



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Employee Post-Travel Disclosure Form

Original Amendment

This form is for disclosing the receipt of travel expenses from private sources for travel taken in connection with official duties. This form does not eliminate the need to report privately-funded travel on the annual *Financial Disclosure Statements* of those employees required to file them. In accordance with House Rule 25, clause 5, **you must complete this form and file it with the Clerk of the House, B-81 Cannon House Office Building, within 15 days after travel is completed.** Please **do not** file this form with the Committee on Ethics.

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

1. Name of Traveler: B. Walter Gonzales
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: _____ **OR** None
 b. Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
3. a. Dates: Departure: Nov. 2, 2019 Return: Nov.8, 2019
 b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: _____ **OR** None
4. Departure City: Washington, DC Destination: Beijing, China Return City: Washington, DC
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)(AICP)
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended: Met with Chinese officials, businessess, think tanks, and press to discuss U.S.-Chinese relations. Also, met with U.S. Embassy to discuss U.S. Chinese relations.
7. Attached to this form are **each** of the following, *signify that each item is attached by checking the corresponding box:*
 - a. a completed *Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form*;
 - b. the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* completed by the trip sponsor **prior** to the trip, **including all** attachments **and** the *Grantmaking or Non-Grantmaking Sponsor Forms*;
 - c. page 2 of the completed *Traveler Form* submitted by the employee; **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: _____

LEGISLATIVE RESOURCE CENTER
2019 NOV 20 PM 2:31
OFFICE OF THE CLERK
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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

Signature of Traveler: Date: 11/20/19

I authorized this travel in advance. I have determined that all of the expenses listed on the attached *Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form* were necessary and that the travel was in connection with the employee's official duties and would not create the appearance that the employee is using public office for private gain.

Name of Supervising Member: Rep. C.A. Dutch Ruppertsberger Date: Nov. 20, 2019

Signature of Supervising Member:



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) (AICP)

2. Travel Destination(s): Beijing, China

3. Date of Departure: November 2, 2019 Date of Return: November 8, 2019

4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): See attached list

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	\$1600	\$1000	\$525	\$290 (conf. expenses including meeting space; AV; visa costs)
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: November 19, 2019

Name: Dan Glickman Title: Vice President, 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, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20037

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



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: B. Walter Gonzales
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying for the trip: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program) (AICP)
3. City and State **OR** Foreign Country of Travel: Beijing, China
4. a. Date of Departure: Nov. 2, 2019 Date of Return: Nov. 8, 2019
 b. Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense? Yes No
 If yes, list dates at personal expense: _____
5. a. Will you be accompanied by a family member at the sponsor's expense? Yes No **If yes:**
 (1) Name of Accompanying Family Member: _____
 (2) Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
 (3) Accompanying Family Member is at least 18 years of age: Yes No
6. a. Did the trip sponsor answer "Yes" to Question 8(c) on the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* (i.e., travel is sponsored by an entity that employs a registered federal lobbyist or a foreign agent)? Yes No
 b. **If yes, and you are requesting lodging for two nights, explain why the second night is warranted:**

7. *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* is attached, including agenda, invitee list, and any other attachments and contributing sponsor forms: Yes No
 NOTE: The agenda should show the traveler's individual schedule, including departure and arrival times and identify the specific events in which the traveler will be participating.
8. Explain why participation in the trip is connected to the traveler's individual official or representational duties. **Staff should include their job title and how the activities on the itinerary relate to their duties.**
I am the Congressman's Deputy Chief of Staff/Legislative Director and handle foreign policy.
This trip will provide in-depth analysis on U.S.-China relations and the impact on U.S. foreign policy.
It will help me provide better advice on these issues moving forward.
9. **Is the traveler aware of any registered federal lobbyists or foreign agents involved planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip?** Yes No
10. For staff travelers, to be completed by your employing Member:

ADVANCED AUTHORIZATION OF EMPLOYEE TRAVEL

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

Signature of Employing Member

C. A. [Signature]

Date Sept. 25, 2019



U.S. House of Representatives
COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Primary Trip Sponsor Form

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

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

1. Sponsor who will be paying for the trip: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program) (AICP)
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: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP)
Rockefeller Brothers Fund foundation; Democracy Fund foundation; Henry Luce Foundation
4. Provide names and titles of **ALL** House Members *and* employees you are inviting. **For each House invitee, provide an explanation of why the individual was invited** (include additional pages if necessary): See attached appendix
5. Is travel being offered to an accompanying family member of the House invitee(s)? Yes No
6. Date of Departure: November 2, 2019 Date of Return: November 8, 2019
7. a. City of departure: Washington, DC
b. Destination(s): Beijing, China
c. City of return: Washington, DC
8. **Check only one.** I represent that:
 - a. The sponsor of the trip is an institution of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965: **OR**
 - b. The sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent: **OR**
 - c. The sponsor employs or retains a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but the trip is for attendance at a one-day event *and* lobbyist / foreign agent involvement in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the Committee's travel regulations.
9. **Check only one of the following:**
 - a. I checked 8(a) or (b) above:
 - b. I checked 8(c) above but am not offering any lodging:
 - c. I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for one night: **OR**
 - d. I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for two nights: If you checked this box, explain why the second night of lodging is warranted: _____



