



U.S. House of Representatives

# COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

## MEMBER/OFFICER POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM Original Amendment

This form is for disclosing the receipt of travel expenses from a private source for travel taken in connection with a Member or officer's official duties. This form does not eliminate the need to report privately-funded travel on the Member or officer's annual *Financial Disclosure Statement*. In accordance with House Rule 25, clause 5, **you must complete this form and file it with the Clerk of the House, by email at [gifttravelreports@mail.house.gov](mailto:gifttravelreports@mail.house.gov), within 15 days after travel is completed.** Please **do not** file this form with the Committee on Ethics.

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

1. Name of Traveler: Richard Ray Larsen
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: Tiia Ingrid Karlen OR None   
 b. Relationship to Traveler:  Spouse  Child  Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_
3. a. Dates: Departure: 10/22/2021 Return: 10/24/2021  
 b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: \_\_\_\_\_ OR None
4. Departure City: Washington, DC Destination: Gettysburg, PA Return City: Washington, DC
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended (attach additional pages if necessary):  
See appended itinerary.

7. Attached to this form are **each** of the following, *signify that each item is attached by checking the corresponding box*:
  - a.  a completed *Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form*;
  - b.  the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* completed by the trip sponsor **prior** to the trip, **including all** attachments **and** the *Additional Sponsor Form(s)*;
  - c.  page 2 of the completed *Traveler Form* submitted by the Member or officer; **and**
  - d.  the letter from the Committee on Ethics approving my participation on this trip.
8. a.  I represent that I participated in each of the activities reflected in the attached sponsor's agenda.  
**Signify statement is true by checking the box.**  
 b. If not, explain:  
Missed conference opening dinner on Friday, October 22nd due to late arrival.

**I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.** I have determined that all of the expenses on the attached *Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form* were necessary and that the travel was in connection with my duties as a Member or officer of the U.S. House of Representatives and would not create the appearance that I am using public office for private gain.

Member / Officer Signature: *Rick Larsen*

Date: 11/05/2021



U.S. House of Representatives

# COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

## SPONSOR POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM

Original  Amendment

This form must be completed by an officer of any organization that served as the primary trip sponsor in providing travel expenses or reimbursement for travel expenses to House Members, officers, or employees under House Rule 25, clause 5. **A completed copy of the form must be provided to each House Member, officer, or employee who participated on the trip within ten days of their return.** You must answer all questions, and check all boxes, on this form for your submission to comply with House rules and the Committee's travel regulations. Failure to comply with this requirement may result in the denial of future requests to sponsor trips and/or subject the current traveler to disciplinary action or a requirement to repay the trip expenses.

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

1. Sponsor(s) who paid for the trip: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Travel Destination(s): \_\_\_\_\_
3. Date of Departure: \_\_\_\_\_ Date of Return: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): \_\_\_\_\_

*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				
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: Cher W Dent Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Title: \_\_\_\_\_

Organization: \_\_\_\_\_

- I am an officer of the above-named organization. Signify statement is true by checking box.

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone: \_\_\_\_\_

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

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



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# COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

## TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: Richard Ray Larsen

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

3. City and State OR Foreign Country of Travel : Gettysburg, Pennsylvania

4. a. Date of Departure: October 22, 2021 Date of Return: October 24, 2021

b. Yes  No  Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense?

If yes, list dates at personal expense: \_\_\_\_\_

5. a. Yes  No  Will you be accompanied by a family member at the sponsor's expense? **If yes:**

(1) Name of Accompanying Family Member: Tiia Karlén

(2) Relationship to Traveler:  Spouse  Child  Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_

(3) Yes  No  Accompanying Family Member is at least 18 years of age:

6. a. Yes  No  Did the trip sponsor answer "Yes" to Question 8(c) on the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* (i.e., travel is sponsored by an entity that employs a registered federal lobbyist or a foreign agent)?

b. **If yes**, and you are requesting lodging for two nights, explain why the second night is warranted:

7. Yes  No  *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* is attached, including agenda, 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.**

Representative Larsen is a senior member of the House Armed Services Committee, a Co-Chair of the Friends of Norway Caucus and a strong supporter of the trans-Atlantic relationship. This trip will inform his efforts to support and strengthen his district's global ties.

