tsinghua–Berkeley Shenzhen Inst.
√ Georgia Tech	X Georgia Tech Shenzhen Inst.
√ U. of Michigan	X SJTU-UM Joint Inst.
U. of Pittsburgh	X Sichuan University–Pittsburgh Inst.
$\sqrt{}$ Oakland U.	X ZZULI-OU Intelligent Engineering Joint Inst.
U. of Detroit Mercy	X Detroit Green Technology Inst.
√ Eastern Michigan U.	X Eastern Michigan Joint College of Engineering
√ U. of Illinois	X ZJU—UIUC Inst.

Faced with the facts, these universities closed their Joint Institutes and chose academic freedom and U.S. national security over profit.

<u>But not all have.</u> The Committees maintain an open investigation into the ninth, Duke University's disturbing partnership with Wuhan University, the Duke Kunshan University. As we wrote in our letter to Duke, that institute:

[S]pecializes in high-technology fields with direct military applications, including data science, artificial intelligence, and materials science. As part of these programs, many [institute] students spend time at Duke University, gaining access to federally funded U.S. research. Given the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) well-documented efforts to exploit academic openness, this partnership creates a direct pipeline between U.S. innovation and China's military-industrial complex.²⁰

And many other U.S. universities have remained silent, collecting millions from Chinese students while helping Beijing advance its military and technological goals. The arrangement is perverse: American taxpayers fund research that strengthens our foremost adversary. For example, the following high-risk joint institutes identified in our September 2024 report appear to still be in operation.

Table 2 – High-Risk and Previously-Identified, Open Joint Institutes²¹

U.S. University	Joint Institute Still Operating
Duke U.	Duke Kunshan U. (under Committee investigation)
U. Arizona	Arizona College of Technology at Hebei U. of Technology
U. Delaware	SWUFE-UD Inst. of Data Science
Drake U.	QU-Drake United College, Qingdao
U. Houston	Houston International Inst.
Kean U.	U. Wenzhou-Kean U.
U. Miami	Miami College of Henan U.
New York U.	Shanghai New York U.
U. North Alabama	North Alabama International College of Engineering & Technology, Guizhou U.
Northeastern State U. (Tahlequah)	GCTB-NSU Joint Inst. of Tech, Guangzhou College of Technology & Business
Portland State U.	Portland Inst., Nanjing U. of Posts & Telecom.
SUNY – Stony Brook	Stony Brook Institute at Anhui U.
Trine U.	Trine Engineering Inst., Shaanxi U. of Tech

Even a brief review of publicly available sources reveals that the partnerships that remain are also replete with U.S. national security risks. For example:

- New York University hosts a joint physics institute with **East China Normal University** at NYU Shanghai.^{22 a}
 - East China Normal hosts a State Key Laboratory of Precision Spectroscopy that partners with a defense lab and the blacklisted China Aerospace Science and Technology Corporation.²³
 - At least one NYU professor at the joint institute received over one million yuan from China's Thousand Talents Program to support

^a The institute confers NYU undergraduate and graduate degrees in high-tech fields including computer science, data science, neuroscience, physics, chemistry, and electronic engineering. NYU Shanghai is a legally independent Sino-foreign joint venture established by ECNU and NYU, enrolling over 2,000 students. *See* note 22.

quantum computing research,24 which directly advanced work at the Chinese university's precision spectroscopy lab.25

- University of Houston runs a joint engineering institute with Dalian Maritime University, the Houston International Institute.^b ²⁶
 - Dalian Maritime is overseen by a PRC defense agency.²⁷ The university collaborates with defense-linked entities such as the Dalian Naval Academy²⁸ and a PRC defense research center,^{c 29} and it has conducted research funded by the Ministry of State Security and the Central Military Commission.³⁰

Finding 3 - Dozens of Additional U.S.-China University Collaborations Pose a National Security Risk.

These ventures are far from the only collaborations that pose a U.S. national security risk. We have identified dozens of additional American universities hosting high-risk partnerships with PRC entities, including both joint institutes and joint degree programs under Beijing's "Chinese-foreign cooperative education" system.31 We reviewed open-source information on partnerships between U.S. universities and entities in China and identified nearly 150 partnerships with entities that are linked to China's military and defense industrial base. A sample of those partnerships and risk factors are identified below.