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

10. Attached is a detailed agenda of the activities House invitees will be participating in during the travel (i.e., an hourly description of planned activities for trip invitees). *Indicate agenda is attached by checking box:*
11. **Check only one of the following:**
- a. I represent that a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent will not accompany House Members or employees on any segment of the trip. *Signify that the statement is true by checking box:* **OR**
 - b. *Not Applicable.* Trip sponsor is a U.S. institution of higher education:
12. For **each** sponsor required to submit a sponsor form, describe the sponsor's interest in the subject matter of the trip **and** its role in organizing and/or conducting the trip:
Aspen Institute Congressional Program organized the event and will conduct the conference.
The Aspen Institute Congressional Program has conducted numerous convenings related to
China over the course of its 36-year history. See appendix
13. **Answer parts a and b. Answer part c if necessary:**
- a. Mode of travel: Air Rail Bus Car Other (specify: _____)
 - b. Class of travel: Coach Business First Charter Other (specify: _____)
 - c. If travel will be first class, or by chartered or private aircraft, explain why such travel is warranted:

14. I represent that the expenditures related to local area travel during the trip will be unrelated to personal or recreational activities of the invitee(s). *Signify that the statement is true by checking box:*
15. **Check only one.** I represent that either:
- a. The trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation and that meals provided to congressional participants are similar to those provided to or purchased by other event attendees: **OR**
 - b. The trip involves events that are arranged specifically *with regard* to congressional participation:
 If "b" is checked:
 - 1) Detail the cost *per day* of meals (approximate cost may be provided): \$105
 - 2) Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: Beijing provides the opportunity to engage directly with Chinese and Americans residing in China to explore US policy options regarding China options
16. Name, nightly cost, and reasons for selecting each hotel or other lodging facility:
- Hotel Name: Sofitel Beijing Central City: Beijing, China Cost Per Night: \$200
 Reason(s) for Selecting: Private meeting space; conference technology; food safety; security; all key factors
- Hotel Name: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____
 Reason(s) for Selecting: _____
- Hotel Name: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____
 Reason(s) for Selecting: _____
17. I represent that all expenses connected to the trip will be for actual costs incurred and not a per diem or lump sum payment. *Signify that the statement is true by checking box:*



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COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

18. Total Expenses for each Participant:

<input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts	Total Transportation Expenses per Participant	Total Lodging Expenses per Participant	Total Meal Expenses per Participant
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimates			
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	\$1600	\$1000	\$525
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	\$290	Conference expenses including meeting space and audio/visual services; visa cost
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 that I am not a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent for any sponsor of this trip.

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

Signature:  Date: October 23, 2019 - Updated

Name: Dan Glickman

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

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

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

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

Email: lisa.jones@aspeninstitute.org

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

Committee on Ethics

U.S. House of Representatives

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

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



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Non-Grantmaking Trip Sponsor Form

This form should be completed by a private individual or entity that provides funds, services, or in-kind donations 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. A Non-Grantmaking Sponsor that has a direct involvement in planning, organizing, conducting, or participating in the trip must complete this form. 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.

- Name of your organization: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP)
- Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
- My organization has provided funds to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor to pay all or part of the expenses for a trip to (destination): Beijing, China on date: November 2-8, 2019 that primarily is being organized or arranged by the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor. Yes No
- My organization has had a direct role in the organizing, planning, arranging, or will have a role in conducting, the trip identified in response to Question 3 or an event that will occur during that trip. Yes No
- Check only one:
 - My organization does not employ or retain a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent OR
 - 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.
- I certify that I am not a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent for any sponsor of this trip.
- I certify by my signature that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: Elizabeth Dibble Date: 9/25/19

Name: Elizabeth Dibble Title: Chief Operating Officer

Organization: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP)

Address: 1779 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20036-2103

Telephone: 202 939 2223 Email: edible@ceip.org

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

Committee on Ethics

U.S. House of Representatives

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

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



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Grantmaking Trip Sponsor Form

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

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

- I certify that (name of your organization): The Henry Luce Foundation
has been designated a § 501(c)(3) nonprofit charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service. Yes No
- Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
- I certify that my organization (check and complete a or b):
 - 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
 - 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.
- Check only one:
 - My organization does not employ or retain a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent OR
 - 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.
- I certify that I am not a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent for any sponsor of this trip.
- I certify by my signature that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: Toby Alice Volkman

