



U.S. House of Representatives

# COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

## Member / Officer Post-Travel Disclosure Form Original Amendment

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, B-81 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: Hon. Brendan F. Boyle
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: Jennifer A. Boyle OR None   
 b. Relationship to Traveler:  Spouse  Child  Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_
3. a. Dates: Departure: March 15th 2019 Return: March 18th 2019  
 b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: \_\_\_\_\_ OR None
4. Departure City: Washington DC Destination: San Diego, CA Return City: Washington DC
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: The Aspen Institute Inc. (Congressional Program)
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended (attach additional pages if necessary): Please see attached agenda for detailed description of all meetings and events attended as well as the respective participants.

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** the *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 attached sponsor's agenda.  
**Signify statement is true by checking the box:**   
 b. If not, explain: N/A

LEGISLATIVE RESOURCE CENTER  
2019 MAR 26 AM 10:53  
OFFICE OF THE CLERK  
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**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.

Member / Officer Signature: *Brendan F. Boyle*

Date: March 26th 2019



U.S. House of Representatives  
**COMMITTEE ON ETHICS**

**Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form**

Original  Amendment

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 ten 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): San Diego, California

3. Date of Departure: March 15, 2019 Date of Return: March 18, 2019

4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): Rep. Brendan Boyle and wife, Jennifer Boyle

*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 Question 4:

	Total Transportation Expenses	Total Lodging Expenses	Total Meal Expenses	Total Other Expenses (dollar amount per item and description)
Traveler	\$1100	\$510	\$208	\$550
Accompanying Family Member	\$1100	\$0	\$208	\$550

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: *Dan Glickman* Date: March 22, 2019

Name: Dan Glickman Title: Vice President

Organization: The Aspen Institute, Inc. Executive Director; Congressional Program

*I am an officer of the above-named organization. Signify statement is true by checking box:*

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

Telephone: Deputy General Counsel Lisa Jones: 202-736-5859 Email: 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

1. Name of Traveler: Brendan F. Boyle
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying for the trip: The Aspen Institute Inc. - Congressional Program
3. Travel Destination(s): San Diego, California
4. a. Date of Departure: March 15th, 2019 Date of Return: March 18th, 2019  
 b. Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense?  Yes  No  
 If yes, list dates at personal expense: N/A
5. a. Will you be accompanied by a family member at the sponsor's expense?  Yes  No If yes:  
 (1) Name of Accompanying Family Member: Jennifer A. Boyle  
 (2) Relationship to Traveler:  Spouse  Child  Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_  
 (3) Accompanying Family Member is at least 18 years of age:  Yes  No
6. a. Did the trip sponsor answer "Yes" to Question 8(c) on the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* (i.e., travel is sponsored by an entity that employs a registered federal lobbyist or a foreign agent)?  Yes  No  
 b. If yes, and you are requesting lodging for two nights, explain why the second night is warranted:  
N/A
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.  
As a Member of the Ways and Means Committee, discussions on American trade and economic policy as they relate to China are directly germane to the Rep. Boyle's legislative work and this conference will deepen his understanding of these issues affording him the ability to craft better legislative proposals to protect and further American trade interests
9. Is the traveler aware of any registered federal lobbyists or foreign agents involved planning, organizing, requesting, 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.

Signature of Employing Member \_\_\_\_\_ Date 2/8/2019



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 website (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: The Henry Luce Foundation; Rockefeller Brothers Fund foundation; Democracy Fund foundation
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 family member of the House invitee(s)?  Yes  No
6. Date of Departure: March 15, 2019 Date of Return: March 18, 2019
7.
  - a. City of departure: Washington, DC or the district
  - b. Destination(s): San Diego, California
  - c. City of return: Washington, DC or the district
8. *Check only one.* I represent that:
  - 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 only 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 you checked this box, explain why the second night of lodging is warranted: \_\_\_\_\_



U.S. House of Representatives

# COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

10. Attached is a detailed agenda of the activities 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 only one of the following:*
- 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. *Not Applicable.* 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 or 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. *Check only one.* I represent that either:
- 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): \$70 \_\_\_\_\_
  - 2) Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: San Diego enables scholars from UCSD's 21st Century China Center to participate in the Conference
16. Name, nightly cost, and reasons for selecting each hotel or other lodging facility:
- Hotel Name: Kona Kai Hotel City: San Diego Cost Per Night: \$170  
Reason(s) for Selecting: Hotel has required technology and meeting space; 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:*



