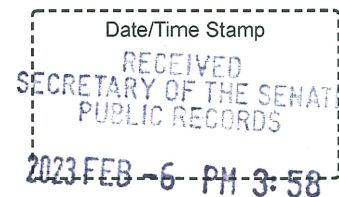


RE-3 Senators and Officers Post Travel Disclosure of Travel Expenses

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. This form is a public disclosure. The form and all attachments will be made publicly available.



Certification: In compliance with the Regulations Governing Privately Sponsored Travel, Senate Rule 35, and the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007, I certify that I accepted the following gift of privately sponsored travel:

Private Sponsor(s):

Gates Global Policy Center (GGPC)

Travel Dates:

December 8-9, 2022

Name of accompanying family member (if any):

Relationship to Traveler:

Total Expenses

Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meals Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
0	0	0	0

I also certify that attached to this form are all required documents for post travel disclosure, including:

- The final **Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form** with all attachments
- The final invitation
- The final approved itinerary

I certify that all trip information reflected in the attachments above accurately reflects the travel that I accepted. If there were any changes to the trip after I received approval from the Committee, the changes are described in ATTACHMENT 1.

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.

2/6/23

Date

Signature of Senator/Officer

ATTACHMENT 1 – CHANGES FROM APPROVED PRE-TRAVEL

Note: Material changes to a trip that occur after the Committee has issued an approval letter may invalidate the Committee's approval. Please contact the Committee with any questions regarding changes to an approved trip.

Were there any changes to the pre-approved travel expenses? (Transportation, Meals, Lodging, Other)?

☐ Yes☒ No

Expense Change

Revised Amount

Explanation

Were there any changes to the pre-approved itinerary?

☐ Yes☒ No

Explanation:

Were there any additional changes to the pre-approved trip?

☐ Yes☒ No

Explanation:

CHRISTOPHER A. COONS, DELAWARE, CHAIRMAN
JAMES LANKFORD, OKLAHOMA, VICE CHAIRMAN

BRIAN SCHATZ, HAWAII
JEANNE SHAHEEN, NEW HAMPSHIRE

JAMES E. RISCH, IDAHO
DEB FISCHER, NEBRASKA

SHANNON HAMILTON KOPPLIN, CHIEF COUNSEL AND STAFF DIRECTOR
WILLIAM B. CABLE, CHIEF CLERK

HART SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, ROOM 220
SECOND AND CONSTITUTION AVENUE, NE
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6425

TELEPHONE: (202) 224-2981
FACSIMILE: (202) 224-7416
TDD: (202) 228-3752

United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

December 6, 2022

The Honorable Todd Young
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Young:

This responds to your recent correspondence requesting approval from the Select Committee on Ethics (the Committee) to accept an invitation you received to travel to the *Forum on Strategic Communications* in Williamsburg, Virginia, on December 8–9, 2022, sponsored by the Robert M. Gates Global Policy Center (Gates Policy Center). Provided that you adhere to the guidance set forth below, it appears that it is permissible for you to accept necessary expenses from the Gates Policy Center in connection with this trip.

Background

Based on your communication with the Committee, the background in this matter is as follows.¹ The Gates Policy Center invited you to travel to the *Forum on Strategic Communications* in Williamsburg, Virginia, on December 8–9, 2022. The Gates Policy Center certified to the Committee that it will pay the necessary expenses² related to the travel and that it is neither a lobbyist, lobbying firm, agent of a foreign principal, or otherwise acting as a representative or agent of a foreign government. The Gates Policy Center has also certified that it does not retain or employ a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal and that no registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal will accompany you at any point throughout your trip.³

Discussion

Privately-sponsored travel includes any gift of travel and travel-related expenses for travel outside the Senate duty station, including transportation, lodging, food and refreshments, and conference fees and materials, whether paid for directly, reimbursed, or provided directly, from a private individual or entity, in connection with a Member's, officer's, or employee's official Senate duties. Incorporating reforms from the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007 (HLOGA), Pub. L. 110–81 (2007), Senate Rule 35.2 permits Members, officers, and employees to accept privately-sponsored travel only with the prior written approval of the Committee.