Date: 7/24/2019

Name: Toby Alice Volkman

Title: Secretary & Director of Policy Initiatives

Organization: The Henry Luce Foundation

Address: 51 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10010

Telephone: 212-489-7700

Email: tvolkman@hluce.org

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

Committee on Ethics
 U.S. House of Representatives
 1015 Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515
 Phone: 202-225-7103 General Fax: 202-225-7392



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Grantmaking Trip Sponsor Form

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

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

- I certify that (name of your organization): Democracy Fund
has been designated a § 501(c)(3) nonprofit charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service. Yes No
- Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
- I certify that my organization (check and complete a or b):
 - 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**
 - 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.
- Check only one:
 - My organization does not employ or retain a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent **OR**
 - 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.
- I certify that I am not a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent for any sponsor of this trip.
- I certify by my signature that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge

Signature: _____ Date: July 19, 2019

Name: Joe Goldman Title: President

Organization: Democracy Fund

Address: 1200 17th Street, NW Suite #300 Washington, DC 20036

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

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

Committee on Ethics

U.S. House of Representatives

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

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



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Grantmaking Trip Sponsor Form

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

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

1. I certify that (name of your organization): Rockefeller Brothers Fund
has been designated a § 501(c)(3) nonprofit charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service. Yes No
2. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
3. I certify that my organization (check and complete a or b):
 - a. Has provided a grant, gift, or donation to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor and conducts an audit or review of its grant, gift, or donation to ensure that the funds are spent in accordance with the terms of its grant, gift, or donation. **OR**
 - b. Has had a direct role in the organizing, planning, or conducting of a trip to
Destination: _____ on Date: _____
that is being organized or arranged by the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor.
4. **Check 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.
5. I certify that I am not a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent for any sponsor of this trip.
6. I certify by my signature that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature:  Date: 7.23.19

Name: Stephen Heintz Title: President

Organization: Rockefeller Brothers Fund

Address: 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115

Telephone: 212-812-4214 Email: sheintz@rbf.org

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

Committee on Ethics

U.S. House of Representatives

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

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

Theodore E. Deutch, Florida
Chairman
Kenny Marchant, Texas
Ranking Member

Grace Meng, New York
Susan Wild, Pennsylvania
Dean Phillips, Minnesota
Anthony Brown, Maryland

John Ratcliffe, Texas
George Holding, North Carolina
Jackie Walorski, Indiana
Michael Guest, Mississippi



ONE HUNDRED SIXTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

David W. Arrojo
Counsel to the Chairman

Christopher A. Doneso
Counsel to the Ranking Member

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

October 30, 2019

Mr. B. Walter Gonzales
Office of the Honorable C. A. Dutch Ruppertsberger
2206 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mr. Gonzales:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your proposed trip to China,¹ scheduled for November 2 to 8, 2019, sponsored by Aspen Institute, Inc. and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, with financial support from Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Democracy Fund, and Henry Luce Foundation.

You must complete an Employee Post-Travel Disclosure Form (which your employing Member must also sign) 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. If you are required to file an annual Financial Disclosure Statement, you must also report all travel expenses totaling more than \$390 from a single source on the "Travel" schedule of your annual Financial Disclosure Statement covering this calendar year. Finally, Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting information provided to the Committee for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

Because the trip may involve meetings with foreign government representatives, we note that House employees may accept, under the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act (FGDA), gifts "of minimal value [currently \$390] 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.

¹ Please be aware that the Committee's review of the proposed trip does not extend to either the security situation in the destination country or security related to foreign travel in general. We recommend you contact the Sergeant at Arms (SAA) for a safety and security briefing prior to your departure. SAA 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,

Handwritten signature of Theodore E. Deutch in blue ink.

Theodore E. Deutch
Chairman

Handwritten signature of Kenny Marchant in blue ink.

Kenny Marchant
Ranking Member

TED/KM:smm

Answer to Question 4 on the SPONSOR POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM

1. Maria Bowie, Deputy Chief of Staff, Rep. Tom Cole
2. Jackie Cahan, Counsel, House Committee on Foreign Affairs
3. Alan Feyerherm, Legislative Director, Rep. Jeff Fortenberry
4. Walter Gonzales, Legislative Director and Deputy Chief of Staff, Rep. Dutch Ruppersberger
5. Jessica Hagens-Jordan, Military Legislative Assistant, Rep. Jim Himes
6. Sara Matar, Legislative Assistant, Rep. Lee Zeldin
7. Josh Rogin, Chief of Staff, Rep. Ted Deutch
8. Amy Surber, Deputy Chief of Staff, Rep. Jim Banks
9. Justin Wein, Chief of Staff, Rep. David Price
10. Jennifer Hendrixson White, Professional Staff Member, House Committee on Foreign Affairs
11. Chad Yelinski, Legislative Director, Rep. Mark Meadows

Appendix

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.

