

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

OFFICE OF THE CLERK
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MEMBER / OFFICER POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM

This form is for disclosing the receipt of travel expenses from a private source for travel taken in connection with a Member or officer's official duties. This form does not eliminate the need to report privately-funded travel on the Member or officer's annual Financial Disclosure Statement. In accordance with House Rule 25, clause 5, you must complete this form and file it with the Clerk of the House, 135 Cannon House Office Building, within 15 days after travel is completed. Please do not file this form with the Committee on Ethics.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

1. Name of Traveler: Colleen Hanabusa
2. a. Name of accompanying relative: _____ *or* None
 b. Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
3. a. Dates of departure and return: Departure: March 2, 2018 Return: March 5, 2018
 b. Dates at personal expense: _____ *or* None
4. Departure city: Washington D.C. Destination: San Francisco, CA Return city: Washington, D.C.
5. Sponsor(s) (who paid for the trip): The Aspen Institute, Inc.
6. Describe meetings and events attended (attach additional pages if necessary): (See agenda for details)
Events and discussions hosted by Aspen Institute regarding North Korea
7. Attached to this form are EACH of the following (*signify that each item is attached by checking the corresponding box*):
 - a. a completed Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form;
 - b. the Primary Trip Sponsor Form completed by the trip sponsor prior to the trip, including all attachments and Grantmaking or Non-Grantmaking Sponsor Forms;
 - c. page 2 of the completed Traveler Form submitted by the Member or officer; *and*
 - d. the letter from the Committee on Ethics approving my participation on this trip.
8. a. I represent that I participated in each of the activities reflected in the sponsor's agenda. (*Signify that statement is true by checking box*):
 b. If not, explain: _____

I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge. I have determined that all of the expenses on the attached Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form were necessary and that the travel was in connection with my duties as a Member or officer of the U.S. House of Representatives and would not create the appearance that I am using public office for private gain.

SIGNATURE OF MEMBER: _____

DATE: 03.20.2018

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**U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics**

SPONSOR POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM

This form must be completed by an officer of any organization that served as the primary trip sponsor in providing travel expenses or reimbursement for travel expenses to House Members, officers, or employees under House Rule 25, clause 5. *A completed copy of the form must be provided to each House Member, officer, or employee who participated on the trip within 10 days of their return.* You must answer all questions, and check all boxes, on this form for your submission to comply with House rules and the Committee's travel regulations. Failure to comply with this requirement may result in the denial of future requests to sponsor trips and/or subject the current traveler to disciplinary action or a requirement to repay the trip expenses.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

1. Sponsor(s) (who paid for the trip): _____
The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Travel Destination(s): Stanford, California
3. Date of Departure: March 2, 2018 Date of Return: March 5, 2018
4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): Rep. Colleen Hanabusa
(NOTE: You may list more than one traveler on a form only if all information is identical for each person listed.)
5. **Actual amount** of expenses paid on behalf of, or reimbursed to, each individual named in response to Question 4:

	Total Transportation Expenses	Total Lodging Expenses	Total Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (dollar amount per item and description)
Traveler	\$552	\$675	\$194	\$264-meeting room expenses
Accompanying Relative				

6. All expenses connected to the trip were for actual costs incurred and not a *per diem* or lump sum payment. (Signify statement is true by checking box):

I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: 

Name: Dan Glickman Title: Vice President, Aspen Institute; Executive Director, Congressional Program

Organization: The Aspen Institute, Inc.

I am an officer of the above-named organization (signify statement is true by checking box):

Address: 2300 N Street, NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20037

Telephone number: 202-736-5859 (Lisa Jones)

Email Address: lisa.jones@aspeninst.org

Committee staff may contact the above-named individual if additional information is required.

If you have questions regarding your completion of this form, please contact the Committee on Ethics at (202) 225-7103.

