Date/Time Stamp:

# Employee Post-Travel Disclosure of Travel Expenses

RECEIVED
SECRETARY OF THE SENATE
PUBLIC RECORDS

**Post-Travel Filing Instructions:** Complete this form within **30 days** of returning from travel. Submit all forms to the **Office of Public Records in 232 Hart Building.**

2019 DEC -5 PM 1:08

In compliance with Rule 35.2(a) and (c), I make the following disclosures with respect to travel expenses that have been or will be reimbursed/paid for me. I also certify that I have attached:

☒ The **original** *Employee Pre-Travel Authorization* (Form RE-1), **AND**
☒ A **copy** of the *Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form* with all attachments (itinerary, invitee list, etc.)

Private Sponsor(s) (list all): The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program) & Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Travel date(s): November 2, 2019-November 7, 2019

Name of accompanying family member (if any): _____
Relationship to Traveler: ☐ Spouse ☐ Child

IF THE COST OF LODGING **DID NOT INCREASE** DUE TO THE ACCOMPANYING SPOUSE OR DEPENDENT CHILD, ONLY INCLUDE LODGING COSTS IN EMPLOYEE EXPENSES. (Attach additional pages if necessary.)

**Expenses for Employee:**

| | Transportation Expenses | Lodging Expenses | Meal Expenses | Other Expenses (Amount & Description) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ☒ Good Faith Estimate<br>☐ Actual Amount | $1600 | $1000 | $525 | $290 conference expenses include meeting space, audio visual services and visa costs |

**Expenses for Accompanying Spouse or Dependent Child** (if applicable):

| | Transportation Expenses | Lodging Expenses | Meal Expenses | Other Expenses (Amount & Description) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ☐ Good Faith Estimate<br>☐ Actual Amount | | | | |

Provide a description of all meetings and events attended. *See* Senate Rule 35.2(c)(6). (Attach additional pages if necessary.): See attached agenda

12/3/19 — Christopher Sachs — [signature]
*(Date)* — *(Printed name of traveler)* — *(Signature of traveler)*

TO BE COMPLETED BY SUPERVISING MEMBER/OFFICER:

I have made a determination that the expenses set out above in connections with travel described in the *Employee Pre-Travel Authorization* form, are necessary transportation, lodging, and related expenses as defined in Rule 35.

12/03/2019 — [signature]
*(Date)* — *(Signature of Supervising Senator/Officer)*

(Revised 1/3/11)

**Form RE-2**

# EMPLOYEE PRE-TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

Date/Time Stamp: ETHIC OCT 3'19PM 3:16

**Pre-Travel Filing Instructions:** Complete and submit this form at least 30 days prior to the travel departure date to the **Select Committee on Ethics** in **SH-220**. Incomplete and late travel submissions will **not** be considered or approved. This form **must** be typed and is available as a fillable PDF on the Committee's website at ethics.senate.gov. Retain a copy of your entire pre-travel submission for your required post-travel disclosure.

Name of Traveler: Christopher Socha

Employing Office/Committee: Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Private Sponsor(s) (list all): The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program) & Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Travel date(s): November 2-8, 2019

*Note: If you plan to extend the trip for any reason you **must** notify the Committee.*

Destination(s): Beijing, China

Explain how this trip is specifically connected to the traveler's official or representational duties:

As Staff Director of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, this conference will provide unique insights into the U.S.-Sino relationship at a particularly sensitive time. Information gathering will be useful in support the Senator's role as Chairman of the Committee and future actions it may take.

Name of accompanying family member (if any): _____

Relationship to Employee: ☐ Spouse ☐ Child

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

10/3/19
*(Date)*

*(Signature of Employee)*

TO BE COMPLETED BY SUPERVISING SENATOR/OFFICER (President of the Senate, Secretary of the Senate, Sergeant at Arms, Secretary for the Majority, Secretary for the Minority, and Chaplain):

I, Senator James E. Risch *(Print Senator's/Officer's Name)* hereby authorize Christopher Socha *(Print Traveler's Name)*

an employee under my direct supervision, to accept payment or reimbursement for necessary transportation, lodging, and related expenses for travel to the event described above. I have determined that this travel is in connection with his or her duties as a Senate employee or an officeholder, and will not create the appearance that he or she is using public office for private gain.

