

Date/Time Stamp

**COVER SHEET FOR AMENDMENT OF
POST-TRAVEL SUBMISSION**

Instructions: Use this form as a cover sheet for any paperwork you may need to submit to the **Office of Public Records** in order to make your Privately Sponsored Post-Travel Submission complete in accordance with Rule 35. **Only complete this form if you need to submit an amendment to a post-travel filing you have already submitted.**

SUBMIT DIRECTLY TO THE **OFFICE OF PUBLIC RECORDS IN 232 HART BUILDING**

Name of Traveler: Dylan Clement

Employing Office/Committee: Senate Banking Minority Staff

Travel Expenses Paid by (List all sources): Aspen Institute

Travel Date(s): Oct 14-Oct 16

Description/Title of Attached Forms: original RE-1 ; revised RE-2

Purpose of Amendment (describe the reason for amending original submission): Incorrect date on originally submitted Re 2

12/7/2022

(Date)

Dylan Clement

(Signature of Traveler)

Date/Time Stamp:

EMPLOYEE PRE-TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

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: Dylan ClementEmploying Office/Committee: Senate Banking CommitteePrivate Sponsor(s) (list all): Aspen InstituteTravel date(s): Oct 14 - Oct 16*Note: If you plan to extend the trip for any reason you **must** notify the Committee.*Destination(s): New York City

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

Dylan handles national security policy on the Senate Banking Committee for the minority staff, and this forum in New York City will include, among the topics covered, national security issues as they relate to China.

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:

9/14/21
 (Date)

Dylan Clement
 (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, Cameron Ricker hereby authorize Dylan Clement
 (Print Senator's/Officer's Name) (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) ☐

9/14/21
 (Date)

[Signature]
 (Signature of Supervising Senator/Officer)

Date/Time Stamp:

Employee Post-Travel Disclosure of Travel Expenses

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**.

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.)

AspenInstitute(CongressionalProgram)

Private Sponsor(s) (list all): _____

Travel date(s): October 14-16, 2021

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 ☐ Actual Amount	\$449	\$568	\$128	\$415 for private meeting/dining space, AV and conference services

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

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
☐ Good Faith Estimate ☐ Actual Amount				

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

12/7/22 Dylan Clement Dylan Clement

(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.

12/7/22

(Date)

[Signature]

(Signature of Supervising Senator/Officer)

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) is the sole sponsor of this conference and developed the agenda, organized the travel, planned the conference, and invited the participants.

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, Inc., is a non-profit organization, and its broad mission is conducting nonpartisan forums and the exchange of ideas on issues impacting the U.S. and the world.

See attached appendix

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

AICP has conducted international and domestic conferences for members of Congress for over 35 years.

On occasion, other policy programs of The Aspen Institute, Inc. sponsor conferences that involve members of Congress.

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

The Aspen Institute, Inc. holds numerous educational activities including conferences, round-table

briefings, and other nonpartisan forums on critical issues facing the U.S. and the world.

See attached addendum

16. Total Expenses for Each Participant:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses
☒ Good Faith estimate	\$420	\$568	\$128	\$415 for private meeting/dining space, AV & conference services
☐ Actual Amounts	See attached appendix			

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 event is arranged specifically with regard to congressional participation.

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

Location allows New York-based scholars and experts to participate in the discussions.

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

Loews Regency Hotel, New York City, NY

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

This hotel offers the required private meeting and dining space and conference technology.

Security a key factor.

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 equal to the per diem rate.

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:

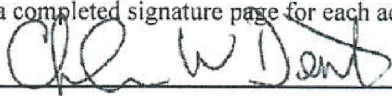
Roundtrip coach class travel on Amtrak train and roundtrip coach class ground transportation
from/to train station.

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: 

Name and Title: Charles W. Dent, Vice President, The Aspen Institute, Inc. and Executive Director, AICP

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

Address: 2300 N Street, NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20037

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

Fax Number: NA

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

Appendix

Senate Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form New York – Aspen Institute Congressional Program

Question 2: Description of the trip

Senior congressional staff members, along with scholars and other and experts based in the New York area will look at China and U.S. policy and its multiple layers including examining U.S. strategies while balancing security and economic interests.