U.S. House of Representatives

# COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

### 18. Total Expenses for each Participant:

<input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts	Total Transportation Expenses per Participant	Total Lodging Expenses per Participant	Total Meal Expenses per Participant
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimates			
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	\$1100	\$510	\$208
For each Accompanying Family Member	\$1100	\$0	\$208

	Other Expenses (dollar amount per item)	Identify Specific Nature of "Other" Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	\$550	Conference expenses including meeting space and audio/visual services
For each Accompanying Family Member	\$550	Conference expenses including meeting space and audio/visual services

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

### 19. Check only one:

a. I certify that I am an officer of the organization listed below:  OR

b. *Not Applicable.* Trip 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: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: February 4, 2019

Name: Dan Glickman

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

Organization: The Aspen Institute, Inc

Address: 2300 N St NW Ste 700 Washington, DC 20037

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

Email: lisa.jones@aspeninstitute.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, D.C. 20515

Phone: 202-225-7103 General Fax: 202-225-7392

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 Henry Luce 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 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: Toby Alice Volkman  
Name: Toby Alice Volkman Title: Secretary + Director of Policy Initiatives  
Organization: The Henry Luce Foundation  
Address: 51 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10010  
Telephone number: 212-489-7700 Email: tvolkman@hluce.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): Rockefeller Brothers Fund  
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: [Handwritten Signature]

Name: STEPHEN HEINTZ

Title: PRESIDENT

Organization: Rockefeller Brothers Fund

Address: 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115

Telephone number: 212-812-4389

Email: shaintz@rbf.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)

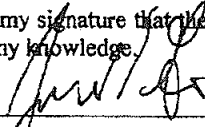


U.S. House of Representatives  
Committee on Ethics

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): Democracy Fund  
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
  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: 
- Name: Joseph Goldman Title: President
- Organization: Democracy Fund
- Address: 1333 New Hampshire Ave, Suite 730, Washington DC 20036
- Telephone number: 202-465-8525 Email: jgoldman@democracyfund.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)



ONE HUNDRED SIXTEENTH CONGRESS

**U.S. House of Representatives**

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

March 12, 2019

The Honorable Brendan Boyle  
U.S. House of Representatives  
1133 Longworth House Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515

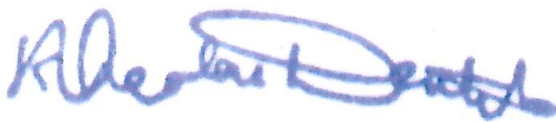
Dear Colleague:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your and your spouse's proposed trip to San Diego, California, scheduled for March 15 to 18, 2019, sponsored by Aspen Institute, Inc., and Henry Luce Foundation, and Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and Democracy Fund.

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,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Theodore E. Deutch".

Theodore E. Deutch  
Chairman

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Kenny Marchant".

Kenny Marchant  
Ranking Member

TED/KM:kej

Answer to Question 4 – House Ethics Primary Trip Sponsor Form

Aspen Institute – San Diego Conference – March 15-18, 2019

**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.**

1. Brendan Boyle, PA, House Committee on Ways and Means
2. Salud Carbajal, CA, House Committee on Armed Services
3. Judy Chu, CA, House Committee on Ways and Means
4. Lou Correa, CA, House Committee on Homeland Security
5. Mark DeSaulnier, CA, House Committee on Education and Workforce
6. Ted Deutch, FL, House Committee on Foreign Affairs
7. Billy Long, MO, House Committee on Energy and Commerce
8. Alan Lowenthal, CA, House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure
9. Jerry McNerney, CA, House Committee on Energy and Commerce
10. Jimmy Panetta, CA, House Committee on Ways and Means
11. Scott Peters, CA, House Committee on Energy and Commerce
12. Kathleen Rice, NY, House Committee on Homeland Security
13. Tom Rice, SC, House Committee on Ways and Means
14. Dutch Ruppersberger, MD, House Committee on Appropriations
15. Brad Sherman, CA, House Committee on Foreign Affairs
16. Dina Titus, NV, House Committee on Foreign Affairs
17. Peter Welch, VT, House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

# COMPETING WITH A RISING CHINA: POLICIES FOR AMERICAN INTERESTS

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

March 15-18, 2019

San Diego, California

## FRIDAY, MARCH 15

### **Participants arrive mid afternoon**

*Rep. Brendan Boyle, and his wife, Jennifer Boyle, depart Washington, DC at 12:35 pm on United flight # 231 and arrive in San Diego at 3:01 pm.*

**6:30 PM – 7:30 PM**

*Pre-Dinner Speaker*

### **U.S.-CHINA GLOBAL COMPETITORS: PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE**

China's rise to a major economic and strategic player on the global stage over the last three decades has been a phenomenal story that now positions it as a major competitor to the U.S. The prospects for the future direction of this dynamic relationship is the foundation for the weekend's discussions.

