

April 10, 2023

Omar Ashmawy Chief Counsel Office of Congressional Ethics U.S. House of Representatives 425 3rd Street, S.W., Suite 1110 Washington, DC 20024

Email: oce@mail.house.gov

RE: Rep. Jamaal Bowman (NY-16)

Dear Mr. Ashmawy,

The Foundation for Accountability and Civic Trust (FACT) is a nonprofit organization dedicated to promoting accountability, ethics, and transparency in government and civic arenas. We request the Office of Congressional Ethics (OCE) immediately investigate whether Representative Jamaal Bowman has used social media accounts in violation of House rules and abused official resources for political purposes.

TikTok is a social media company owned by the Chinese company ByteDance Ltd, which has raised U.S. government concerns that users' data could be given to China's authoritarian government.¹ In 2018, after another Chinese app "Neihan Duanzi" was shut down by China's State Administration of Radio and Television, the app's CEO (and ByteDance's current CEO), Zhang Yiming, released a public apology because the company "veered off course" by going against "core socialist values" and "did not do a thorough job in guiding public opinion."² In addition, Zhang Yiming claimed he would further deepen the cooperation with China's state run

¹ Dara Kerr, Armed With Influencers And Lobbyists, TikTok Goes On The Offense On Capitol Hill, NPR, Mar. 22, 2023.

² Tara Francis Chan, A Chinese Tech CEO Was In A Similar Position To Mark Zuckerberg This Week - And What Happened Shows How Much Power Beijing Has, Business Insider, April, 12, 2018.

media and improve distribution of state run media content.³ This was described as a "reminder" to Chinese companies, which are required to not "contravene" against seven "bottom lines" that include the socialist system, the country's national interests, public order, and morality.⁴

Both the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Federal Communications Commission have warned that data from TikTok such as biometric identification, browsing history, and location could be shared with the Chinese government.⁵ China's 2017 National Security Law requires Chinese companies to "support, assist, and cooperate" with national intelligence efforts.⁶ The FBI and Justice Department have reportedly began investigating whether TikTok has spied on U.S. citizens, including journalists.⁷ Moreover, the Biden administration has expressed concern over the ownership of the company.⁸ Specifically, along with the federal government, the House of Representatives banned the TikTok app from all official devices.⁹

In spite of this, Rep. Bowman has chosen to use this social media app and has two TikTok accounts: (1) @jamaalbowmanny on which he posts campaign and political content; and (2) @repbowman, which is an official government account that describes him as a "Congressman for NY-16" and directly links to his House website.¹⁰ The bio section of each account are shown here:

While Chinese citizens are subject to censorship and arrest for their speech, this is not limited to Chinese apps or geographical boundaries. For instance, a Chinese citizen was prosecuted for "insulting the government" based upon a conversation from an encrypted non-Chinese app and China has cracked down "on overseas dissidents whose families are still in the mainland." *Id*.

⁵ Kelvin Chan and Haleluya Hadero, *Why TikTok's Security Risks Keep Raising Fears*, <u>The Associated Press</u>, Mar. 22, 2023.

⁶ Clothilde Goujard, *What The Hell Is Wrong With TikTok?*, <u>Politico</u>, Mar. 22, 2023. "The regulations also require the tech companies to monitor and keep records of chats for six months, and report any illegal activity to authorities. The companies have essentially been ordered to spy on their users." Tara Francis Chan, *China's 'Great Firewall' is taller than ever under 'president-for-life''Xi Jinping*, Insider, Mar. 24, 2018.

⁷ Dara Kerr, Armed With Influencers And Lobbyists, TikTok Goes On The Offense On Capitol Hill, <u>NPR</u>, Mar. 22, 2023.

