



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, by email at gifttravelreports@mail.house.gov, 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: Cheri Bustos
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: Gerry Bustos OR None
 b. Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
3. a. Dates: Departure: 9/9/2021 Return: 9/12/21
 b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: _____ OR None
4. Departure City: Moline, IL Destination: San Diego, CA Return City: Moline, IL
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):

Meetings and discussions with Members of Congress and scholars to discuss U.S. competition with China.

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 *Additional Sponsor Form(s)*;
 - 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:

I did not attend all scheduled events on Friday, September 10 in order to participate virtually in an Agriculture Committee Markup.

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: Cheri Bustos

Date: 9/27/21



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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.

- Sponsor(s) who paid for the trip: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
- Travel Destination(s): San Diego, California
- Date of Departure: September 9, 2021 Date of Return: September 12, 2021
- Name(s) of Traveler(s): Rep. Bustos and Gerry Bustos

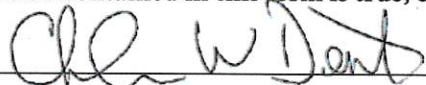
Note: You may list more than one traveler on a form only if *all* information is *identical* for each person listed.

- 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	\$755	\$480	\$190	\$525
Accompanying Family Member	\$755	\$0	\$190	\$525

- 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:  Date: 09/22/2021

Name: Charles W. Dent Title: Vice President, The Aspen Institute, Inc.

Organization: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (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; lisa.jones@aspeninstitute.org

Email: _____ Telephone: (202) 736-5859

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.



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TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: Cheri Bustos
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip:
The Aspen Institute, Inc. Congressional Program
3. City and State **OR** Foreign Country of Travel : San Diego, CA
4. a. Date of Departure: September 9, 2021 Date of Return: September 12, 2021
b. Yes No Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense?
If yes, list dates at personal expense: _____
5. a. Yes No Will you be accompanied by a family member at the sponsor's expense? **If yes:**
(1) Name of Accompanying Family Member: Gerry Bustos
(2) Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
(3) Yes No Accompanying Family Member is at least 18 years of age:
6. a. Yes No 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)?
b. **If yes**, and you are requesting lodging for two nights, explain why the second night is warranted:
7. Yes No *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* is attached, including agenda, invitee list, and any other attachments and Additional Sponsor Forms.

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.
Congress will have an important role in shaping U.S. relations with China, and this trip is an opportunity to deepen my understanding of U.S. competition and relations with China.
9. Yes No **Is the traveler aware of any registered federal lobbyists or foreign agents involved planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip?**
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 _____



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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:
Rockefeller Brothers Fund, The Henry Luce Foundation, Democracy Fund
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. Yes No Is travel being offered to an accompanying family member of the House invitee(s)?
6. Date of departure: September 9, 2021 Date of return: September 12, 2021
7. a. City of departure: Washington, DC or member's congressional district
b. Destination(s): San Diego, California
c. City of return: Washington, DC or member's congressional 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; **OR**
 - b. I checked 8(c) above but am not offering any lodging; **OR**
 - 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:



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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 nonpartisan educational forums for members of Congress on public policy issues. AICP organized and will conduct the conference and selected and invited the attendees. The foundations listed in 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 the 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):

\$71

2) Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip:

Location allows UCSD's 21st Century China Center scholars to engage in discussions.

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

Hotel Name: Kona Kai Hotel City: San Diego, CA Cost Per Night: \$160

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 the box.*



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18. Total Expenses for each Participant:

<input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimates	Total Transportation Expenses per Participant	Total Lodging Expenses per Participant	Total Meal Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	\$755	\$480	\$190
For each Accompanying Family Member	\$755	\$0	\$190

	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	\$525	Private meeting & dining space, AV, conf. services
For each Accompanying Family Member	\$525	Private meeting & dining space, AV, conf. services

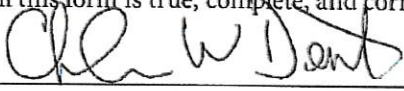
NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

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 by my signature that

- a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
- b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent; and
- c. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature:  Date: 08/05/2021
 Name: Charles W. Dent Title: Vice President-The Aspen Institute, Inc.
 Organization: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
 Address: 2300 N Street, NW, Washington, DC 20037
 Email: lisa.jones@aspeninstitute.org Telephone: (202) 736-5859

INSTRUCTIONS

Complete the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* and submit the agenda, invitation list, any attachments, and any *Additional Trip Sponsor Forms* directly to the Travelers.