I have also determined that the attendance of the employee's spouse or child is appropriate to assist in the representation of the Senate. *(signify "yes" by checking box)* ☐

10/03/2019
*(Date)*

*(Signature of Supervising Senator/Officer)*

(Revised 10/19/15)

Form RE-1

# PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should **NOT** submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee **MUST** also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

---

1. Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors): The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program) & Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

2. Description of the trip: The conference will provide the opportunity for congressional staff members to engage directly with Chinese and Americans based in China to explore US-China policy

3. Dates of travel: November 2-8, 2019

4. Place of travel: Beijing, China

5. Name and title of Senate invitees: See question #5 of attached agenda

6. I *certify* that the trip fits one of the following categories:

   ☒ (A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.

   OR

   ☐ (B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) *(see question 9)*.

7. ☒ I *certify* that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.

   AND

   ☒ I *certify* that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.

8. I *certify* that:

   ☒ The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for *de minimis* lobbyist involvement.

   AND

   ☒ The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (*see question 9*).

9. **USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 6(B)**
I *certify* that if the sponsor or sponsors retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, one of the following scenarios applies:

☐ (A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and **one** overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip.

OR

☐ (B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and **two** overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip (*see questions 6 and 10)*.

OR

☐ (C) The trip is being sponsored only by an organization or organizations designated under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.

10. **USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 9(B)**
If the trip includes two overnight stays, please explain why the second night is practically required for Senate invitees to participate in the travel:

11. ☒ An itinerary for the trip is attached to this form. I *certify* that the attached itinerary is a detailed (hour-by-hour), complete, and final itinerary for the trip.

12. Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:

The Aspen Institute Congressional Program (AICP) and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP) jointly organized and planned the conference. See attached appendix

13. Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:

The Aspen Institute is a non profit organization, and its broad mission is conducting nonpartisan forums and the exchange of ideas on issues impacting the US and the world. See attached appendix

14. Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips:

AICP has a 36-year history of conducting nonpartisan educational forums for members of Congress. On occasion, other policy and public programs of the The Aspen Institute, Inc., sponsor convenings that involve members of Congress and congressional staff members. See attached appendix

15. Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips):

In addition to the education trips for members of Congress, AICP annually offers 24 breakfasts for members of Congress, five lunches for congressional staff each year - each event offering a leading scholar on a key public policy issue. See attached appendix

16. Total Expenses for Each Participant:

| | Transportation Expenses | Lodging Expenses | Meal Expenses | Other Expenses |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ☒ Good Faith estimate<br>☐ Actual Amounts | $1600 | $1000 | $525 | $290 Conference expenses include meeting space, audio visual services and visa costs |

17. State whether a) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation **or** b) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation:

The conference is organized specifically with regard to congressional participants.

18. Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip

Beijing provides the opportunity to engage with Chinese and Americans residing in China to explore US policy options regarding China.

19. Name and location of hotel or other lodging facility:

Sofitel Beijing Central

20. Reason(s) for selecting hotel or other lodging facility:

The hotel provides the necessary security, technology and facilities including private meeting space and dining space.

21. Describe how the daily expenses for lodging, meals, and other expenses provided to trip participants compares to the maximum per diem rates for official Federal Government travel:

Lodging and meals are below per diem

22. Describe the type and class of transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first class transportation will be provided. If first-class fare is being provided, please explain why first-class travel is necessary:

Coach class flights on commercial airlines and coach class ground transportation

23. ☒ I represent that the travel expenses that will be paid for or reimbursed to Senate invitees do not include expenditures for recreational activities, alcohol, or entertainment (other than entertainment provided to all attendees as an integral part of the event, as permissible under Senate Rule 35).