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 09/20/2021



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# 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](http://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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# 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:
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.*





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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



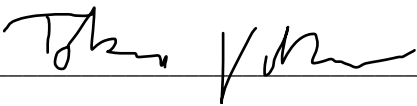
### ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

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

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1. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Name of your organization: \_\_\_\_\_
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**
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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).
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  - 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: \_\_\_\_\_

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Title: \_\_\_\_\_

Organization: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone: \_\_\_\_\_



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



U.S. House of Representatives

# COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

## ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

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

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

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

Signature: Joe Goldman Digitally signed by Joe Goldman  
Date: 2021.06.08 09:33:59 -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

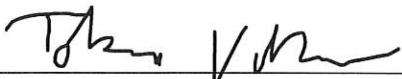
# COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

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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**
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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

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

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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:
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Destination: \_\_\_\_\_ on Date: \_\_\_\_\_  
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  - a.  My organization does not employ or retain a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent **OR**
  - b.  My organization employs a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but their involvement in planning, organizing, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the travel regulations.
7. I certify by my signature that
  - a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
  - b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent;
  - c. I am an officer of this organization and am duly authorized to sign this form; and
  - d. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature:  Date: 06/22/2021

Name: Stephen Heintz Title: President and CEO

Organization: Rockefeller Brothers Fund

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

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

Theodore E. Deutch, Florida  
*Chairman*

Jackie Walorski, Indiana  
*Ranking Member*

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

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



ONE HUNDRED SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS

## U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust  
*Staff Director and Chief Counsel*

David W. Arrojo  
*Counsel to the Chairman*

Kelle A. Strickland  
*Counsel to the Ranking Member*

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

October 19, 2021

The Honorable Rick Larsen  
U.S. House of Representatives  
2163 Rayburn House Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Colleague:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your and your spouse's proposed trip to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, scheduled for October 22 to 24, 2021, sponsored by Aspen Institute, Inc., with financial support from Democracy Fund, The Henry Luce Foundation, and Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

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

You must complete a Member/Officer Post-Travel Disclosure Form and file it, together with a Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form completed by the trip sponsor, with the Clerk of the House within 15 days after your return from travel. As part of that filing, you are also required to attach a copy of this letter and both the Traveler and Primary Trip Sponsor Forms (including attachments) you previously submitted to the Committee in seeking pre-approval for this trip. You must also report all travel expenses totaling more than \$415 from a single source on the "Travel" schedule of your annual Financial Disclosure Statement covering this calendar year. Finally, Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting information provided to the Committee for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

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

Sincerely,



Theodore E. Deutch  
Chairman



Jackie Walorski  
Ranking Member

TED/JW:smm

# U.S.-RUSSIA RELATIONS: COMPETITION, DETERRENCE, AND DIPLOMACY

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

October 22-24, 2021 Gettysburg, Pennsylvania

(Saturday's discussions will be held at the Eisenhower Farm where President Eisenhower hosted Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in 1959.)

## **FRIDAY, October 22:**

Participants arrive today between 3-5 pm.

*Rep. Rick Larsen and wife, Tiia Karlen, travel to Gettysburg via hired private car departing Washington, DC and arriving in Gettysburg this evening.*

6:00 – 7:00 pm *Pre-Dinner Remarks*

### **REFLECTIONS ON THE COLD WAR AND A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR THE FUTURE**

U.S.-Russian relations have been tense since the Bolshevik revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Union. However, what was once primarily a rivalry of systems became an existential threat with the advent of the atomic and hydrogen bombs. Looking back on the post-Stalin years and then again forty years later, an era of unprecedented bi-lateral cooperation, Susan Eisenhower will offer some observations on our current time and a possible path for the future of the U.S.-Russian relationship.

*Susan Eisenhower, Chairman Emeritus, The Eisenhower Institute*

7:00 – 9:00 pm *Working Dinner*

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

## **SATURDAY, October 23:**

7:30 – 8:15 am Breakfast is available for all participants

8:15 – 8:45 am Transit to Eisenhower Farm

8:55 – 9 am **WELCOMING REMARKS**

In 1950 the Eisenhowers bought this 189-acre farm adjoining the Gettysburg Battlefield. During Ike's first term as President, major renovations were done on the house. Eisenhower used his weekends at Gettysburg to escape the pressures of the presidency. He would bring dignitaries to Camp David for meetings, then on to the farm, and for a sit on the porch, which allowed him, "to get the other man's equation." Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev was one such visitor in 1959, concluding a ten-day visit to the U.S. The Eisenhowers donated the farm to the National Park Service in 1967.

*Stephen Sims, Superintendent  
Eisenhower National Historical Site*

9:00 – 9:15 am

## **INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE**

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

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

9:15 – 11 am

### *Roundtable Discussion*

#### **30 YEARS AFTER 1991: IS IT A 'NEW' RUSSIA?**

Vladimir Putin has been in power in Russia for over two decades and has built what appears to be a highly consolidated authoritarian system, while weathering social, economic, and geopolitical crises. Russia permits increasingly little space for public political dissent, yet the Russian people as a whole appear to tolerate, if not fully trust, the regime that rules them. As the Kremlin cracks down on external challenges to its power, rival forces within the system may become increasingly restless, especially as Vladimir Putin ages and approaches the end of his fourth official term in 2024.

