



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, 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: Anubhav Gupta
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: _____ **OR** None
- b. Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
3. a. Dates: Departure: October 14, 2021 Return: October 17, 2021
- b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: October 16, 2021 **OR** None
4. Departure City: Washington DC Destination: New York City Return City: Washington DC
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: The Aspen Institute, Democracy Fund, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and Henry Luce Foundations
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended:
1.5 day conference focused on US-China relations consisting of roundtable discussions on a number of policy issues, including economic competition, human rights, technology competition, and security and strategic affairs. Each individual roundtable was led by a panels featuring experts, journalists, and former US officials
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 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:

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

Signature of Traveler:  Date: 10/26/2021

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: Gregory W. Meeks Date: 10/26/21

Signature of Supervising Member: 



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

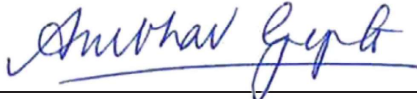
This form should be completed by House Members, officers, or employees seeking Committee approval of privately-sponsored travel or reimbursement for travel under House Rule 25, clause 5. The completed form should be submitted directly to the Committee by each invited House Member, officer, or employee, together with the completed and signed trip sponsor form(s) and any attachments. A copy of this form, minus this initial page, will be made available for public inspection. **This form and any attachments may be delivered to the Committee at 1015 Longworth or e-mailed to travel.requests@mail.house.gov.**

Your completed request must be submitted to the Committee no less than 30 days before your proposed departure date. Absent exceptional circumstances, permission will not be granted for requests received less than 30 days before the trip commences. **You must receive explicit approval from the Committee before you depart on this trip.**

Name of Traveler: Anubhav Gupta

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

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

Signature: 

Name of Signatory (if other than traveler): _____

For Staff (name of employing Member or Committee): House Committee on Foreign Affairs

Office Address: 2170 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington D.C. 20515

Telephone Number: 202-716-6475

Email Address of Contact Person: Anubhav.Gupta@mail.house.gov

Check this box if the sponsoring entity is a media outlet, the purpose of the trip is to make a media appearance sponsored by that entity, *and* these forms are being submitted to the Committee less than 30 days before the trip departure date.

NOTE: You must complete all of the contact information fields above, as Committee staff may need to contact you if additional information is required.

KEEP A COPY OF THIS FORM. Page 2 (but not this page) must be submitted to the Clerk as part of the post-travel disclosure required by House Rule 25. Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting paperwork for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

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



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COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: Anubhav Gupta
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip:
The Aspen Institute, the Democracy Fund, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and the Henry Luce Foundation
3. City and State **OR** Foreign Country of Travel : New York City
4. a. Date of Departure: October 14 Date of Return: October 17
b. Yes No Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense?
If yes, list dates at personal expense: October 16
5. a. Yes No Will you be accompanied by a family member at the sponsor's expense? **If yes:**
(1) Name of Accompanying Family Member: _____
(2) Relationship to Traveler: Spouse Child Other (specify): _____
(3) Yes No Accompanying Family Member is at least 18 years of age:
6. a. Yes No Did the trip sponsor answer "Yes" to Question 8(c) on the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* (i.e., travel is sponsored by an entity that employs a registered federal lobbyist or a foreign agent)?
b. **If yes**, and you are requesting lodging for two nights, explain why the second night is warranted:
7. Yes No *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* is attached, including agenda, invitee list, and any other attachments and Additional Sponsor Forms.

NOTE: The agenda should show the traveler's individual schedule, including departure and arrival times and identify the specific events in which the traveler will be participating.