Written approval from the Committee on Ethics is required before traveling on this trip. The Committee on Ethics will notify the House invitees directly and will not notify the trip sponsors.

Willful or knowing misrepresentation on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution under 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Signatures must comply with section 104(bb) of the Travel Regulations.

For questions, please contact the Committee on Ethics at:

1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

ethicscommittee@mail.house.gov | 202-225-7103
More information and forms available at ethics.house.gov



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COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by an organization that provides funds, services, or in-kind assistance 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. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Name of your organization: Democracy Fund
3. Yes No Is your organization designated a § 501(c)(3) charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service?
4. Yes No Does your organization receive funding from any foreign government or multinational organization?
5. **Check one.** I certify that my organization:
 - 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. **OR**
 - c. Has provided in-kind support to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor (e.g., meeting planning assistance, meeting space and set-up, and paying for expenses related to this trip directly to the service provider).
6. **Check only 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.
7. I certify by my signature that
 - a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
 - b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent;
 - c. I am an officer of this organization and am duly authorized to sign this form; and
 - d. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: Joe Goldman Digitally signed by Joe Goldman
Date: 2021.06.08 09:33:59 -04'00' Date: 06/08/2021

Name: Joe Goldman Title: President

Organization: Democracy Fund

Address: 1200 17th St., Suite 300 Washington, D.C. 20036

Email: jgoldman@democracyfund.org Telephone: (202) 420-7900



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by an organization that provides funds, services, or in-kind assistance 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. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Name of your organization: The Henry Luce Foundatiobn
3. Yes No Is your organization designated a § 501(c)(3) charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service?
4. Yes No Does your organization receive funding from any foreign government or multinational organization?
5. **Check one.** I certify that my organization:
 - 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. **OR**
 - c. Has provided in-kind support to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor (e.g., meeting planning assistance, meeting space and set-up, and paying for expenses related to this trip directly to the service provider).
6. **Check only 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.
7. I certify by my signature that
 - a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
 - b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent;
 - c. I am an officer of this organization and am duly authorized to sign this form; and
 - d. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature:  Date: 05/05/2021

Name: Toby Volkman Title: Director of Policy Initiatives

Organization: The Henry Luce Foundation

Address: 51 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10010

Email: tvolkman@hluce.org Telephone: (202) 489-7700



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by an organization that provides funds, services, or in-kind assistance 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. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Name of your organization: Rockefeller Brothers Fund
3. Yes No Is your organization designated a § 501(c)(3) charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service?
4. Yes No Does your organization receive funding from any foreign government or multinational organization?
5. **Check one.** I certify that my organization:
 - 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. **OR**
 - c. Has provided in-kind support to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor (e.g., meeting planning assistance, meeting space and set-up, and paying for expenses related to this trip directly to the service provider).
6. **Check only 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.
7. I certify by my signature that
 - a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
 - b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent;
 - c. I am an officer of this organization and am duly authorized to sign this form; and
 - d. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature:  Date: 06/22/2021

Name: Stephen Heintz Title: President and CEO

Organization: Rockefeller Brothers Fund

Address: 475 Riverside Drive, Suite 900, New York, NY 10115

Email: echege@rbf.org Telephone: (212) 812-4208

Theodore E. Deutch, Florida
Chairman

Jackie Walorski, Indiana
Ranking Member

Susan Wild, Pennsylvania
Dean Phillips, Minnesota
Veronica Escobar, Texas
Mondaire Jones, New York

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Dave Joyce, Ohio
John H. Rutherford, Florida
Kelly Armstrong, North Dakota



ONE HUNDRED SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

David W. Arrojo
Counsel to the Chairman

Kelle A. Strickland
Counsel to the Ranking Member

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

August 31, 2021

The Honorable Cheri Bustos
U.S. House of Representatives
1233 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 September 9 to 12, 2021, sponsored by Aspen Institute, Inc., Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Henry Luce Foundation, and Democracy Fund.

This approval represents the Committee's determination that the proposed trip complies with relevant House rules, federal laws, and Travel Regulations promulgated by the Committee. You should engage in your own assessment of the risks and implications of engaging in travel during the current COVID-19 pandemic.