These instructional partnerships also create national security risks. Instructional programs—when delivered at scale—grant sustained access to U.S. expertise, content, and institutional resources. These programs operate under PRC law, prioritize Chinese students, and often leverage the brand and technical strength of federally funded U.S. universities.³²

The concern is not just the subjects that are taught through these programs—but where the expertise is coming from. These programs are often embedded in universities singled out by the U.S. government for their technical leadership-including both large, top-tier research institutes and smaller institutions that host federally-recognized research programs. For example, Georgia Tech hosts a University Affiliated Research Center supporting the Department of Defense.³³ U.C. Berkeley is tied to a Department of Energy national

^b The Institute enrolls 1,200 students and offers University of Houston-awarded undergraduate degrees in mechanical, civil, and electrical engineering. See note 26.

^c Specifically, the 701 Research Institute of the blacklisted China Shipbuilding Industry Corporation, which conducts military research for the PLA and is the PLA Navy's largest supplier of weapons platforms. See note 29.

lab. Detroit Mercy, Oakland University, and Eastern Michigan University carry designations in cybersecurity from the U.S. National Security Agency.³⁴

These federal credentials exist because of specific strengths—in fields like nanotech, advanced computing, and defense systems—the very areas the PRC is working to dominate. All five of these American universities previously hosted Joint Institutes, which they shut down after the Committees exposed the national security risks. It is no surprise Beijing targeted these institutions and others like them as it seeks structured, long-term access to the expertise China needs.

The ongoing partnerships identified in Table 3 create similar risks. These partnerships include:

- Three joint degree programs between U.S. universities and China's **Seven Sons of National Defense**^d universities:
 - o Harbin Inst. of Technology + University of Arizona³⁵
 - o **Beijing Inst. of Technology** + Bryant University³⁶
 - o **Beijing Inst. of Technology** + Utah State University³⁷
- A partnership³⁸ focused on **submarine engineering research** between the University of Houston and **Dalian Maritime University**.
 - As noted above, Dalian Maritime University partners with Chinese defense conglomerates on defense and maritime related research; and has been implicated in espionage.^{39 40}
- A dual-degree program in aircraft power engineering between Shenyang Aerospace University⁴¹ and Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
 - o Shenyang is supervised by the blacklisted Chinese military company the Aviation Industry Corporation of China, the developer of China's 5th Generation Stealth Fighter, and it focuses on defense research, hosting multiple defense research labs.⁴²
- A joint program in mechanical design, manufacturing, and automation between North China Institute of Aerospace Engineering⁴³ and Saint Martin's University.
 - North China Institute is supervised in part by China's defense conglomerates China Aerospace Science and Technology Corporation (CASC) and China Aerospace Science and Industry Corporation (CASIC), which produce China's Long March Rockets and other missiles and satellites for the PLA.⁴⁴

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^d The Seven Sons of National Defense are universities hand-picked by the CCP to propel China's military and defense-research forward. *See* Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI), *The China Defence Universities Tracker* (Nov. 25, 2019), https://www.aspi.org.au/report/china-defence-universities-tracker/.

Table 3 below includes detailed risk analysis on more than fifty partnerships that pose serious national security risks.⁴⁵ We believe that more such partnerships exist.

These partnerships **must** end.

Table 3 - High-Risk Joint Institutes & Dual -Degree Programse

Key

Defense University	Defense Oversight			efense ograms	Defense Research		Military End User	
Seven Sons of National Defense U. or a former "Ministry of Ordnance Industry" ⁴⁶ university.	Jointly administered by SASTIND ⁴⁷ or a state-owned defense and weapons conglomerate.	Hosts high-risk defense entities (e.g., national defense and state key labs or defense-focused R&D centers). 48 Hosts high-risk programs (e. disciplines w "national defense" defense" characteristics		rams (e.g., olines with national efense"	Licensed to conduct classified defer research or ho high-risk defer infrastructur (e.g., super computers). ⁵	milita nse intellige sts use or ea nse or partn e Chinese or de	Linked to military or intelligence end use or espionage or partners with Chinese military or defense conglomerate(s).	
		Defense University	Defense Oversight	Defense Entities	Defense Programs	Defense Research	MEU	
Harbin Institute of University of Arizona Joint Master's in Managemen Systems ⁵²	O,	~	~	~	~	~	~	
Beijing Institute of Bryant University Joint Undergraduate in Acco		~	~	~	~	~	~	
Beijing Institute of Utah State University Joint Undergraduate in Int'l	Technology ⁵⁵	~	~	~	~	~	~	
Chongqing Univers and Telecommunic Northern Arizona Univers Joint Unidergraduate in Elect Engineering ⁵⁸	ations ⁵⁷	~	~	~	~	~	~	
Chongqing Univers and Telecommunic SUNY – Albany Joint Undergraduate in Softw	ations ⁵⁹ vare Engineering ⁶⁰	~	~	~	~	~	~	
Changchun University and Technology ⁶¹ Delaware State University Joint Undergraduate in Opto Science and Engineering ⁶²	•	~	~	~	~	~	~	
Kunshan Duke Uni Duke University Wuhan University ⁶⁴	versity ⁶³		~	~	~	~	~	
University of Electrand Technology of Webster University Joint MBA ⁶⁶			~	~	~	~	~	
Nanchang Hangkor University of Northern Iov			~	~	✓	~	~	

 $^{^{\}rm e}$ Key for the righthand column:

<u>Joint Institute</u> or PRC University Host of Joint Program

U.S. University Partner

PRC University Partner (if applicable)

Title of Joint Degree (if applicable)

Isiat Hadananada ata in Flastronia Information	I					
Joint Undergraduate in Electronic Information Engineering						
Xi'an University of Electronic						
Science and Technology ⁶⁸ Virginia Tech		~	~	~	~	~
Joint Undergraduate in Big Data Management and						
Applications ⁶⁹						
Shenyang Aerospace University ⁷⁰ Southern Illinois University Carbondale						
Joint Undergraduate in Aircraft Power		•	•	•	•	•
Engineering ⁷¹ Xi'an Jiaotong University ⁷²						
University of Texas at Arlington		✓	✓	~	~	✓
Joint Executive MBA ⁷³ Sun Yat-sen University ⁷⁴						
University of Minnesota		~	✓	✓	✓	✓
Joint Executive MBA75						
Tsinghua University ⁷⁶ Temple University		~	~	~	~	~
Joint Masters in Law ⁷⁷						
Tsinghua University ⁷⁸ Johns Hopkins University		~	~	~	~	~
Joint Doctorate in Public Health ⁷⁹		·	Ť	·	•	•
Heilongjiang Institute of						
Technology ⁸⁰ Western Illinois University		~	~	~	✓	~
Joint Program in Geographic Information Science ⁸¹						
Soochow University - School of						
Applied Technology ⁸² California State San Bernardino		✓	✓	~	~	~
Joint Program in Internet of Things Engineering ⁸³						
Lanzhou University84						
Drexel University Joint Program in Computer Science and		~	~	✓	~	~
Technology ⁸⁵						
North China Institute of Aerospace Engineering ⁸⁶						
Saint Martin's University		✓	✓	~	~	~
Joint Program in Mechanical Design, Manufacturing and Automation ⁸⁷						
Dalian University of						
Technology ⁸⁸		./	./	./	.,	
U.C. Irvine Joint Program in Mechanical Design,		•	•	•	•	•
Manufacturing and Automation ⁸⁹						
Southwest University of Science						
and Technology ⁹⁰ Tennessee State University		~	~	✓	~	~
Joint Program in Civil Engineering ⁹¹						
Chongqing University ⁹² University of Cincinnati		•	•			•
Joint Program in Mechanical Design,		~	~	~	~	~
Manufacturing and Automation ⁹³ Chongqing University ⁹⁴						
University of Cincinnati		~	✓	~	~	~
Joint Program in Electrical Engineering and Automation ⁹⁵		•	•	•	•	•
Soochow University - School of						
Applied Technology%		~	~	~	~	~
California State Northridge Joint Program in Engineering ⁹⁷						
University of Shanghai for						
Science and Technology98		~	✓	~	✓	✓
Queens College, CUNY Joint Program in English ⁹⁹						
Soochow University ¹⁰⁰						_
University of Arkansas Joint Program in Logistics Management ¹⁰¹		✓	~	~	~	~
John I rozium in Eozioneo munugement	Į.					

