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: Richard Ray Larsen
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: Tiia Karlen *OR* ☐ None
   b. Relationship to Traveler: ■ Spouse ☐ Child ☐ Other (specify): _____
3. a. Dates: Departure: Aug 11, 2024 Return: Aug 16, 2024
   b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: _____ *OR* ■ None
4. Departure City: Seattle, WA Destination: Dublin, Ireland & Belfast, North Ireland Return City: Seattle, WA
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: The Aspen Institute Inc. (Congressional Porgram)
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended (attach additional pages if necessary):
   See attached Itinerary.
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: Rick Larsen

Date: 8/29/2024

last updated 7/2023

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 in the trip *within 10 days of their return.*** You must answer all questions, and check all boxes, on this form for your submission to comply with House Rules and the Committee's Travel Regulations. Failure to comply with this requirement may result in the denial of future requests to sponsor trips and/or subject the current traveler to disciplinary action or a requirement to repay the trip expenses.

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

1. Sponsor(s) who paid or provided in-kind support for the trip: The Aspen Institute Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Travel Destination(s): Dublin, Ireland and Belfast-Northern Ireland, United Kingdom
3. Date of Departure: August 11, 2024 Date of Return: August 16, 2024
4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): Rep. Rick Larsen and Tiia Karlén
   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	$4839	$2037 See Appendix	$600 See Appendix	$417: Private meeting space, AV, conference services
Accompanying Family Member	$4839	$0	$600 See Appendix	$417: Private meeting space, AV, conference services

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: Charlie W Dent **Date:** August 27 2024

Name: Charlie Dent **Title:** VP - Aspen Institute

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

Telephone: 202-736-5859 **Email:** lisa.jones@aspeninstitute.org

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

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

last updated 7/2023

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: Richard Ray Larsen

2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip:
The Aspen Institute Inc. (Congressional Porgram)

3. City and State **OR** Foreign Country of Travel: Dublin, Ireland & Belfast, Northern Ireland, UK

4. a. Date of Departure: Aug 11, 2024 Date of Return: Aug 16, 2024

   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: Tiia Karlén

   (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, invitation, 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 Aspen Institute conference "Axis of Complexity: Chinese and Russian Foreign Policy" is connected to Rep. Larsen's official duties representing Washington's Second District. China is Washington state's largest goods export market, supporting employment and local economies. In fact, Snohomish County, in WA-02 is one of the most heavily impacted by trade with China. Developing deeper understanding of the bilateral relationship is essential to Rep. Larsen's work on behalf of his constituents. In addition, Rep. Larsen serves as a Special Rapporteur to NATO PA and co-chair of the US-China Working Group. This trip will inform and support his efforts on great power competition and cooperation, U.S. global leadership and regional security challenges.

9. **Yes ☐ No ■ Is the traveler aware of any registered federal lobbyists or foreign agents involved in 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:** _____

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

PRIMARY TRIP SPONSOR FORM

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

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. Signatures must comply with section 104(bb) of the Travel Regulations.

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, services, or in-kind assistance 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:

   Carnegie Corporation of New York

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 Appendix

5. Yes ☒ No ☐ Is travel being offered to an accompanying family member of the House invitee(s)?
6. Date of Departure: August 11, 2024 Date of Return: August 16, 2024
7. a. City of departure: August 16, 2024
   b. Destination(s): Dublin, Ireland & Belfast-Northern Ireland, United Kingdom
   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. _____

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 the statement is true by clicking the 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 foundation listed in 3C - Carnegie Corporation of New York - did not play a role in organizing or conducting the conference. The foundation provided grant funding for the program.