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

TRAVELER FORM

This form should be completed by House Members, officers, or employees seeking Committee approval of privately-sponsored travel or reimbursement for travel under House Rule 25, clause 5. The completed form should be submitted directly to the Committee by each invited House Member, officer, or employee, together with the completed and signed trip sponsor form(s) and any attachments. A copy of this form, minus this initial page, will be made available for public inspection. *Form (and any attachments) may be faxed to the Committee at (202) 225-7392, sent or delivered to the Committee at 1015 Longworth, or e-mailed to travel.requests@mail.house.gov.*

YOUR COMPLETED REQUEST MUST BE SUBMITTED TO THE COMMITTEE NO LESS THAN 30 DAYS BEFORE YOUR PROPOSED DEPARTURE DATE. Absent exceptional circumstances, permission will not be granted for requests received less than 30 days before the trip commences. You must receive explicit approval from the Committee before you depart on this trip.

Name of Traveler: Colleen Hanabusa

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

I certify that the information contained on both pages of this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: 

Name of signatory (if other than traveler): Ainoa Naniolo

For staff, name of employing Member or committee: _____

Office address: Office of Congresswoman Colleen Hanabusa

Telephone number: (202) 225-2726

Email address of contact person: ian.terayama@mail.house.gov

- Check this box if the sponsoring entity is a media outlet, the purpose of the trip is to make a media appearance sponsored by that entity, and these forms are being submitted to the Committee less than 30 days before the trip departure date.

NOTE: You must complete all of the contact information fields above, as Committee staff may need to contact you if additional information is required.

KEEP A COPY OF THIS FORM. Page 2 (but not this page) must be submitted to the Clerk as part of the post-travel disclosure required by House Rule 25. Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting paperwork for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

If there are any questions regarding this form please contact the Committee:

Committee on Ethics
1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515
(202) 225-7103 (phone)
(202) 225-7392 (fax)
Travel email: travel.requests@mail.house.gov

**U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics**

TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: Colleen Hanabusa
2. Sponsor(s) (who will be paying for the trip): The Aspen Institute Inc.
The MacArthur Foundation, Carnegie Corporation of New York
3. Travel destination(s): Stanford, California
4. a. Date of departure March 2, 2018 Date of return: March 5, 2018
b. Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense? Yes No
If yes, dates at personal expense: _____
5. a. Will you be accompanied by a relative at the sponsor's expense? Yes No
b. If yes:
(1) Name of accompanying relative: _____
(2) Relationship to traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
(3) Accompanying relative is at least 18 years of age: Yes No
6. a. Did the trip sponsor answer "yes" to Question 9(d) on the Primary Trip Sponsor Form (*i.e.*, travel is sponsored by an entity that employs a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent and you are requesting lodging for two nights)? Yes No
b. If yes, explain why the second night of lodging is warranted:

7. Primary Trip Sponsor Form is attached, including agenda, invitee list, and any other attachments and contributing sponsor forms: Yes No
NOTE: The agenda should show the traveler's individual schedule, including departure and arrival times and identify the specific events in which the traveler will be participating.
8. Explain why participation in the trip is connected to the traveler's individual official or representational duties. Staff should include their job title and how the activities on the itinerary relate to their duties.

9. Is the traveler aware of any registered federal lobbyists or foreign agents involved in planning, organizing, requesting, and/or arranging the trip? Yes No
10. **FOR STAFF TRAVELERS:
TO BE COMPLETED BY YOUR EMPLOYING MEMBER:**

ADVANCED AUTHORIZATION OF EMPLOYEE TRAVEL

I hereby authorize the individual named above, an employee of the U.S. House of Representatives who works under my direct supervision, to accept expenses for the trip described in this request. I have determined that the above-described travel is in connection with my employee's official duties and that acceptance of these expenses will not create the appearance that the employee is using public office for private gain.

Date: _____

Signature of Employing Member

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

PRIMARY TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by private entities offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to House Members, officers, or employees under House Rule 25, clause 5. A completed copy of the form (and any attachments) should be provided to each invited House Member, officer, or employee, who will then forward it to the Committee together with a Traveler Form at least 30 days before the start date of the trip. The trip sponsor should NOT submit the form directly to the Committee. The Committee Web site (ethics.house.gov) provides detailed instructions for filling out the form.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Failure to comply with the Committee's Travel Regulations may also lead to the denial of permission to sponsor future trips.