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 \$415 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,

Handwritten signature of Theodore E. Deutch in blue ink.

Theodore E. Deutch
Chairman

Handwritten signature of Jackie Walorski in blue ink.

Jackie Walorski
Ranking Member

TED/JW:adw

List of Invitees

Question 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.*

Rep. Jake Auchincloss; House Committee on Financial Services
Rep. Jim Baird; House Committee on Science, Space, and Technology
Rep. Andy Barr; House Committee on Foreign Affairs
Rep. Ami Bera; House Committee on Foreign Affairs
Rep. Cheri Bustos; House Committee on Appropriations
Rep. Buddy Carter; House Committee on Energy and Commerce
Rep. Ed Case; House Committee on Appropriations
Rep. Lou Correa; House Committee on Homeland Security
Rep. Jason Crow; House Committee on Armed Services
Rep. Garret Graves; House Committee on Natural Resources
Rep. Jaime Herrera Beutler, House Committee on Appropriations
Rep. Darrell Issa; House Committee on Foreign Affairs
Rep. Sara Jacobs; House Committee on Armed Services
Rep. Rick Larsen; House Committee on Armed Services
Rep. Barbara Lee; House Committee on Appropriations
Rep. David Price; House Committee on Appropriations
Rep. Kim Schrier; House Energy and Commerce Committee
Rep. Tom Suozzi; House Committee on Ways and Means

STRENGTHENING THE FOUNDATION FOR LONG-TERM STRATEGIC COMPETITION WITH CHINA

Agenda as of 9/22/21

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM
September 9-12, 2021 San Diego, California

THURSDAY, September 9:

Participants travel to San Diego arriving early to late afternoon

Rep. Cheri Bustos, and her husband, Gerry Bustos, depart Moline, Illinois at 8:40 am on United 5979 and arrive in San Diego at 12:49 pm on United 343.

6:00 – 7:00 pm

Pre-Dinner Remarks

FRAMING THE CHALLENGE

Most U.S. policymakers seem to agree that the U.S.-China relationship is fundamentally contentious. Far less clear is the nature of the Chinese threat, what exactly the two superpowers are competing over, how long the struggle will last, what costs must be paid in order to prevail, and what outcome the U.S. should aspire to reach.

- Should America aim to win or to manage bilateral competition?
- What does "winning" this competition look like?
- What role does the U.S.-China friction play in U.S. politics? And in China?
- In what areas can the U.S. and China still cooperate?

*Susan Shirk, Chair, 21st Century China Center
University of California at San Diego*

7:00 – 9:00 pm

Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and to 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 long-term strategic competition with China.

FRIDAY, September 10:

7:30 – 9:00 am

Breakfast is available for all participants

9:00 -9:15 am

INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE

This conference is organized into roundtable conversations and pre-dinner and post-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.

*Charles W. Dent, Executive Director,
Aspen Institute Congressional Program*

9:15 – 10:45 am

Roundtable Discussion

WHAT CHINA WANTS:

XI JINPING AND CHINA'S VISION OF GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

We know more about China's capabilities than its intentions, which are largely determined by its confident, ambitious, and enigmatic leader, Xi Jinping. Xi's China is powerful, but constrained; rich, but unevenly developed. In 2022, Xi Jinping is likely to extend his rule, against the tradition of the Chinese Communist Party, to reach for global leadership, despite increased distrust of Beijing around the world.

- Which core beliefs and experiences shape Xi's leadership?
- What is Xi's vision for China and its place in the region and the world?
- Does China seek the overthrow, revision, or refinement of existing international systems?
- Are we witnessing the formation of an authoritarian bloc, led by China and including Russia and Iran, determined to oppose the West?

Elizabeth Economy, Senior Fellow, The Hoover Institution

10:45 am-12:15 pm

Roundtable Discussion

U.S.-CHINA TECH COMPETITION

One point Washington and Beijing agree on is that the nation that leads the development, marketization, and regulation of emerging technologies will lead other global systems as well; technology is the key to military, economic, and soft power. The U.S. faces a dilemma: Its power to innovate rests on the internationalization and openness of its research institutions, yet that openness can also benefit adversaries and makes the U.S. vulnerable to espionage and theft of intellectual property.