13. ***Answer parts a and b. Answer part c if necessary***:
   a. Mode of travel: Air ☒ Rail ☐ Bus ☒ Car ☐ Other ☐ (specify: Air to Ireland; bus to/from Dublin/Belfast and local travel)
   b. Class of travel: Coach ☐ Business ☒ First ☐ Charter ☐ Other ☐ (specify: _____)
   c. If travel will be first class, or by chartered or private aircraft, explain why such travel is warranted:

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

15. ***Check only one.*** I represent that either:
   a. ☐ The trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation and that meals provided to congressional participants are similar to those provided to or purchased by other event attendees; **OR**
   b. ☒ The trip involves events that are arranged specifically *with regard* to congressional participation. If "b" is checked:
      1) Detail the cost *per day* of meals (approximate cost may be provided): $150 per day (See attached Appendix)
      2) Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: The location provides access to conference topic experts throughout Europe and other nearby regions.

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

Hotel Name: Westbury Hotel City: Dublin, Ireland Cost Per Night: $449
Reason(s) for Selecting: Facility has required technology and meeting space. Security a key factor.
Hotel Name: Merchant Hotel City: Belfast-Northern Ireland, United Kingdom Cost Per Night: $315
Reason(s) for Selecting: Facility has required technology and meeting space. Security a key factor.
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.*

18. **Total Expenses for each Participant:**

☐ Actual Amounts ☒ Good Faith Estimates	Total **Transportation** Expenses per Participant	Total **Lodging** Expenses per Participant	Total **Meal** Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	$4839	$2037 See appendix	$600
For each Accompanying Family Member	$4839	-0-	$600

	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	$417	Private meeting space, AV, conference services
For each Accompanying Family Member	$417	Private meeting space, AV, conference services

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: Charlie W Dent Date: August 27 2024

Name: Charlie Dent Title: VP - Aspen Institute

Organization: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)

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

Email: lisa.jones@aspeninstitute.org Telephone: 202-736-5859

If there are questions regarding this form, please contact the Committee on Ethics at 202-225-7103 or travel.requests@mail.house.gov.

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. Signatures must comply with section 104(bb) of the Travel Regulations.

1. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor for this trip: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Name of your organization: Carnegie Corporation of New York
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: Deana Arsenian Date: June 24, 2024

Name: Deana Arsenian Title: VP, International Program

Organization: Carnegie Corporation of New York

Address: 437 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10022

Telephone: (212)207-6283 Email: da@carnegie.org

If there are questions regarding this form, please contact the Committee on Ethics at 202-225-7103 or travel.requests@mail.house.gov.

last updated 7/2023

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Chairman
Susan Wild, Pennsylvania
Ranking Member

David P. Joyce, Ohio
John H. Rutherford, Florida
Andrew R. Garbarino, New York
Michelle Fischbach, Minnesota

Veronica Escobar, Texas
Mark DeSaulnier, California
Deborah K. Ross, North Carolina
Glenn F. Ivey, Maryland

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

Keelie Broom
Counsel to the Chairman

David Arrojo
Counsel to the Ranking Member

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

August 5, 2024

The Honorable Rick Larsen
U.S. House of Representatives
2163 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 Ireland and the United Kingdom,[1] scheduled for August 11 to 16, 2024, sponsored by Aspen Institute, Inc., and Carnegie Corporation of New York.

You must complete a Member/Officer Post-Travel Disclosure Form and file it, together with a Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form completed by the trip sponsor, with the Clerk of the House within 15 days after your return from travel. As part of that filing, you are also required to attach a copy of this letter and both the Traveler and Primary Trip Sponsor Forms (including attachments) you previously submitted to the Committee in seeking pre-approval for this trip. You must also report all travel expenses totaling more than $480 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.

Because the trip may involve meetings with foreign government representatives, we note that House Members may accept, under the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act (FGDA), gifts "of minimal value [currently $480] tendered as a souvenir or mark of courtesy" by a foreign government. Any tangible gifts valued in excess of minimal value received from a foreign government must, within 60 days of acceptance, be disclosed on a Form for Disclosing Gifts from Foreign Governments and either turned over to the Clerk of the House, or, with the written approval of the Committee, retained for official use.