1. Sponsor (who will be paying for the trip): _____
The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program) _____
2. I represent that the trip will not be financed (in whole or in part) by a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent (signify that the statement is true by checking box):
3. *Check only one:* I represent that:
 - a. the primary trip sponsor has not accepted from any other source funds intended directly or indirectly to finance any aspect of the trip *or*
 - b. the trip is arranged without regard to congressional participation and the primary trip sponsor has accepted funds only from entities that will receive a tangible benefit in exchange for those funds *or*
 - c. the primary trip sponsor has accepted funds from other source(s) intended directly or indirectly to finance all or part of this trip and has enclosed disclosure forms from each of those entities.
If "c" is checked, list the names of the additional sponsors: _____
MacArthur and Carnegie foundations _____
4. Provide names and titles of ALL House Members and employees you are inviting. For each House invitee, provide an explanation of why the individual was invited (include additional pages if necessary):
See attached list _____
5. Is travel being offered to an accompanying relative of the House invitee(s)? Yes No
6. Date of departure: March 2, 2018 Date of return: March 5, 2018
7. a. City of departure: Washington, DC or the district
b. Destination(s): Stanford, California
c. City of return: Washington, DC or the district
8. I represent that (*check one of the following*):
 - a. The sponsor of the trip is an institution of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965: *or*
 - b. The sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent: *or*
 - c. The sponsor employs or retains a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but the trip is for attendance at a one-day event *and* lobbyist/foreign agent involvement in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the Committee's travel regulations.
9. Check one of the following:
 - a. I checked 8(a) or (b) above:
 - b. I checked 8(c) above but am not offering any lodging:
 - c. I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for one night: *or*
 - d. I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for two nights:
If "d" is checked, explain why the second night of lodging is warranted: _____

10. Attached is a detailed agenda of the activities the House invitees will be participating in during the travel (i.e., an hourly description of planned activities for trip invitees) (indicate agenda is attached by checking box):
11. Check one:
- a. I represent that a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent will not accompany House Members or employees on any segment of the trip (signify that the statement is true by checking box): *or*
- b. N/A – trip sponsor is a U.S. institution of higher education.
12. For each sponsor required to submit a sponsor form, describe the sponsor's interest in the subject matter of the trip and its role in organizing and/or conducting the trip:

Aspen Institute's Congressional Program (AICP) provides non-partisan educational forums for members of Congress on public policy issues. AICP has organized and will conduct the conference and has selected and invited the attendees. The foundations listed in Question 3C provide grant funding to AICP generally; they do not play a role in organizing and conducting the conference.

13. Answer parts a and b. Answer part c if necessary.
- a. Mode of travel: Air Rail Bus Car Other (Specify: _____)
- b. Class of travel: Coach Business First Charter Other (Specify: _____)
- c. If travel will be first class or by chartered or private aircraft, explain why such travel is warranted:

14. I represent that the expenditures related to local area travel during the trip will be unrelated to personal or recreational activities of the invitee(s). (signify that the statement is true by checking box):

15. I represent that either (check one of the following):
- a. The trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation and that meals provided to congressional participants are similar to those provided to or purchased by other event attendees: *or*

- b. The trip involves events that are arranged specifically *with regard* to congressional participation:

If "b" is checked:

1) Detail the cost per day of meals (approximate cost may be provided): _____
\$64

2) Provide reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: _____
Palo Alto and Stanford allows for access to Stanford University scholars and experts on North Korea.

