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

Date/Time Stamp

RECEIVED
SECRETARY OF THE SENATE
PUBLIC RECORDS
2024 SEP -9 PM 5:22

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):

The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)

Travel Dates:

August 10 - August 15, 2024

Name of accompanying family member (if any):

Katherine Wilkens

Relationship to Traveler:

spouse

Total Expenses

Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meals Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
$17,332	$1,997	$1,200	$834: meeting space, AV, conference services

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.

9/9/2024 — Date

Chris Van Hollen — Printed Name of Senator/Officer

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:

Updated speaker names and that is reflected on the updated agenda included in the post travel documents.

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

○ Yes ◉ No

Explanation:

0000000007302 RECEIVED BY: SECRETARY OF THE SENATE Date: September 09, 2024

CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM
aspen institute

The Honorable Chris Van Hollen

U.S. Senate
Washington, DC 20515-0306

Dear Senator Van Hollen,

I would like to invite you and Katherine to our bipartisan, bicameral congressional conference on ***Axis of Complexity: Chinese and Russian Foreign Policy*** in **Dublin, Ireland and Belfast, Northern Ireland, August 10-16, 2024**, including travel dates**.** Please get back to us with your interest to attend the conference **by COB Friday, April 19, 2024**. These conference spots fill up quickly, so please RSVP as soon as possible. This invitation does not guarantee your participation in the conference.

Through roundtable sessions and site visits, members will explore Chinese and Russian perspectives on their foreign policy priorities, domestic politics, national narratives, and Sino-Russian geopolitical partnership and the United States' response to it, among other topics. Members and experts will also spend time examining the history of the Northern Ireland conflict, both historical and contemporary lessons related to Ireland's development as a non-NATO European Union member and Brexit. Dublin and Belfast offer the unique opportunity for members to connect with experts from the United States, Europe, and Asia while gaining ground truth related to internal and international conflict, geopolitical neutrality, and economic development through European integration. The agenda for the conference is forthcoming.

Attendance is by invitation only, no outside observers, no lobbyists, no congressional staff, and no media. All conference sessions are off-the-record. No foreign governments are accepted to fund the Aspen Institute Congressional Program. As required by the Senate and House ethics rules, we will provide congressional participants with ethics private sponsor forms completed and signed.

Travel expenses, including business class airfare, meals and lodging will be paid for by the Aspen Institute; no expenses for entertainment or recreation are paid for in compliance with ethics rules.

The Congressional Program is part of the Aspen Institute, Inc. a nonprofit organization founded in 1950. The Congressional Program was created to promote leadership on public policy by bringing together legislators from both political parties with internationally renowned scholars for high level discussions and analysis. Since our program's inception, more than 523 members of Congress have participated in the 156 domestic and international conferences.

We hope you can join us for this important conference.

Sincerely,

Chl ~ Dent

Charlie Dent

Charles W. Dent
Former Member, U.S. Congress (PA-15th, 2005-2018)
Vice President and Executive Director
Aspen Institute Congressional Program
2300 N Street, NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20037
Mobile: (484) 553-1837

0000000007303 RECEIVED BY: SECRETARY OF THE SENATE Date: September 09, 2024

CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM
aspen institute

Axis of Complexity: Chinese and Russian Foreign Policy

August 10-16, 2024 | Dublin, Ireland and Belfast – Northern Ireland, United Kingdom

AGENDA

SATURDAY, AUGUST 10:

Sen. Chris Van Hollen, and his wife, Katherine Wilkens, depart Washington, DC at 8:40 am on Aer Lingus 118.

U.S. participants depart the U.S. throughout the day.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 11 (Overnight in Dublin):

Sen. Van Hollen and Katherine Wilkens arrive in Dublin at 8:45 am.

U.S. participants arrive in Dublin.

11:30 AM – 1:30 PM: Working Lunch

5 – 6:30 PM: Fireside Chat

The conference will open with a tour of the horizon of strategic challenges now facing the United States, with a particular focus on the challenges posed by China and Russia to a U.S.-led rules-based international order. As president and CEO of the U.S. Russia Foundation and as the former director of the Kennan Institute, the premier U.S. center for advanced research on Russia and Eurasia, Matthew Rojansky will address the new security landscape shaped by Russia's military aggression against Ukraine, and together with Dmitri Alperovitch, Silverado Policy Accelerator Chairman, will discuss growing Chinese capabilities and boldness and technological change. A former United States Trade Representative and Deputy National Security Advisor for International Economic Affairs in the Obama and Clinton Administrations respectively, Michael Froman will address challenges to U.S. leadership in global trade and financial markets, and why such continued leadership is a vital U.S. national interest in the twenty-first century.