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[1] Please be aware that the Committee's review of the proposed trip does not extend to either the security situation in the destination countries or security related to foreign travel in general. We recommend you contact the Office of House Security (OHS) for a safety and security briefing prior to your departure. OHS may be reached at (202) 226-2044 or ohsstaff@mail.house.gov. House travelers should also register for the U.S. State Department's Smart Traveler Enrollment Program at https://step.state.gov.

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

Sincerely,

Michael Guest
Chairman

Susan Wild
Ranking Member

MG/SW:tn

HOUSE APPENDIX

Aspen Institute Congressional Program
Axis of Complexity: Chinese and Russian Foreign Policy
August 10-16, 2024

Question 4: Provide names and titles of all House Members you are inviting. For each House invitee, provide an explanation of why the individual was invited.

These members are invited due to their subject matter interest and expertise in the geopolitical issues to be discussed at the conference.

1. Rep. Jim Baird, House Committee on Foreign Affairs
2. Rep. Ami Bera, House Committee on Foreign Affairs
3. Rep. Stephanie Bice, House Committee on Appropriations
4. Rep. Earl Blumenauer, House Committee on Ways and Means
5. Rep. Buddy Carter, House Committee on Energy and Commerce
6. Rep. Lori Chavez-DeRemer, House Committee on Agriculture
7. Rep. Jim Costa, House Committee on Foreign Affairs
8. Rep. Lloyd Doggett, House Committee on Ways and Means
9. Rep. Michael Guest, House Committee on Homeland Security
10. Rep. Kevin Hern, House Committee on Ways and Means
11. Rep. John Joyce, House Committee on Energy and Commerce
12. Rep. Nick LaLota, House Committee on Armed Services
13. Rep. Rick Larsen, House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure
14. Rep. Jim McGovern, House Committee on Agriculture
15. Rep. Greg Murphy, House Committee on Ways and Means
16. Rep. Dan Newhouse, House Committee on Appropriations
17. Rep. Donald Norcross, House Committee on Armed Services
18. Rep. Mike Quigley, House Committee on Appropriations
19. Rep. Deborah Ross, House Committee on Science, Space and Technology
20. Rep. Greg Stanton, House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure
21. Rep. Susan Wild, House Committee on Foreign Affairs

Question 15-B-1: Detail the cost per day of meals (approximate cost may be provided.):

The daily cost of meals is $150. This amount reflects the cost of lunch, breaks and dinner.
The accommodation cost includes breakfast. The daily cost of meals is $9 over per diem in Dublin and $47 over per diem in Belfast. Food costs increases are the reason behind these expenses, but it is a cost that is reasonable and necessary.

Question 18: Total Lodging Expenses per Participant

The room rate in Dublin is $449 for the nights of Aug. 11, 12; $509 for night of Aug. 15.
Members of Congress begin landing in Dublin at 4:35 am on Aug. 11. Check-in is not available until 3 pm. An early check-in fee was paid to guarantee participants landing in Dublin before 2 pm could check-in upon arrival, prepare for meetings on Aug. 11, and for security purposes. The room rate in Belfast is $315 for the nights of Aug. 13, 14.

Axis of Complexity: Chinese and Russian Foreign Policy

August 10-16, 2024 | Dublin, Ireland and Belfast – Northern Ireland, United Kingdom

AGENDA

SATURDAY, AUGUST 10:

U.S. participants depart the U.S. throughout the day.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 11 (Overnight in Dublin):

Rep. Rick Larsen and Tiia Karlén depart Seattle at 3:50 pm on Icelandair 680.

U.S. participants arrive in Dublin.