- How should Americans understand Putin's power and the Russian political system—is there more to it than just repression?
- Will a post-Putin era be more of the same?
- How has the Kremlin managed the Russian economy through multiple crises, and what are the prospects for Russia's growth, decline or stagnation in the 2020s?
- What do ordinary Russians think about their government, and how much do they share the Kremlin's rejection of "Western" values?
- What has been the impact of U.S. foreign policy on ordinary Russians, and how do they see the United States today as compared to the past?

***Marlene Laruelle**, Director, Institute for European,  
Russian, and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University*

***Yuval Weber**, Research Assistant Professor  
Bush School of Government, Texas A&M University*

11:00 -11:15 am

Break

11:15 am - 1 pm

### *Roundtable Discussion*

#### **CYBER, SPACE AND WMD: THREATS AND OPPORTUNITIES**

Russia inherited the Soviet Union's status as a nuclear superpower, making it central not only to U.S. interests in nuclear strategic stability but also to address nonproliferation challenges such as North Korea, Iran, and non-state actors. In recent years, however, Moscow has also accelerated its investment in new domain weapons systems in outer space and cyber space, while showing greater willingness to disrupt a global balance that it thinks favors Washington. Particularly concerning have been Russia's apparent efforts to influence the 2016, 2018 and 2020 U.S. elections, the Solar Winds hack, and other cases of aggressive cyber and information operations targeting foundational institutions of U.S. democracy.

- What is the state of the U.S.-Russia nuclear relationship in the wake of the Biden-Putin agreement to extend the New START treaty?

- How can Russia be effectively deterred from future interference in U.S. elections and democratic processes?
- Does past experience with arms control and deterrence offer lessons for managing competition in cyber, space and other new domains?
- What are the prospects regarding U.S.-Russia cooperation in managing global proliferation risks, especially Iran and North Korea?
- Do the U.S. and Russia have common interests, for example, in countering online radicalization?
- What are the prospects and significance of U.S.-Russia cooperation on space operations and security?
- What is the state of U.S. leadership in space sustainability and security?

***Dmitri Alperovitch***, Executive Chairman

*Silverado Policy Accelerator*

***Bruce McClintock***, Lead, RAND Space Enterprise Initiative

1:00 – 2:00 pm

*Working Luncheon*

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S.-Russia relations.

2:00 – 5:00 pm

*Educational Site Visit*

**GETTYSBURG NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD MEMORIAL**

*A tour led by an historian and engaging in dialogue on lessons learned during the Civil War and how it informed future decision making in foreign policy and the Cold War.*

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 lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the opportunities and challenges and potential solutions regarding U.S.-Russia relations.

**SUNDAY, October 24:**

7:30 – 8:55 am

Breakfast is available for all participants

9:00 – 11:00 am

*Roundtable Discussion*

**RUSSIA AND CHINA AS GREAT POWER COMPETITORS TO THE U.S.: HOW DEEP IS THE PARTNERSHIP AND WHAT CHALLENGES LIE AHEAD?**

Over the past half-decade, Washington's relations with both Beijing and Moscow have taken a dramatic downward turn. Russia's aggressive and destabilizing actions, and China's manipulative economic practices coupled with increasingly assertive efforts to disrupt and limit U.S. global leadership have led U.S. officials to speak of a new era of "great power competition." As the Biden Administration charts a course forward with Russia and China, it will consider not only the balance between U.S. power and that of its near-peer rivals, but the interests and capabilities of other states that are impacted by, and can help shape, this competition.

- Are Russia and China de facto allies? How deep and sustainable is their current partnership and what drives it?
- How do U.S. allies and partners see the emerging "great power competition" among the U.S., Russia, and China? How should the U.S. take their interests into account?

- Are there realistic prospects for U.S. policy to drive a wedge between Moscow and Beijing in the short or long term?
- Can Beijing or Moscow effectively drive wedges between the U.S. and its regional allies?
- How has U.S. policy been understood by allies and partners in Europe and the Indo-Pacific region?

**Zack Cooper**, Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute

**Nikolas Gvosdev**, Professor of National Security Affairs

U.S. Naval War College

**Yun Sun**, Director, China Program, The Stimson Center

11:00-11:15 am Break

11:15 am – 1 pm *Roundtable Discussion*

**U.S.-RUSSIA POLICY: A 'PROBLEM FROM HELL?'**

When President Dwight Eisenhower took office, he recognized the need for a thorough rethinking of U.S. policy toward the then Soviet Union, grounded in expert knowledge of Soviet intentions and capabilities, as well as recent foreign policy experience. Ike gathered the leading American experts on Russia policy of the time, including George F. Kennan, for a strategic exercise dubbed the "Solarium Project." The result was a menu of predictions and policy options that helped the Eisenhower administration and subsequent U.S. policymakers shape Cold War strategy to achieve balance among competition, containment, rollback, and other objectives. Today, as we encounter geopolitical challenges of a scale not seen since the Cold War, the U.S. might benefit from a similarly thorough strategic thinking exercise, encompassing not just Russia policy, but national security and foreign policy objectives more broadly.