Below are the Congressional staff members invited to participate in the conference. The staff members invited either have direct committee jurisdiction and/or a focus on the conference topic.

1. Maria Bowie, Deputy Chief of Staff, Rep. Tom Cole
2. Jackie Cahan, Counsel, House Committee on Foreign Affairs
3. Alan Feyerherm, Legislative Director, Rep. Jeff Fortenberry
4. Walter Gonzales, Legislative Director and Deputy Chief of Staff, Rep. Dutch Ruppersberger
5. Jessica Hagens-Jordan, Military Legislative Assistant, Rep. Jim Himes
6. Sara Matar, Legislative Assistant, Rep. Lee Zeldin
7. Josh Rogin, Chief of Staff, Rep. Ted Deutch
8. Amy Surber, Deputy Chief of Staff, Rep. Jim Banks
9. Justin Wein, Chief of Staff, Rep. David Price
10. Jennifer Hendrixson White, Professional Staff Member, House Committee on Foreign Affairs
11. Chad Yelinski, Legislative Director, Rep. Mark Meadows

Question 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.

The non-grant-making sponsor Carnegie Endowment provided financial support and helped organize the event. Carnegie Endowment is a public charity whose mission is to advance international peace by leveraging its global network to provide decision makers with independent insights and innovative ideas on the most consequential global threats and opportunities.

The grant-making sponsors (also listed in 3C) Rockefeller Brothers Fund foundation, Democracy Fund foundation and Henry Luce foundation financially supported the project but play no role in organizing and conducting the conference. These grant-making sponsors have an interest in education of federal legislators.

Given the missions of both Aspen Institute Congressional Program and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, this Beijing conference, designed for senior congressional staff members to have an in-depth analysis on US policy regarding China, including drawing on Chinese and American experts residing in China, is directly related to the missions of both organizations.



Walter Gonzales
Deputy Chief of Staff and Legislative Director
Office of Representative Dutch Ruppersberger
2206 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

September 13, 2019

Dear Walter:

We are pleased to invite you to participate in congressional staff initiative, *U.S.-China Relations: A New Era*, hosted by the Aspen Institute Congressional Program in collaboration with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The initiative features briefings, including a lunch on September 17th and an evening event October 24th with prominent foreign policy experts, and concludes with a conference in **Beijing, China, November 2-8, 2019** (including travel). Please see the following documents for the conference agenda and an informational one-pager.

This invitation is non-transferrable – invitees have been hand-selected from a pool of qualified, experienced staff with the intent of creating thoughtful bipartisan dialogue on U.S.-China relations. Pre-conference events as well as lodging, travel, and conference costs will be paid by the Aspen Institute and Carnegie Endowment, as approved by House and Senate ethics committees.

If you are interested, please respond to this invitation as soon as possible, and our team will follow up with further details and instructions. Should you have any questions, please reach out to Lauren Kennedy at lauren.kennedy@aspeninstitute.org, or Douglas Farrar at Douglas.Farrar@ceip.org.

Sincerely,

Secretary Dan Glickman
Executive Director
Aspen Institute Congressional Program

Ambassador William J. Burns
President
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS: A NEW ERA

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

in collaboration with

THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

November 2-8, 2019 Beijing, China

Conference For Senior Congressional Staff

SATURDAY, November 2:

1:50 pm: Participants depart Washington, D.C. on United Airlines flight 807

SUNDAY, November 3:

3:40 pm: Participants arrive in Beijing

6:30–8:30 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 congressional staff members are rotated daily. Scholars Robert Daly, Director of the Kissinger Institute at the Wilson Center, and Paul Haenle, Director of the Carnegie/Tsinghua Center, will add to the discussions which will serve as an orientation session.

MONDAY, November 4:

8-9:30 am: *Working Breakfast*

SETTING THE STAGE

China's rise to a major economic and strategic player on the global stage over the last three decades has been a phenomenal story that now positions it as a major competitor to the U.S. The future direction of this dynamic relationship is the focus of our programming this week. Directors Haenle and Daly will each give their views and perspectives of the week ahead.

Robert Daly, Director, Kissinger Institute, Wilson Center
Paul Haenle, Director, Carnegie/Tsinghua Center

9:30-11:30 am: *Educational Commentary in transit to the Great Wall of China*

WHY CHINA BUILT THE GREAT WALL, AND WHAT IT MEANS ABOUT CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND SENSE OF NATIONHOOD TODAY

Construction of the Great Wall of China was started as far back as the 7th century B.C., but the best-preserved sections were built during the Ming Dynasty, (1368-1644). It is an engineering wonder, wandering up hills and along ridges, intended to divide China from foreign invaders. Directors Haenle and Daly will elaborate on the rationale for the wall, its effectiveness, and what it symbolizes about the concept of nationhood and Chinese identity that connects to contemporary China.