16. Name, nightly cost, and reasons for selecting each hotel or other lodging facility:

Hotel name: Westin City: Palo Alto Cost per night: \$225

Reason(s) for selecting: Hotel has required technology & meeting space with security a key factor

Hotel name: _____ City: _____ Cost per night: _____

Reason(s) for selecting: _____

Hotel name: _____ City: _____ Cost per night: _____

Reason(s) for selecting: _____

17. I represent that all expenses connected to the trip will be for actual costs incurred and not a per diem or lump sum payment. (signify that the statement is true by checking box):

18. TOTAL EXPENSES FOR EACH PARTICIPANT:

<input type="checkbox"/> actual amounts <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> good faith estimates	Total <i>Transportation</i> Expenses per Participant	Total <i>Lodging</i> Expenses per Participant	Total <i>Meal</i> Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or employee	\$1,200	\$675	\$194
For each accompanying relative	\$1,200	-0-	\$194

	<i>Other</i> Expenses (dollar amount per item)	Identify Specific Nature of "Other" Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For each Member, Officer, or employee	\$264	meeting room expenses
For each accompanying relative	\$264	meeting room expenses

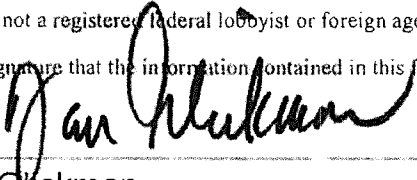
NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

19. Check one:

- a. I certify that I am an officer of the organization listed below. *or*
 b. N/A – sponsor is an individual or a U.S. institution of higher education.

20. I certify that I am not a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent for any sponsor of this trip.

21. I certify by my signature that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: 

Name: Dan Gluckman

Title: Vice President, Aspen Institute; Executive Director, Congressional Program

Organization: The Aspen Institute, Inc.

Address: 2300 N Street NW, Suite #700, Washington, DC 20037

Telephone number: 202-736-5859 (Lisa Jones)

Email address: lisa.jones@aspenninst.org

If there are any questions regarding this form please contact the Committee at the following address:

Committee on Ethics
 U.S. House of Representatives
 1015 Longworth House Office Building
 Washington, DC 20515
 (202) 225-7103 (phone)
 (202) 225-7392 (general fax)

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

GRANTMAKING TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by a public charity or private foundation (both as defined under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code) that provides a grant of funds to another entity to underwrite, in whole or in part, a trip or an event, meal, or activity that will occur during a trip, or a necessary expense that will be incurred during a trip, with express or implicit knowledge or understanding that one or more House Members or employees may participate in or attend that trip or event, or otherwise may be beneficiaries of the gift or donation. Provide a copy of your completed form to the primary sponsor of the trip.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Failure to comply with the Committee's Travel Regulations may also lead to the denial of permission to sponsor future trips.

1. I certify that (name of your organization): The MacArthur Foundation
has been designated a § 501(c)(3) nonprofit charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service.
 Yes No
2. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: Aspen Institute Congressional Program
3. I certify that my organization (complete a or b):
a. Has provided a grant, gift, or donation to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor and conducts an audit or review of its grant, gift, or donation to ensure that the funds are spent in accordance with the terms of its grant, gift, or donation. or
b. Has had a direct role in the organizing, planning, or conducting of a trip to
(destination) _____ on (date) _____ that is being organized or arranged by the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor.
4. Check one:
a. My organization does not employ or retain a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent or
b. My organization employs a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but their involvement in planning, organizing, or arranging the trip was *de minimus* under the travel regulations.
5. I certify that I am not a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent for any sponsor of this trip
6. I certify by my signature that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: _____

Name: Joshua J. Mintz

Title: Vice President & General Counsel

Organization: The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

Address: 140 S. Dearborn St.; Chicago, IL 60603

Telephone number: 312 920 6250

Email: jmintz@macfound.org

If there are any questions regarding this form please contact the Committee at the following address:

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515
(202) 225-7103 (phone)
(202) 225-7392 (general fax)

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

GRANTMAKING TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by a public charity or private foundation (both as defined under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code) that provides a grant of funds to another entity to underwrite, in whole or in part, a trip or an event, meal, or activity that will occur during a trip, or a necessary expense that will be incurred during a trip, with express or implicit knowledge or understanding that one or more House Members or employees may participate in or attend that trip or event, or otherwise may be beneficiaries of the gift or donation. Provide a copy of your completed form to the primary sponsor of the trip.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Failure to comply with the Committee's Travel Regulations may also lead to the denial of permission to sponsor future trips.