Question 5: Name and title of Senate invitees

Stephen Boyd, Legislative Assistant, Senator James Lankford
Dylan Clement, Professional Staff Member, Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
Rashan Colbert, Research Director, Senator Corey Booker
Jeremy Hekhuis, Legislative Director, Senator Sherrod Brown
Chris Lynch, Chief of Staff, Senator Ben Cardin
Thomas Mancinelli, National Security Advisor, Senator Tom Mancinelli
Tommy Ngyuen, Professional Staff Member, Senate Select Intelligence Committee
Michael Schiffer, Senior Advisor, Senate Foreign Relations Committee
Michael Zamore, Chief of Staff, Senator Jeff Merkley

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

The Aspen Institute has received general support and unrestricted funds from the Democracy Fund foundation, Henry Luce foundation and Rockefeller Brothers Fund foundation to support the Aspen Institute Congressional Program. These foundation funds were not earmarked for a specific trip and these foundations did not participate in organizing or conducting the trip.

Question 13: Briefly described the state mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission.

Aspen Institute Congressional Program (AICP) is a program of the Aspen Institute, Inc. that provides nonpartisan educational conferences and educational forums for members of Congress and senior congressional staff members. The New York conference "American China Strategy: What Really Works," will examine federal policies regarding China, the impact of the Coronavirus outbreak in China, and how that country impacts the world in terms of global competition, human rights, and international trade.

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

AICP, specifically, offers nonpartisan educational events for members of Congress and senior congressional staff members, with each event offering a leading scholar on a key domestic or international issue.

Question 16: Break down of transportation expenses

Each traveler: Train travel from Washington, DC to New York roundtrip: \$350

Each traveler: Ground transportation in New York roundtrip from/to train station: \$70

AMERICAN CHINA STRATEGY: WHAT REALLY WORKS?

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

THURSDAY, October 14:

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

A Q&A format led by:

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

With responses from:

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

FRIDAY, October 15:

9:00am **INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE**

This conference is organized into roundtable conversations, pre-dinner and luncheon remarks. This session will explain how the conference will be conducted, how those with questions will be recognized, and how responses will be timed to allow for as much discussion as possible.

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

9:05 - 10:30am

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

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

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

Isaac Stone Fish, CEO, Strategy Risks

Arthur Kroeber, Founding Partner, Gavekal Dragonomics

Xiaobu Lü, Professor of Political Science, Barnard College

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

10:30am - Noon

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

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

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

Samm Sacks, Senior Fellow, Yale Law School

Paul Tsai China Center & New America

Adam Segal, Director, Digital and Cyberspace Program,

Council on Foreign Relations

Paul Triolo, Practice Head, Geotechnology, Eurasia Group

12:00 - 1:30pm

Working Luncheon Discussion

THE CORONAVIRUS OUTBREAK:

TWO YEARS AFTER WUHAN, WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED?

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

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

Yanzhong Huang, Senior Fellow for Global Health

Council on Foreign Relations

1:30 - 3:00pm

Roundtable Discussion

HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY: RIGHTEOUSNESS OR RESULTS?

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

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

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

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

3:00 - 4:30pm

Roundtable Discussion

CHINA STRATEGY: WHAT REALLY WORKS?

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

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

Thomas Christensen, Director, China and the World Program, Columbia University
Robert Daly, Director, Kissinger Institute on China and the United States, The Wilson Center
Danny Russel, Vice President, International Security and Diplomacy, Asia Society Policy Institute

4:30 - 6:00pm

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

6:00 - 8:30pm

Working Dinner

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

SATURDAY, October 16:

9:00am Participants depart hotel

10:00am Privately sponsored travel ends

Dylan Clement continues travel and overnights at personal expense.

SUNDAY, October 17:

Dylan Clement departs today at 8:05 am on Amtrak 153 and arrives in Washington, DC at 11:36 am.

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

Sent: Thursday, August 12, 2021 4:35 PM

To: Clement, Dylan (Banking) <Dylan_Clement@banking.senate.gov>

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

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

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

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

Best,

Lauren

Lauren Kennedy

Manager of Congressional Engagement

Aspen Institute Congressional Program

Cell: 909.583.3698

Email: lauren.kennedy@aspeninstitute.org