Robert Daly, Director, Kissinger Institute, Wilson Center
Paul Haenle, Director, Carnegie/Tsinghua Center

11:30-1:30 pm: *Site Visit to The Great Wall at Jiankou*

This visit to the Great Wall will illustrate what a mammoth engineering feat was undertaken to construct it along high mountain ridges for the goal of holding back invaders. The Jiankou section, 50 miles north of Beijing, believed to have been built in the Ming Dynasty, has not been restored and shows how the Wall has deteriorated over time. This visit has relevance to contemporary discussions regarding isolationism and security in foreign policy.

1:30-2:30 pm: *Working Lunch*

Scholars Robert Daly and Paul Haenle will focus on the impact of the Great Wall and policy implications and other issues to be addressed during the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas.

2:30-4:30 pm: Transit back to hotel

5:30-7:00 pm: *Pre-Dinner Dialogue*

INSIGHTS FROM YOUNG BILINGUAL CHINESE

This session is designed to give senior congressional staff an opportunity to get to know several young, dynamic Chinese and to hear their perspectives about what it takes to operate successfully in China's political and economic structure. These individuals have achieved considerable success in the private sector and are at a point in their careers where they are looking toward the broader role they might take on in their communities or globally.

Anna Brachtendorf, Program Manager, Friedrich-Ebert Foundation

Kevin Kerrigan, Strategic Risk and Media Affairs Consultant

Thena Lee, Senior Manager for Marketing Operations, McLarty Associates

Jun Mai, Beijing Correspondent, South China Morning Post

7-9 pm: *Working Dinner*

Scholars Paul Haenle and Robert Daly to continue the discussions, as well as the four Chinese individuals from the pre-dinner dialogue. Congressional staff are seated with scholars and the seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff members are rotated daily.

TUESDAY, November 5:

7-8:00 am: Breakfast is available

8:15-9:15 am: Transit to School of International Studies, Peking University

9:30-11:30 am: *Roundtable Discussion*

**THE U.S.-CHINA BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP:
THE SECURITY DIMENSIONS**

Ongoing military and security concerns exist in the western Pacific, exacerbated by China's island reclamation project in the South China Sea. Regional relationships, including with American ally Japan, play a key role in these considerations. The U.S. relationship with Taiwan has always been a point of contention with China, which sees it as a province destined to eventually return to the mainland's jurisdiction. Hong Kong's fate, accented by televised demonstrations this summer, highlights the tension inherent in the "one country, two systems" formula. China has taken steps perceived as increasing an arms race with the U.S. Beijing and Washington collaborate on stability on the Korean peninsula, antiterrorism and nonproliferation. However, suspicion and a lack of trust underlies the security dimension of U.S.-China relations. Cybersecurity has emerged as another realm of vulnerability.

- As China grows in global stature, is it fulfilling its role as a "responsible stakeholder" in addressing shared global challenges?
- How does China's pursuit of its regional and global aspirations fit with America's goals?
- What is the consequence of the U.S. labelling China a strategic competitor?
- What is the nature of the changing relationship between China and Russia and its relevance to the U.S.?
- How long can the status quo in Hong Kong and Taiwan prevail? What tools does the U.S. have to impact those situations? How does the administration's proposed \$8 billion arms sale to Taiwan fit into regional security concerns?
- To what degree are human rights concerns in China relevant to the U.S.?
- Are there areas where China and the U.S. can cooperate, such as in combatting terrorism and addressing policy challenges in the Middle East?

Robert Daly, Director, Kissinger Institute, Wilson Center

Paul Haenle, Director, Carnegie China Center

Wang Jisi, President, Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University

Gui Yongtao, Vice President, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

Guo Chu, Assistant Research Fellow, School of International Studies, Peking University

Hu Ran, Project Director, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

Lai Huaxia, Assistant Professor, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

Lei Shaohua, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

Li Boran, Research Assistant, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

Liang Yabin, Associate Professor, Institute of International Studies, Party School, Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

Yu Tiejun, Vice President, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

Zhao Jianwei, Research Associate, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

Zeng Chuyuan, Research Assistant, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