Speakers:

Michael Froman, *President, The Council on Foreign Relations*
Dmitri Alperovitch, *Chairman, Silverado Policy Accelerator*
Matthew Rojansky, *President and CEO, The U.S.-Russia Foundation* (moderator)

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 lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussions will focus on the U.S. relations with China and Russia and, in particular, the role U.S. lawmakers play in shaping the global security landscape.

MONDAY, AUGUST 12 (Overnight in Dublin):

7 – 8:30 AM: Breakfast available to all participants

7:20 – 8:20 AM: Experts and Scholars meet for breakfast with Charlie Dent to review conference procedures

9 – 9:15 AM: Introduction and Framework of the Conference
This conference is organized into roundtable conversations, working lunches, and pre-dinner remarks. This segment will highlight how the conference will be conducted, how those with questions will be recognized, and how responses will be timed to allow for as much engagement as possible.

Speaker:
Charlie Dent, *Vice President, Aspen Institute; Executive Director, Congressional Program*

9:15 – 11:15 AM: Roundtable Discussion
Russia and China's Foreign Policy Traditions and Perceptions of the U.S.

The foreign policies of Russia and China are deeply rooted in historical experiences and mythologies which shape their current objectives. Russia's approach to foreign policy is heavily influenced by Soviet-era and other experiences of territorial expansion, conflict, and a desire to reclaim perceived lost influence, particularly in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. China's foreign policy is guided by its belief that a Sino-Centric Asia and, perhaps, a Sino-Centric Afro-Eurasia is a natural, inevitable, and positive development. This ambition is shaped by China's historical primacy and its experience of humiliation beginning in the mid-19th Century–a rise/fall/rise story that stirs patriotic passions and is fueling a new drive for hegemony. Both nations believe they face existential threats from the U.S. and the West.

Speakers will address the following questions:

- How have historical experiences shaped the current foreign policies of Russia and China, and what are the key doctrines influencing their international strategies?
- In what ways do the historical narratives of national identity and sovereignty in Russia and China influence their foreign policy decisions today?
- How do concepts of power differ in the foreign policy traditions of Russia and China? What historical events have contributed to these differences?
- Can similarities between Russian and Chinese foreign policy be attributed to shared historical experiences of Western intervention? How do these experiences/perceptions continue to affect their policies?
- What are the historical roots of the strategic partnership between Russia and China? How have their respective foreign policy goals converged or diverged over time?

Speakers:
Robert Daly, *Director, Kissinger Institute on China and the United States, the Wilson Center*
Sergey Radchenko, *Wilson E. Schmidt Distinguished Professor, the Johns Hopkins University*

11:15 – 11:30 AM: Break

11:30 AM – 1:10 PM: Roundtable Discussion
Domestic Drivers of Contemporary Foreign Policy

Domestic politics in Russia and China play pivotal roles in shaping their respective foreign policies. In Russia, President Vladimir Putin's consolidation of power has been closely tied to a foreign policy that emphasizes national revival and geopolitical strength, often using international engagements to bolster his domestic standing amid economic challenges and political dissent. In China, the Communist Party under Xi Jinping has leveraged foreign policy successes to enhance its legitimacy and justify its near total control of society, presenting China both as a rejuvenated global power and as a victim of Western hegemony and unrelenting American attack. Both governments use foreign policy as a tool to consolidate internal power, manage national identity, and address internal pressures—whether they stem from economic needs, regional stability, or the demands of national prestige.

Speakers will address the following questions:

- How do Putin's domestic political needs influence Russia's aggressive postures in Eastern Europe and the Middle East?
- What is Xi Jinping's domestic agenda and how does it shape his vision of China's global role?
- How do internal economic pressures in both countries drive foreign policy decisions, especially in energy and trade partnerships?
- What role does public opinion play in shaping the foreign policy choices of Russia and China, and how do their governments manage nationalistic sentiments?
- How might changes in domestic political stability in either Russia or China affect their foreign policy in the near future?