11:30 AM – 1:30 PM: Working Lunch

5 – 6:30 PM: **Fireside Chat**

The conference will open with a tour of the horizon of strategic challenges now facing the United States, with a particular focus on the challenges posed by China and Russia to a U.S.-led rules-based international order. As president and CEO of the U.S. Russia Foundation and as the former director of the Kennan Institute, the premier U.S. center for advanced research on Russia and Eurasia, Matthew Rojansky will address the new security landscape shaped by Russia's military aggression against Ukraine, and together with Dmitri Alperovitch, Silverado Policy Accelerator Chairman, will discuss growing Chinese capabilities and boldness and technological change. A former United States Trade Representative and Deputy National Security Advisor for International Economic Affairs in the Obama and Clinton Administrations respectively, Michael Froman will address challenges to U.S. leadership in global trade and financial markets, and why such continued leadership is a vital U.S. national interest in the twenty-first century.

Speakers:

Michael Froman, *President, The Council on Foreign Relations*
Dmitri Alperovitch, *Chairman, Silverado Policy Accelerator*
Matthew Rojansky, *President and CEO, The U.S.-Russia Foundation* (moderator)

7 – 9 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. Discussions will focus on the U.S. relations with China and Russia and, in particular, the role U.S. lawmakers play in shaping the global security landscape.

MONDAY, AUGUST 12 (Overnight in Dublin):

Rep. Rick Larsen and Tiia Karlén arrive in Dublin at 11:05 am on Icelandair 416 and join the conference

7 – 8:30 AM: Breakfast available to all participants

7:20 – 8:20 AM: Experts and Scholars meet for breakfast with Charlie Dent to review conference procedures

9 – 9:15 AM: Introduction and Framework of the Conference

This conference is organized into roundtable conversations, working lunches, and pre-dinner remarks. This segment will highlight how the conference will be conducted, how those with questions will be recognized, and how responses will be timed to allow for as much engagement as possible.

Speaker:

Charlie Dent, *Vice President, Aspen Institute;*
Executive Director, Congressional Program

9:15 – 11:15 AM: Roundtable Discussion

Russia and China's Foreign Policy Traditions and Perceptions of the U.S.

The foreign policies of Russia and China are deeply rooted in historical experiences and mythologies which shape their current objectives. Russia's approach to foreign policy is heavily influenced by Soviet-era and other experiences of territorial expansion, conflict, and a desire to reclaim perceived lost influence, particularly in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. China's foreign policy is guided by its belief that a Sino-Centric Asia and, perhaps, a Sino-Centric Afro-Eurasia is a natural, inevitable, and positive development. This ambition is shaped by China's historical primacy and its experience of humiliation beginning in the mid-19th Century–a rise/fall/rise story that stirs patriotic passions and is fueling a new drive for hegemony. Both nations believe they face existential threats from the U.S. and the West.

Speakers will address the following questions:

- How have historical experiences shaped the current foreign policies of Russia and China, and what are the key doctrines influencing their international strategies?
- In what ways do the historical narratives of national identity and sovereignty in Russia and China influence their foreign policy decisions today?
- How do concepts of power differ in the foreign policy traditions of Russia and China? What historical events have contributed to these differences?
- Can similarities between Russian and Chinese foreign policy be attributed to shared historical experiences of Western intervention? How do these experiences/perceptions continue to affect their policies?
- What are the historical roots of the strategic partnership between Russia and China? How have their respective foreign policy goals converged or diverged over time?

Speakers:
Robert Daly, *Director, Kissinger Institute on China and the United States, the Wilson Center*
Sergey Radchenko, *Wilson E. Schmidt Distinguished Professor, the Johns Hopkins University*

11:15 – 11:30 AM: **Break**

11:30 AM – 1:10 PM: Roundtable Discussion
Domestic Drivers of Contemporary Foreign Policy

Domestic politics in Russia and China play pivotal roles in shaping their respective foreign policies. In Russia, President Vladimir Putin's consolidation of power has been closely tied to a foreign policy that emphasizes national revival and geopolitical strength, often using international engagements to bolster his domestic standing amid economic challenges and political dissent. In China, the Communist Party under Xi Jinping has leveraged foreign policy successes to enhance its legitimacy and justify its near total control of society, presenting China both as a rejuvenated global power and as a victim of Western hegemony and unrelenting American attack. Both governments use foreign policy as a tool to consolidate internal power, manage national identity, and address internal pressures—whether they stem from economic needs, regional stability, or the demands of national prestige.