- What does the tech scorecard look like? Where does the U.S. lead? Where does China dominate? Where can the two nations cooperate?
- Is it possible for American companies to, as former Secretary of State Mike Pompeo put it, be "both profitable and patriotic" with respect to China?
- How great is the threat of China to America's technological well-being?
- How should American universities and other parts of the innovation ecosystem protect themselves from infiltration while retaining openness?
- Are we destined for technological decoupling, and what would its costs be?

*Peter F. Cowhey, Dean and Qualcomm Chair Emeritus,
School of Global Policy and Strategy, University of California at San Diego
Anja Manuel, Co-Founder and Partner, Rice, Hadley, Gates and Manuel, LLC
Director, Aspen Strategy Group*

12:15 – 1:00 pm

Working Luncheon

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for long-term strategic competition with China.

1:00 – 2:30 pm

Roundtable Discussion

TRADE, INVESTMENT, AND PUBLIC GOODS

China's wealth complicates every facet of bilateral competition. American consumers benefit from low-priced Chinese goods. American corporations can't thrive on the world stage if they're not involved in the Chinese market, yet that involvement gives China leverage. Beijing uses this leverage around the world to bind other nations to China, buying their acquiescence to Chinese prerogatives. China's domestic economic reforms, however, may point to a cooling-off in Chinese economic diplomacy, and may even lead to China's economic

disengagement from the U.S. in some sectors. How is the balance of economic competition and cooperation likely to shift over the next few years?

- What is China's "dual circulation" strategy, and what is its relevance?
- Does the United States still benefit from trade with China?
- Does the retention of Phase I tariffs help or harm the U.S. economy?
- Will there be a Phase II agreement that covers structural issues in U.S.-China economic relations?
- Is China coercing other countries economically and, if so, does coercion succeed?
- Where does the Belt & Road Initiative stand? Is it succeeding or failing?

Barry Naughton, *Chair of Chinese International Affairs*
University of California at San Diego

2:30 – 4:00 pm

Individual Discussions

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss U.S. policy toward China. Scholars available to meet individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the morning sessions include Elizabeth Economy, Peter Cowhey, Anja Manuel, Barry Naughton and Susan Shirk.

5:00 – 6:00 pm

Pre-Dinner Remarks

XINJIANG AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHINA

The Biden Administration claims to put human rights at the forefront of American foreign policy. Xi Jinping's buildout of a techno-totalitarian surveillance state, his actions in Hong Kong and Tibet, and his silencing of critical voices in academia, the press, and the professions have made the CCP's values and governance model matters of grave worldwide concern. In the run-up to the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics, Beijing's treatment of the Muslim Uighurs in Xinjiang has become the most prominent test of the U.S. commitment to the promotion of human rights.

- Can the U.S. Congress have an impact on human rights practices in China and, if so, how?
- Do American/international sanctions and censure have any impact on Beijing's behavior?
- What do Chinese people in China make of the human rights debate? Do they long for a free and democratic nation?
- How should the United States approach the Beijing Olympics, in light of China's treatment of Uighur Muslims?

Minxin Pei, *Professor of Government, Claremont McKenna College*

6:00 – 8:30 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 long-term strategic competition with China.

8:30 – 9:30 pm

Post-Dinner Informal Discussion

SEMICONDUCTORS: THE KEY AREA OF COMPETITION

China cannot achieve its goals without access to the global semiconductor supply chain. The United States and a growing list of allies are determined to limit that

access. access. Governments and companies caught up in the tug-of-war are pressured to take sides.

- What are the financial and diplomatic costs of the chip war?
- What does it portend for global innovation and the health of U.S. tech companies?
- Is the current shortage of semiconductors, which is impacting manufacturing and businesses in the U.S., connected to this competition in any way?

Donald Rosenberg, Executive Vice President, Qualcomm

SATURDAY, September 11:

7:30 - 7:35 am Moment of silence in honor of the 20th anniversary of September 11th

7:35 - 9:00 am *Breakfast Remarks*

U.S.-CHINA VALUES COMPETITION

It is now commonplace to claim that the U.S. and China are engaged in an *ideological* or *values* competition, but what does that mean? How are such competitions conducted, and what implications does this have for policy decisions? Will the outcome of this values competition be determined by competence, with the nation seen as delivering the most goods for its own people and the world coming out on top?