*Peter Cowhey, Dean, School of Global Policy and Strategy,  
University of California at San Diego*

**7:30 PM – 9:30 PM**

*Working Dinner*

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the opportunities, challenges, and potential solutions regarding the economic dimensions of U.S.-China relations.

## SATURDAY, MARCH 16

**7:30 AM – 8:30 AM**

*Breakfast is Available*

**8:30 AM – 8:45 AM**

### **INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE**

This conference is organized into roundtable conversations and pre-dinner remarks. This segment will highlight 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 important to enable full participation.

*Dan Glickman, Executive Director,  
Aspen Institute Congressional Program*

**8:45 AM – 10:45 AM**  
*Roundtable Discussion*

**AN OVERVIEW OF GLOBAL RIVALRY**

As peer or near-peer competitors, China and the U.S. are striving to shape security architectures, trading regimes, norms and practices, and values systems worldwide. Few of the issues they face are merely bilateral. The measure of the relationship will be taken not only in Beijing and Washington, but in Africa, the Arctic, the Antarctic, Southeast Asia, outer space, and cyberspace.

- Do the U.S. and China understand the terms and costs of their unprecedented global rivalry?
- What assets and liabilities does each nation bring to the competition?
- How are the superpowers' global ambitions related to their domestic politics?
- Which global perceptions and attitudes shape Sino-U.S. competition?

*Orville Schell, Director, Center on U.S.-China Relations,  
The Asia Society*

**10:45 AM – 11:00 AM**

*Break*

**11:00 AM – 12:45 PM**  
*Roundtable Discussion*

**FROM ENGAGEMENT TO ADVERSITY: BILATERAL TRADE AND INVESTMENT, AND CHINA'S BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE**

After 40 years of engagement in which economics served, in China's President Xi Jinping's phrase, as the "ballast" of the relationship, American dissatisfaction with China's trade and investment policies became the fuse that ignited a comprehensive competition. China is unwilling to restructure its economy to meet American demands, however, and it is learning to leverage its wealth to build influence worldwide and within the U.S.

- Which of China's trade and investment policies pose the greatest threat to the U.S., and what are the chances of altering them?
- Is the Belt & Road Initiative, China's global expansion plan, simply a program for "predatory lending," or is China providing global public goods and rewriting rules that may be accepted?
- Should the U.S. view China's economy as developing and reforming, or as a static, mercantilist menace?
- To what degree does each country's development depend on economic engagement with the other?

*Daniel Rosen, Founding Partner,  
The Rhodium Group*

**12:45 PM – 1:30 PM**  
*Working Lunch*

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S. policy regarding China.

**1:30 PM – 3:30 PM**

**EMERGING THEATERS OF COMPETITION:**

*Roundtable Discussion*

**CYBERSPACE AND ESPIONAGE, WEAPONIZATION OF SPACE, AND THE RACE TO DOMINATE ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE**

Beijing and Washington agree that innovation is now the key to economic, military, and soft power. A key feature of their competition is the race to master and marketize emergent technologies, and Artificial Intelligence in particular, which has the capacity to accelerate and integrate other innovations. If one side gains a clear advantage in AI, the other may never catch up.

- Is China still an imitative nation, or has it developed the ability to innovate at the American scale?
- Is the American regulatory environment a spur to AI innovation, or a drag on the growth of this emerging industry?
- Which nation will likely prevail in the AI competition, and what are the global implications of dominance?

*Dean Cheng, Senior Research Fellow,  
Asia Studies Center, the Heritage Foundation*

**3:30 PM – 6:00 PM**  
*Individual Discussions*

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss U.S. policy toward China. Scholars available to meet for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in previous sessions that day include Robert Daly, Daniel Rosen, and Dean Cheng.

