



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: Buddy Carter
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: _____ **OR** None
 b. Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
3. a. Dates: Departure: 9/9/21 Return: 9/12/21
 b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: _____ **OR** None
4. Departure City: Savannah, GA Destination: San Diego, CA Return City: Savannah, GA
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: The Aspen Institute, Inc
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended (attach additional pages if necessary):
 The Congressman was able to listen and learn from the presenters of the conference better ways to legislate on policies regarding international relations as well as as technology.
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 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: Earl I Buddy Carter

Date: 09/27/2021



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: September 9, 2021 Date of Return: September 12, 2021

4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): Rep. Buddy Carter

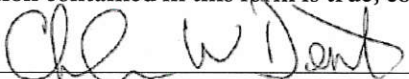
Note: You may list more than one traveler on a form only if *all* information is *identical* for each person listed.

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	\$615	\$480	\$190	\$525
Accompanying Family Member				

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:  Date: 09/24/2021

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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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. **This form and any attachments may be 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: Buddy Carter

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: Earl & Buddy Carter

Name of Signatory (if other than traveler): _____

For Staff (name of employing Member or Committee): _____

Office Address: 2432 Rayburn

Telephone Number: 202-225-5831

Email Address of Contact Person: brooke.miller@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 on Ethics at 202-225-7103 or via e-mail: travel.requests@mail.house.gov.



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COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: Buddy Carter
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip:
The
3. City and State **OR** Foreign Country of Travel : San Diego, California
4. a. Date of Departure: 9/9/21 Date of Return: 9/12/21
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: _____
(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.**
The purpose of the trip is to attend educational forums in order to better understand how to legislate on issues related to competition with China. This will help to better represent the first district because of the strong trade presence there.
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 Earl & Buddy Carter Date 09/30/2021



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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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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 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.*



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

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	\$615	\$480	\$190
For each Accompanying Family Member			

	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		

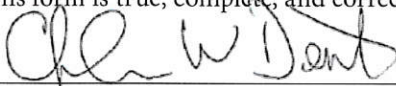
NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

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: 09/24/2021

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



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: 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 -0400 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



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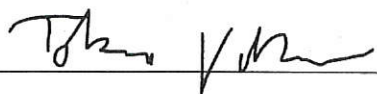
COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

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: 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

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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 Earl L. "Buddy" Carter
U.S. House of Representatives
2432 Rayburn 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

Aspen Institute Congressional Program
Strengthening the Foundation for Long-Term Strategic Competition with China
San Diego, California
September 9-12, 2021

Policy Memorandum for Members of Congress

Note: This “policy action memo” from the conference in San Diego lists policy ideas and major themes that emerged in our conversations. Aspen is a neutral convener. We are not advocating for any of these policies; we are merely cataloguing the group’s ideas. This memo highlights ideas that emerged in the discussions. It does not purport to represent a consensus.

American policymakers and scholars are in broad agreement about the nature of U.S.-China relations: we are engaged in a long-term, high-stakes, high cost competition to shape security architectures, trade and financial regimes, technology development and regulations, and multilateral norms and institutions worldwide. Competition does not rule out the possibility of cooperation, but does increase the likelihood of conflict.

There is less certainty about which policies the United States should adopt in each of these issue areas and what overall strategy should guide policy. The guiding question of the conference, therefore, was: “What is it we are trying to achieve?” The United States has been clear about which Chinese actions it finds objectionable. Policymakers remain vague, however, about whether a divided United States is willing and able to pay the costs of competition with China, what those costs might be, whether we should aim to “win” the competition or just to manage it effectively, and what sort of relationship with China the United States would regard as acceptable.

If ends remain murky, the participants did have prescriptions for American means. It is time, many said, to move from defense to offense, to strengthen American institutions and capabilities, to provide more global public goods, to work more closely with allies, and to put American values at the forefront of foreign policy.

The challenge, as one scholar put it, is to “reinvent our relations with China” by finding “the best way to confront China without going to war.”

Policy Ideas that Emerged from the Discussions:

Play to America’s Strengths

The United States cannot compete with China dollar-for-dollar as an infrastructure lender. Instead, it should focus on enhancing its ability to develop human capital. As one participant put it, “China builds ports. We should attract the talent that transforms transportation.” To that end, the U.S. should protect the openness of its world-leading universities and ensure that immigration policy allows America to remain the top destination for global talent through its own 1,000 Talents Program.