¹ If this letter does not correctly recite the facts, contact the Committee immediately.

² The term “necessary expenses” has a specific definition. See *Select Committee on Ethics’ Regulations and Guidelines for Privately-Sponsored Travel – Glossary of Terms* at 8.

³ The term “any point throughout your trip” has a specific definition. See *id.* at 2.

The Committee's approval process is governed by the *Regulations and Guidelines for Privately-Sponsored Travel and Glossary of Terms* (collectively, *Travel Regulations*). The *Travel Regulations* contain detailed requirements regarding who may sponsor travel; time limits for trips; and the type and amount of expenses that can be reimbursed.

All non-profit organizations designated as tax-exempt organizations under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, regardless of whether they retain or employ a lobbyist or foreign agent, may sponsor domestic trips for up to three days. The three-day limitation means three 24-hour periods, calculated from the time of arrival in the trip location to the time of departure from the trip location. For such trips, neither lobbyists nor foreign agents may accompany a Senate invitee at any point throughout the trip, other than in a *de minimis* way.⁴ This means that neither lobbyists nor foreign agents may accompany Senate invitees at any point to and from the event, at the event itself, or at the location being visited.⁵

Under Senate Rule 35, a Senator or officer who receives payment or reimbursement for necessary expenses related to fact-finding travel must disclose those expenses to the Secretary of the Senate by filing the completed *Senators and Officers Post-Travel Disclosure of Travel Expenses* (Form RE-3), along with a copy of the *Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form*, and all relevant attachments (e.g., the private sponsor's invitation and itinerary) **within 30 days of the conclusion of Privately-Sponsored Travel**.

Consistent with these standards and Committee precedent, the Gates Policy Center's factual representations, it appears that it is permissible for you to accept necessary expenses from the Gates Policy Center in connection with this trip, provided that the actual travel and travel-related expenses conform to the information and materials you provided, and the travel and all required documents are disclosed to the Secretary of the Senate (Office of Public Records).

Finally, Senate Rule 34 requires a Member on his or her Financial Disclosure Report, to make an annual disclosure of the receipt of payments or reimbursements under Senate Rule 35 from a private sponsor for officially-related travel expenses where, in the aggregate, travel expenses exceed \$415 from that sponsor during a calendar year. However, if a Member, officer, or employee properly reports the receipt of necessary expenses for such travel to the Secretary of the Senate within 30 days of the travel, as discussed above, the travel expenses need not be disclosed a second time on their Financial Disclosure Report. I hope you find this information helpful. If you have any additional questions, please do not hesitate to contact the Committee.

Sincerely,



Shannon Hamilton Kopplin
Chief Counsel and Staff Director

Enclosure: Travel Checklist

⁴ The term "*de minimis*" has a specific definition. See *Select Committee on Ethics' Regulations and Guidelines for Privately-Sponsored Travel – Glossary of Terms* at 3.

⁵ See *Select Committee on Ethics' Regulations and Guidelines for Privately-Sponsored Travel* at 5; see also *Select Committee on Ethics' Regulations and Guidelines for Privately-Sponsored Travel – Glossary of Terms* at 2-3.

GF1 Strategic Communications
Agenda

Thursday, 8 December

1200-1800: Arrival Transportation	Airport to Lodge	As arranged
1600-1830: Check-In	Lodge, Williamsburg	Conferees
1820-1830: Shuttle	Lodge to Inn	Conferees
1830-1930: Cocktail Hour.	East Lounge, Inn	Conferees & 4+1s, Secretary Gates, President Rowe, Chiarelli, Condon, Tierney
1930-2100: Ice Breaker Dinner	East Lounge, Inn	Same as above
2100-2130: Shuttle	Inn to Lodge	Same as above

Friday, 9 December

0800-0830: Shuttles	Lodge to Alumni House	All
0800-0900: Breakfast	Alumni House	All
0900-0915: Opening Remarks/	Alumni House	All

Introductions: President Rowe – Welcome (5 Minutes)
Secretary Gates – Explains Conference Expectations (10 Minutes)

0915-1030: Research Recaps	Alumni House	All, Researchers
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Papers 1 (15 min), 2 (10 min), 3A (20 min): Researchers present what they think is most relevant to the broader discussion on fixing U.S. Strategic Communications: four or five major takeaways and what they would do about them. All researcher presentations followed by 10 min for questions and answers.