8. Explain why participation in the trip is connected to the traveler's individual official or representational duties.
Staff should include their job title and how the activities on the itinerary relate to their duties.
I am the professional staff member covering East Asia and the Pacific region for the majority on the committee. This congressional conference on US-China relations will help me connect with and learn from senior US experts and former policymakers with expertise on China, strengthen my knowledge and understanding of Chinese politics, economics, and foreign policy so that I may better contribute to oversight of US China policy, and help me connect and collaborate with congressional colleagues with an interest in US policy on China.
9. **Yes No Is the traveler aware of any registered federal lobbyists or foreign agents involved planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip?**
10. For staff travelers, to be completed by your employing Member:

ADVANCED AUTHORIZATION OF EMPLOYEE TRAVEL

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

Signature of Employing Member  Date 09/23/2021



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COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by an organization that provides funds, services, or in-kind assistance to another entity to underwrite, in whole or in part, a trip or an event, meal, or activity that will occur during a trip, or a necessary expense that will be incurred during a trip, with express or implicit knowledge or understanding that one or more House Members or employees may participate in or attend that trip or event, or otherwise may be beneficiaries of the gift or donation. Provide a copy of your completed form to the primary sponsor of the trip.

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

- 1. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
- 2. Name of your organization: Democracy Fund
- 3. Yes No Is your organization designated a § 501(c)(3) charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service?
- 4. Yes No Does your organization receive funding from any foreign government or multinational organization?
- 5. **Check one.** I certify that my organization:
 - a. Has provided a grant, gift, or donation to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor and conducts an audit or review of its grant, gift, or donation to ensure that the funds are spent in accordance with the terms of its grant, gift, or donation. **OR**
 - b. Has had a direct role in the organizing, planning, or conducting of a trip to
Destination: _____ on Date: _____
that is being organized or arranged by the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor. **OR**
 - c. Has provided in-kind support to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor (e.g., meeting planning assistance, meeting space and set-up, and paying for expenses related to this trip directly to the service provider).
- 6. **Check only one:**
 - a. My organization does not employ or retain a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent **OR**
 - b. My organization employs a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but their involvement in planning, organizing, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the travel regulations.
- 7. I certify by my signature that
 - a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
 - b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent;
 - c. I am an officer of this organization and am duly authorized to sign this form; and
 - d. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

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

Name: Joe Goldman Title: President

Organization: Democracy Fund

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

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



U.S. House of Representatives

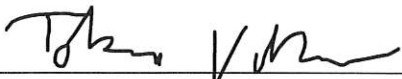
COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by an organization that provides funds, services, or in-kind assistance to another entity to underwrite, in whole or in part, a trip or an event, meal, or activity that will occur during a trip, or a necessary expense that will be incurred during a trip, with express or implicit knowledge or understanding that one or more House Members or employees may participate in or attend that trip or event, or otherwise may be beneficiaries of the gift or donation. Provide a copy of your completed form to the primary sponsor of the trip.

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

1. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Name of your organization: The Henry Luce Foundatiobn
3. Yes No Is your organization designated a § 501(c)(3) charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service?
4. Yes No Does your organization receive funding from any foreign government or multinational organization?
5. **Check one.** I certify that my organization:
 - a. Has provided a grant, gift, or donation to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor and conducts an audit or review of its grant, gift, or donation to ensure that the funds are spent in accordance with the terms of its grant, gift, or donation. **OR**
 - b. Has had a direct role in the organizing, planning, or conducting of a trip to
Destination: _____ on Date: _____
that is being organized or arranged by the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor. **OR**
 - c. Has provided in-kind support to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor (e.g., meeting planning assistance, meeting space and set-up, and paying for expenses related to this trip directly to the service provider).
6. **Check only one:**
 - a. My organization does not employ or retain a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent **OR**
 - b. My organization employs a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but their involvement in planning, organizing, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the travel regulations.
7. I certify by my signature that
 - a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
 - b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent;
 - c. I am an officer of this organization and am duly authorized to sign this form; and
 - d. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature:  Date: 05/05/2021

Name: Toby Volkman Title: Director of Policy Initiatives

Organization: The Henry Luce Foundation

Address: 51 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10010

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



U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by an organization that provides funds, services, or in-kind assistance to another entity to underwrite, in whole or in part, a trip or an event, meal, or activity that will occur during a trip, or a necessary expense that will be incurred during a trip, with express or implicit knowledge or understanding that one or more House Members or employees may participate in or attend that trip or event, or otherwise may be beneficiaries of the gift or donation.