Speakers:
Steve Tsang, *Director, School of Oriental & African Studies (SOAS), University of London, China Institute*
Sam Greene, *Director for Democratic Resilience, the Center for European Policy Analysis*

1:10 – 2:30 PM: Working Lunch and Q&A with Paschal Donohoe, *Minister for Public Expenditure and Reform of Ireland*
Discussion continues between members of Congress and experts on foreign policy traditions and their domestic drivers with Robert Daly, Sergey Radchenko, Steve Tsang, Sam Greene, and Minister Paschal Donohoe. Members of Congress met with Paschal Donohoe, *Minister for Public Expenditure and Reform of Ireland*. Minister Donohoe is responsible for delivering targeted public spending. He also oversees the implementation of the National Development Plan, drives the program of public service reform, and has a key role in decisions made across the Irish Government.

3 – 5 PM: Individual Discussions
Scholars will be available to meet individually with members of Congress for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the morning sessions, including Robert Daly, Sergey Radchenko, Steve Tsang, and Sam Greene.

6 – 7 PM: Fireside Chat
Rethinking Ireland's Foreign and Security Policy: Process and Substance
This discussion will encompass Ireland's traditional stance of military neutrality while exploring how to enhance its role in international peacekeeping, conflict resolution, and cooperative security frameworks. It will also touch on Ireland's contributions to the European Union's Common Security and Defense Policy, expanding partnerships with international organizations like the United Nations, and investing in advanced defense capabilities.

Speaker:
Louise Richardson, *President, Carnegie Corporation of New York*
Charlie Dent, *Vice President, Aspen Institute;*
Executive Director, Congressional Program (moderator)

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 lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussions will focus on Ireland's foreign and security policy and its partnership with the United States.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 13 (Overnight in Belfast):

7 – 8:30 AM: Breakfast
9 – 11:10 AM: Roundtable Discussion:
What Do They Want? Xi's and Putin's Global Visions

Vladimir Putin talks about Russia's assertive and aggressive foreign policy in terms of resisting Western hegemony and encroachment into the post-Soviet region, which he considers a sphere of privileged influence for Russia. Xi Jinping is working with Russia and a growing list of other partners, many in the global south, to stand up an alternate set of global institutions, coalitions, and values that can serve as an alternative to nations that don't want their choices shaped by the West. This emerging architecture will be led by China and will stress development rights and national sovereignty. Both countries share core interests in countering U.S. primacy and promoting what they call multipolarity. For the United States, this Sino-Russian alignment poses complex challenges across the spectrum of security, economic competitiveness, and diplomacy.

Speakers will address the following questions:

- How do Putin's and Xi's strategies for global influence align, and where do they diverge, particularly in their approaches to the United States and Europe?
- Does the personal relationship between the two leaders matter? Is the "friendship with no limits" for real?
- Where do the Putin/Xi visions for global order succeed and where are they failing?
- Do Putin and Xi aim to overthrow the global order, or to challenge it with new alternatives while using it to their advantage when they can?
- How long can either leader be expected to retain power in their respective systems, and will the relationship change significantly in a post-Putin/Xi future?

- **Speakers:**
  Elizabeth Economy, *Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University*
  Anna Arutunyan, *Associate Director, Mayak Intelligence*

11:10 – 11:25 AM: Break

11:25 AM – 1:10 PM: Roundtable Discussion
Geo-Economics: Trade, Technology and Finance as Instruments of Statecraft

Russia and China are both urgently focused on enhancing their economic competitiveness and responding to U.S. economic pressures and sanctions. Russia, heavily reliant on commodity exports, particularly oil and gas, has responded to Western sanctions with efforts to develop self-sufficiency in critical technologies and diversify its economic partners, especially through tighter trade, technology and investment bonds with China. China has become the world's leading trading and lending nation and is setting up new financial institutions like the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, the Belt and Road, the BRICS Bank, the Global Security Initiative, and the Cross-border Interbank Payment System (CIPS) as an alternative to The Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication (SWIFT), establishing itself as an essential economic partner throughout much of the world even as it decouples and insulates itself from the West. Its geo-economic strategy is a key component of its order building and its attempts to escape dollar dominance and internationalize its currency, the RMB.