1030-1045: Break

1045-1200: Research Recaps	Alumni House	All, Researchers
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Papers 3B (10 min), 4 (10 min): Researchers present what they think is most relevant to the broader discussion on fixing U.S. Strategic Communications: four or five major takeaways and what they would do about them. All researcher presentations followed by 10 min for questions and answers.

1200-1230: Lunch	Alumni House	All, Researchers
1230-1400: Framing the problem	Alumni House	All, Researchers

Papers 6 (to include PEPFAR paper recommendations among the options) (30 min) followed by 15 min for questions and discussion.

1400-1415: Break

1415-1630: Identifying the options/ solutions	Alumni House	All, Researchers
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1630-1645: Shuttles	Alumni House to Lodge	All
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1645-1800: Executive Time	Lodge	All
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1800-1815: Shuttle	Lodge to Wren Building	All
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1815-1900: Cocktails	Wren Building	All, Conferees & 4+1s, Secretary Gates, President Rowe, Chiarelli, Condon, Tierney, Custer, Musto Brown, Researchers
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1900-2100: Dinner	Wren Building	All
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2100-2115: Shuttle(s)	Wren to Lodge	All
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Saturday, 10 December

0745-0830: Shuttles	Lodge to Alumni House	All
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0745-0830: Breakfast	Alumni House	All
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0830-1000: Decision on options/ recommendations	Alumni House	All
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1000-1015: Break	Alumni House	All
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1015-1200: Implementation	Alumni House	All
Capabilities, structure, resources substance, and strategy		
1200-1230: Adjournment and Lunch	Alumni House	All
1230-1245: Shuttle to Lodge	Alumni House to Lodge	All
1245-1600: Transportation to Airport	Lodge to Airport	As arranged

Papers

1. U.S. Historical Strategic Communications at Key Points in Time – Resourcing, Organization Coordination and Governance, AidData (Samantha Custer, Austin Baehr, Bryan Burgess, Emily Dumont)
2. “Public Diplomacy and the Road to Reputational Security: Analogue Lessons from U.S. History for a Digital Age” – In-Depth Case Studies of U.S. Strategic Practice, Nick Cull
- 3a. A Quantitative Look at the Strategic Communications Influence: Playbook of China and Russia – Audiences, Tools, Reach and returns (outward looking – how China and Russia engage other countries to project narratives and advance interests), AidData
- 3b. “China-Russia Strategic Communications: The Evolving Visions and Practices” – A Qualitative Look at China and Russia Strategic Communications Goals, Practices and Organization (inward looking – how Chinese and Russian leaders think about, strategize, and operationalize strategic communications in their foreign policy apparatus and goals), Maria Repnikova
4. “Autocratic Approaches to Information Manipulation: A Comparative Case Study” – Interplay of Strategic Communications, Influence and Technology, Jessica Brandt
6. Alternative Models and Options for U.S. Strategic Communications, AidData (Samantha Custer)
7. Synthesis of All of the Above, AidData (Samantha Custer, Emily Dumont, Divya Matthew)



October 21, 2022

Dear Senator Young:

Thank you for your willingness to participate in the December Forum at William & Mary on U.S. strategic communications. As we contemplate long-term competition/rivalry with China and Russia (and others), all of you who have agreed to participate seem to share the view that the U.S. needs to up its game dramatically in the strategic communications arena.