24. List any entertainment that will be provided to, paid for, or reimbursed to Senate invitees and explain why the entertainment is an integral part of the event:

None

25. I hereby *certify* that the information contained herein is true, complete and correct. (For trips involving more than one sponsor, you *must* include a completed signature page for each additional sponsor):

Signature of Travel Sponsor: Dan Glickman

Name and Title: Dan Glickman, Vice President (Updated Oct. 23, 2019)

Name of Organization: The Aspen Institute, Inc.

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

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

Fax Number: NA

E-mail Address: lisa.jones@aspeninst.org

# PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

SIGNATURE PAGE FOR ADDITIONAL SPONSOR

*(to be completed by each additional sponsor)*

I hereby *certify* that the information contained on pages 1-4 of the certification form and any accompanying addenda, all submitted in connection with the November 2-8, 2019 trip
*Dates of Travel (Month Day, Year)*
to Beijing, China is true, complete, and correct.
*Place of Travel*

Signature of Travel Sponsor: Elizabeth D

Name and Title: Elizabeth Dibble, Chief Operating Officer

Name of Organization: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

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

Telephone Number: 202 939 2223

Fax Number: N/A

E-mail Address: edibble@ceip.org

Senate Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form - Beijing, China – Congressional Staff Conference – November 2-8, 2019
Appendix – *(Updated Oct. 28, 2019)*

***Question 5: Name and title of Senate Invitees:***

1. Brandt Anderson, National Security Advisor, Senator Todd Young
2. Jeremy Hekhuis, Legislative Director, Senator Sherrod Brown
3. Ella Lipin, National Security Advisor, Senator Catherine Cortez-Masto
4. Tom Mancinelli, Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant, Senator Chris Coons
5. Brett Richards, Counsel and Legislative Assistant, Senator Roger Wicker
6. Livia Shmavonian, Senior Policy Advisor, Senator Bob Casey
7. Chris Socha, Staff Director, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
8. Caroline Wadhams, Foreign Policy Director, Senator Mark Warner

***Question 12: Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting this trip***
The Aspen Institute Congressional Program has received general support and unrestricted funds from The Henry Luce Foundation, Democracy Fund foundation, and Rockefeller Brothers Fund foundation. These foundation funds were not earmarked for a specific project. Carnegie Endowment's support for this trip is from its general funds, which were not earmarked by donors for any specific purpose.

***Question 13: Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission.***
AICP, a program of the Aspen Institute, routinely conducts nonpartisan convenings for members of Congress and congressional staff members. The purpose of these convenings is to analyze US options for policy which focuses on various regions throughout the world. Aspen Institute Congressional Program has conducted numerous convenings related to China over the course of its 36-year history.

Carnegie Endowment is a public charity whose mission is to advance international peace by leveraging its global network to provide decision makers with independent insights and innovative ideas on the most consequential global threats and opportunities.

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

***Question 14: Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips.***
These Aspen Institute convenings in national and international venues focus on domestic and foreign policy issues.

Carnegie Endowment has six global centers across the world and regularly convenes policymakers, including Congressional staff and members, along with experts and scholars to examine the most consequential global threats and opportunities. Carnegie Endowment has not previously sponsored travel for congressional members or staff.

***Question 15: Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips):***
Aspen Institute Congressional Program offers one congressional staff conference per year on a key foreign or domestic policy challenge. The AICP conducts numerous educational activities, including conferences, roundtables, briefings and other nonpartisan forums on critical issues facing the US and the world. The sessions involve participants, scholars and academics.

Carnegie Endowment convenes a full range of high-level meetings-including national and world leaders and policy roundtables to examine the most consequential global threats and opportunities, and offers scholarly studies, and experts with one of its 11 key programs focused on Asia.