Speakers will address the following questions:

- How effective are U.S. economic sanctions in limiting Russia's and China's global economic influence and technological advancements?
- How can Russia and China leverage their strategic partnership to mitigate the impact of U.S. economic pressures and enhance their technological competitiveness?
- Has Russia accepted economic dependence on China as a long-term cost of hostility to the West?
- In which industries does China pose the most significant challenge to U.S. technological leadership? How should the U.S. respond?
- How will Russia's focus on developing self-sufficiency in critical technologies alter its economic and strategic relationships with both the West and China?
- What potential global impacts could arise from increased cooperation between Russia and China in high technology sectors, particularly in areas like artificial intelligence and telecommunications?

Speakers:
Yasheng Huang, *Professor, Sloan School of Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
Chris Weafer, *CEO, Macro-Advisory*

1:10 – 2 PM: Working Lunch
Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on Xi's and Putin's global visions and geo-economics with Elizabeth Economy, Anna Arutunyan, Yasheng Huang, and Chris Weafer.

2:20 – 4:45 PM: Travel from Dublin to Belfast

7 – 9 PM: Working Dinner with U.K. Government Officials
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. Discussions today will focus on President Xi's and Putin's global visions, the dynamic of their economic partnership, and the U.S. role in the current geopolitical circumstances. Fleur Anderson, MP, *Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Northern Ireland*, Phillip Brett, MLA, *Chair of the Economy Committee in the Assembly*, and John O'Dowd, *Infrastructure Minister*, will join.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 14 (Overnight in Belfast):

6 – 8:30 AM: Breakfast

9 – 11:15 AM: Roundtable Discussion
Security Concepts and Strategies

Russia's military doctrine is heavily oriented towards rapid response and the use of overwhelming force to secure its borders and assert dominance in what it considers its sphere of influence, notably in Eastern Europe. This includes modernizing its nuclear arsenal and hybrid warfare capabilities, which directly challenges NATO and U.S. interests in Europe. China's focus is on power projection in the Western Pacific, where its Navy (the world's largest) and militarized Coast Guard and fishing fleet is concentrated. China's rocket force is also deployed for a Taiwan contingency, but its ambitions are not limited to the near seas. China now has a nuclear triad, hypersonic weapons more advanced than those of the U.S., and it appears to be building toward nuclear parity with America. This buildup supports the Xi claims that China needs a military "commensurate with its global status" and that Asians alone should provide Asian security. Both of these phrases are code. But for what?

Speakers will address the following questions:

- How do Russia and China's military strategies challenge NATO, U.S. military forces in the Indo-Pacific, and the American alliance system?
- In what ways have joint military exercises between Russia and China enhanced their interoperability, and what does this mean for U.S. military strategy in Europe and Asia?
- How significant is the threat of coordinated military action by Russia and China in a hypothetical conflict scenario involving the United States, and how should the U.S. adjust its defense posture in response?
- What technologies or capabilities have Russia and China developed that could undermine U.S. military advantages, and how can the U.S. counter these developments?
- What are the implications of the emerging nuclear triad for American strategic forces?

Speakers:
Matt Turpin, *Visiting Fellow, the Hoover Institution, Stanford University*
Andrew Monaghan, *Global Fellow, Kennan Institute, the Wilson Center*

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11:15 – 11:25 AM: Break

11:25 AM – 1:10 PM: Roundtable Discussion
U.S. Allies and Partners in Europe and Asia

As Russia, China, Iran, North Korea and other states strengthen their partnerships, and as China develops its claim to lead the Global South, the question of how well the United States is aligned with partners in Europe and Asia has come to the fore. The resilience of the alliance system will be tested as Russia and China attempt to drive wedges between South Korea and Japan and to court European nations which are not as unified in their attitudes toward China as the United States might wish, especially in the commercial arena. The alliance system may also come under pressure due to political change within the United States itself and decide to build their strategic autonomy rather than rely on American guarantees. Simultaneous conflicts in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia, furthermore, could cast doubts on America's capacities among its partners. What are the major concerns of U.S. allies and what can be done to allay them?

Speakers will address the following questions:

- To what extent are countries of strategic concern to the United States coordinating their strategies? Are we seeing the emergence of two great blocks, or are we in danger of connecting dots that should remain unconnected?
- How do Russia and China leverage organizations like BRICS and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization to expand their influence and what are the implications for U.S. foreign policy?
- How do partners in Europe and Asia assess the goals and capabilities of China and Russia? Are there key gaps in their perceptions and those of the U.S.?
- Faced with increasing, uncertain, and multi-faceted threats from China and Russia, how are our allies' asks of the United States shifting?