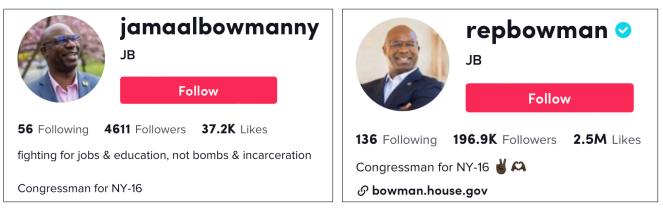
⁸ John D. McKinnon, U.S. Threatens Ban If TikTok's Chinese Owners Don't Sell Stakes, <u>The Wall Street Journal</u>, Mar. 15, 2023.

⁹ Brian Fung, US House Bans TikTok from Official Devices, <u>CNN</u>, Dec. 30, 2022; TikTok Banned on U.S. Government Devices, and The U.S. Is Not Alone. Here's Where the App is Restricted., <u>CBS News</u>, Mar. 1, 2023.

¹⁰ Jamaal Bowman, <u>TikTok</u>, Accessed April 5, 2023; Rep. Bowman, <u>TikTok</u>, Accessed April 5, 2023.

³ Id.

⁴ *Id.*; Tara Francis Chan, *China's 'Great Firewall' is Taller Than Ever Under 'President-for-Life''Xi Jinping*, Insider, Mar. 24, 2018.



Contains Campaign / Political Content

Official Account

Although he maintains two separate accounts, Rep. Bowman has posted political content on his official account and used official resources to make posts on his political account. For instance, Bowman recorded a political video from inside the U.S. Capitol building and posted it on his political account:¹¹



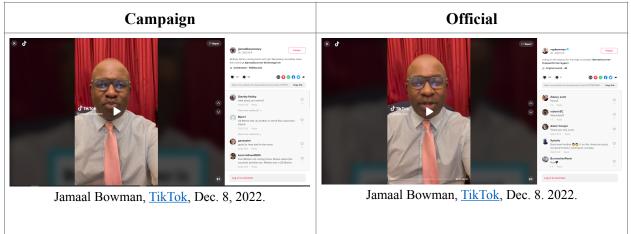
Jamaal Bowman, <u>TikTok</u>, March 1, 2022.

¹¹Jamaal Bowman, <u>TikTok</u>, March 1, 2022.

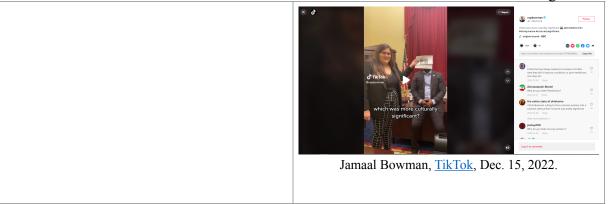
Another example is that Bowman has made identical political posts calling for a Supreme Court Justice to be impeached on both his political account and his campaign account:



Finally, he has apparently also recorded video to post to his political TikTok account from his Congressional office. The post on the left was uploaded to his political account and the posts on the right were recorded from the same location, on the same day or week, and uploaded to his official account:



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Law: Federal law and House ethics rules require strict separation between campaign and official acts: (1) a Member is prohibited from using official resources for campaign purposes and (2) a Member is prohibited from using campaign funds for official purposes.

Federal law states that "appropriations shall be applied only to the objects for which the appropriations were made except as otherwise provided by law."¹² The ethics rules enforce this law by also prohibiting Members from using any official resource for campaign or political purposes.¹³ An "official resource" is anything funded by taxpayers, examples include: all government buildings and House offices,¹⁴ a Member's official website and social media

¹⁴House Ethics Manual, at 127.

¹² 31 U.S.C. sec. 1301(a).

¹³ U.S. House of Reps Comm. on Ethics, *House Ethics Manual*, at 123 (2022 Print), available at <u>https://ethics.house.gov/files/documents/2022/House-Ethics-Manual-2022-Print.pdf</u> (official House resources "may not be used for campaign or political purposes"); see also *id*. at 124 ("Members and staff should be aware that the general prohibition against campaign or political use of official resources applies not only to any Member campaign for re-election, but rather to any campaign or political undertaking. Thus the prohibition applies to, for example, campaigns for the Presidency, the U.S. Senate, or a state or local office, and it applies to such campaigns whether the Member is a candidate or is merely seeking to support or assist (or oppose) a candidate in such a campaign.").