University of Shanghai for Science and Technology ¹⁰²	~	✓	~	~	~
University of North Dakota Joint Program in Business Administration ¹⁰³					
Houston International Institute ¹⁰⁴ University of Houston Dalian Maritime University ¹⁰⁵	~	~	~	~	✓
Central South University ¹⁰⁶ U.C. San Francisco Joint Masters in Nursing ¹⁰⁷	~	✓	~	~	~
Hebei University ¹⁰⁸ University of New Orleans	~	~	~	~	
Joint Masters in Nursing ¹⁰⁹ Shijiazhuang Tiedao University ¹¹⁰ Florida Institute of Technology Joint Program in Mechanical Design, Manufacturing and Automation ¹¹¹	~	~	~	~	~
Henan University of Science and Technology ¹¹² Idaho State University Joint Program in Mechatronic Engineering ¹¹³	~	~	~	~	~
Stony Brook Institute ¹¹⁴ Suny Stony Brook Anhui University ¹¹⁵	~	~	~	~	~
Arizona College of Technology ¹¹⁶ University of Arizona Hebei University of Technology ¹¹⁷	~	~	~	~	~
Tianjin Polytechnic University ¹¹⁸ Bowling Green State University Joint Program in Information Management and Info Systems ¹¹⁹	~	~	~	~	~
Beijing University of Chemical Technology ¹²⁰ University of Detroit Mercy Joint Program in Mechanical Design, Manufacturing and Automation ¹²¹	~	~	~	~	
Beijing University of Chemical Technology ¹²² SUNY-ESF	~	~	~	~	
Joint Program in Bioengineering ¹²³ Beijing University of Chemical Technology ¹²⁴ University of Georgia	~	~	~	~	
Joint Master's in Bioengineering ¹²⁵ Shanghai New York University ¹²⁶ New York University East China Normal University ¹²⁷		~	~	~	~
Miami College 128 University of Miami Henan University ¹²⁹	~		~	~	~
Hefei University of Technology ¹³⁰ Clark University Joint Masters in Nursing ¹³¹	~		~	~	~
Guilin University of Electronic Technology ¹³²					
University of Arkansas at Little Rock Joint Program in Electronic Information Engineering ¹³³	~		~	~	
Portland Institute ¹³⁴ Portland State University Nanjing University of Posts & Telecoms ¹³⁵	~		~	~	
Kunming University of Science and Technology ¹³⁶ University of Idaho Joint Program in Civil Engineering ¹³⁷	~		~		~
Kunming University of Science and Technology ¹³⁸	~		~		~
University of Arkansas (Fayetteville)					

Joint Program in Logistics Engineering ¹³⁹			
Wenzhou-Kean University ¹⁴⁰			
Kean University	✓	✓	✓
Wenzhou University ¹⁴¹			
SWUFE-UD Institute of Data			
Science ¹⁴²			
University of Delaware		✓	~
Southwestern University of Finance and			
Economics ¹⁴³			
QU-Drake United College144			
Drake University	✓	✓	
Qingdao University of Science and			
Technology ¹⁴⁵			
Missouri Institute ¹⁴⁶			,
University of Missouri-Columbia Xiamen University of Technology ¹⁴⁷		•	~
,			
North Alabama Int'l College of			
Engineering and Technology ¹⁴⁸	✓	✓	
University of North Alabama	•		
Guizhou University ¹⁴⁹			

WHAT IS NOW UNFOLDING

Joint institutes offer the PRC sustained, structured access to U.S. expertise—but they are only one piece of a broader system Beijing uses to infiltrate American research institutions. Over the past decade, the PRC has gained footholds through a range of legal and quasi-legal channels, including talent recruitment programs, defense research collaboration, and foreign scholarship schemes. More than 8,800 DOD-funded research papers have included PRC coauthors—many directly tied to China's defense research base.

But the Select Committee's recent oversight work has shown that joint institutes were only one component of a broader system. In recent months, the Select Committee has launched new investigations into PRC-linked scholarship programs and the exploitation of student visa pathways. What once came through Confucius Institutes now flows through new channels—less visible but no less strategic.

The Select Committee is now actively investigating these additional CCP activities—including the China Scholarship Counsel and student visa pathways—which, combined with joint institutes, illustrate a coordinated strategy by the CCP: leverage American institutions to train PRC talent, absorb U.S. research, and convert that knowledge into military and economic advantage. Joint institutes are just one vector—the problem is systemic.