Participants in the Forum will include:

- Senator Chris Coons (DE)
- Senator Todd Young (PA)
- Representative Gregory Meeks (NY)
- Representative Michael McCaul (TX)
- Adm. (ret.) John Kirby, NSC Coordinator for Strategic Communications
- Acting Under Secretary of State Elizabeth Allen
- Assistant Secretary of Defense Dr. Mara Karlin
- Assistant Secretary of State Daniel Kritenbrink
- Deputy Assistant Director of CIA Michael Collins
- Assistant to the Secretary of Defense Chris Meagher
- Tom Gjelten, National Public Radio (ret.)
- Vivek Varma, CEO Emes Project LLC
- Thom Shanker, New York Times (ret.)
- Brent Colburn, University of California SVP for External Relations and Communications

Working together, I hope (and believe) we can develop recommendations for action that will find broad support in the Administration and bipartisan support in Congress. I look forward to your individual expertise and contribution as we convene, discuss and develop recommendations. I will chair the sessions and we will operate under Chatham House rules, allowing everyone afterward to discuss what was said in our sessions but not who said it.

In partnership with William & Mary's Global research Institute (GRI) and outside contributors, we are preparing several background papers that will be shared with you well prior

to the Forum. The GRI papers will diagnose the strategic challenge and offer various solutions from three perspectives:

1. A retrospective look at U.S. strategic communications when our capabilities were at their most robust and most successful.
2. An assessment of the scope, scale and reach of Chinese and Russian strategic communications today and lessons to be learned.
3. An assessment of alternative models and emerging technologies that should inform our recommendations.

The research papers, along with a synthesis paper, will be sent to you electronically and by mail no later than November 11, 2022.

I look forward to seeing you for informal cocktails and dinner on December 8 if you can make it, and, otherwise, for the Forum starting Friday morning. I believe that, together, we can develop nonpartisan recommendations – based on a foundation of high-quality research and spirited discussion – that can lead to meaningful improvement in this area so vital to our national interest.

If your office has not responded to the Welcome Letter sent by email from General (ret.) Pete Chiarelli (pete@gatesglobalpolicy.org), please encourage a response. Identifying a person of contact for the forum staff will guarantee that research materials arrive as promised. In addition, we want to ensure that transportation, lodging and special requirements are provided, as requested, when you arrive and depart Williamsburg. The Gates Global Policy Center will reimburse conferees for all travel expenses, meals and lodging associated with attendance at the Gates Forum, December 8-10, 2022.



Robert M. Gates

ROBERT M. GATES GLOBAL POLICY CENTER
P.O. BOX 1257
NEWINGTON, VIRGINIA 22122-1257
509.876.4647



ROBERT M. GATES GLOBAL POLICY CENTER
P.O. BOX 1257
NEWINGTON, VIRGINIA 22122-1257
509.876.4647

October 23, 2022

Senator Todd Young
185 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Young:

Secretary Gates has informed me that you will be joining us in Williamsburg for the inaugural Gates Forum, addressing Strategic Communications. I would like to take this opportunity to both introduce myself and provide some background about the establishment of the Gates Global Policy Center (GGPC) and the subsequent Gates Forum (GF).

My name is General (Ret) Pete Chiarelli, and I am President of the GGPC. Everyone on my team is dedicated to making your participation both professionally stimulating and rewarding. Along with other conferees, your contribution will indeed make a difference as we address this pressing strategic issue.

Background – The Vision

The objective of the GF is to create effective bipartisan solutions to our country's most pressing international challenges. For this inaugural forum, we will tackle Strategic Communications. The forum is convened by the GGPC, an independent 501(c)3, and supported by William & Mary's Global Research Institute (GRI). GRIs data and analysis of the strategic communications topic will be forwarded to you and the other 10-15 carefully selected conferees. Along with Secretary Gates, each conferee will analyze, discuss, and decide on informed recommendations and an implementation strategy. After the conclusion of our forum, the GGPC will coordinate efforts led by Secretary Gates to promote the legislative and bureaucratic recommendations of the forum. Our goal is improving US government strategic communications, not a white paper.