1. I certify that (name of your organization): Carnegie Corporation of New York
has been designated a § 501(c)(3) nonprofit charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service.
 Yes No
2. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: Aspen Institute Congressional Program
3. I certify that my organization (complete a or b):
a. Has provided a grant, gift, or donation to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor and conducts an audit or review of its grant, gift, or donation to ensure that the funds are spent in accordance with the terms of its grant, gift, or donation. or
b. Has had a direct role in the organizing, planning, or conducting of a trip to
(destination) _____ on (date) _____ that is
being organized or arranged by the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor.
4. Check one:
a. My organization does not employ or retain a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent or
b. My organization employs a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but their involvement in planning, organizing, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the travel regulations.
5. I certify that I am not a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent for any sponsor of this trip.
6. I certify by my signature that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: Deana Arsenian
Name: Deana Arsenian Title: VP, International Program
Organization: Carnegie Corporation of New York
Address: 437 Madison Ave., New York, NY, 10022
Telephone number: 212-207-6283 Email: DA@Carnegie.org

If there are any questions regarding this form please contact the Committee at the following address:

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515
(202) 225-7103 (phone)
(202) 225-7392 (general fax)

Susan W. Brooks, Indiana
Chairwoman
Theodore E. Deutch, Florida
Ranking Member

Kenny Marchant, Texas
Leonard Lance, New Jersey
Mimi Walters, California
John Ratcliffe, Texas

Yvette D. Clarke, New York
Jared Polis, Colorado
Anthony Brown, Maryland
Steve Cohen, Tennessee



ONE HUNDRED FIFTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

February 19, 2018

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

Donna Herbert
Director of Administration

Megan Savage
*Chief of Staff and Counsel to
the Chairwoman*

Daniel J. Taylor
Counsel to the Ranking Member

1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515 6328
Telephone: (202) 225 7103
Facsimile: (202) 225 7392

The Honorable Colleen W. Hanabusa
U.S. House of Representatives
238 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Colleague:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your proposed trip to Palo Alto, California, scheduled for March 2 to 5, 2018, sponsored by the Aspen Institute, Inc., with financial support from the MacArthur Foundation, and the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

You must complete a Member/Officer Post-Travel Disclosure Form and file it, together with a Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form completed by the trip sponsor, with the Clerk of the House within 15 days after your return from travel. As part of that filing, you are also required to attach a copy of this letter and both the Traveler and Primary Trip Sponsor Forms (including attachments) you previously submitted to the Committee in seeking pre-approval for this trip. You must also report all travel expenses totaling more than \$390 from a single source on the "Travel" schedule of your annual Financial Disclosure Statement covering this calendar year. Finally, Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting information provided to the Committee for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

If you have any further questions, please contact the Committee's Office of Advice and Education at extension 5-7103.

Sincerely,

Susan W. Brooks
Chairwoman

Theodore E. Deutch
Ranking Member

SWB/TED:jl

Finding a Diplomatic Solution to the North Korean Crisis

Agenda

March 2-5, 2018
Stanford, California

FRIDAY, March 2:

Participants travel to Stanford, California and arrive mid-day

6:30-8:30 pm *Pre-Dinner Speakers, followed by Dinner*

SETTING THE STAGE: THE HIGH STAKES AT ISSUE IN RESOLVING THE NORTH KOREAN CRISIS

Tensions have increased considerably during the last year as North Korea has tested both nuclear devices and intercontinental missiles, which now pose a threat to U.S. territory. There are questions as to whether China, which shares the longest border with North Korea, might also quickly be drawn into any North Korean engagement, ratcheting up the stakes considerably. Ambassador Eikenberry will highlight factors that have brought us to this crisis and set the stage for the discussions over the weekend.