- What has been and what should be the main U.S. policy goals toward Russia, and how do these goals relate to broader U.S. national interests?
- To what degree has U.S. policy succeeded in advancing these goals in recent years, and where has it failed or been counterproductive?
- Have sanctions proven effective as the main instrument of U.S. policy toward Russia? What adjustments might improve their effectiveness?
- How should the U.S. achieve balance among potentially competing interests, especially in relations with Russia and other regional states?

**Emma Ashford**, Senior Fellow, The Atlantic Council

**Anna Mankanju**, Head of Public Policy, Open AI

1:00 – 2:00 pm *Working Luncheon*

**POLICY IMPLICATIONS: BLUEPRINTS FOR ACTION**

Matthew Rojansky will offer a brief summary of the discussions and scholars' policy recommendations thus far. Participants are encouraged to suggest ideas for legislative action. Questions for discussion may include:

- What is at stake for the United States in relations with Russia?
- What U.S. interests are most at threat from Russia? Are there areas of potential mutual interests?
- Have U.S. policies achieved their intended goals up to now?

- What is the right balance between legislative and executive leadership on U.S. policy toward Russia?
- What actions from Congress are needed to steer U.S.-Russia policy in the right directions?
- Can Congress in its oversight and other leadership roles play a more productive role in shedding light on these challenges?

**Matthew Rojansky**, Director, *The Kennan Institute*  
*The Wilson Center*

2:00 pm

All participants depart Gettysburg

*Rep. Rick Larsen and wife, Tia Karlen, depart Gettysburg via hired private car this afternoon and arrive in Washington, DC early evening.*

June 3, 2021



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Charles W. Dent

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Executive Director

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Congressional Program

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The Honorable Rick Larsen  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Rick:

I would like to invite you and Tiia to participate in a congressional conference on **U.S.-Russia Relations: Competition, Deterrence, and Diplomacy**, which will be held October 22-24, 2021 in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. We have limited space and must hear from you proactively as soon as possible if you wish to participate.

We have assembled a team of respected experts to lead our discussions, which will be held at the Eisenhower farm, where Ike hosted Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev. The agenda will cover U.S. strategy for global competition between the U.S., Russia and China; a review of Russia since the fall of the Soviet Union 30 years ago; threats and opportunities in the realms of cyber, space and WMD; and a look ahead for U.S.-Russia policy. Susan Eisenhower will share her reflections and set the stage for our discussions. We will also have an educational site visit to the historic Gettysburg battlefield. Our purpose is to help you to be better informed with a range of critical analysis for making important policy decisions. An agenda outline is attached.

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

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

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

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



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2300 N St., NW

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Suite 700

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Washington, DC 20037

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PH 202.736.5825

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FX 202.785-2737

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[www.aspeninstitute.org](http://www.aspeninstitute.org)

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Page Two

Departure will be on Friday, October 22<sup>nd</sup> and we will return on Sunday, October 24<sup>th</sup>. Should you accept the invitation, it is required that you participate through the duration of the conference.

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

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

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

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

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

We hope you will join us for this important conference.

Sincerely,

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

Charles W. Dent  
Member (2005-2018)

# U.S.-Russia Relations: Competition, Deterrence, and Diplomacy

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

October 22-24, 2021

Gettysburg, Pennsylvania

(Roundtable discussions will be held at the historic Eisenhower Farm where President Eisenhower hosted Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in 1959)

## **FRIDAY, October 22:**

Participants travel to Gettysburg, arriving late afternoon

*Opening Pre-Dinner Remarks*

### **U.S. STRATEGY FOR GLOBAL BIG POWER COMPETITION**

*Lt. Gen. H.R. McMaster*, former National Security Advisor, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution (invited)

## **SATURDAY, October 23:**

*Welcome Remarks*

*Steven Sims*, Superintendent, Eisenhower National Historical Site

*Roundtable Discussion (9am-11am)*

### **30 YEARS AFTER 1991: IS IT A 'NEW' RUSSIA?**

*Marlene Laruelle*, Director, Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University  
*Yuval Weber*, Research Assistant Professor, Bush School of Government, Texas A&M University