Noon-1:30 pm: *Working Lunch*

CHINA'S ENERGY/ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY CHALLENGES AND THEIR RELEVANCE FOR U.S. POLICY

China and the U.S. are the two largest emitters of carbon. China gets two-thirds of its electricity from burning coal and uses more coal than the rest of the world combined, with just over half of global consumption. Coal burning for home heating in northern China reportedly takes an average of five years off a person's life, and over 1.2 million Chinese die prematurely annually from air pollution. China has massively expanded its use of renewables, with more than twice as much capacity as any other nation--solar and wind energy now providing 15% of the country's electricity. China is also expected to increase its consumption of natural gas to offset coal production and become a major importer of liquefied natural gas, which could provide a huge opportunity for a new U.S. export commodity. In an effort to lessen its coal dependency, China plans to nearly double its nuclear energy capacity with 11 new plants under construction, mostly utilizing American technology and suppliers, with a goal of nuclear energy providing 20 percent of its electrical needs by 2030. Meanwhile, China's global thirst for energy, water, metals, food products, and strategic minerals to support the rising living standards of its population of 1.4 billion—one-fifth of the world—positions it as a resource competitor globally. To reduce fossil fuel dependence and lessen pollutants, China is now the world's largest market for electric vehicles.

- How severe are China's environmental challenges and what are their global implications?
- Should energy and environmental challenges be integrated with security and economic concerns?
- Are international or multilateral agreements necessary to force reductions of carbon emissions?
- Does China's "Cap and Trade" system on carbon emissions have relevance for the U.S.?
- How does China's appetite for resources impact its development strategy in Africa?
- What is the future food security profile for China and its global impact?

Dongquan He, China Director, Energy Innovation

Jonathan Woetzel, Director, McKinsey Global Institute, Shanghai

Xizhou Zhou, Managing Director, Asia Pacific Power, IHS Markit

1:30-2:45 pm Transit to U.S. Embassy & Security Clearance

3-4:30 pm *Briefing with U.S. Embassy Staff*
Dialogue with Security, Economic, Energy, and Political Expert Staff
Ambassador Terry Branstad, joined by the following Embassy staff:
Seth Bailey, Political Section
Bill Block, Treasury Department
Cynthia Griffin, Foreign Commercial Service
Oliver Gaines, Consular Affairs
Captain Thomas Henderschedt, Defense Attache'
Jeffrey Loree, Public Affairs
Matt Murray, Economics Section
Bobby Richey, Foreign Agriculture Service
Daniel Wald, EST-H
Adam Wong, Department of Energy

5:15-6:45 pm: *Pre-dinner dialogue*

OFF-THE-RECORD

WITH AMERICAN JOURNALISTS BASED IN BEIJING

Western journalists resident in China have gained unique perspectives on security, economic and environmental challenges in the U.S.-China relationship. This off-the-record session is designed to facilitate a back-and-forth dialogue to provide an opportunity for senior congressional staff to benefit from the perspectives of journalists who understand many of the complex nuances of these policy challenges.

6:45-8:15 pm: *Working dinner*

Discussion will continue over dinner and focus on topics covered in discussions earlier today, enhanced by the participation of scholars Robert Daly, Paul Haenle and the participating journalists. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff members are rotated daily.

WEDNESDAY, November 6:

7-8:00 am: Breakfast is available

8-9:00 am: *Working Breakfast*

CHINA'S VIEWS OF SECURITY CONCERNS

Jun Liu, Counselor, Department of North American and Oceanic Affairs
China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs

9-9:30 am: Transit to Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

9:30-11:30 am: *Roundtable Discussion*

THE U.S.-CHINA BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP: THE ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS

China and the U.S. together account for nearly 35 percent of global Gross Domestic Product. Economic interdependence has been the underlying stable framework of U.S.-China relations, with China dependent on exports to the U.S. and the U.S. reliant on China's purchase of its debt. China is the largest foreign debt holder for the U.S., at \$1.1 trillion. This economic foundation of engagement between countries with fundamentally different political systems has been a stabilizing force, albeit one with some uneasiness. After 40 years of engagement in which economics served, in China's President Xi Jinping's phrase, as the "ballast" of the relationship, American dissatisfaction with China's trade and investment policies ignited a comprehensive competition. Protectionist strategies put in place with escalating tariffs from both sides have contributed to an atmosphere of a "trade war" between China and the U.S. The administration imposed these tariffs in response to what was perceived to be China's unfair practices of requiring U.S. firms to form joint ventures, to share U.S. technology, to be subject to intellectual property theft, and having to compete against often hidden state subsidies. Assuming that the costs of tariffs are passed on to consumers, it is estimated the financial impact of these tariffs will range from \$500 to \$1,000 annually for the average American household. China is unwilling to restructure its economy to meet American demands, however, and it is learning to leverage its wealth to build influence worldwide and within the U.S.