*Karl Eikenberry, Director, U.S.-Asia Security Initiative, Stanford University;
Former U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan*

THE MERITS OF ACHIEVING PEACE THROUGH DIPLOMACY

Secretary Shultz will highlight the merits of diplomacy as a tool for advancing U.S. interests, and she will give her perspective on how best to find a solution to this crisis.

*George P. Shultz, Former U.S. Secretary of State, Thomas W. & Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow,
The Hoover Institution, Stanford University*

SATURDAY, March 3:

7:00-8:20 am Breakfast

8:20-8:45 am Shuttle from hotel to the Stanford University campus

9:00 am **INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK**

The scholars for the conference will be briefly introduced. This segment will highlight the educational objective of the meeting and how the conference will be conducted, how those with questions will be recognized and how responses will be timed to allow for as many questions and answers as possible. This format is especially important to guarantee full participation with so many knowledgeable and experienced people around the table.

*Dan Glickman, Executive Director, Aspen Institute Congressional Program;
Former U.S. Secretary of Agriculture*

9:15 am *Roundtable Discussion*

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT THAT LEADS TO THE BRINK OF WAR

The Korean War from June 1950 to July 1953 caused tremendous loss of life on the peninsula with massive devastation, ending in a truce—but never a formal armistice. The demilitarized zone (DMZ), a short strip of land between North and South Korea managed under the terms of the Armistice Agreement, was a unique creation to help manage this outcome. It is an area where armed forces face each other to this day. [A North Korean defector was recently shot in this zone while trying to flee.] North Korea continues to evoke the devastation of the Korean War in its anti-American rhetoric, indicating that this history is used as a basis for its policy that regards the U.S. as an enemy subject to threat by its nuclear program and missile capability. Ambassador Stephens will highlight this historical context that has contributed to the policy standoff we face today.

- How much does North Korea's view of the Korean War shape its current world view?
- To what degree does the lack of a formal peace agreement ending the Korean War exacerbate the current stalemate?
- Is there any re-examination of history that would lessen North Korea's anti-American attitude?
- Would cooperation on Americans still listed as MIA/POW from the Korean conflict contribute to improved relations?
- How deeply rooted is North Korea's identity as a country and as a nationality?
- Is reunification a realistic aspiration? If so, what governance model is likely to dominate a unified Korea?

Kathy Stephens, Fellow, Korea Program, Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, Stanford University; Former U.S. Ambassador to Korea

10:45 am Break

11:00 am *Roundtable Discussion*

AN ANALYSIS OF THE CAPABILITIES AND INTENTIONS OF NORTH KOREA AND OTHER PLAYERS

A sober and realistic understanding of the capabilities and intentions of North Korea, South Korea, China, Russia, Japan and the United States is necessary in order to shape the most appropriate policy responses. North Korea has already conducted six nuclear tests and numerous missile launches with increasing range. Are the increasingly alarmist media reports a fair assessment or playing into hysteria?

- What is the distinction between plutonium based nuclear weapons and highly enriched uranium based nuclear weapons and what relevance is this difference for U.S. policy makers?
- What are the nuclear bomb capabilities of North Korea?
- Does North Korea have a viable hydrogen bomb program?
- What are the intercontinental missile capabilities of North Korea today?
- What are the limitations of merging these nuclear and missile capabilities?
- Is North Korea dependent on external suppliers to support these capabilities? If so, who is providing these supplies?
- What are North Korea's cyber capabilities?
- Does North Korea possess threatening biological or chemical weapons capabilities?
- What could be the impact of a high-altitude nuclear detonation; is fallout or electromagnetic pulse a significant concern?

- Would North Korea act alone if it embarked on nuclear aggression?
- What is the capability of South Korea, Japan, and China to counter any North Korean military aggression?
- Which neighbors might cooperate against any of these threats? To what degree do they rely on the U.S. for their security?
- What are the possibilities of an accident or a false warning that could trigger a nuclear conflict?
- What are the capabilities of the THAAD missile defense system? Is it adequate?