Prioritize

The United States need not compete in every arena. In the technology sphere, for example, the United States should identify the disciplines and industries that matter most for national security and put its energies into insuring that it remains several generations ahead in those areas, which include artificial intelligence, semiconductors, 5G, fintech, and bio-medical technology. Prioritization is also important as the United States pursues limited economic decoupling from China. It is not necessary to decouple across the board. The goal should be to limit our exposure to China only in areas where there is a clearly defined strategic vulnerability.

Beyond Great Power Competition

The United States should not embrace a Great Powers framework for its foreign policy too readily. China has built global influence by focusing on regions which the United States neglects: Southeast and Central Asia, Africa, Latin America. Local populations in these regions worry as much about American inattention as they do about Chinese assertiveness. In many parts of the world, including Southeast Asia, China is regarded as a better, more responsive listener than the United States. The imbalance should be addressed through a truly global foreign policy that comprises all nations, the maritime domain, space, and cyberspace.

End the Illusion of Imminent Chinese Collapse

China is highly constrained by domestic and international factors and its leaders must deal with major social, political, and economic dislocations, but American policymakers should stop wondering whether “the wheels will come off” of the People’s Republic of China. Predictions of Chinese collapse blind American policymakers to the Chinese government’s sources of strength and may prevent us from doing the difficult work of calculating the true costs of competition.

Personnel

To compete with China technologically, the United States should bring qualified technologists into policy discussions and relevant government bureaucracies, including the Committee on Foreign Investment in the U.S.

In exchange for immigration policies that attract large numbers of talented technologists to the States, American universities should be open to arrangements that give Washington greater supervision of sensitive research.

To base American policy in an accurate appraisal of Chinese beliefs, goals, and strategies, the United States needs to train young professionals in a range of fields in the Chinese language, history, and culture.

Diplomacy

The goal of American diplomacy should be to shape the Chinese Communist Party’s decision making calculus by raising the costs of aggression and undermining the CCP’s preferred policy approaches. The United States should also be alert to weaknesses or developments in China that can be exploited or amplified to achieve American goals. The United States should eschew

symbolic acts that “rub China’s nose in” the reputational costs of its assertiveness, as such policies tend to build support for the CCP within China.

Economic Diplomacy

Many participants remarked that the United States had injured itself in the Indo-Pacific when it pulled out of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) in 2017 and urged the Biden administration to join its successor, the CPTPP, at the earliest possible date. This would demonstrate America’s commitment to economic partnership in a region that runs on economics. They noted, however, that there is little appetite in Congress for completing new trade agreements.

Public Diplomacy

The United States must reinvest in public diplomacy in order to reverse the narrative of American decline that has taken route in China and other regions. Our public diplomacy should disseminate accurate information about America’s many successes and Chinese weaknesses and failures. The Voice of America and Radio Free Asia can play an enhanced role in this arena.

The “Whole of Society” Approach

The United States should provide its multinational corporations, universities and colleges, and other institutions with clearer guidance about the roles they play in shaping U.S.-China relations. Asking businesses to be “both profitable and patriotic” in China is unhelpful, as multinationals are less able than countries to resist Chinese coercion.

Avoid Strident Rhetoric

The United States should tone down its inflammatory statements about China, even if it adopts more confrontational policies. Harsh rhetoric needlessly antagonizes China, increases domestic Chinese support for the PRC, calls our wisdom into doubt among allies, blinds us to the many nuances and continual changes affecting U.S.-China relations, and increases anti-Asian American racism. Strident rhetoric is also an index of inaction; we wouldn’t have as much time for insults if we were truly prioritizing, for example, technological competition.

Force Structure

The United States is over-invested in hard warfighting platforms, like aircraft carriers, vis-à-vis China and should invest more in software and cheaper, more resilient, weapons. In the Arctic and in American fisheries, the United States is hamstrung by a small Coast Guard force.

Human Rights

While recognizing that only Chinese domestic pressure is likely to make China more democratic, the United States should support multilateral action that buttresses Chinese civil society. It should continue to criticize China’s policies in Xinjiang and Tibet as, at the very least, external pressure might constrain China from committing still more egregious acts.

STRENGTHENING THE FOUNDATION FOR LONG-TERM STRATEGIC COMPETITION WITH CHINA

Agenda as of 9/24/21

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. Carter departs Savannah at 8:50 am on American 5500 and arrives in San Diego at 12:59 pm on American 2777.

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. 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. Carter departs San Diego at 7:19 am on American 1651 and arrives in Savannah at 5:37 pm on American 2519.