- Are there links between U.S.-China economic engagement and security issues?
- What are China's prospects for continued economic growth and why does it matter to the U.S.?
- Does China's increasing wealth carry commensurate global responsibilities?
- Is the Belt & Road Initiative, China's global expansion plan, simply a program for "predatory lending," or is China providing global public goods and rewriting rules that may be accepted?
- Last summer, for the first time in 25 years, the U.S. categorized China as a currency manipulator. What is the significance of this move?
- To what degree does each country's development depend on economic engagement with the other?
- How will the continued growth of China's middle class change China, and why does it matter to the U.S.?
- What are the prospects for China's currency to become convertible and what would the global economic consequences be?
- Which of China's trade and investment policies pose the greatest threat to the U.S., and what are the chances of altering them?

Zhao Hai, Research Fellow, Department of International Strategy, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
Chen Yinmo, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of

Social Sciences

Dong Yan, Director, Research Section of International Trade, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Hou Lei, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Peng Chengyi, Assistant Research Fellow, Department of World Political Theory, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Ren Lin, Director, Department of Global Governance, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Song Hong, Deputy Director, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Yang Zirong, Assistant Research Fellow, Department of International Strategy, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Yao Zhizong, Deputy Director, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

12-1:30 pm: *Working Lunch*

U.S.-CHINA TRADE FRICTIONS

Economic advisors offer their perspectives

Brian Jackson, Medley Advisors

Michael Pettis, Professor of Finance, Peking University

2-4:00 pm

Tiananmen Square, Temple of Heaven and other historic landmarks

This will provide an opportunity to see Tiananmen Square, a focal point for the central government and the site of the 1989 demonstrations that led to violent suppression. Tiananmen is now a symbol of the aspirations of Chinese youth 30 years ago for a more open society which were crushed by the ruling Communist Party. It will also provide the opportunity to see other historic landmarks including the Temple of Heaven. These important reference points add texture and a visual reference point to the policy conversations this week.

5:45-7:15 pm: *Pre-Dinner Dialogue*

CHINESE PERSPECTIVES ON U.S.-CHINA POLICY CHALLENGES

This session is designed to give senior congressional staff an opportunity to learn from and engage with Chinese scholars who work at Chinese think tanks on key aspects of U.S.-China relations, to provide a unique opportunity to gain insights and perspectives from different points of view.

Ding Yifan, Senior Fellow, Institute of World Development

Xiong Zhiyong, Professor, Department of Diplomacy, China Foreign Affairs University

Xie Tao, Dean, School of International Relations and Diplomacy, Beijing Foreign Studies University

Zhou Qi, Executive President, National Strategy Institute, Tsinghua University

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 congressional staff members are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on topics covered in discussions earlier in the day, enhanced by the participation of scholars Ding Yifan, Xiong Zhiyong, Xie Tao, and Zhou Qi.

THURSDAY, November 7:

8-9:00 am: Breakfast is available

9-10:00 am: Transit to Carnegie/Tsinghua Center

10-Noon: *Panel Discussion*

THE U.S., CHINA, NORTH KOREA TRIANGLE

Security concerns of the U.S. and its allies about North Korea and its nuclear threat have a direct connection to China, which is its major supporter and lifeline. Experts from the Carnegie/Tsinghua Center will provide analysis of the historical relationship between China and North Korea and the relevance of this relationship to U.S. concerns about its nuclear threat. Sanctions and bilateral versus multilateral initiatives will be analyzed.

Paul Haenle, Director, Carnegie/Tsinghua Center

Cheng Xiaohe, Associate Professor, School of International Studies, Renmin University

Li Bin, Senior Fellow, Nuclear Policy Program, Carnegie/Tsinghua Center

Tong Zhao, Fellow, Nuclear Policy Program, Carnegie/Tsinghua Center

Yang Wenjing, Chief of U.S. Foreign Policy, Institute of American Studies,
China Institute of Contemporary International Relations

12:30-2 pm: *Luncheon Remarks*

ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE AND ITS ROLE IN U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS

Artificial Intelligence is a new dimension in the U.S.-China relationship. Some see it as a realm of global competition. Others see it as a natural development of a new industry that will have wide-ranging implications for both countries. China is far outspending the U.S. in AI research, and some think it will dominate the field. AI can be used at a mundane level to replace tedious tasks and at a more sophisticated level to quickly manage complex production systems, enhance military applications, and empower governments to exert more control over the governed. AI requires vast amounts of data to operate predictably and efficiently, and how that data is obtained triggers privacy and security concerns. The scale and scope of projects underway is quite impressive. For example, sixty miles south of Beijing, China is planning to spend billions of dollars building a new city called Xiong'an, specifically designed for autonomous transportation, which is highly dependent on AI. One noted Chinese AI entrepreneur predicts that "within fifteen years, artificial intelligence will be able to replace around 40 to 50 percent of jobs in the United States." Our speakers will elaborate on the

advancements in this new frontier and discuss the implications for future U.S.-China relations.