Provide a copy of your completed form to the primary sponsor of the trip.

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

1. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. Name of your organization: Rockefeller Brothers Fund
3. Yes No Is your organization designated a § 501(c)(3) charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service?
4. Yes No Does your organization receive funding from any foreign government or multinational organization?
5. **Check one.** I certify that my organization:
 - a. Has provided a grant, gift, or donation to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor and conducts an audit or review of its grant, gift, or donation to ensure that the funds are spent in accordance with the terms of its grant, gift, or donation. **OR**
 - b. Has had a direct role in the organizing, planning, or conducting of a trip to
Destination: _____ on Date: _____
that is being organized or arranged by the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor. **OR**
 - c. Has provided in-kind support to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor (e.g., meeting planning assistance, meeting space and set-up, and paying for expenses related to this trip directly to the service provider).
6. **Check only one:**
 - a. My organization does not employ or retain a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent **OR**
 - b. My organization employs a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but their involvement in planning, organizing, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the travel regulations.
7. I certify by my signature that
 - a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
 - b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent;
 - c. I am an officer of this organization and am duly authorized to sign this form; and
 - d. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature:  Date: 06/22/2021

Name: Stephen Heintz Title: President and CEO

Organization: Rockefeller Brothers Fund

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

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



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PRIMARY TRIP SPONSOR FORM

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

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

1. Sponsor who will be paying for the trip:
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:
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):
5. Yes No Is travel being offered to an accompanying family member of the House invitee(s)?
6. Date of departure: _____ Date of return: _____
7. a. City of departure: _____
b. Destination(s): _____
c. City of return: _____
8. **Check only one.** I represent that:
 - a. The sponsor of the trip is an institution of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965: **OR**
 - b. The sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent: **OR**
 - c. The sponsor employs or retains a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but the trip is for attendance at a one-day event *and* lobbyist / foreign agent involvement in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the Committee's travel regulations.
9. **Check only one of the following:**
 - a. I checked 8(a) or (b) above; **OR**
 - b. I checked 8(c) above but am not offering any lodging; **OR**
 - c. I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for one night; **OR**
 - d. I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for two nights. If you checked this box, explain why the second night of lodging is warranted:



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10. Attached is a detailed agenda of the activities House invitees will be participating in during the travel (i.e., an hourly description of planned activities for trip invitees). *Indicate agenda is attached by checking box.*
11. **Check only one of the following:**
- a. I represent that a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent will not accompany House Members or employees on any segment of the trip. *Signify that the statement is true by checking box; OR*
- b. *Not Applicable.* Trip sponsor is a U.S. institution of higher education.
12. For **each** sponsor required to submit a sponsor form, describe the sponsor's interest in the subject matter of the trip **and** its role in organizing and/or conducting the trip:
13. **Answer parts a and b. Answer part c if necessary:**
- a. Mode of travel: Air Rail Bus Car Other (specify: _____)
- b. Class of travel: Coach Business First Charter Other (specify: _____)
- c. If travel will be first class, or by chartered or private aircraft, explain why such travel is warranted:
14. I represent that the expenditures related to local area travel during the trip will be unrelated to personal or recreational activities of the invitee(s). *Signify that the statement is true by checking the box.*
15. **Check only one.** I represent that either:
- a. The trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation and that meals provided to congressional participants are similar to those provided to or purchased by other event attendees; **OR**
- b. The trip involves events that are arranged specifically *with regard* to congressional participation.
- If "b" is checked:
- 1) Detail the cost *per day* of meals (approximate cost may be provided):
- 2) Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip:
16. Name, nightly cost, and reasons for selecting each hotel or other lodging facility:
- Hotel Name: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____
- Reason(s) for Selecting: _____
- Hotel Name: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____
- Reason(s) for Selecting: _____
- Hotel Name: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____
- Reason(s) for Selecting: _____
17. I represent that all expenses connected to the trip will be for actual costs incurred and not a per diem or lump sum payment. *Signify that the statement is true by checking the box.*