Speakers:
Bonnie Glaser, *Managing Director, Indo-Pacific Program of the German Marshall Fund*
Oksana Antonenko, *Global Fellow, Kennan Institute of the Wilson Center*

1:10 – 2 PM: Working Lunch
Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on military doctrines and the U.S. and Chinese approaches to Europe, Asia, and Global South with Matt Turpin, Andrew Monaghan, Bonnie Glaser, and Oksana Antonenko.

2 – 5 PM: Historical Perspective: Conflict Resolution in Northern Ireland
Participants will join a privately led overview by vehicle of historically relevant sites in Belfast. This tour around Belfast offers an immersive journey into the city's rich and complex past, particularly focusing on the turbulent period known as The Troubles. The tour will be guided by knowledgeable locals who provide personal insights and firsthand accounts of the conflict between the Protestant and Catholic communities. Members of Congress will see significant landmarks, including the Peace Walls, political murals, and key sites of historical events, providing a balanced perspective on the cultural and political landscape.

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 lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussions will focus on military doctrines, their role in shaping foreign policy, and U.S. approaches to Europe, Asia, and the Global South.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 15 (Overnight in Dublin):

6 – 7:30 AM: Breakfast

8 – 10:15 AM: Roundtable Discussion:
U.S. Policy Toward China, Russia, and Their Partnership

The guiding question of this conference is to what degree Chinese and Russian strategies are coordinated and to what degrees the United States should deal with them jointly and severally. Are American diplomatic, military, and economic resources, including U.S. federal bureaucracies, structured and resourced to manage a protracted challenge from a Sino-Russian entente? This final discussion will aim at defining the framework through which American legislators should view great power competition and the emphasis they should give to its military, diplomatic, financial, order-building, and soft power aspects.

The speaker will address the following questions:

- What are the lessons from past U.S. engagement and containment policies towards both Russia and China? What lessons apply to today's environment of intense strategic competition?
- How can the U.S. and its allies effectively respond to the military and economic partnerships forming between China and Russia?
- In what ways can the U.S. leverage its technological and economic strengths to maintain a competitive edge in the face of growing Sino-Russian cooperation?
- What strategies should the U.S. adopt to manage its relations with countries caught between U.S. and Sino-Russian interests?
- Do any agencies of the U.S. Government need to be re-conceived or re-structured to meet these challenges?
- What are the costs of over- and under-emphasizing a Great Powers framework for American foreign policy?

Speaker:
Thomas Graham, *Distinguished Fellow, the Council on Foreign Relations*

10:15 – 10:25 AM: Break

10:25 AM – 12 PM: Policy Reflections for Members of Congress
This time is set aside for members of Congress to reflect on what they have learned during the conference and discuss their views on implications for U.S. policy. Drawing on the full range of conversations throughout the week, members will seek to identify for each other the most promising takeaways for the United States policy process, with a special focus on opportunities for bipartisan cooperation. This is a members-only conversation.

Sen. Van Hollen and Ms. Wilkens depart Dublin at 12:30 pm on United 229 and arrive in Washington, DC at 3:30 pm

Trip Name: Axis of Complexity: Chinese and Russian Foreign Policy

Organization Information

Organization Name:
The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Cong.Prog.)

Is your organization classified as a §501(c)(3)?
(●) Yes ( ) No

If Yes, §501(c)(3) Organization Type:
[ ] Private Foundation [✓] Public Charity

Address:
2300 N Street, NW

City, State, Zip:
Washington, DC 20037

Phone Number:
202-736-5859

Organization URL:
https://www.aspeninstitute.org/

History of Congressional Travel

Describe your organization's history of sponsoring congressional travel.

Aspen Institute Congressional Program (AICP)has conducted international and domestic conferences for members of Congress for over 41 years. On occasion, other policy programs of The Aspen Institute, Inc., sponsor conferences that involve members of Congress.

Educational Activities

Describe the educational activities performed by your organization other than sponsoring congressional travel.

The Aspen Institute, Inc. holds numerous educational activities including conferences, roundtable briefings, and other nonpartisan forums on critical issues facing the U.S. and the world. 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.

Lobbyist and Foreign Agent Registration Information

Lobbyist Registration Status (Select one):

(●) I certify that the sponsor is not a federally registered lobbyist and does not retain or employ a federally registered lobbyist.

( ) I certify that the sponsor is not a federally registered lobbyist but does retain or employ one or more federally registered lobbyists.