PART II: FOREIGN FUNDING REPORTING REQUIREMENTS

BACKGROUND

Trump Administration Actions

As noted in *CCP* on the *Quad*,¹⁵¹ section 117 of the HEA requires institutions of higher education (IHEs) that receive federal financial assistance to disclose semiannually to the U.S. Department of Education (ED or Department) any gifts from, or contracts with, a foreign source that alone, or in the aggregate, are valued at \$250,000 or more in a calendar year.¹⁵²

Enforcement of section 117 was strong during the first Trump Administration but then non-existent under the Biden-Harris Administration. During the first Trump Administration, the Department opened section 117 investigations on 19 campuses from 2019-2021, which led universities to report \$6.5 billion in previously undisclosed foreign funds. Is In contrast, the Biden-Harris Administration took no new enforcement actions under section 117. Is This failure to enforce the law resulted in foreign funds infiltrating our country undetected and underreported, allowing malignant foreign entities, like the CCP, to take root at colleges and universities. In September 2024, the National Association of Scholars compared data reported under section 117 to reportable amounts of foreign funds disclosed under FOIA requests. They found that a staggering 39 percent of such foreign funds were not disclosed under the Biden-Harris Administration, representing a regression from the reporting under the Trump Administration.

FINDINGS

Disclosures of Foreign Funding for Joint Institutes

Delayed, inaccurate, or absent reporting under section 117 violates current law. As noted in *CCP on the Quad*, UC Berkeley and Georgia Tech failed to properly comply with section 117 requirements when reporting funds received through their joint institutes. ¹⁵⁶ Given the similarities in authority and funding structure between UC Berkeley and Georgia Tech, it would not be surprising to see other joint institutes mimic such structure. Because of both the significant national security threat and the existing section 117 law, institutions with joint institutes must ensure they are submitting accurate data under section 117.

Finding 4 - Many Universities are Failing to Disclose their Joint Institute Agreements, Violating U.S. Law.

The Department's section 117 data is published bi-annually, with the most recent data released on February 28, 2025. The Department also publishes data as old as September 23, 2020, allowing for past comparison of previously reported gifts. Proper section 117 compliance from institutions with joint institutes, according to the Education and Workforce Committee's analysis of recent Department data, seems to be a mixed bag. 159

For example, the University of North Alabama and Northeastern State University (Tahlequah) have still not reported a single gift or contract with China despite maintaining joint institute agreements. ¹⁶⁰ In section 117 data published in February 2025, Trine University reported four contracts with China. ¹⁶¹ However, all four contracts were absent in section 117 data published October 15, 2024, despite all of the contracts beginning before May 2024. In fact, two of the contracts in question began in 2021 and 2022, respectively. ¹⁶² Department guidelines are clear that contracts should be reported when the contract is entered, not completed. ¹⁶³ The delayed reporting of these contracts seem to indicate Trine University's failure to report such contracts in a timely manner.

In contrast, some universities are demonstrating positive approaches. Drake University disclosed its contract with Qingdao University and included a note describing the joint institute revenue structure. The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign also added descriptions to its section 117 disclosures regarding its joint institute with Zhejiang University. These are small yet important steps towards proper compliance and transparency.

In total, the 14 universities that continue to maintain joint institutes have reported receiving roughly \$680 million in gifts and contracts from sources in China. He While this total includes past gifts and contracts that may have no direct relation to the creation of joint institutes, it still points to the concerning amount of funding involved in partnerships with Chinese sources that may impact U.S. national security. Given the historical trend of underreporting under section 117, especially considering the examples of institutions failing to properly disclose funding received from joint institutes, the \$680 million may just be the tip of the iceberg.

WHAT IS NOW UNFOLDING

The second Trump Administration has not only resumed enforcement of section 117 but also strengthened it. In fact, the Trump Administration opened new compliance reviews into four universities: Harvard, UC Berkeley, University of Pennsylvania (UPenn), and the University of Michigan.