Theodore E. Deutch, Florida
Chairman

Jackie Walorski, Indiana
Ranking Member

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

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



ONE HUNDRED SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

David W. Arrojo
Counsel to the Chairman

Kelle A. Strickland
Counsel to the Ranking Member

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

October 12, 2021

Mr. Anubhav Gupta
Committee on Foreign Affairs
2170 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mr. Gupta:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your proposed trip to New York City, New York, scheduled for October 14 to 17, 2021, sponsored by Aspen Institute, Inc., Democracy Fund, The Henry Luce Foundation, and Rockefeller Brothers Fund. We note that this trip includes one day at your personal expense.

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

You must complete 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 \$415 from a single source on the "Travel" schedule of your annual Financial Disclosure Statement covering this calendar year. Finally, Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting information provided to the Committee for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

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

Sincerely,



Theodore E. Deutch
Chairman



Jackie Walorski
Ranking Member

TED/JW:tn

From: Lauren Kennedy <Lauren.Kennedy@aspeninstitute.org>

Subject: FW: Aspen Institute Congressional Invite - US/China Conference in NYC - October 14-16

Hi Anubhav,

On behalf of the Aspen Institute Congressional Program Executive Director, former Rep. Charlie Dent, I would like to invite you to join us for our upcoming senior congressional staff initiative, ***American China Strategy: What Really Works?***, held in New York City, October 14-16. The agenda outline is attached for your consideration.

The Aspen Institute Congressional Program is a non-profit organization that hosts educational events for Members of Congress as well as their staff. We are convening in New York to be able to utilize scholarship resident in NYC, and will be meeting at the Asia Society. The Congressional Program will coordinate and pay for all travel, lodging, and meals. We are funded entirely by foundations, and will be happy to work with you as you submit the required ethics paperwork.

The conference will be limited to 18 senior congressional staff, so **if you're interested in participating, please let us know as soon as possible to reserve your spot.** Should you have any questions, don't hesitate to reach out.

Best,

Lauren

Lauren Kennedy
Manager of Congressional Engagement
Aspen Institute Congressional Program
Cell: 909.583.3698
Email: lauren.kennedy@aspeninstitute.org

Addendum
Aspen Institute Primary Trip Sponsor Form
Aspen Institute Congressional Program – New York Conference

Question 4: Provide names and titles of ALL House Members and employees you are inviting

For each House invitee, provide an explanation of why the individual was invited.

Lauren Billman, Legislative Director, Rep. Carolyn Miller
Bryan Burak, Professional Staff Member, House Foreign Affairs Committee
Kate Durkin, Legislative Director, Rep. Jan Schakowsky
Alan Feyerherm, Legislative Director, Rep. Jeff Fortenberry
J.Z. Golden, Legislative Director, Rep. Rick Larsen
Walter Gonzales, Legislative Director, Rep. Dutch Ruppersberger
Anubhav Gupta, Professional Staff Member, House Foreign Affairs Committee
Corey Jacobson, Legislative Director, Rep. Ted Lieu
Josh Rogin, Chief of Staff, Rep. Ted Deutch
Amy Surber, Senior Policy Advisor, Rep. Darrell Issa
Colin Timmerman, Legislative Assistant, Rep. Young Kim
Conor Walsh, Legislative Director, Rep. Tom Suozzi
Justin Wein, Chief of Staff, Rep. David Price

Provide the reason for selection the location of the event or trip:

New York allows scholars and experts in the field to engage in discussions for this conference topic –
America China Strategy: What Really Works? `

AMERICAN CHINA STRATEGY: WHAT REALLY WORKS?

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM
October 14-16, 2021 New York City, New York

THURSDAY, October 14:

- 12:50pm Participants depart Washington on Acela Train #2166
- 3:49pm Arrive at New York City's Pennsylvania Station (Moynihan Train Hall)
- 5:00pm Estimated arrival time at the hotel
- 6:30 - 9:30pm *Working Dinner*
CAN AMERICA CHANGE CHINA? THE CASES FOR COOPERATION, COMPETITION, AND CONFRONTATION
The actions and example of the United States have helped catalyze, inspire, and enable many of China's broad changes throughout its modern history, especially since the 1980s. Whether the U.S. has been successful in using targeted policies to alter specific attitudes or behaviors in China is less clear.
- How should U.S.-China relations be characterized today? What's the right framework?
 - What are the vectors through which the U.S. has had an impact on China?
 - Has collaboration, adversity, or multilateral pressure been most successful in shifting China's priorities?
 - To what degree should U.S. concerns regarding Taiwan drive relations with China?
 - In 2021, can China's goals, threat assessments, and values still be influenced by American or international actions?

A Q&A format led by:

Robert Daly, Director, Kissinger Institute on China and the United States, The Wilson Center

With responses from:

Danny Russel, Vice President, International Security and Diplomacy, Asia Society Policy Institute

FRIDAY, October 15:

- 9:00am **INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE**
This conference is organized into roundtable conversations, pre-dinner and luncheon remarks. This session will explain how the conference will be conducted, how those with questions will be recognized, and how responses will be timed to allow for as much discussion as possible.

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

9:05 - 10:30am

Roundtable Discussion

BALANCING ECONOMIC AND SECURITY INTERESTS: CAN U.S. BUSINESSES IN CHINA BE BOTH PATRIOTIC AND PROFITABLE?

World-leading corporations have been a major source of American power for over a century. In 2021, no company can lead its industry unless it is active in the world's biggest market—China. Yet selling, investing, and conducting research in China may build China's capabilities in ways that undermine American power. How policy makers and companies approach these competing objectives is a daunting challenge.

- To what degree are American economic disparities and loss of manufacturing jobs due primarily to Chinese actions, or to domestic policies and technological factors?
- Which types of American economic engagement with China pose a genuine threat to U.S. security and well-being?
- What would the costs be of government-mandated decoupling of U.S. industry from China?
- What is the role of Congress in regulating U.S. commerce in China?
- Are tariffs a successful means of promoting fair trade?

***Isaac Stone Fish**, CEO, Strategy Risks*

***Arthur Kroeber**, Founding Partner, Gavekal Dragonomics*

***Xiaobu Lü**, Professor of Political Science, Barnard College*

***Lingling Wei**, Senior China correspondent,
The Wall Street Journal*

10:30am - Noon

Roundtable Discussion

WE ARE EXPERIENCING TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES: IMPACTS OF TECH COMPETITION ON SECURITY, COMPETITIVENESS & CONSUMERS

Technology has become the key factor in U.S.-China competition. Legislative efforts to rebuild America's tech manufacturing and policies aimed at curtailing China's access to technologies with military applications have received broad bipartisan support. American policies have provoked a strong reaction in China, which is increasing research & development investments in ways that may enable its scientists to outpace the West and which could result in parallel, mutually exclusive global tech systems.

- Can the U.S. isolate China from the global innovation system without harming that system, which relies on openness and internationalization?
- Do third countries support policies that isolate China technologically?
- Can such efforts succeed?
- Is the U.S. making the investments and training and attracting the talent needed to remain a tech superpower?
- How big a problem is Chinese intellectual property theft in 2021?

***Samm Sacks**, Senior Fellow, Yale Law School*

Paul Tsai China Center & New America
Adam Segal, Director, Digital and Cyberspace Program,
Council on Foreign Relations
Paul Triolo, Practice Head, Geotechnology, Eurasia Group

12:00 - 1:30pm

Working Luncheon Discussion

**THE CORONAVIRUS OUTBREAK:
TWO YEARS AFTER WUHAN, WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED?**

We may never know how COVID-19 originated in Wuhan, but we may be certain that China will not acknowledge fault or responsibility under any circumstances and that it will not indemnify other countries for losses. The world will be handicapped in addressing future pandemics unless American and international scientists are deeply engaged with Chinese virologists and epidemiologists, but overcoming animosity and distrust will be a huge hurdle going forward.