Siegfried Hecker, Senior Fellow, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University; Former Director of the Los Alamos National Laboratory

Sue Mi Terry, Senior Fellow for Korean Studies at CSIS; Former North Korea analyst for the CIA

1:00-2:30 pm *Luncheon Remarks*

SCENARIOS FOR A SOLUTION

Secretary Perry was deeply involved in negotiations with North Korea during his tenure as Secretary of Defense and afterwards. He will draw lessons from that experience as he shares his views for achieving a diplomatic solution.

*William Perry, Former U.S. Secretary of Defense;
Senior Fellow, Center for International Security and Cooperation,
Stanford University*

2:30-4:00 pm *Roundtable Discussion*

UNDERSTANDING THE FULL RANGE OF CONSEQUENCES OF WAR

As military options are discussed with increasing frequency, it is important to fully understand the range of impact that could follow. Detonation of nuclear weapons is regarded as a last resort, but if it occurred, the devastation and impact could be wide ranging. Even a nonnuclear military engagement has high risk of significant casualties given that Seoul is less than 40 miles from the North Korean border and in range of traditional artillery. In addition to loss of life and destruction of property, there could be regional environmental impacts, as well as global economic impacts.

- A November Congressional Research Service report estimated the range of casualties of conflict could be from 30,000 to 300,000 within the first few days of conflict. Depending on the length of conflict, types of weapons used and depth of engagement, this report also says casualty figures could be in the millions. Is this overstated?
- Does the U.S. military have the capability to quickly evacuate over 100,000 U.S. civilians in South Korea in a conflict?
- What would be the potential differentiation between military and civilian loss of life?
- What are the distinctions between a pre-emptive nuclear strike and a reactive use of nuclear weapons?
- What would be the impact on neighbors Japan, China, and Russia—would they all face potential direct or collateral damage?
- What would be the long-term environmental consequences of a nuclear war, including radioactive contamination?
- Would conflict spark a mass outflow of refugees from North Korea and a humanitarian challenge?
- Would conflict have global economic consequences?
- What could be the range of post-conflict reconstruction costs?

Marcus Noland, Executive Vice President, Peterson Institute for International Economics
Barry Posen, Director, Security Studies Program, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Scott Sagan, Professor of Political Science, Stanford University;
Former Consultant to the Secretary of Defense

4:00-4:15 pm Walk to the Stanford Teleconference Center

4:30-5:30 pm *Teleconference with Chinese via uplink to Stanford's Beijing Center*

CHINA'S PERSPECTIVE

China, as North Korea's neighbor and largest trading partner, is seen as having the most potential influence to change North Korea's current trajectory. Three Chinese experts will communicate China's perspectives on resolving this crisis. They will join us via live teleconference link using Stanford's Beijing facilities. Participants in Stanford will be able to communicate with and see the Chinese in real time with the assistance of this technology.

- What is China's long-range vision for the Korean peninsula?
- How long can the status quo continue?
- What would cause China to militarily engage in the Korean peninsula?
- What incentives would China need to lessen North Korea's dependence on China?

Fan Gaoyue, retired Senior Colonel with China's People's Liberation Army,
Former Director of the Center for American Military Studies
Academy of Military Sciences, currently with Sichuan University

Wang Dong, Associate Professor and Deputy Executive Director,
School of International Studies, Peking University

Yang Xiyu, Senior Fellow, Chinese Institute of International Studies, Beijing

5:30-5:50 pm Shuttle from campus to hotel

7:00-9:00 pm *Dinner Speakers*

SCENARIOS OF POTENTIAL MILITARY CONFLICT

American, Korean and Japanese current and former military officials are gathering in early February to simulate several scenarios of potential military conflict. Admiral Blair and a Japanese counterpart who are participating in this exercise will share their findings.