The Trump Administration has thus far: (1) issued Executive Order 14282 (EO 14282), titled "Transparency Regarding Foreign Influence at American Universities;" ¹⁶⁷ (2) transferred section 117 enforcement actions from the Office of Federal Student Aid (FSA) back to the Office of General Counsel (OGC), making clear its enforcement prioritization; ¹⁶⁸ (3) initiated a records request with Harvard after discovering inaccurate foreign financial disclosures; ¹⁶⁹ (4) opened an investigation and initiated a records request with UC Berkeley after a review of UC Berkeley's foreign funding disclosures revealed the disclosures may be incomplete or inaccurate; ¹⁷⁰ (5) opened an investigation into UPenn after a similar review of the university's foreign reports revealed inaccurate and incomplete data; ¹⁷¹ and (6) opened an investigation into the University of Michigan, in part spurred by multiple examples of Chinese nationals attempting to smuggle hazardous material through university facilities. ¹⁷²

Improvements to Enforcement Structure

The second Trump Administration has improved the enforcement structure of section 117. EO 14282, published on April 28, 2025, instructs the Secretary of Education (Secretary) to "take appropriate steps to reverse or rescind any actions by the prior administration that permit higher education institutions to maintain improper secrecy regarding their foreign funding," "take appropriate steps to require universities to more specifically disclose details about foreign funding, including the true source and purpose of the funds," "provide the American people with greater access to information about foreign funding to higher education institutions," and directs the Secretary and Attorney General to "hold accountable higher education institutions that fail to comply with the law concerning disclosures of foreign funding." ¹⁷³ Significantly, section 3 of EO 14282 requires the heads of executive branch departments and agencies to take appropriate action "to prospectively ensure that certification of compliance by higher education institutions with [section 117 of the HEA] is material for purposes of [the False Claims Act] and for receipt of appropriate federal grant funds, which shall not be provided in cases of noncompliance with [section 117 of the HEA] and any other applicable foreign funding disclosure requirements." 174 Tying section 117 to False Claims Act liability is likely to draw significantly greater scrutiny of disclosure obligations than in the past by the higher education community.

Additionally, as mentioned above, the Biden-Harris Administration shifted section 117 enforcement responsibilities from OGC to FSA. ¹⁷⁵ FSA, otherwise tasked with administering federal student aid programs, was illequipped to enforce section 117 and failed to enforce the law. Accordingly, in April of this year, Secretary Linda McMahon directed OGC to resume enforcement functions, and it has done so. ¹⁷⁶

The Trump Administration has continued to correctly emphasize the importance of strengthening interagency coordination. During the first term, the Trump Administration issued National Security Presidential Memorandum (NSPM)–33 to take an important step towards standardizing disclosure requirements and improving communication between agencies, including the DOD and ED.¹⁷⁷ Last month the Office of the Director of National Intelligence's National Counterintelligence and Security Center issued a new bulletin titled *Safeguarding Academia*. The bulletin was published in partnership with multiple agencies, including ED, and continues the Trump Administration's strong track record of properly prioritizing combatting research threats at institutions of higher education.¹⁷⁸

University Investigations

In addition to improving the enforcement structure, the Trump Administration has resumed officially launching investigations to ensure proper compliance. In the first nine months, the Trump Administration has launched four new compliance reviews, a drastic increase from the Biden-Harris Administration's four-year total of zero.

The Department announced on April 18 a transmittal of records request to Harvard after a review of the university's section 117 disclosures revealed incomplete and inaccurate disclosures. ¹⁷⁹ The request letter to Harvard noted that "incomplete and inaccurate disclosures have once again been provided to the Department by Harvard (including non-compliant transaction disclosures and the submission of anonymous donors, among other deficiencies), in possible violation of Harvard's December 2024 agreement with the Department." ¹⁸⁰

Later in April, the Department initiated a notice of investigation and records request with UC Berkeley after a review of the school's section 117 reports revealed its disclosures may be "incomplete or inaccurate." ¹⁸¹ In May 2023, media reports indicated that UC Berkeley had failed to disclose to the Department hundreds of millions of dollars in funding from a foreign government. ¹⁸² After further investigation, the Department transmitted a letter to the school requesting that it address the allegations, and in its responses to the Department on June 16 and July 7, 2023, UC Berkeley acknowledged having failed to disclose millions in foreign government funding under section 117. Even so, the Biden-Harris Administration still declined to open an investigation into UC Berkeley despite this acknowledgement. The Department's April 25 notice of investigation and document request is closely related to the Committees' prior investigation of Tsinghua-Berkeley Shenzhen Institute, a partnership between UC Berkeley's College of Engineering and China's Tsinghua University, discussed in *CCP on the Quad*. ¹⁸³

On May 8, 2025, the Department opened a section 117 investigation at UPenn. 184 UPenn previously had not disclosed any foreign funding until February

of 2019. 185 According to the Department, UPenn has frequently anonymized donor identities and also failed to submit gifts and contracts in a timely manner. 186 The current request seeks documents and records related to compliance. 187