Page 6 of 8 accounts,¹⁵ and photographs and video from the House or Senate floor.¹⁶ Conversely, a Member is prohibited from using campaign funds for official purposes.¹⁷

Government Buildings. Official buildings are those that are paid for with taxpayer funds and include any federal building, Congressional office space, and the Capitol.¹⁸ Members are prohibited from engaging in any political activity within official buildings, such as doing campaign work, holding political meetings, soliciting campaign funds, and taking photos or video for campaign or political purposes.¹⁹

House Floor Video. Members are prohibited from using photographs and video of House floor proceedings for campaign or political purposes. This includes any photograph or video footage of floor proceedings even it was reposted from a third-party source, i.e. another website

¹⁷ Campaign funds may not be used for official expenses, including "communications" such as official website and official audio and video recordings and materials. House Ethics Manual, at 177-78.

¹⁸ House Ethics Manual, at p. 128. The Committee on Ethics explains "official buildings . . . include[s] not only any House office building, but also all district office space, any Senate office building, the Capitol, the Library of Congress, and any federal building." U.S. House of Rep. Comm. on Ethics, Memorandum from the Comm. to All Members, *Campaign Activity Guidance*, Aug. 15. 2014, at 3, available at: <u>https://ethics.house.gov/sites/</u>ethics.house.gov/files/20140815 Pink Sheet.pdf.

¹⁵ House Ethics Manual, at 131 (prohibiting the use of Member and Committee websites for political purposes); U.S. House of Reps., Comm. on House. Admin., *Members' Congressional Handbook*, at 38 (Adopted Jul. 25, 2018; Updated Dec. 30, 2022) available at <u>https://cha.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/republicans-cha.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/2022-12-30-final-members-congressional-handbook49.pdf</u> ("[C]ontent on Social Media Accounts is subject to the same requirements as content on Member websites").

¹⁶ House Rule V, cl. 2(c)(1) (A Member is also specifically prohibited from using a House floor "recording" for "any partisan political campaign purpose."); House Ethics Manual, at 128 ("Broadcast coverage and recordings of House floor proceedings may not be used for any political purpose under House Rule 5, clause 2(c)(1). In addition, under House Rule 11, clause 4(b), radio and television tapes and film of any coverage of House committee proceedings may not be used, or made available for use, as partisan political campaign material to promote or oppose the candidacy of any person for public office."); Report of the Comm. on Ethics, *In re Lujan*, Aug. 1, 2017, at 13, available at: https://ethics.house.gov/sites/ethics.house.gov/sites/ethics.house.gov/files/20170801%20Rep.%20Lujan%20Report%20-%20FINAL_0.pdf (stating a Member is prohibited from using a still image or photograph of House floor proceedings for political purposes).

¹⁹ "The House buildings, and House rooms and offices – including district offices – are supported with official funds and hence are considered official resources. Accordingly, as a general rule, they may not be used for the conduct of campaign or political activities. Thus, for example, a Member may not film a campaign commercial or have campaign photos taken in a congressional office. . . . In addition, House rooms and offices are not to be used for events that are campaign or political in nature, such as a meeting on campaign strategy, or a reception for campaign contributors." House Committee on Ethics, *General Prohibition Against Using Official Resources for Campaign or Political Purposes*, <u>https://ethics.house.gov/campaign/general-prohibition-against-using-official-resourcescampaign-or-political-purposes</u> (accessed Mar. 23, 2023).

or news organization.²⁰ As the Ethics Committee has stated, "Members may not re-use an image of a floor proceeding published by a third-party, if the Member could not use that image in the first instance."²¹

Websites and Social Media Accounts. A Member is prohibited from using their official social media and websites for political purposes. Moreover, federal law and House ethics rules require a strict separation between campaign and official social media accounts. A Member's official social media accounts may not include any of the following: personal, political, or campaign information; grassroots lobbying or soliciting support for a Member's position; or a link to campaign or political related accounts or sites.²² A Member's campaign social media accounts.²³

The laws at issue in this case protect taxpayer-funded resources from abuse and theft and strict enforcement addresses the public's concerns that incumbents wrongfully use government funds to run for re-election.