- What do we know about the origins of COVID-19 and what can we reasonably hope to learn?
- Were Chinese cover-ups in 2019-2020 major factors in shaping other nations' responses to the pandemic?
- What does "holding China to account" for COVID mean? Can it be done?
- How can the world best prepare for future outbreaks? From a scientific perspective is cooperation with China necessary?
- Will the Chinese government allow unfettered cooperation with American scientists on pandemic research and prevention?

Yanzhong Huang, Senior Fellow for Global Health
Council on Foreign Relations

1:30 - 3:00pm

Roundtable Discussion

HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY: RIGHTEOUSNESS OR RESULTS?

The administration has promised, as have previous administrations, to put human rights at the forefront of foreign policy. Politicians from across the political spectrum speak of a values or ideological competition with China, frequently framing it as a global contest between democratic and authoritarian governments. China (and Russia and Iran) see such pronouncements as hypocritical attempts to weaponize America's self-righteousness in defense of its failing hegemony and contend that America's own human rights problems discredit it as a defender of human rights internationally.

- What are the prospects for a human rights-centric U.S. foreign policy?
- Can the U.S. apply its principles consistently and impartially worldwide?
- Does the U.S. hold China to a different standard than other nations?
- Have American representations on human rights changed China's behavior in the past?

- What might the costs be to the U.S., global standards, and the Chinese people if the U.S. and the global community don't speak out on Chinese human rights abuses?
- Can the U.S. cooperate with China to solve common problems if China feels that it is under attack on the human rights/ideological front?

Teng Biao, *Grove Human Rights Scholar, Hunter College*
Andrew Nathan, *Professor of Political Science, Columbia University*

3:00 - 4:30pm

Roundtable Discussion

CHINA STRATEGY: WHAT REALLY WORKS?

Strategy is not concerned with the expression of American feelings toward China; its job is to bring American capabilities to bear, over time, to secure American interests. The emergence of rich, powerful, assertive China demands that American strategists and policymakers base their work on a dispassionate assessment of threats, acknowledgement of Chinese and American constraints, and an understanding of how global, domestic, and historic factors shape relations between the superpowers.

- What are America's core interests vis-à-vis China?
- What are we aiming for? Are stable relations between a prosperous, powerful U.S. and a prosperous, powerful China feasible?
- How long are contentious relations between China and the U.S. likely to last?
- What costs will Americans have to pay to compete with China effectively over that period?
- Are Americans willing and able to pay them?
- What role should Congress play in forming U.S. China policy?
- Should our goal be to manage competition, or win it?
- In what ways can the U.S. advance its goals with China in a multilateral context?

Thomas Christensen, *Director, China and the World Program, Columbia University*

Robert Daly, *Director, Kissinger Institute on China and the United States, The Wilson Center*

Danny Russel, *Vice President, International Security and Diplomacy, Asia Society Policy Institute*

4:30 - 6:00pm

Individual Discussions with Scholars Thomas Christensen, Robert Daly, Arthur Kroeber, Andrew Nathan, Orville Schell and Danny Russel to allow congressional staff to probe policy questions more deeply in a less public venue.

6:00 - 8:30pm

Working Dinner

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

SATURDAY, October 16:

9:00am Depart hotel

10:03am Depart New York City's Moynihan Station on Acela Train #2249

1:03pm Arrive at Washington Union Station

Anubhav Gupta continues travel, overnighiting at personal expense

SUNDAY, October 17:

Anubhav Gupta departs New York City's Moynihan Station at 11:05 am on Train 195 and arrives at Washington Union Station at 2:30 pm