# U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS: A NEW ERA

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

**in collaboration with**

THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

November 2-8, 2019 Beijing, China Conference For Senior Congressional Staff

**SATURDAY, November 2:**

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

**SUNDAY, November 3:**

3:40 pm: Participants arrive in Beijing

6:30–8:30 pm: *Working Dinner*

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff members are rotated daily. Scholars Robert Daly, Director of the Kissinger Institute at the Wilson Center, and Paul Haenle, Director of the Carnegie/Tsinghua Center, will add to the discussions which will serve as an orientation session.

**MONDAY, November 4:**

8-9:30 am: *Working Breakfast*

**SETTING THE STAGE**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**INSIGHTS FROM YOUNG BILINGUAL CHINESE**

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

**Anna Brachtendorf**, Program Manager, Friedrich-Ebert Foundation
**Kevin Kerrigan**, Strategic Risk and Media Affairs Consultant
**Thena Lee**, Senior Manager for Marketing Operations, McLarty Associates
**Jun Mai**, Beijing Correspondent, South China Morning Post

7-9 pm: *Working Dinner*

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

**TUESDAY, November 5:**

7-8:00 am: Breakfast is available

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

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

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

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

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

**Robert Daly**, Director, Kissinger Institute, Wilson Center
**Paul Haenle**, Director, Carnegie China Center
**Wang Jisi**, President, Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University
**Gui Yongtao**, Vice President, Institute of International Studies, Peking University
**Guo Chu**, Assistant Research Fellow, School of International Studies, Peking University
**Hu Ran**, Project Director, Institute of International Studies, Peking University
**Lai Huaxia**, Assistant Professor, Institute of International Studies, Peking University
**Lei Shaohua**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of International Studies, Peking University
**Li Boran**, Research Assistant, Institute of International Studies, Peking University
**Liang Yabin**, Associate Professor, Institute of International Studies, Party School, Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

**Yu Tiejun**, Vice President, Institute of International Studies, Peking University
**Zhao Jianwei**, Research Associate, Institute of International Studies, Peking University
**Zeng Chuyuan**, Research Assistant, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

Noon-1:30 pm: *Working Lunch*

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

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

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

**Dongquan He**, China Director, Energy Innovation
**Jonathan Woetzel**, Director, McKinsey Global Institute, Shanghai
**Xizhou Zhou**, Managing Director, Asia Pacific Power, IHS Markit

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

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

5:15-6:45 pm: *Pre-dinner dialogue*
**OFF-THE-RECORD**
**WITH AMERICAN JOURNALISTS BASED IN BEIJING**
Western journalists resident in China have gained unique perspectives on security, economic and environmental challenges in the U.S.-China relationship. This off-the-record session is designed to facilitate a back-and-forth dialogue to provide an opportunity for senior congressional staff to benefit from the perspectives of journalists who understand many of the complex nuances of these policy challenges.

6:45-8:15 pm: *Working dinner*
Discussion will continue over dinner and focus on topics covered in discussions earlier today, enhanced by the participation of scholars Robert Daly, Paul Haenle and the participating journalists. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff members are rotated daily.

**WEDNESDAY, November 6:**
7-8:00 am: Breakfast is available

8-9:00 am: *Working Breakfast*
**CHINA'S VIEWS OF SECURITY CONCERNS**
**Jun Liu**, Counselor, Department of North American and Oceanic Affairs
China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs

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

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

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

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

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

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

Social Sciences

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12-1:30 pm: *Working Lunch*

**U.S.-CHINA TRADE FRICTIONS**

Economic advisors offer their perspectives

**Brian Jackson**, Medley Advisors

**Michael Pettis**, Professor of Finance, Peking University

2-4:00 pm *Tiananmen Square, Temple of Heaven and other historic landmarks*

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

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

**CHINESE PERSPECTIVES ON U.S.-CHINA POLICY CHALLENGES**

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

**Ding Yifan**, Senior Fellow, Institute of World Development

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

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

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

7:15-9 pm *Working Dinner*

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff members are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on topics covered in discussions earlier in the day, enhanced by the participation of scholars Ding Yifan, Xiong Zhiyong, Xie Tao, and Zhou Qi.