**6:00 PM – 7:00 PM**  
*Pre-Dinner Remarks*

**THE QUEST FOR FAIR TRADE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CHINA**  
The terms of trade between the U.S. and China is a central factor impacting the relationship between these two superpowers. Professor Hanson will discuss costs and gains from expanded trade with China, which he first articulated in his piece, *The China Shock*.

*Gordon Hanson, Director, Center on Global Transformation,  
University of California at San Diego*

**7:00 PM – 9:00 PM**  
*Working Dinner*

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the opportunities, challenges, and potential solutions regarding the economic dimensions of U.S.-China relations.

**SUNDAY, MARCH 17, 2019**

**7:30 AM – 8:30 AM**  
*Breakfast Remarks*

**A CHINESE PERSPECTIVE ON U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS**

China sees its exponential development over the last few decades as a restoration of its destiny as a major power. China's relationship with the U.S. has been a significant factor in its dramatic growth. What is China's perspective on the U.S.-China relationship?

*Yun Sun, Director, China Program, The Stimson Center*

**8:30 AM – 10:45 AM**  
*Roundtable Discussion*

**UNDERSTANDING CHINA'S QUEST FOR POWER ON CHINA'S TERMS**

Under Xi Jinping, the Chinese Communist Party has aggressively used clout to fulfill an ambition to rise its stature on the global stage irrespective of its competition with the U.S. Xi's rejuvenation of a strong Chinese global presence has implications for issues of sovereignty, political, security and economic concerns as well as changing global rules in the realms of human rights and governance of internet space. China's attempt to shape global narratives and to influence investment serve its historic aspirations.

- What are the primary methods by which Beijing influences American institutions?
- What specific harms have resulted from Chinese influence operations? How widespread are they?
- What is the relationship between China's influence campaigns and its public diplomacy, espionage, and interference operations?
- How do China's actions differentiate from legitimate "soft power" activities?

*Elizabeth Economy, Director for Asia,  
Council on Foreign Relations*

**10:45 AM – 11:00 AM** Break

**11:00 AM – 12:45 PM**  
*Roundtable Discussion*

**STANDOFF OR STATUS QUO IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC?**

It appears that China has succeeded in establishing a "new normal" in the Western Pacific; its constant patrols near the Senkaku Islands are barely mentioned by Western media and, in the South China Sea, it has militarized artificial islands and flouted the findings of the Permanent Court of Arbitration with impunity. American Freedom of Navigation operations have not altered Chinese behavior or ambitions.

- Does the "Indo-Pacific" strategy offer realistic hope of countering China's growing power in the region?
- What are the implications of China's growing power in the Western Pacific for U.S. alliances with Japan and South Korea, Thailand and the Philippines?
- How do Southeast Asian nations view the relative power of the U.S. and China in the region?
- How is China's more assertive stance toward Taiwan related to its policies in the Western Pacific?

*Bonnie Glaser, Director, China Power Project,  
Center for Strategic & International Studies*

**12:45 PM – 1:30 PM**  
*Working Lunch*

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S. policy regarding China.



**1:30 PM – 3:30 PM**  
*Roundtable Discussion*

**TOWARD AN EFFECTIVE STRATEGY: POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR THE U.S.**

The U.S. has informed China of its grievances and offered a stark declaration of its attitude toward the People's Republic of China: We are rivals. Washington has not yet articulated policies to deal with the China threat, however, much less has it integrated its policies in light of American capabilities, constraints, and national will. In sum, the U.S. does not have a strategy for managing its greatest security challenge.

- What are America's primary interests vis-à-vis China?
- What costs are the U.S. government and the American people willing to bear over the long run in competition with China?
- What does the U.S. envision as the stable end point of the China rivalry?
- What specific policies can best address American interests?

*Robert Daly, Director, The Kissinger Institute, The Wilson Center*

**3:30 PM – 6:00 PM**  
*Individual Discussions*

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss U.S. policy toward China. Scholars available to meet for in depth discussion of ideas raised in previous sessions that day include Elizabeth Economy, Bonnie Glaser, and Robert Daly.

**7:00 PM – 9:00 PM**  
*Working Dinner*

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the opportunities, challenges, and potential solutions regarding the economic dimensions of U.S.-China relations.

**MONDAY, MARCH 18, 2019**

**Participants depart in the morning**

*Rep. Brendan Boyle, and his wife, Jennifer Boyle, depart San Diego at 8:10 am on United flight #546 and arrives in Washington, DC at 3:57 pm*