Foreign Agent Registration Status (Select one):

(●) I certify that the sponsor is not an agent of a foreign principal and does not retain or employ an agent of a foreign principal.

( ) I certify that the sponsor is not an agent of a foreign principal but does retain or employ one or more agents of a foreign principal.

Foreign Government Involvement

Foreign Agent Registration Status (Must select all):

[✓] I certify that the sponsor is not a foreign government.

[✓] I certify that the sponsor is not an entity that is owned or operated by a foreign government.

[✓] I certify that the sponsor does not receive funding from a foreign government.

Purpose and Details

Provide a brief description of the trip.

The conference will take an in-depth look at the United States and its foreign policy related to China and Russia. The discussion will focus on multiple critical issues including the security landscape shaped by Russia's military aggression against Ukraine, growing Chinese capabilities and boldness, and how U.S. policy towards these two countries challenges global trade and financial markets. Discussions will also focus on how historical experiences shape the current foreign policies of China and Russia, how do Putin's and Xi's strategies for global influence align, and where do they diverge, particularly in their approaches to the United States and Europe?

Explain how the purpose of the trip relates to your organization's 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. 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 Dublin/Belfast conference will examine the U.S. foreign policy strategy as it relates to Russia and China and will allow participating members of Congress to discuss these complex policy issues along with experts on the conference topic.

Is your organization the only sponsor for this trip?

(●) Yes ( ) No

If No, describe your organization's role in planning the trip.

If there are multiple sponsors, each sponsor must submit Organization Information (Page 1 of the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form) and a Signature Page Form.

Grantmaking Organizations (Optional)

If you have a Grantmaking Organization, you must attach a Grantmaking Organization Certification Form.

1. Carnegie Corporation of New York
2.
3.

With or Without Regard to Congressional Participation (Select one):

- ○ The trip is arranged or organized without regard to congressional participation.
- ◉ The trip is arranged or organized with regard to congressional participation.

Lobbyist/Foreign Agent Involvement in Planning, Organizing, Requesting or Arranging

- ☑ The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal, other than de minimis involvement.

Lobbyist/Foreign Agent Financing (Must select all):

- ☑ The trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.
- ☑ No funds or in-kind contributions were 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.

Lobbyist/Foreign Agent Accompaniment

Complete if all sponsors are §501(c)(3) organizations (Select one):

- ◉ The trip is limited to three days (for trips inside the continental United States) or seven days (for trips outside the continental United States), and no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee at any point throughout the trip
- ○ The trip is limited to 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
- ○ The trip is limited to 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

Complete if any of the sponsors is not a §501(c)(3) organizations (Select one):

- ○ The trip is limited to three days (for trips inside the continental United States) or seven days (for trips outside the continental United States), and no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee at any point throughout the trip
- ○ The trip is limited to 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
- ○ The trip is limited to 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

Certification of No Recreational Activity and No Alcohol (Must select all):

- ☑ Travel expenses paid for will not include expenditures for recreational activities.
- ☑ Travel expenses paid for will not include expenditures for alcohol, except as permitted by the Regulations Governing Privately Sponsored Travel.

Will members and staff from the House of Representatives receive invitations?

◉ Yes ○ No

Travel Details (Submit additional pages as needed)

Trip Start Date/Time:	⇄	Trip End Date/Time:
August 11, 2024 at 1 PM		August 15, 2024 at Noon

Will the traveler be accompanied by a family member for whom the sponsor will pay travel expenses?

(●) Yes ( ) No

Transportation (Member/Officer/Employee: $8,666 Accompanying Family Member: $8,666)

Transportation Type	Class	Amount
commercial airline	business	$8166 per traveler
ground transportation in Ireland	coach	$500 per traveler

Details (optional)

Lodging (Member/Officer/Employee: $$1997 Accompanying Family Member: $0)

Check-In	Check-Out	Facility	City	State	Country
8/10/24	8/11/24	Westbury Hotel	Dublin		Ireland

Nights	Cost/Night	Cost Exceed Per Diem (Yes/No)	If Yes, please explain why expenses over the per diem rate are reasonable and necessary.
1	$449	yes	Factors including security of the facility and high demand for accommodations in August, make the expenses reasonable and necessary.