Speakers will address the following questions:

- How do Putin's domestic political needs influence Russia's aggressive postures in Eastern Europe and the Middle East?
- What is Xi Jinping's domestic agenda and how does it shape his vision of China's global role?
- How do internal economic pressures in both countries drive foreign policy decisions, especially in energy and trade partnerships?
- What role does public opinion play in shaping the foreign policy choices of Russia and China, and how do their governments manage nationalistic sentiments?
- How might changes in domestic political stability in either Russia or China affect their foreign policy in the near future?

Speakers:
Steve Tsang, *Director, School of Oriental & African Studies (SOAS), University of London, China Institute*
Sam Greene, *Director for Democratic Resilience, the Center for European Policy Analysis*

1:10 – 2:30 PM: Working Lunch and Q&A with Paschal Donohoe, *Minister for Public Expenditure and Reform of Ireland*
Discussion continues between members of Congress and experts on foreign policy traditions and their domestic drivers with Robert Daly, Sergey Radchenko, Steve Tsang,

Sam Greene, and Minister Paschal Donohoe. Members of Congress met with Paschal Donohoe, *Minister for Public Expenditure and Reform of Ireland*. Minister Donohoe is responsible for delivering targeted public spending. He also oversees the implementation of the National Development Plan, drives the program of public service reform, and has a key role in decisions made across the Irish Government.

3 – 5 PM: Individual Discussions
Scholars will be available to meet individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the morning sessions, including Robert Daly, Sergey Radchenko, Steve Tsang, and Sam Greene.

6 – 7 PM: Fireside Chat
Rethinking Ireland's Foreign and Security Policy: Process and Substance
This discussion will encompass Ireland's traditional stance of military neutrality while exploring how to enhance its role in international peacekeeping, conflict resolution, and cooperative security frameworks. It will also touch on Ireland's contributions to the European Union's Common Security and Defense Policy, expanding partnerships with international organizations like the United Nations, and investing in advanced defense capabilities.

Speaker:
Louise Richardson, *President, Carnegie Corporation of New York*
Charlie Dent, *Vice President, Aspen Institute;*
Executive Director, Congressional Program (moderator)

7:15 – 9 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. Discussions will focus on Ireland's foreign and security policy and its partnership with the United States.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 13 (Overnight in Belfast):

7 – 8:30 AM: Breakfast

9 – 11:10 AM: Roundtable Discussion:
What Do They Want? Xi's and Putin's Global Visions

Vladimir Putin talks about Russia's assertive and aggressive foreign policy in terms of resisting Western hegemony and encroachment into the post-Soviet region, which he considers a sphere of privileged influence for Russia. Xi Jinping is working with Russia and a growing list of other partners, many in the global south, to stand up an alternate set of global institutions, coalitions, and values that can serve as an alternative to nations that don't want their choices shaped by the West. This emerging architecture will be led by China and will stress development rights and national sovereignty. Both countries share core interests in countering U.S. primacy and promoting what they call

multipolarity. For the United States, this Sino-Russian alignment poses complex challenges across the spectrum of security, economic competitiveness, and diplomacy.

Speakers will address the following questions:

- How do Putin's and Xi's strategies for global influence align, and where do they diverge, particularly in their approaches to the United States and Europe?
- Does the personal relationship between the two leaders matter? Is the “friendship with no limits” for real?
- Where do the Putin/Xi visions for global order succeed and where are they failing?
- Do Putin and Xi aim to overthrow the global order, or to challenge it with new alternatives while using it to their advantage when they can?
- How long can either leader be expected to retain power in their respective systems, and will the relationship change significantly in a post-Putin/Xi future?