- Is China still an imitative nation, or has it developed the ability to innovate at American scale?
- Is the American regulatory environment necessary to guarantee consumer protections regarding AI, or a drag on the growth of this emerging industry that would put the U.S. at a competitive disadvantage versus China?
- Which nation is likely to prevail in AI advance, and what are the global implications of dominance in the field?

Brian Tse, Senior Advisor, Center for the Governance of AI, University of Oxford
Dan Wang, Technology Analyst, GaveKal Group, Beijing

2-4:30 pm: *Forbidden City Visit*

The Forbidden City was the central repository of rule by the Ming and Qing dynasties for centuries until upheavals of the 20th Century. It is now a showpiece to instill pride in China's culture and tradition. This visit will help provide an understanding of China's historical continuity as a power in Asia. This visit will also provide insight into China's self-image as one of a great power on a historical trajectory of grandeur – which is reflected in its domestic policies and international relations.

5:45-7 pm: *Pre-Dinner Discussion*

**CHINA'S NEW MIDDLE CLASS AND CIVIL SOCIETY:
THE IMPACT ON THE SOCIAL CONTRACT AND GOVERNANCE**

In the last 40 years, with China's economic opening to the world, China's middle class has grown from a sliver to an estimated 420 million people, roughly one-third of its population. This lifting of hundreds of millions out of poverty has increased standards of living and life expectancy, created a consumer class and added new dimensions of political and demographic factors to Chinese society. During this same time period, China's urban population has soared from 19 percent in 1980 to 58 percent in 2017. A majority of the middle class has internet access, which has contributed to China's massive e-commerce market. Increased consumption has added to environmental stresses and more sedentary lifestyles have led to higher health care costs. We will hear perspectives from two Beijing residents on the rise of China's middle class and its impact on modern Chinese society, with broader implications for the U.S.-China relationship.

Elizabeth Knup, China Director, The Ford Foundation

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 congressional staff members are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on topics covered in discussions earlier in the day, enhanced by the participation of scholars Paul Haenle, Dan Wang, Brian Jackson, Brian Tse, and Elizabeth Knup.

FRIDAY, November 8:

8-9:30 am: *Breakfast Discussion*

PERSPECTIVES FROM THE AMERICAN BUSINESS COMMUNITY

Hundreds of American businesses operate in China. We will hear directly from American business representatives doing business in China who will give their perspectives on U.S. policy that impacts their operations.

Ken Jarrett, Senior Advisor, Albright Stonebridge Group, Shanghai
Travis Tanner, Vice President, Greenpoint Group

9:30-10 am: Transit to Yale University Center

10-11:30 am: *Panel Discussion*

PERSPECTIVES FROM U.S. UNIVERSITIES OPERATING IN CHINA

Many top U.S. universities maintain a presence in China, and many American universities have Chinese students, most who pay full tuition. It is estimated that 360,000 Chinese students study in the U.S. (paying tuition estimated to be \$12 billion annually) and 12,000 Americans study in China. Representatives of U.S. academic institutions will elaborate on their operations in China, what challenges they face, and how they see their role as a factor, if at all, in the greater U.S.-China relationship.

- Have student visas become an issue?
- Are exchange programs still strong?
- How dependent are U.S. universities on foreign students' tuition?
- Are there particular challenges for U.S. universities to operate in China?
- Are the university operations subject to or immune from trends in the relationship?

Josh Cheng, Executive Director, Stanford Center at Peking University
Jeremy Daum, Director, Paul Tsai China Law Center, Yale University Law School
Jeffrey Lehman, Vice Chancellor, New York University, Shanghai
Adam Webb, American Co-Director, Hopkins Nanjing Center, Nanjing

11:30-Noon: Transit to Chinese Peoples Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries

Noon-1:30 pm *Working Lunch*

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff members are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on reflections from the week of critical analysis and engagement with implications for U.S. policy.

Li Xiaolin, President, Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries

Robert Daly, Director, Kissinger Institute, Wilson Center
Paul Haenle, Director, Carnegie/Tsinghua Center
Jia Qingguo, Professor, School of International Studies, Peking University
Li Yong, Senior Fellow, China Association of International Trade
Ambassador Su Ge, Co-Chair, China's Pacific Economic Cooperation Council
Wang Yiwei, Director, Institute of International Affairs, Renmin University
Yao Yao, Director, Center for National Soft Power Research, China Foreign
Affairs University
Zhang Yuyuan, Director, Institute of World Economics, Chinese Academy of
Social Sciences

1:30-2:00 pm: Transit to hotel

2:00-2:45 pm Check out of hotel, luggage onboard bus

2:45-3:45 pm: Transit to the airport for international check-in

6:25 pm: Depart Beijing on United Airlines #808

6:50 pm: Arrive in Washington, D.C.