- Which Chinese and American core values are fundamentally at odds?
- Do other Asian nations see China as the source of and representative for distinctly Asian or Confucian values?
- What does Xi Jinping mean when he claims *universal* values are non-existent, but promotes *common* values?
- What is the relationship between *values* and *power* in Sino-U.S. relations and the superpower's quest for global leadership?

Erin Baggott Carter, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Southern California

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

TAIWAN AND THE INDO-PACIFIC

The Western Pacific is more crowded and dangerous than it was a decade ago. While territorial disputes in the South and East China Seas continue to simmer, it is the prospect of war in the Taiwan Straits that most alarms Defense Department planners. Many in Washington are convinced that Xi Jinping will move on Taiwan at some point in his tenure. What are the prospects for such aggression, and what does this mean for Taiwan and the United States should it occur?

- What is the likelihood that China will make a decisive move to reclaim Taiwan over the next ten years? Before 2049? If so, what are the likely consequences for the U.S.?
- How great is the threat of military conflict in the South China Sea and East China Sea?
- How do American and Chinese capabilities match up in any plausible war-fighting scenario in the Western Pacific?
- Can the Quad (India, Japan, Australia and the U.S.) make a real difference in the Indo-Pacific?

- Should the United States aim for military pre-eminence or a sustainable balance of power in the region?
- Which reasonable/inevitable Chinese military interests in the Indo-Pacific should be accommodated by the U.S. and its allies? Which are destabilizing and must be opposed?

*Nico Ravanilla, Assistant Professor, School of Global Policy & Strategy
University of California at San Diego*

Matthew Turpin, Visiting Fellow, Hoover Institution

10:45 am-12:15 pm *Roundtable Discussion*

VIEWS OF ASIAN AND EUROPEAN ALLIES

The United States is reaching out to partners and allies to join it in opposing threatening and illiberal aspects of Chinese power. U.S. allies are a diverse group, politically and economically, and they have diverse interests. Most value their economic relations with China, even as their worries about China's intentions grow. Despite widespread distrust of Chinese actions, America's domestic turmoil raises questions about our hegemonic staying power, encouraging some allies to hedge their bets between the superpowers rather than antagonize Beijing.

- What are the major points of agreement and disagreement concerning Chinese power among our Asian and European allies?
- It is often said that third world countries "do not want to choose" between the U.S. and China – is that position sustainable, or are events likely to force a choice?
- Internationally, how do doubts about the U.S. compare to wariness toward China?
- Which types of diplomacy might result in broader global support for American positions?

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

12:15 – 1:00 pm *Working Luncheon*

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for long-term strategic competition with China.

1:00 – 2:30 pm *Roundtable Discussion*

POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR THE U.S.

Robert Daly will offer a brief summary of the discussions and highlight policy recommendations made thus far. Participants are encouraged to suggest ideas for legislative action.

- What are the United States' core interests with regard to China?
- What are the obstacles to advancing those interests?
- What impact does the polarization of American politics and society have on our ability to meet the China challenge?
- What is the right balance of competition and cooperation in U.S.-China relations? Or is cooperation already impossible?
- How does the China challenge relate to the other epochal threats and transformations facing the U.S. and the world, such as climate change,

pandemics, managing new technologies, mass migration, and global inequality?

- If war with China is to be avoided, will the United States need to change?

Robert Daly, Director, *The Kissinger Institute on China and the U.S.*
The Wilson Center

6:30 – 8:30 pm

Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and to 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 long-term strategic competition with China.

SUNDAY, September 12:

Participants depart San Diego this morning

Rep. Cheri Bustos, and her husband, Gerry Bustos, depart San Diego at 7:05 am on United 2314 and arrive in Moline, Illinois at 3:19 pm on United 3752.



Charles W. Dent

Executive Director

Congressional Program

May 3, 2021

The Honorable Cheri Bustos
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Cheri:

I would like to invite you and Gerry to participate in a congressional conference on **Strengthening the Foundation for Long-Term Strategic Competition with China**, which will be held September 9-12, 2021, including travel, in San Diego, California. We have limited space and must hear from you proactively as soon as possible if you wish to participate.

We have assembled a team of experts to lead our discussions, half of which are prestigious scholars from the University of California at San Diego. The agenda will cover the competition between China and the U.S. in technology, global leadership, values, military posture, Xinjiang and human rights, and trade & investment. This is a great opportunity for Members to engage directly with many of the country's leading scholars on our most challenging and consequential relationship and to hear a range of analysis to allow you to be better informed when making important policy decisions. An agenda outline is attached.