Speakers:
Elizabeth Economy, *Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University*
Anna Arutunyan, *Associate Director, Mayak Intelligence*

11:10 – 11:25 AM: Break

11:25 AM – 1:10 PM: Roundtable Discussion
Geo-Economics: Trade, Technology and Finance as Instruments of Statecraft

Russia and China are both urgently focused on enhancing their economic competitiveness and responding to U.S. economic pressures and sanctions. Russia, heavily reliant on commodity exports, particularly oil and gas, has responded to Western sanctions with efforts to develop self-sufficiency in critical technologies and diversify its economic partners, especially through tighter trade, technology and investment bonds with China. China has become the world’s leading trading and lending nation and is setting up new financial institutions like the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, the Belt and Road, the BRICS Bank, the Global Security Initiative, and the Cross-border Interbank Payment System (CIPS) as an alternative to The Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication (SWIFT), establishing itself as an essential economic partner throughout much of the world even as it decouples and insulates itself from the West. Its geo-economic strategy is a key component of its order building and its attempts to escape dollar dominance and internationalize its currency, the RMB.

Speakers will address the following questions:

- How effective are U.S. economic sanctions in limiting Russia's and China's global economic influence and technological advancements?

- How can Russia and China leverage their strategic partnership to mitigate the impact of U.S. economic pressures and enhance their technological competitiveness?
- Has Russia accepted economic dependence on China as a long-term cost of hostility to the West?
- In which industries does China pose the most significant challenge to U.S. technological leadership? How should the U.S. respond?
- How will Russia's focus on developing self-sufficiency in critical technologies alter its economic and strategic relationships with both the West and China?
- What potential global impacts could arise from increased cooperation between Russia and China in high technology sectors, particularly in areas like artificial intelligence and telecommunications?

Speakers:
Yasheng Huang, *Professor, Sloan School of Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
Chris Weafer, *CEO, Macro-Advisory*

1:10 – 2 PM: Working Lunch
Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on Xi's and Putin's global visions and geo-economics with Elizabeth Economy, Anna Arutunyan, Yasheng Huang, and Chris Weafer.

2:20 – 4:45 PM: Travel from Dublin to Belfast

7 – 9 PM: Working Dinner with U.K. Government Officials
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. Discussions today will focus on President Xi's and Putin's global visions, the dynamic of their economic partnership, and the U.S. role in the current geopolitical circumstances. Fleur Anderson, MP, *Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Northern Ireland*, Phillip Brett, MLA, *Chair of the Economy Committee in the Assembly*, and John O'Dowd, *Infrastructure Minister*, will join.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 14 (Overnight in Belfast):

6 – 8:30 AM: Breakfast

9 – 11:15 AM: Roundtable Discussion
Security Concepts and Strategies

Russia's military doctrine is heavily oriented towards rapid response and the use of overwhelming force to secure its borders and assert dominance in what it considers its sphere of influence, notably in Eastern Europe. This includes modernizing its nuclear arsenal and hybrid warfare capabilities, which directly challenges NATO and U.S. interests in Europe. China's focus is on power projection in the Western Pacific, where

its Navy (the world's largest) and militarized Coast Guard and fishing fleet is concentrated. China's rocket force is also deployed for a Taiwan contingency, but its ambitions are not limited to the near seas. China now has a nuclear triad, hypersonic weapons more advanced than those of the U.S., and it appears to be building toward nuclear parity with America. This buildup supports the Xi claims that China needs a military "commensurate with its global status"and that Asians alone should provide Asian security. Both of these phrases are code. But for what?

Speakers will address the following questions:

- How do Russia and China's military strategies challenge NATO, U.S. military forces in the Indo-Pacific, and the American alliance system?
- In what ways have joint military exercises between Russia and China enhanced their interoperability, and what does this mean for U.S. military strategy in Europe and Asia?
- How significant is the threat of coordinated military action by Russia and China in a hypothetical conflict scenario involving the United States, and how should the U.S. adjust its defense posture in response?
- What technologies or capabilities have Russia and China developed that could undermine U.S. military advantages, and how can the U.S. counter these developments?
- What are the implications of the emerging nuclear triad for American strategic forces?

Speakers:
Matt Turpin, *Visiting Fellow, the Hoover Institution, Stanford University*
Andrew Monaghan, *Global Fellow, Kennan Institute, the Wilson Center*

11:15 – 11:25 AM: Break

11:25 AM – 1:10 PM: Roundtable Discussion
U.S. Allies and Partners in Europe and Asia

As Russia, China, Iran, North Korea and other states strengthen their partnerships, and as China develops its claim to lead the Global South, the question of how well the United States is aligned with partners in Europe and Asia has come to the fore. The resilience of the alliance system will be tested as Russia and China attempt to drive wedges between South Korea and Japan and to court European nations which are not as unified in their attitudes toward China as the United States might wish, especially in the commercial arena. The alliance system may also come under pressure due to political change within the United States itself and decide to build their strategic autonomy rather than rely on American guarantees. Simultaneous conflicts in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia, furthermore, could cast doubts on America's capacities among its partners. What are the major concerns of U.S. allies and what can be done to allay them?

Speakers will address the following questions:

- To what extent are countries of strategic concern to the United States coordinating their strategies? Are we seeing the emergence of two great blocks, or are we in danger of connecting dots that should remain unconnected?
- How do Russia and China leverage organizations like BRICS and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization to expand their influence and what are the implications for U.S. foreign policy?
- How do partners in Europe and Asia assess the goals and capabilities of China and Russia? Are there key gaps in their perceptions and those of the U.S.?
- Faced with increasing, uncertain, and multi-faceted threats from China and Russia, how are our allies' asks of the United States shifting?

Speakers:
Bonnie Glaser, *Managing Director, Indo-Pacific Program of the German Marshall Fund*
Oksana Antonenko, *Global Fellow, Kennan Institute of the Wilson Center*

1:10 – 2 PM: Working Lunch
Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on military doctrines and the U.S. and Chinese approaches to Europe, Asia, and Global South with Matt Turpin, Andrew Monaghan, Bonnie Glaser, and Oksana Antonenko.

2 – 5 PM: Historical Perspective: Conflict Resolution in Northern Ireland
Participants will join a privately led overview by vehicle of historically-relevant sites in Belfast. This tour around Belfast offers an immersive journey into the city's rich and complex past, particularly focusing on the turbulent period known as The Troubles. The tour will be guided by knowledgeable locals who provide personal insights and firsthand accounts of the conflict between the Protestant and Catholic communities. Members of Congress will see significant landmarks, including the Peace Walls, political murals, and key sites of historical events, providing a balanced perspective on the cultural and political landscape.

7 – 9 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. Discussions will focus on military doctrines, their role in shaping foreign policy, and U.S. approaches to Europe, Asia, and the Global South.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 15 (Overnight in Dublin):

6 – 7:30 AM: Breakfast

8 – 10:15 AM: Roundtable Discussion:
U.S. Policy Toward China, Russia, and Their Partnership

The guiding question of this conference is to what degree Chinese and Russian strategies are coordinated and to what degrees the United States should deal with them jointly and severally. Are American diplomatic, military, and economic resources, including U.S. federal bureaucracies, structured and resourced to manage a protracted challenge from a Sino-Russian entente? This final discussion will aim at defining the framework through which American legislators should view great power competition and the emphasis they should give to its military, diplomatic, financial, order-building, and soft power aspects.

The speaker will address the following questions:

- What are the lessons from past U.S. engagement and containment policies towards both Russia and China? What lessons apply to today's environment of intense strategic competition?
- How can the U.S. and its allies effectively respond to the military and economic partnerships forming between China and Russia?
- In what ways can the U.S. leverage its technological and economic strengths to maintain a competitive edge in the face of growing Sino-Russian cooperation?
- What strategies should the U.S. adopt to manage its relations with countries caught between U.S. and Sino-Russian interests?
- Do any agencies of the U.S. Government need to be re-conceived or re-structured to meet these challenges?
- What are the costs of over- and under-emphasizing a Great Powers framework for American foreign policy?