Admiral Dennis Blair, Former Commander of the Pacific Fleet;
Former Director of National Intelligence; CEO, Sasakawa Peace Foundation, USA
Tsuneo Watanabe, Senior Research Fellow, Sasakawa Peace Foundation, Tokyo

SUNDAY, March 4:

7:00-8:20 am Breakfast

8:20-8:45 am Shuttle from hotel to the Stanford University campus

9:00-10:45am *Roundtable Discussion*

THE ROLE OF REGIONAL PLAYERS AND INCENTIVES NECESSARY TO LEVERAGE DIPLOMATIC ACTION

This discussion is designed to explore the incentives that might be necessary to leverage actors to move toward a diplomatic solution. One example is the “freeze for a freeze” concept—freezing annual military exercises in exchange for a North Korean freeze on missile programs. Another example could be reducing shoreline surveillance flights off the coast of China in exchange for Chinese cooperation. Another possibility would end China’s support of North Korea if the U.S. removed its military presence from South Korea.

- Does the U.S. have to take a leading or a supporting role in a solution?
- Must South Korea and Japan cooperate to address the concerns of a common threat from North Korea, and is such cooperation realistic?
- Is China content with the status quo? If not, what would motivate it to act?
- The U.S. has led the UN Security Council to pass eight sanctions resolutions. Will additional sanctions be effective?
- Is an eventual collapse of North Korea inevitable, and if so, what relevance does this have for policy makers?
- Should U.S. policy explicitly seek regime change?
- Is the cooperation between North and South on participation in the Winter Olympics indicative of a lasting positive trend?

*Chung-in Moon, Special Advisor to the South Korean President
for Foreign and National Security Affairs, Seoul*

Gi-Wook Shin, Director, Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, Stanford University

10:45 am Break

11:00-1:00 *Roundtable Discussion*

THE ART OF DIPLOMACY: KEY ASPECTS OF A POTENTIAL AGREEMENT

This discussion will explore the key elements of a diplomatic settlement, and how these elements would be acceptable to the key players. Lessons would be drawn from two earlier diplomatic efforts—the Agreed Framework (1994-2002) and the Six-Party Talks (2005-2009).

- Is denuclearization of the peninsula realistic?
- Is U.S. recognition of North Korea a possibility? Would that motivate North Korea to step back its aggressive actions?
- Is there a multilateral role in reaching and enforcing an agreement? Or is this primarily a bilateral negotiation between the U.S. and North Korea, or South and North Korea?
- Are there lessons to be learned from the six-party talks?
- Would direct talks between the U.S. and North Korea be productive?
- Under what conditions could the U.S. consider normalizing relations with North Korea?
- Can the U.S. tolerate a nuclear-capable North Korea with containment and deterrence?
- Are there any applicable lessons to be drawn from the Iran agreement?
- Would a nuclear-armed South Korea be a logical outcome?
- Is removal of U.S. troops from the Korean peninsula a factor?

Michael Auslin, Fellow in Contemporary Asia Studies, The Hoover Institute, Stanford University
Suzanne DiMaggio, Senior Fellow, New American Foundation
David Straub, Sejong-LS Fellow, The Sejong Institute, Seoul

- 1:00-2:00 pm Working Luncheon
Discussion continues between Members of Congress and scholars on the policy challenges in finding a diplomatic solution to the North Korean crisis.
- 2:00-3:30 pm Roundtable Discussion
POLICY REFLECTIONS FOR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ONLY
Congress is one of the three co-equal branches of the U.S. government. Accordingly, Members of Congress will be encouraged to think creatively about how Congress can contribute toward reaching a peaceful resolution of the crisis.
- What potential legislative initiatives could be helpful?
 - Is North Korea's authoritarian regime too toxic and too abusive of human rights for the U.S. to find areas of cooperation?
 - Is the travel ban productive?
 - Must Congress authorize any use of military force?
- 3:30-3:50 pm Shuttle from campus to hotel
- 6:30-8:30 pm Dinner Speaker
THE ROLE OF CONGRESS IN A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION
Ambassador Hill will draw on his experience dealing with Korean policy to share his suggestions about the role of Congress.

*Christopher Hill, Chief Advisor to the Chancellor for Global Engagement,
and Professor of the Practice in Diplomacy, University of Denver;
Former Ambassador to South Korea*

MONDAY, March 5: All participants depart early to mid-morning