The Administration also opened a section 117 investigation at the University of Michigan on July 15. Although the university did close the aforementioned SJTU–UM Joint Institute, the Administration highlighted that some senior university administrative personnel still show "apparent indifference" to national security concerns. The Administration also questioned the effectiveness of the university's foreign funding compliance capabilities, given that an estimated 20 percent of the University of Michigan's section 117 disclosures were submitted late and many counterparties were misidentified. The Administration also given that an estimated 20 percent of the University of Michigan's section 117 disclosures were submitted late and many counterparties were misidentified.

FIXING THE PROBLEM: RECOMMENDATIONS

CCP on the Quad laid out a detailed analysis of the gaps in U.S. policy and regulation that have enabled the CCP to exploit American universities. This report highlights additional issues in academic partnerships and ongoing problems with foreign gift and contract disclosures. Chairman Moolenaar and Chairman Walberg therefore urge the Senate to expeditiously adopt House-passed legislation to address troubling academic partnerships and to take up the House-passed *DETERRENT Act*.

The Securing American Funding and Expertise from Adversarial Research Exploitation Act of 2025 (SAFE Research Act) will prohibit federal funding to researchers in science and technology fields whose collaborations with foreign adversaries may pose a U.S. national security risk and prohibit Department of Defense funding to universities who partner with Chinese institutions that pose a U.S. national security risk.

In addition, the *SAFE Research Act* will require enhanced disclosures from federal researchers of their ties to foreign adversary countries, including disclosure of collaboration, funding, travel, and affiliations with entities and individuals based in a foreign adversary country like the PRC. Finally, the bill will restrict federally funded researchers from sharing non-published research outcomes or expertise with prohibited foreign adversary entities even after the life of the grant.

The SAFE Research Act was introduced and adopted by the House as an amendment to the Fiscal Year 2026 National Defense Authorization Act (FY26 NDAA), which passed the House on September 10, 2025.

The Chairmen also continue to urge adoption of the DETERRENT Act to require enhanced transparency from universities and researchers of foreign gifts and contracts. On February 6, 2025, Rep. Michael Baumgartner (R-WA) introduced the DETERRENT Act as H.R. 1048.¹⁹¹ The DETERRENT Act had 21 cosponsors,

including two Democratic Members: Rep. Donald Davis (D-NC) and Rep. Marie Gluesenkamp Perez (D-WA). The bipartisan cosponsorship of the DETERRENT Act foreshadowed its bipartisan support when it passed the House on March 27, 2025, in a 241-169 vote. 192 On April 3, 2025, Senator Thom Tillis (R-NC) introduced the Senate companion (S.1296). 193 S.1296 has 13 Republican cosponsors, including Senate HELP Committee Chairman Dr. Bill Cassidy (R-LA). 194 We continue to urge the Senate to pass the DETERRENT Act and President Trump to sign this bill into law. As passed in the House, the DETERRENT Act does the following:

- Slashes the foreign gift reporting threshold for colleges and universities from \$250,000 to \$50,000, with an even stricter \$0 threshold for countries of concern (China, North Korea, Iran, Russia, as well as any country designated by the Secretary of Education, in consultation with the Secretary of Defense, Secretary of State, and the Director of National Intelligence, to be engaged in conduct detrimental to the national security or foreign policy of the United States);
- Closes reporting loopholes and provides transparency to Congress, intelligence agencies, and the public;
- Requires disclosure of foreign gifts to individual staff and faculty at research-heavy institutions to protect those targeted the most by our adversaries;
- Holds our largest private institutions accountable for their financial partnerships by revealing concerning foreign investments in their endowments; and
- Implements a series of repercussions for colleges and universities that remain noncompliant in foreign gift reporting, such as fines and the loss of title IV funding.

ENDNOTE

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- ⁴⁷ *Id.* (The PRC's State Administration for Science, Technology, and Industry for National Defense seeks to create "universities with national defense characteristics" including by setting up defense laboratories and research areas at "civilian" PRC universities.).
- ⁴⁸ *Id.* (this includes three types of laboratories: national defense science and technology key laboratories (国防科技重点实验室); national defense key discipline laboratories (国防重点学科实验室); Ministry of Education national defense key laboratories (教育部国防重点实验室)).
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