Speaker:
Thomas Graham, *Distinguished Fellow, the Council on Foreign Relations*

10:15 – 10:25 AM: Break

10:25 AM – 12 PM: Policy Reflections for Members of Congress
This time is set aside for members of Congress to reflect on what they have learned during the conference and discuss their views on implications for U.S. policy. Drawing on the full range of conversations throughout the week, members will seek to identify for each other the most promising takeaways for the United States policy process, with a special focus on opportunities for bipartisan cooperation. This is a members-only conversation.

12 – 1 PM: Working Lunch

1 – 4 PM: Travel from Belfast to Dublin

4 – 4:45 PM: Members of Congress Only Meet with Charlie Flanagan, TD, *Chair of the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence*, at Dáil Éireann
Participants travel to Dáil Éireann, the Lower House of Irish Parliament (The Oireachtas). The Oireachtas is the only body that has the power to make laws. The

Oireachtas consists of a bicameral chamber and the President of Ireland. The two Houses of The Oireachtas include a Lower House, Dáil Éireann, and an Upper House, Seanad Éireann. The Irish Constitution states that the Government must answer to Dáil Éireann. Members will meet with Charlie Flanagan, TD, *Chair (Cathaoirleach) of the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence*.

4 – 4:45 PM: Congressional Family Members Tour Dáil Éireann and then Return to Hotel

4:45 – 5:20 PM: Members of Congress Only Tour Dáil Éireann and then Return to Hotel

7:30 – 9:30 PM: Working Dinner
Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussions will focus on U.S. foreign policy toward China and Russia and members' takeaways from the conference.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 16:

Participants depart throughout the day.
Rep. Rick Larsen and Tiia Karlén depart Dublin at 12:15 pm on Icelandair 417 and arrive in Seattle at 5:40 pm on Icelandair 681.

The Honorable Rick Larsen

U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0306

Dear Representative Larsen,

I would like to invite you and Tiia to our bipartisan, bicameral congressional conference on ***Axis of Complexity: Chinese and Russian Foreign Policy*** in **Dublin, Ireland and Belfast, Northern Ireland, August 10-17, 2024**, including travel dates**.** Please get back to us with your interest to attend the conference **by COB Friday, March 15, 2024**. These conference spots fill up quickly, so please RSVP as soon as possible. This invitation does not guarantee your participation in the conference.

Through roundtable sessions and site visits, members will explore Chinese and Russian perspectives on their foreign policy priorities, domestic politics, national narratives, and Sino-Russian geopolitical partnership and the United States' response to it, among other topics. Members and experts will also spend time examining the history of the Northern Ireland conflict, both historical and contemporary lessons related to Ireland's development as a non-NATO European Union member and Brexit. Dublin and Belfast offer the unique opportunity for members to connect with experts from the United States, Europe, and Asia while gaining ground truth related to internal and international conflict, geopolitical neutrality, and economic development through European integration. The agenda for the conference is forthcoming.

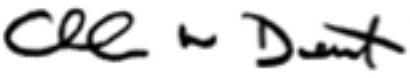
Attendance is by invitation only, no outside observers, no lobbyists, no congressional staff, and no media. All conference sessions are off-the-record. No foreign governments are accepted to fund the Aspen Institute Congressional Program. As required by the Senate and House ethics rules, we will provide congressional participants with ethics private sponsor forms completed and signed.

Travel expenses, including business class airfare, meals and lodging will be paid for by the Aspen Institute; no expenses for entertainment or recreation are paid for in compliance with ethics rules.

The Congressional Program is part of the Aspen Institute, Inc. a nonprofit organization founded in 1950. The Congressional Program was created to promote leadership on public policy by bringing together legislators from both political parties with internationally renowned scholars for high level discussions and analysis. Since our program's inception, more than 523 members of Congress have participated in the 156 domestic and international conferences.

We hope you can join us for this important conference.

Sincerely,



Charlie Dent

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