Analysis: Rep. Bowman Abused Official Resources for Political Purposes. Although Rep. Bowman has two distinct TikTok accounts, he has posted political content on his official account and content using official resources on his political account. Both are violations of the ethics rules.

First, Members are prohibited from recording video or taking photographs from government buildings for political purposes, which includes Congressional office buildings and the Capitol. In the first and third examples of Bowman's posts identified above, he recorded video from an official government building and posted it to his political TikTok account—clearly demonstrating the political purpose. This is a clear violation of the ethics rules.

Second, Members are prohibited from posting political content on their official social media accounts. In the second example of Bowman's posts identified above he clearly made a

²⁰ Derivative use of House floor photographs and video is prohibited. Report of the Comm. on Ethics, *In re Lujan*, Aug. 1, 2017, at 13, available at: <u>https://ethics.house.gov/sites/ethics.house.gov/files/20170801%20Rep.</u>
<u>%20Lujan%20Report%20-%20FINAL_0.pdf</u> (citing U.S. House of Rep. Comm. on Ethics, Memorandum from the Comm. to All Members, *Campaign Activity Guidance*, Aug. 15. 2014, at 16, available at: <u>https://ethics.house.gov/sites/et</u>

²¹ Id.

²² House Ethics Manual, at 131; see also Member's Congressional Handbook, at 38-39 ("A Member's official website and social media accounts are prohibited from including any personal, political, or campaign information, links to campaign-related websites, and "grassroots lobbying or solicit[ing] support for a Member's position.").

²³ See, e.g., House Ethics Manual, at 178 ("A Member's campaign website may not include a link to the congressional office site"; and "A congressional office site may not be advertised on the Member campaign website or on materials issued by the Member's campaign.").

political post calling for the impeachment of a Supreme Court Justice on his official House account. The political nature of this post is obvious because he also made the identical post on his political account months prior. This is an abuse of an official resource (official social media account) for political purposes and a violation of the ethics rules.

The law is clear and the posts above speak for themselves. The laws at issue in this case are important because not only do they protect taxpayer-funded resources from abuse, they also protect the integrity of official proceedings. One issue the House Ethics Manual acknowledges is the public perception that incumbents are simply using their office to run for re-election or to run for a higher office.²⁴ In addition to violating the specific laws, his use of official resources does not reflect credibly on the House.²⁵ Finally, given his use of a TikTok account and government resources, the Office of Congressional Ethics should ensure Rep. Bowman does not have the banned app installed on any government devices.

The Office of Congressional Ethics is responsible for ensuring each Representative fulfills the public trust inherent in the office and that they comply with the House's ethical standards. Therefore, we urge the Board to immediately investigate whether Representative Bowman used official resources for campaign purposes in violation of the House ethics rules.

To the best of my knowledge and ability, all evidence submitted was not obtained in violation of any law, rule, or regulation. Further, I am aware that the False Statements Act, 18 U.S.C. § 1001, applies to information submitted to the Office of Congressional Ethics.

Sincerely,

/s/Kendra Arnold

Kendra Arnold Executive Director, Foundation for Accountability & Civic Trust

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²⁴ House Ethics Manual, at 123 (stating the laws and rules prohibiting use of official resources for political purposes reflect "the basic principle that government funds should not be spent to help incumbents gain reelection").

²⁵ Members are required to "conduct themselves at all times in a manner that reflects creditably on the House." House Ethics Manual, at 1, 12 (citing House Rule 23, clause 1).