What We Need -- What You Should Expect

Our needs are simple. We need a point of contact in your office who we can work with to arrange your travel and understand any special requirements you may have while at the GF. Ms. Nancy Shaw (nancy@gatesglobalpolicy.org) will be their go-to-person. If there is something that is sensitive or needs special attention, you can contact me (pete@gatesglobalpolicy.org /C: 254-449-0580) or Ms. Kathryn Condon, (GGPC CFO) at kathy@gatesglobalpolicy.org.

If you have not already received it, soon you will receive a follow up letter from the Secretary which will include a list of participants confirmed for the forum. The first week of November, you

should expect to receive, both electronically and by FEDEX in printed format, the research package prepared by GRI. It will consist of a 10–20-page Executive Summary and the papers, data, and notes used to create that summary. We hope this information will be useful as you prepare for the forum.

There will be a private conferee cocktail hour and dinner with Secretary Gates on Thursday, December 8th. This "icebreaker" is optional; however, we hope your schedule will allow you to attend. The forum will begin promptly at 8:30 AM on Friday, December 9th, and end after a working lunch on Saturday the 10th.

Again, I want to thank you for accepting the Secretary's invitation to participate in the first Gates Forum. It is no secret that we are having a GF on the subject of Strategic Communications on the campus of William & Mary in early December. However, it is the Secretary's intent "to have the forum take place discreetly without advance publicity and promotion and with minimal post-Forum publicity until we (as a group) discuss a strategy for promoting the resulting recommendations." We hope that you will help us maintain that atmosphere by keeping forum participants, materials, and details "in-house" until you and Secretary Gates decide how to proceed with the forum recommendations.

Our goal is to make a difference – and with your participation, and that of the very select group of conferees that will join you – we know that we will. And please if any of us can help make your time in Williamsburg more productive, we are an email, text, or phone call away.

Very Respectfully,



Pete Chiarelli
General, USA (Retired)
President, Gates Global Policy Center

Name and Title of Senate Invitees:

Senator Christopher Coons
Elizabeth O'Bagy, Senior Foreign Policy Advisor

Senator Todd Young
Brandt Anderson, National Security Advisor

Young

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.

Gates Global Policy Center (GGPC)

1. Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors):

Conferee participation at the inaugural Gates Forum on Strategic Communication.

2. Description of the trip:

3. Dates of travel: December 8, 2022 - December 9, 2022

4. Place of travel: Williamsburg, Virginia

5. Name and title of Senate invitees: See attached list.

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 GGPC is the only organizer and funder of the inaugural forum on Strategic Communications
and is responsible for conducting all aspects of the trip.

13. Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:
The purpose of the Gates Strategic Communications Forum is to devise policies, strategies, and
institutional reforms capable yielding bipartisan support.

14. Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips:
This is the first Gates Global Policy Center's sponsored congressional trip.

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

N/A

16. Total Expenses for Each Participant:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses
☒ Good Faith estimate	Car from Washington to Williamsburg and return \$189.00	Hotel 1 night \$284.00	\$138.00 (all meals/breaks provided)	Shuttle to/from all events \$50.00
☐ Actual Amounts				

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 Forum is organized with regard to congressional participation.

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

The GGPC commissioned the Forum research from William & Mary's Global Research

Institute. Williamsburg was chosen due to its easy travel access to/from Washington, DC.

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

The Williamsburg Lodge, 310 S England Street, Williamsburg, Virginia 23185

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

The Williamsburg Lodge was selected due to its proximity to the William & Mary Campus, the site of the forum.

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:
The daily expenses for lodging & meals are greater than the maximum per diem rates due to the timing of the event. The expenses reflect the best available Colonial Williamsburg December seasonal rates.
- All Forum attendees will have the same accommodations.
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:
Senator Young will arrive and depart by car. An onsite shuttle service will be provided.
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:
N/A
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: P. Chiarelli
General Peter W. Chiarelli, President
Name and Title: _____
Gates Global Policy Center
Name of Organization: _____
PO Box 1257, Newington, Virginia 22122
Address: _____
254-449-0580
Telephone Number: _____
N/A
Fax Number: _____
pete@gatesglobalpolicy.org
E-mail Address: _____