*Roundtable Discussion (11am-1pm)*

### **CYBER, SPACE, AND WMD: THREATS AND OPPORTUNITIES**

*Dmitri Alperovitch*, Executive Chairman, Silverado Policy Accelerator  
*Bruce McClintock*, lead, RAND Space Enterprise Initiative

*Educational Site Visit (2-5pm)*

### **GETTYSBURG NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD MEMORIAL**

*Pre-Dinner Remarks*

### **REFLECTIONS ON THE COLD WAR & A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR THE FUTURE**

*Susan Eisenhower*, Chair, The Eisenhower Institute

## **SUNDAY, October 24:**

*Roundtable Discussion (9am-11am)*

### **RUSSIA AND CHINA AS GREAT POWER COMPETITORS TO THE U.S.: HOW DEEP IS THAT PARTNERSHIP AND WHAT CHALLENGES LIE AHEAD?**

*Nikolas Gvosdev*, Professor of National Security Affairs, U.S. Naval War College  
*Zack Cooper*, Research Fellow, American Enterprise Institute  
*Sun Yun*, Director, China Program, The Stimson Center

*Roundtable Discussion (11am-1pm)*

### **U.S.-RUSSIA POLICY: A 'PROBLEM FROM HELL?'**

*Emma Ashford*, Senior Fellow, The Atlantic Council  
*Anna Mamanju*, former Special Policy Advisor for Eurasia for Vice President Biden (tentative)

*Luncheon Conclusion*

### **POLICY IMPLICATIONS: BLUEPRINTS FOR ACTION**

Observations by Members of Congress  
All participants depart

# U.S.-RUSSIA RELATIONS: COMPETITION, DETERRENCE, AND DIPLOMACY

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

October 22-24, 2021 Gettysburg, Pennsylvania

(Saturday's discussions will be held at the Eisenhower Farm where President Eisenhower hosted Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in 1959.)

## **FRIDAY, October 22:**

*Members and their spouses travel to Gettysburg via private car departing Washington, DC at the conclusion of today's session in the House of Representatives, arriving in Gettysburg early evening.*

6:00 – 7:00 pm

*Pre-Dinner Fireside Discussion*

### **U.S. LEADERSHIP AND A WORLD OF GREAT POWER COMPETITION**

The U.S. and Russia are the world's two major nuclear powers, while the U.S. and China are the world's two leading economic powers. Europe is an economic powerhouse and home to our closest allies, but does not lead on security issues, and is often not united in its own approaches. Beyond security and economic competition, the world looks to great powers to lead on the values and principles they assert and defend for all people. Stephen Hadley will set the stage for our discussions with observations about the status of competition and cooperation among these great powers and strategies for balancing deterrence with diplomacy.

***Stephen Hadley**, former National Security Advisor  
Principal, Rice, Hadley Gates & Manuel*

7:00 – 9:00 pm

*Working Dinner*

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

## **SATURDAY, October 23:**

7:30 – 8:15 am

Breakfast is available for all participants

8:15 – 8:45 am

Transit to Eisenhower Farm

8:55 – 9 am

### **WELCOMING REMARKS**

In 1950 the Eisenhowers bought this 189-acre farm adjoining the Gettysburg Battlefield. During Ike's first term as President, major renovations were done on the house. Eisenhower used his weekends at Gettysburg to escape the pressures of the presidency. He would bring dignitaries to Camp David for meetings, then on to the farm, and for a sit on the porch, which allowed him, "to get the other man's equation." Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev was one such visitor in 1959, concluding a ten-day visit to the U.S. The Eisenhowers donated the farm to the National Park Service in 1967.

***Stephen Sims**, Superintendent  
Eisenhower National Historical Site*

9:00 – 9:15 am

## **INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE**

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

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

9:15 – 11 am

*Roundtable Discussion*

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Vladimir Putin has been in power in Russia for over two decades and has built what appears to be a highly consolidated authoritarian system, while weathering social, economic, and geopolitical crises. Russia permits increasingly little space for public political dissent, yet the Russian people as a whole appear to tolerate, if not fully trust, the regime that rules them. As the Kremlin cracks down on external challenges to its power, rival forces within the system may become increasingly restless, especially as Vladimir Putin ages and approaches the end of his fourth official term in 2024.

- How should Americans understand Putin's power and the Russian political system—is there more to it than just repression?
- Will a post-Putin era be more of the same?
- How has the Kremlin managed the Russian economy through multiple crises, and what are the prospects for Russia's growth, decline or stagnation in the 2020s?
- What do ordinary Russians think about their government, and how much do they share the Kremlin's rejection of "Western" values?
- What has been the impact of U.S. foreign policy on ordinary Russians, and how do they see the United States today as compared to the past?

***Marlene Laruelle**, Director, Institute for European,  
Russian, and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University  
**Yuval Weber**, Research Assistant Professor  
Bush School of Government, Texas A&M University*

11:00 -11:15 am

Break

11:15 am - 1 pm

*Roundtable Discussion*

### **CYBER, SPACE AND WMD: THREATS AND OPPORTUNITIES**

Russia inherited the Soviet Union's status as a nuclear superpower, making it central not only to U.S. interests in nuclear strategic stability but also to address nonproliferation challenges such as North Korea, Iran, and non-state actors. In recent years, however, Moscow has also accelerated its investment in new domain weapons systems in outer space and cyber space, while showing greater willingness to disrupt a global balance that it thinks favors Washington. Particularly concerning have been Russia's apparent efforts to influence the 2016, 2018 and 2020 U.S. elections, the Solar Winds hack, and other cases of aggressive cyber and information operations targeting foundational institutions of U.S. democracy.

- What is the state of the U.S.-Russia nuclear relationship in the wake of the Biden-Putin agreement to extend the New START treaty?
- How can Russia be effectively deterred from future interference in U.S. elections and democratic processes?
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- What is the state of U.S. leadership in space sustainability and security?

***Dmitri Alperovitch***, Executive Chairman  
Silverado Policy Accelerator

***Bruce McClintock***, Lead, RAND Space Enterprise Initiative

1:00 – 2:00 pm

*Working Luncheon*

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S.-Russia relations.

2:00 – 5:00 pm

*Educational Site Visit*

**GETTYSBURG NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD MEMORIAL**

5:30 – 6:30 pm

*Pre-Dinner Remarks*

**REFLECTIONS ON THE COLD WAR  
AND A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR THE FUTURE**

U.S.-Russian relations have been tense since the Bolshevik revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Union. However, what was once primarily a rivalry of systems became an existential threat with the advent of the atomic and hydrogen bombs. Looking back on the post-Stalin years and then again forty years later, an era of unprecedented bi-lateral cooperation, Susan Eisenhower will offer some observations on our current time and a possible path for the future of the U.S.-Russian relationship.

***Susan Eisenhower***, Chairman Emeritus, The Eisenhower Institute

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 lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the opportunities and challenges and potential solutions regarding U.S.-Russia relations.

**SUNDAY, October 24:**

7:30 – 8:55 am

Breakfast is available for all participants

9:00 – 11:00 am

*Roundtable Discussion*

**RUSSIA AND CHINA AS GREAT POWER COMPETITORS TO THE U.S.:  
HOW DEEP IS THE PARTNERSHIP AND WHAT CHALLENGES LIE AHEAD?**

Over the past half-decade, Washington's relations with both Beijing and Moscow have taken a dramatic downward turn. Russia's aggressive and destabilizing

actions, and China's manipulative economic practices coupled with increasingly assertive efforts to disrupt and limit U.S. global leadership have led U.S. officials to speak of a new era of "great power competition." As the Biden Administration charts a course forward with Russia and China, it will consider not only the balance between U.S. power and that of its near-peer rivals, but the interests and capabilities of other states that are impacted by, and can help shape, this competition.

- Are Russia and China de facto allies? How deep and sustainable is their current partnership and what drives it?
- How do U.S. allies and partners see the emerging "great power competition" among the U.S., Russia, and China? How should the U.S. take their interests into account?
- Are there realistic prospects for U.S. policy to drive a wedge between Moscow and Beijing in the short or long term?
- Can Beijing or Moscow effectively drive wedges between the U.S. and its regional allies?
- How has U.S. policy been understood by allies and partners in Europe and the Indo-Pacific region?

**Zack Cooper**, Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute  
**Nikolas Gvosdev**, Professor of National Security Affairs  
U.S. Naval War College  
**Yun Sun**, Director, China Program, The Stimson Center

11:00-11:15 am Break

11:15 am – 1 pm *Roundtable Discussion*

**U.S.-RUSSIA POLICY: A 'PROBLEM FROM HELL?'**

When President Dwight Eisenhower took office, he recognized the need for a thorough rethinking of U.S. policy toward the then Soviet Union, grounded in expert knowledge of Soviet intentions and capabilities, as well as recent foreign policy experience. Ike gathered the leading American experts on Russia policy of the time, including George F. Kennan, for a strategic exercise dubbed the "Solarium Project." The result was a menu of predictions and policy options that helped the Eisenhower administration and subsequent U.S. policymakers shape Cold War strategy to achieve balance among competition, containment, rollback, and other objectives. Today, as we encounter geopolitical challenges of a scale not seen since the Cold War, the U.S. might benefit from a similarly thorough strategic thinking exercise, encompassing not just Russia policy, but national security and foreign policy objectives more broadly.

- What has been and what should be the main U.S. policy goals toward Russia, and how do these goals relate to broader U.S. national interests?
- To what degree has U.S. policy succeeded in advancing these goals in recent years, and where has it failed or been counterproductive?
- Have sanctions proven effective as the main instrument of U.S. policy toward Russia? What adjustments might improve their effectiveness?
- How should the U.S. achieve balance among potentially competing interests, especially in relations with Russia and other regional states?

**Emma Ashford**, Senior Fellow, The Atlantic Council  
**Anna Makanju**, Head of Public Policy, Open AI

1:00 – 2:00 pm

*Working Luncheon*

**POLICY IMPLICATIONS: BLUEPRINTS FOR ACTION**

Matthew Rojansky will offer a brief summary of the discussions and scholars' policy recommendations thus far. Participants are encouraged to suggest ideas for legislative action. Questions for discussion may include:

- What is at stake for the United States in relations with Russia?
- What U.S. interests are most at threat from Russia? Are there areas of potential mutual interests?
- Have U.S. policies achieved their intended goals up to now?
- What is the right balance between legislative and executive leadership on U.S. policy toward Russia?
- What actions from Congress are needed to steer U.S.-Russia policy in the right directions?
- Can Congress in its oversight and other leadership roles play a more productive role in shedding light on these challenges?

***Matthew Rojansky***, *Director, The Kennan Institute  
The Wilson Center*

2:00 pm

All participants depart Gettysburg

*Members and their spouses depart Gettysburg via private car early afternoon and arrive in Washington, DC late afternoon.*

Aspen Institute House Ethics Transportation Appendix  
Gettysburg

Transportation Costs:

- **Member only traveling by via hired private car - \$900**
- **Member and spouse traveling via hired private car - \$450 per member/\$450 per spouse**
- **If spouse accepts roundtrip flight** from district to Washington, DC to ride with Member via hired private car – there would be an additional roundtrip flight cost estimated to be \$300-\$700.
- **Member drives personal vehicle** from Washington, DC to Gettysburg – we can reimburse for mileage at the IRA allowable .56 per business mile. Estimated roundtrip is 176 miles. Estimated reimbursement is \$98.56  
**Member only - cost is \$98.56**  
**Member and spouse – cost is \$49.28 per person**

Appendix  
Aspen Institute Congressional Program – Gettysburg

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

Rep. Don Bacon; House Committee on Armed Services  
Rep. Jim Baird; House Committee on Science, Space, and Technology  
Rep. Jim Banks; House Committee on Armed Services  
Rep. Stephanie Bice; House Committee on Armed Services  
Rep. Earl Blumenauer; House Committee on Ways and Means  
Rep. Cheri Bustos; House Committee on Appropriations (Subcommittee on Defense)  
Rep. Ken Calvert; House Committee on Appropriations  
Rep. Gerry Connolly; House Committee on Foreign Affairs  
Rep. Lou Correa; House Committee on Homeland Security  
Rep. John Curtis; House Committee on Energy and Commerce  
Rep. Diana DeGette; House Committee on Energy and Commerce  
Rep. Ted Deutch; House Committee on Foreign Affairs  
Rep. Jeff Fortenberry; House Committee on Appropriations  
Rep. Andy Harris; House Committee on Appropriations  
Rep. Jaime Herrera Beutler; House Committee on Appropriations  
Rep. Jim Himes; House Committee on Financial Services  
Rep. Chrissy Houlahan; House Committee on Foreign Affairs  
Rep. Darrell Issa; House Committee on Foreign Affairs  
Rep. John Katko; House Committee on Homeland Security  
Rep. Rick Larsen; House Committee on Armed Services  
Rep. Don Norcross; House Committee on Armed Services  
Rep. David Price; House Committee on Appropriations  
Rep. Mary Gay Scanlon; House Committee on the Judiciary  
Rep. Greg Stanton; House Committee on the Judiciary  
Rep. Dina Titus; House Committee on Foreign Affairs  
Rep. Peter Welch; House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

**Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip:**

The meeting will be held in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, a short drive from Washington, DC, and the National Park Service's Eisenhower Farm, the home of President Eisenhower. In the fall of 1959, Nikita Khrushchev, the Premier of the Soviet Union, visited the Eisenhower Farm with President Eisenhower to discuss US-Russia relations which is the topic of this conference. Most of the conference sessions will be held on the grounds of the Eisenhower farm.

June 3, 2021



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Charles W. Dent

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Executive Director

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Congressional Program

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The Honorable Rick Larsen  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Rick:

I would like to invite you and Tiia to participate in a congressional conference on **U.S.-Russia Relations: Competition, Deterrence, and Diplomacy**, which will be held October 22-24, 2021 in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. We have limited space and must hear from you proactively as soon as possible if you wish to participate.