We are optimistic that the circumstances related to COVID will continue to improve. We will follow any COVID safety protocols required by authorities.

Attendance is by invitation only, with no outside observers, lobbyists, or congressional staff. Funding is provided solely by grants from established foundations—no government, individual, corporate or special interest funds are accepted.

Under guidelines established by the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, we will provide you with a signed Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form affirming that no lobbyists fund this activity, that the Aspen Institute does not hire or retain lobbyists, and that no lobbyists will be present. Our purpose is education, not advocacy.

This program is designed for Members of both the Senate and the House. Please note that because the House has adopted rules that preclude registered lobbyists from attending our events, if your accompanying spouse or family member is a registered lobbyist, the rules would bar their participation.



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May 3, 2021
Page Two

Departure will be on Thursday, September 9th and we will return on Sunday, September 12th. Should you accept the invitation, it is required that you participate through the duration of the conference.

Travel expenses, including airfare, meals, lodging, and meeting facilities will be paid by the Aspen Institute Congressional Program. Under the ethics rules, no expenses are covered for entertainment or recreation. Congressional participants are limited to only one accompanying family member.

The Aspen Institute, an independent, nonprofit organization founded in 1950, provides a nonpartisan, neutral forum for leaders to discuss critical issues. The Institute's Congressional Program is designed to promote leadership on selected public policy issues in the Congress by bringing legislators together with internationally-recognized scholars and analysts in high-level discussion. Since the program's inception, over 465 Members of Congress have participated in the 143 conferences we have conducted.

I took over leadership of this program in February after the retirement of Dan Glickman, who led the program for the last decade. I served in the U.S. House of Representatives for nearly 14 years from 2005-2018 as a Republican on the Appropriations Committee and was Chair of the Ethics Committee.

Additionally, we hold digital morning meetings in the Capitol throughout the year to keep Members of Congress up-to-date between our annual conferences. We hope you will be able to participate in the extended educational offerings of our breakfast series.

If you have any questions, please feel free to call me on my cell phone at 484-553-1837.

We hope you will join us for this important conference.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "C.W. Dent". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style.

Charles W. Dent
Member (2005-2018)

STRENGTHENING THE FOUNDATION FOR LONG-TERM STRATEGIC COMPETITION WITH CHINA

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM
September 9-12, 2021 San Diego, California
(5/3/21 version)

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 2021

Pre-Dinner Speaker

FRAMING THE CHALLENGE

Susan Shirk, Chair, 21st Century
China Center, UC San Diego

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 2021

Morning Roundtable Discussions

WHAT CHINA WANTS: XI JINPING AND CHINA'S VISION OF GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

Elizabeth Economy, Senior Fellow, Hoover
Institution

U.S.-CHINA TECH COMPETITION

Peter Cowhey, Dean and Chair in
Communications and Technology
Policy, UC San Diego
Anja Manuel, Co-Founder and Partner, Rice,
Hadley, Gates & Manuel LLC

Early Afternoon Roundtable Discussion

TRADE, INVESTMENT, AND PUBLIC GOODS

Barry Naughton, Chair of Chinese
International Affairs, UC San Diego

Pre-Dinner Speaker

XINJIANG AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHINA

Minxin Pei, Professor of Government,
Claremont McKenna College

Post-Dinner Conversation

SEMICONDUCTORS: THE KEY ARENA OF COMPETITION

Donald Rosenberg, Executive Vice
President, Qualcomm

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 2021

Breakfast Remarks

U.S.-CHINA VALUES COMPETITION

Erin Baggott Carter, Assistant Professor,
Department of Political Science and
International Relations, University of
Southern California

Morning Roundtable Discussions

TAIWAN AND THE INDO- PACIFIC

Tai Ming Cheung, Director, Institute on
Global Conflict and Cooperation, UC San
Diego

Nico Ravanilla, Assistant Professor, School
of Global Policy & Strategy, UC San Diego

VIEWS OF ASIAN & EUROPEAN ALLIES

Orville Schell, Director, Center on U.S.-
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Early Afternoon Roundtable Discussion

POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR THE U.S.

Robert Daly, Director, Kissinger Institute
Wilson Center, Washington

Working Dinner

SUNDAY, September 12, 2021

Participants depart early in the morning