Check-In	Check-Out	Facility	City	State	Country
8/11/24	8/13/24	Westbury Hotel	Dublin		Ireland

Nights	Cost/Night	Cost Exceed Per Diem (Yes/No)	If Yes, please explain why expenses over the per diem rate are reasonable and necessary.
2	$449	yes	Factors including security of the facility and high demand for accommodations in August, make the expenses reasonable and necessary.

Check-In	Check-Out	Facility	City	State	Country
8/13/24	8/15/24	Merchant Hotel	Belfast		United Kingdom

Nights	Cost/Night	Cost Exceed Per Diem (Yes/No)	If Yes, please explain why expenses over the per diem rate are reasonable and necessary.
2	$315	Yes	Factors including security of the facility and high demand for accommodations in August, make the expenses reasonable and necessary.

Meals (Member/Officer/Employee: $600 Accompanying Family Member: $600)

Date	Breakfast	Lunch	Dinner	Incidentals	Total	City	State	Country	Cost Exceeds Per Diem (Y/N)
8/11/24	NA	$50	$100	$0	$150	Dublin		Ireland	Y
8/12/24	NA	$50	$100	$0	$150	Dublin		Ireland	Y
8/13/24	NA	$50	$100	$0	$150	Dublin/Belfast		Ireland/UK	Y
8/14/24	NA	$50	$100	$0	$150	Belfast		UK	Y

If costs exceed the federal per diem, please explain why expenses over the per diem rate are reasonable and necessary.

General increase in food costs increases meal pricing and the expenses are reasonable and necessary.

Reasonable Miscellaneous Expenses

(Member/Officer/Employee: $417 Accompanying Family Member: $417)

Expense Type	Amount	Notes
Private meeting space, AV, conference services	$417	per person

Additional Details (optional)

For security reasons, Aspen Institute paid for the night of Aug. 10, the day prior to arrival in Dublin, to guarantee accommodations were available upon early morning arrival on 11-August.

0000000007316 RECEIVED BY: SECRETARY OF THE SENATE Date: September 09, 2024

PRIVATELY SPONSORED TRAVEL

SPONSOR SIGNATURE PAGE

I hereby certify that the information submitted in connection with the trip listed below is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Trip Name: Axis of Complexity: Chinese and Russian Foreign Policy

Travel Date(s): August 11 at noon - August 15 at 9 am (2024)

Travel Destination(s): Dublin, Ireland and Belfast, Northern Ireland, UK

Sponsor: Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)

Charlie Dent	VP-Aspen Institute, Inc.
(printed name of sponsor representative)	*(title)*
Charlie W Dent	August 6, 2024
(signature of sponsor representative)	*(date)*

0000000007317 RECEIVED BY: SECRETARY OF THE SENATE Date: September 09, 2024

Senate Invitees – Aspen Institute Congressional Program
Ireland conference – August 10-16, 2024

Sen. Dick Durbin, Illinois
Sen. Chris Van Hollen, Maryland

Grantmaking Organization Certification Form

ructions: If a sponsor receives funds from a grantmaking organization, the sponsor must lose this on the *Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form*, and the grantmaking nization must complete the *Grantmaking Organization Certification Form.* The completed *ntmaking Organization Certification Form* must be submitted to the Senate Select mittee on Ethics by the trip sponsor at least 30 days prior to the travel departure date.

tmaking Organization: Carnegie Corporation of New York

te Sponsor: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)

Name: Axis of Complexity: Chinese and Russian Foreign Policy

el Date(s): August 10-August 16, 2024

ination(s): Dublin, Ireland and Belfast, Northern Ireland

mpliance with the *Regulations Governing Privately Sponsored Travel*, I certify the following:

- [X] The grantmaking organization is a § 501(c)(3) organization.
- [X] The grantmaking organization is not a lobbyist, lobbying firm, or foreign agent, nor an entity that retains or employs a lobbyist or foreign agent.
- [X] The grantmaking organization provides funds under an established grant program, or in a manner that is otherwise consistent with the mission and practices of the organization.
- [X] The grantmaking organization is not involved, directly or indirectly, in organizing and conducting the trip. This includes selecting participants for a trip.
- [X] The grantmaking organization does not directly pay or reimburse travel expenses for any Senate Member, officer, or employee.

Patricia Moore Nicholas — *nted name of grantmaking organization representative)*

Program Officer — *(Title)*

Patricia Moore Nicholas — *Signature of grantmaking organization representative)*

9-09-2024 — *(Date)*