We have assembled a team of respected experts to lead our discussions, which will be held at the Eisenhower farm, where Ike hosted Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev. The agenda will cover U.S. strategy for global competition between the U.S., Russia and China; a review of Russia since the fall of the Soviet Union 30 years ago; threats and opportunities in the realms of cyber, space and WMD; and a look ahead for U.S.-Russia policy. Susan Eisenhower will share her reflections and set the stage for our discussions. We will also have an educational site visit to the historic Gettysburg battlefield. Our purpose is to help you to be better informed with a range of critical analysis for making important policy decisions. An agenda outline is attached.

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

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

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

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



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2300 N St., NW

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Suite 700

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Washington, DC 20037

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PH 202.736.5825

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FX 202.785-2737

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[www.aspeninstitute.org](http://www.aspeninstitute.org)

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Page Two

Departure will be on Friday, October 22<sup>nd</sup> and we will return on Sunday, October 24<sup>th</sup>. Should you accept the invitation, it is required that you participate through the duration of the conference.

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

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

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

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

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

We hope you will join us for this important conference.

Sincerely,

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

Charles W. Dent  
Member (2005-2018)

# U.S.-Russia Relations: Competition, Deterrence, and Diplomacy

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

October 22-24, 2021

Gettysburg, Pennsylvania

(Roundtable discussions will be held at the historic Eisenhower Farm where President Eisenhower hosted Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in 1959)

## **FRIDAY, October 22:**

Participants travel to Gettysburg, arriving late afternoon

*Opening Pre-Dinner Remarks*

### **U.S. STRATEGY FOR GLOBAL BIG POWER COMPETITION**

*Lt. Gen. H.R. McMaster*, former National Security Advisor, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution (invited)

## **SATURDAY, October 23:**

*Welcome Remarks*

*Steven Sims*, Superintendent, Eisenhower National Historical Site

*Roundtable Discussion (9am-11am)*

### **30 YEARS AFTER 1991: IS IT A 'NEW' RUSSIA?**

*Marlene Laruelle*, Director, Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University  
*Yuval Weber*, Research Assistant Professor, Bush School of Government, Texas A&M University

*Roundtable Discussion (11am-1pm)*

### **CYBER, SPACE, AND WMD: THREATS AND OPPORTUNITIES**

*Dmitri Alperovitch*, Executive Chairman, Silverado Policy Accelerator  
*Bruce McClintock*, lead, RAND Space Enterprise Initiative

*Educational Site Visit (2-5pm)*

### **GETTYSBURG NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD MEMORIAL**

*Pre-Dinner Remarks*

### **REFLECTIONS ON THE COLD WAR & A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR THE FUTURE**

*Susan Eisenhower*, Chair, The Eisenhower Institute

## **SUNDAY, October 24:**

*Roundtable Discussion (9am-11am)*

### **RUSSIA AND CHINA AS GREAT POWER COMPETITORS TO THE U.S.: HOW DEEP IS THAT PARTNERSHIP AND WHAT CHALLENGES LIE AHEAD?**

*Nikolas Gvosdev*, Professor of National Security Affairs, U.S. Naval War College  
*Zack Cooper*, Research Fellow, American Enterprise Institute  
*Sun Yun*, Director, China Program, The Stimson Center

*Roundtable Discussion (11am-1pm)*

### **U.S.-RUSSIA POLICY: A 'PROBLEM FROM HELL?'**

*Emma Ashford*, Senior Fellow, The Atlantic Council  
*Anna Mamanju*, former Special Policy Advisor for Eurasia for Vice President Biden (tentative)

*Luncheon Conclusion*

### **POLICY IMPLICATIONS: BLUEPRINTS FOR ACTION**

Observations by Members of Congress  
All participants depart

Appendix  
Aspen Institute Congressional Program – Gettysburg

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

Rep. Don Bacon; House Committee on Armed Services  
Rep. Jim Baird; House Committee on Science, Space, and Technology  
Rep. Jim Banks; House Committee on Armed Services  
Rep. Stephanie Bice; House Committee on Armed Services  
Rep. Earl Blumenauer; House Committee on Ways and Means  
Rep. Ken Calvert; House Committee on Appropriations  
Rep. Gerry Connolly; House Committee on Foreign Affairs  
Rep. Lou Correa; House Committee on Homeland Security  
Rep. John Curtis; House Committee on Energy and Commerce  
Rep. Diana DeGette; House Committee on Energy and Commerce  
Rep. Ted Deutch; House Committee on Foreign Affairs  
Rep. Jeff Fortenberry; House Committee on Appropriations  
Rep. Andy Harris; House Committee on Appropriations  
Rep. Jaime Herrera Beutler; House Committee on Appropriations  
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