**THURSDAY, November 7:**

8-9:00 am: Breakfast is available

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

10-Noon: *Panel Discussion*

**THE U.S., CHINA, NORTH KOREA TRIANGLE**

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

**Paul Haenle**, Director, Carnegie/Tsinghua Center
**Cheng Xiaohe**, Associate Professor, School of International Studies, Renmin University
**Li Bin**, Senior Fellow, Nuclear Policy Program, Carnegie/Tsinghua Center
**Tong Zhao**, Fellow, Nuclear Policy Program, Carnegie/Tsinghua Center
**Yang Wenjing**, Chief of U.S. Foreign Policy, Institute of American Studies, China Institute of Contemporary International Relations

12:30-2 pm: *Luncheon Remarks*

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

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

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

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

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

2-4:30 pm: *Forbidden City Visit*
The Forbidden City was the central repository of rule by the Ming and Qing dynasties for centuries until upheavals of the 20th Century. It is now a showpiece to instill pride in China's culture and tradition. This visit will help provide an understanding of China's historical continuity as a power in Asia. This visit will also provide insight into China's self-image as one of a great power on a historical trajectory of grandeur – which is reflected in its domestic policies and international relations.

**6:25 pm** **Chris Socha departs Beijing on United Flight # 808 and arrives in Washington, DC at 6:45 pm**

5:45-7 pm: *Pre-Dinner Discussion*
**CHINA'S NEW MIDDLE CLASS AND CIVIL SOCIETY:**
**THE IMPACT ON THE SOCIAL CONTRACT AND GOVERNANCE**
In the last 40 years, with China's economic opening to the world, China's middle class has grown from a sliver to an estimated 420 million people, roughly one-third of its population. This lifting of hundreds of millions out of poverty has increased standards of living and life expectancy, created a consumer class and added new dimensions of political and demographic factors to Chinese society. During this same time period, China's urban population has soared from 19 percent in 1980 to 58 percent in 2017. A majority of the middle class has internet access, which has contributed to China's massive e-commerce market. Increased consumption has added to environmental stresses and more sedentary lifestyles have led to higher health care costs. We will hear perspectives from two Beijing residents on the rise of China's middle class and its impact on modern Chinese society, with broader implications for the U.S.-China relationship.

**Elizabeth Knup**, China Director, The Ford Foundation

7-9 pm *Working Dinner*
Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff members are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on topics covered in discussions earlier in the day, enhanced by the participation of scholars Paul Haenle, Dan Wang, Brian Jackson, Brian Tse, and Elizabeth Knup.

**FRIDAY, November 8:**

8-9:30 am: *Breakfast Discussion*

**PERSPECTIVES FROM THE AMERICAN BUSINESS COMMUNITY**

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

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

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

10-11:30 am: *Panel Discussion*

**PERSPECTIVES FROM U.S. UNIVERSITIES OPERATING IN CHINA**

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

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

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

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

Noon-1:30 pm *Working Lunch*

**CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE
CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

CARNEGIE
ENDOWMENT FOR
INTERNATIONAL PEACE

Chris Socha
Staff Director
Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
423 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

May 16, 2019

Dear Chris:

We are pleased to invite you to participate in congressional staff initiative, *U.S.-China Relations: A New Era,* hosted by the Aspen Institute Congressional Program in collaboration with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The initiative features two lunch briefings, on July 15th and September 17th, an evening event in late October with prominent foreign policy experts, and concludes with a conference in **Beijing, China, November 2-8, 2019** (including travel). Please see the following documents for the conference agenda and an informational one-pager.

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

**If you are interested, please respond to this invitation by June 3rd**, and our team will follow up with further details and instructions. Should you have any questions, please reach out to Lauren Kennedy at lauren.kennedy@aspeninstitute.org, or Douglas Farrar at Douglas.Farrar@ceip.org.

Sincerely,

Dan Glickman

Secretary Dan Glickman
Executive Director
Aspen Institute Congressional Program

Bill Burns

Ambassador William J. Burns
President
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace